An Introductory History of Education

REVISED EDITION

D.N. Sifuna • *J.E. Otiende*

University of Nairobi Press

AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORY OF EDUCATION

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Daniel N. Sifuna

James E. Otiende

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First Published 1992 by
Nairobi University Press
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197
Nairobi

Tel: 020-318262
E-mail: nup@uonbi.ac.ke
varsitypress@yahoo.com
Website: www.uonbi.ac.ke/press

Revised 1994
Reprinted 2006

University of Nairobi Library CIP Data

Sifuna, Daniel N.
An introductory history of education/ D.N. Sifuna and J.E. Otiende. – rev. ed./Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press, 2006
276 pp.
Includes index.
1. Education -- Africa -- History
I Otiende, James E. II Title

LA.1501

ISBN 9966 846 30 1

Printed by
Starbright Services Ltd
PO Box 66949-00200
Nairobi

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Preface

The study of history of education is one of the disciplines that is given prominence in many African countries and elsewhere. It is an important component of the graduate and undergraduate programmes, non-graduate diploma studies, and the professional courses in teachers' colleges.

Although this study is an acknowledged discipline of many professional teacher training institutions, it has been a difficult subject to teach due to an acute shortage of reading materials, and even the existing ones have adopted an extremely scholarly approach, which is inappropriate for the majority of students in the African institutions. Little or no specific material on this discipline is available in the African educational scene. This book is an attempt to meet this need and, in this context, it constitutes an important work in the field, tracing the history of education from prehistoric times to the 20th century. The text is a result of our experience in teaching at various levels of education in Kenya over a number of years.

Following criticisms and suggestions raised in regard to the previous edition, we embarked on a revision exercise aimed at improving the book to accommodate recent developments in the field and hence this edition.

The revised edition has been expanded to offer a wider coverage of educational developments in Africa by giving consideration to the Islamic aspects of education. Thus, an additional chapter on Islamic education in Africa has been included. The book now contains 21 chapters.

At the same time, the chapter on African indigenous education has been revised. Although it excludes the case study on Maasai education, it now carries a detailed analysis of traditional African education system and its philosophical foundations.

Other changes contained in this edition include:

- Inclusion of discussion of education in Mozambique in respect of educational developments in Africa as an illustration to Portuguese Africa.
- Exclusion of the bibliography at the end of the book which has been replaced by suggested bibliographies at the end of every chapter. This is intended to enhance relevance of the reading material for the respective topics. These bibliographies have been updated to include some current publications.
- Revision and reorganization of the index to reflect the additional information.

It is our hope that this edition will be of even greater help to the students and readers of history of education.

We wish to acknowledge the continued contribution of our students, both present and past; they were of immense assistance in sharing our ideas in lectures and tutorials. Without their concern and interest it would have been difficult for this text to be written. We are also indebted to colleagues in the Department of Educational Foundations, Kenyatta University, with whom we have constantly shared many of the ideas reflected in this book. We are, however, solely responsible for the views expressed herein.

Last but not least, we wish to acknowledge the moral support and encouragement that we received from our families throughout the period of writing this book.

D.N. Sifuna
J.E. Otiende
March, 1994

List of Acronyms Used

AASF	African-American Student Foundation
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CMS	Church Missionary Society
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
HTC	Homecraft Training Centres
IDA	International Development Agency
ILO	International Labour Agency
JKUCAT	Jomo Kenyatta University College of Agriculture and Technology
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAPE	Kenya African Preliminary Examination
KAPE	Kenya African Primary Examination
KAU	Kenya African Union
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
KISA	Kikuyu Independent Schools Association
KKEA	Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association
NITD	Native Industrial Training Depot
NPA	New Primary Approach
NYS	National Youth Service
PDG	Parti Democratique de Guinee
UPE	Universal Primary Education
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
UMCA	Universities Mission to Central Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the concept of history of education and provides an overview of organisation of the book. To understand the study of history of education, two important terms must be understood 'history' and 'education'.

Some historians define *history* as the record of all past human experience. It shows how various peoples are and how they came to be, it deals with social, economic, political, scientific and technological events which have shaped, fashioned and given rise to mankind.

Educationists define *education* as the entire process of developing human abilities, potentialities and behaviour. Education is an organised and sustained instruction meant to transmit a variety of knowledge, skills, understanding and attitudes necessary for the daily activities of life. Education is also a social process in which an individual attains social competence, and growth within a selected, chosen and controlled institutionalised setting.

From these definitions of both *history* and *education,* History of Education could therefore be defined as a study of the past educational developments especially of educational systems, theories and institutions within the general historical context of social, economic, political, cultural, scientific and technological change.

These definitions are not conclusive because the scope and limitations of the history of education depend entirely upon the definition of education itself. It should be emphasised that there is, unfortunately, no accepted definition of education such that the offer of another is inevitable. What to seek is the most useful definition for the purpose of the historical investigator. This is because, though some definitions sound good enough in themselves, they are of little value. For example, education has sometimes been defined as a process aiming at the harmonious development of the faculties. High sounding as such definition might be, a history of this process could be inadequate as a history of education. For all practical purposes, the definition should refer to society as well as to the individual.

History is an evaluative study of what we have undergone in retrospect, what we have come to be today and what we propose to be in the future. History in this context, is a study of ourselves, our problems, our aspirations, our successes and our failures. Conceived this way, history becomes, in a wider context, the study of man in the present sense. This is because human struggle is a conscious process in which each stage

recapitulates, or at least holds some of the effects and content of previous stages, making the process a continuation.

Education in the broadest sense is not only the art that awakens and cultivates cultural refinements of each individual member of the society according to his gifts and opportunities, but also comprises the skills that help transmit, preserve and further cultivate such skills in the experiences of those who inherit them. Of particular importance in this transmission are those elements that have substantially sustained and profoundly changed the course of human life in various societies that have been in the path of this heritage.

The history of educational theory and practice in this frame of reference is a study of our present educational institutions, theories, policies and practices in the perspective of their historical evolution or progress. It deals with the substance and direction of the present education systems. Since education serves the society that gives rise to it, the professional educator needs to be intimately aware of the social foundations of educational theory and practice. He should know the impact of social, political, religious, economic, industrial, domestic, national and international forces upon educational policies and practices. The historical study of education provides opportunities for the examination of the nature and consequences of society to school relationships in different socio-economic and political systems.

A historical survey of educational theory and practice should enable all educators to examine, in a historical context, some of the educational issues and problems that perplex us today as they have perplexed many educators in many societies for many centuries. Since most of these problems and issues have their roots in the past, their evaluation in the light of their historical development would contribute to a better understanding of their nature and suggest possible solutions. These problems and issues are many and quite formidable and educational history is rich with conflicting or complementary answers to them. Acquaintance with the proposed solutions should be of great importance to the educator in working out problems. Such a knowledge would enlarge his horizons and deepen his grasp of basic educational conflicts.

One of the essential purposes of teacher education is to help each prospective teacher develop a personal point of view about education. What should be the aim of education? What are the guiding principles of curriculum construction? What is the nature of the child? What is the nature of the mind? What is knowledge? What is the nature of the education process? What are the objectives of various levels of instruction? These and many other theoretical questions should be answered by the educator within the wider framework in his life and world perspective.

Another important value of this discipline lies in the fact that some of the education successes and failures of many years are studied in succession, providing opportunities for comparison and contrast in evaluating the relative worth of conflicting educational theories and practices. By acquaintance with the failures of past centuries, we can reduce the possibility of repeating them ourselves and by knowing tested educational values, improve our own system.

This historical study of educational theory and practice should lead to a better understanding of the relations between theory and practice. It should help us see the foundations of educational practice in educational theories as well as in social ideals. Acquaintance with great teachers and educationists of all the ages, such as Buddha, Plato, Quintilian, St. Augustine, Comenius, Pestallozi, Rousseau or Dewey, should

reassure us that as teachers, we are in good and great company. We can be inspired by historical examples of these master teachers.

The Challenge for History of Education

Sometimes, history of education has been challenged as being irrelevant to the task of teacher preparation. Of course, criteria for judging the relevance or irrelevance of a particular subject, person, idea, or practice are relative to the experience of the person who develops the criteria. A person who has only a limited or narrow experience will of necessity hold restricted criteria of relevance and will find more things irrelevant.

There is a particular conviction that the study of the past has crucial relevance to the task of improving the quality of action in the present. There is also a belief that an intelligent study of the history of education can have an important bearing on the way in which teachers or teachers-to-be conduct their personal and professional activities. Many of the attitudes and approaches teachers adopt as they study the past and write or teach about their findings, are relevant to the tasks that they face in becoming better practitioners.

If professional education is to prepare teachers who can explore and critically examine alternative educational theories and practices, then it must seek to expand the possibilities for personal and professional action. The history of education can therefore contribute to strengthening the personal and professional competence of the teacher by encouraging him to:

(a) examine, evaluate, accept, reject or modify the cultural inheritance;

(b) become an educational critic and an agent responsible for cultural transmission and change, rather than blindly accept the *status quo* or unchallenged claims.

By studying the motivations and behaviour of other human beings who were engaged in the social, economic, religious, scientific and educational aspects of concrete historical situations, the educator can discern the various choices that were instrumental in shaping human purposes in the past. Through a critical examination of past action, the educator can illuminate the possibilities and alternatives of decision-making in the present. In other words, an examination of educational theories and practices in their historical context may encourage teachers to take a critical look at contemporary theories and practices.

The past illuminates the present. Without history one may learn what a thing is, but not whence, why, what, or what it is on the way to becoming. History alone reveals not merely structure, but life. The history of education is an account of the living growth of educational aims, methods, curricula and institutions, without which they would appear static. History of education therefore helps in better understanding of the aims, methods and existing institutions. Therefore one important factor of the historical study of education is in its use in the improvement of the quality of decision-making and policy formulation, and strengthening the personal and professional competence of the teacher.

The history of education can enable one to draw comparisons, that is, to compare the development of several different ideas or problems with one group of people, or of the same idea or problem with several groups of people. It enables one to avoid the dullness that often accompanies the chronicle of a single instance or group. That way, it can help one to formulate richer patterns and more comprehensive principles, provide a broader perspective and project imaginatively into a wider range of humanity than is

represented by a single culture. Besides drawing a comparison in the history of ideas, one is able to show the development of a particular theory and practice in a historical context, and demonstrate the particular conditions out of which such a theory arose or the specific function that a practice was intended to serve.

It is impossible to gauge accurately the relevance of a previous idea or practice to our own day until we understand both the present and the original context in which the idea arose. Understanding the context of historical events can also engender a spirit of realism. There is certainly a limit to the changes that can be effected by conscious educational decision-making in the face of blind social forces in certain cultural contexts. Ignorance of the limits set to human power by particular contexts may lead to frustration that follows the failure of unrealistic aspirations.

The greatest value of examining educational theories and practices in a historical context is that it encourages a tendency to look critically at present theories and practices. This leads to a conviction that the most creative task for the history of education is not to amass more data to answer old questions or bolster old beliefs, but to formulate new and better questions, generate fruitful hypotheses and initiate unexplored lines of inquiry. Thus, one uses the power of contextual study to introduce innovation.

The study of history of education is important not only for what it tells us about world education systems and theories, but also for its value in developing our powers of thinking. Successful historical study helps us to train and exercise all the essential aspects of intellectual activity; it excites curiosity and the spirit of inquiry. It disciplines the faculty of reason, it cultivates the art of self-expression and communication. Historical study is also fundamental in developing those attitudes of mind that distinguish the educated person; the habits of scepticism and criticism; of thinking with perspective and objectivity; of judging the good and the bad and the in-between in human affairs; and of weighing the pros and cons.

Our knowledge of the past is based largely on written documents; but these must be used critically and sceptically with an awareness that their contents were determined by fallible human beings making decisions about what to record and what to omit. One cannot say everything about any given events. The historical study of education helps one give shape, form, organisation, sequence, interrelationship and significance to ideas and events.

Professional historians of education do not have any monopoly on the in-depth study of human affairs. All other social sciences and humanities are engaged in this, though individuals in each f work from their own expert stand-point. History, however, must be drawn upon by all other fields. It offers the raw record of what has happened, and it sets the context of unique situations in the stream of time within which other forms of specialised inquiry must operate. Likewise, it has become impossible for historians of education today to understand fully the nature of the phenomena they study without going outside the strict confines of what is usually thought of as the discipline of history.

Indeed, they need some specific acquaintance with the social sciences. Fields such as sociology and psychology can be used in a mutually enriching way in the analysis of important educational ideas. It is a particularly grave fault for the historian of education to be ignorant of fields like social psychology, sociology and anthropology, for these are the areas of study that in recent years have shed significant light on human motivation and human nature, consideration of which underlies all of his work.

The Scope of History of Education

This book makes a survey of the development of educational theory and practice in the western world up to the twentieth century, from which African students can draw the understanding of their countries' educational developments. A number of educational systems are selected for discussion. Their selection was based on the direct contribution they made to the evolution of western educational institutions, ideals, and endeavours. To have selected all the civilisations and their systems that fall within the context of western civilisation could have been beyond the limitations of an introductory text of this nature. Some of the civilisations are bypassed on the grounds that the substances of their cultures and their educational contributions were emulated, absorbed and preserved by civilisations that followed.

The text traces the evolution of western education from prehistoric times. There is reference to prehistoric, ancient Egyptian, Indian, Chinese and Hebraic education, all of which have had an important impact on Greek education, Hellenistic education ideals in the Roman Empire, medieval education and the rise of universities.

There is also a focus on the Renaissance, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation and their influence on education, followed by seventeenth to twentieth century educational movements and the development of national education systems.

Finally, the book gives due consideration to African indigenous education; developments in education in Africa within the colonial context; and post independence educational activities in Africa. The historical context of educational events in Kenya is duly highlighted, leading to the era of the 8-4-4 system of education. All this helps to meaningfully analyse the present and relate the past to the present.

A false impression is sometimes given that education of the old times evolved out of the blue, that the socio-economic conditions did not influence its emergence, that there were no discernible changes for centuries. An attempt will therefore be made to contextualise ancient, medieval and modern trends in education. Indeed, it is necessary to reiterate that, while through ages education has preserved and sustained the *status quo,* educational systems the world over have also tended to play a dual role of conserving and transmitting societal knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to the younger generations as well as teaching new ideas for instituting change in society. It is the mixture of these two aspects in educational systems which distinguishes one system of education from the other.

In *Chapter 1,* History of Education is defined as being a study of the past development of education system, theories and institutions within the general framework of socio-economic, political, scientific, technological and cultural change.The reasons for the study of the history of education include: improving the quality of education and strengthening the professional competence of the teacher, making comparisons within a historical context, developing our powers of thinking and exposing ourselves to other disciplines. The scope in the study of history of education covers the development of education from the ancient times to the present. The history of education in prehistoric and ancient times is not without relevance to the modern education system; for in it, we can trace the direct ancestry of the present school tradition.

Chapter 2 points to the state of education in prehistoric times. Man has existed in some form on this planet for between 0.5 million and 1 million years. Between 500,000 and 75,000 years ago, the tools man made became refined. 75,000 to 200,000 years ago, there were rapid strides in human culture. Art and expression took place. From 10,000 to

8,000 years ago, there were even more rapid developments than before: complicated buildings were constructed; man produced his own food rather than simply gathering wild fruits.

Indeed, man settled and became organised in families and clans. He developed gestures, signs and symbols to convey ideas and to communicate. Between 6,000 and 5,000 years ago man invented writing. Education thus became an institution. When prehistoric man began to control his environment rather than submit to it, human culture took familiar forms, somewhat recognisable today. In all this, the significance of Africa in the evolution of human culture is stressed.

In *Chapter 3,* the critical importance of ancient Egyptian education in laying the foundation of western European education is highlighted. Ancient Egyptians taught, tutored and inspired Greek thinkers, and set in motion western education and culture. The Egyptian education of about 4,000 B.C. aimed at fostering a proper understanding of religion and the vocational skills that were needed for trade and agriculture, and the mathematical and geometrical skills for surveying and measuring out plots which were flooded annually by the Nile.

The way in which early societies educated their young and how future generations were educated, is a milestone in cultural history. Thus, the education and cultural antecedents are significant, for present values are rooted in those of the past. Inevitably there is all the reason for being made aware of the main avenues of action in ancient times. This demands knowing and understanding the ideals that shaped ancient education, together with the men who laid them down, including the policies and practices that were set to realise them.

The thrust of the study of education in ancient times is on those societies whose influence has become more or less a permanent feature of the western approach to education. This is because the present Kenyan education system emerged out of the western formal system of education. Indeed Kenyan education has since independence largely developed along western lines.

Chapter 4 demonstrates that in the Hindu civilisation of 1300 B.C. to A.D. 450, education was inseparable from the culture of the Indian people: their daily activities, social experiences, rituals and beliefs. What counted as education is thus spelt out in holy texts of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism.

In *Chapter 5,* it is shown that Chinese education of 2,000 years ago sought to preserve the past; their education concerning itself with human relationships, order, duty and morality. The greatest Chinese philosopher was Confucius (557 - 479 B.C.) who exposed a humanistic political and ethical philosophy. Individuals were expected to act virtuously. Education therefore was for the perpetuation of the family and the nation. Formal education was literary, requiring memorised knowledge of the teachings, and copying of Confucius' style in the *Five Classics,* and the *Four Books.* In ancient China, Confucianism overshadowed both Buddhism and Taoism. Chinese education was immensely influenced by Confucianism, emphasising the older ways.

Chapter 6 focuses on Hebraic education. Hebrews had settled down by 3000 B.C. Unlike their neighbours, the Hebrews would hardly exchange their rights for kingly dictatorship; they had a weak political system. Nevertheless, the history of the Hebrews continues to occupy a significant place in that of the entire world. For Hebrews, there was no chance event. Accordingly, Hebraic education was to prepare Hebrews for the life to come and maintain the *status quo.* Jewish education was immensely coloured by

religious faith, an attitude toward their national history, and a sense of a godly appointed mission.

In *Chapter 7,* ancient Greek education is discussed. The Greek people called themselves Hellenes. Greek society was regimented and stratified into three classes: the citizens, the non-citizens, and state-owned slaves. Provision of education or lack of it was according to one's social class. In terms of influence on education, Sparta and Athens are the most important. Greek education was not as religious as that of the Egyptians, the Orientals or even that of the Hebrews.

The Greeks were the first to realise that society can best be enriched by the development of the talents and personalities of the individuals who make up the society. They were also the first to recognise that the preservation of the *status quo* alone was inadequate. Socrates (496 - 399 B.C.), Plato (428 - 348 B.C.) and Aristotle (386 - 322 B.C.) tried to find the solution to the problem of developing a stable society which also fostered the creative talents and freedom of the individuals within it. Consequently, from Greece, the model for the educated citizen was transplanted throughout the Hellenistic world.

Chapter 8 deals with ancient Roman education. The Roman's part was to absorb and spread Hellenistic culture rather than to remodel it entirely into some higher cultural synthesis. The acquisition of Greek learning was to be highly selective; they left out many structural elements and modified others. Thus, while sharing Hellenistic attitudes, they still honoured their tested traditions and tried to build a formal educational system that sought to achieve two objectives: culture and utility. The Romans were determined to produce decently educated men, both cultured and practical.

The Romans consistently sought the application of knowledge rather than the pursuit of truth for its own sake. Their educational approach was thus suggestive of power and organisation. Their most influential educational thinker was Quintilian (A.D. 35-95). Quintilian took up questions of educational methodology, discussing problems of techniques and their application.

The Roman influence in education, is evident in the ideas of a universal empire; the concept of law; and the *Pax Romana* (Roman Peace) which to this day underlies and guides civilisation. The coming of Christianity is also a result of the Roman genius for organisation. In A.D. 313, Christianity was recognised as an imperial religion within the Roman Empire. This witnessed the rise of Christian schools which gave some sort of formal instruction to members of the Roman Catholic Church.

In *Chapter 9,* medieval education is examined. It should be noted that following the arrival of barbaric hordes from northern Europe, for three centuries after A.D. 300, Europe presented a spectacle of ignorance, lawlessness and violence. It was the Moslems who were to awaken medieval Europe, developing universities in Spain (A.D. 1050) which in the end saw medieval universities developing out of cathedral and monastic schools. Universities grew out of a growing need for higher education. Otherwise, the fundamental characteristic of medieval education was the domination of religious conceptions. The training was for the life to come, rather than for this life; it was almost exclusively religious and moral, was based on authority, and included the whole human race.

This alliance of Church and school, while giving an exclusive aim to education, also gave it a spirit of intense seriousness and earnestness. The survivals of this historical alliance are the Church and parish schools, and a disposition of the modern Church to

dispute the right of the state to educate. The supreme importance attached to the scriptures made education literary and instruction dogmatic and arbitrary; exalted words over things; inculcated a test for abstract and formal reasoning; made learning a process of memorizing and stifled the spirit of free inquiry.

Chapter 10 deals with the Renaissance and education. By the 14th and 15th centuries, Europe witnessed a rebirth of knowledge: the *Renaissance.* This revived the ancient Greco-Roman heritage and added to it a new appreciation of humanities, areas of knowledge that refine the human spirit, such as literature and philosophy. The Renaissance was an offshoot of progressive social, political, economic and philosophical changes. It was the means by which the mind of man broke out of its narrow medieval servitude. In the desire to create a larger and fuller life, men turned to the past as they discovered again the rich world of Greece and Rome. The *Renaissance* was to a great extent an age of optimism: the feeling being that neither discovery nor scientific advance lay beyond human achievement. Nevertheless, the Renaissance mind looked both forward and backwards.

The dominant characteristic of Renaissance education is the reaction which exhibits against certain errors in medieval education. Against instruction based mostly on authority, there is a reaction in favour of inquiry. From being almost exclusively ethical and religious, education tends to become secular. Teaching "whose purpose was information" is succeeded by teaching "whose purpose is formation, discipline or training". A discipline that was harsh and cruel is succeeded by a discipline comparatively mild and humane; and manners that were rude and coarse are followed by a finer code of activity. Erasmus (1466 - 1536) epitomised this new progressive pedagogy.

In *Chapter 11,* matters of the relationship between the 16th century religious *Reformation* and *Counter-Reformation* in education are dealt with. In the 16th century Protestants revolted and the Roman Catholic Church reformed. The *Reformation* was a series of revolts from the Catholic Church, which had resisted all attempts at internal reform of its ecclesiastical doctrines and abuses of the 16th century. The Reformation brought change in education.

Decisive changes in human opinions, in political, religious and scientific issues, involved corresponding changes in the purposes and methods of education. In making each human being responsible for his own salvation, Reformation made it necessary for every one to read, and the logical consequence of this was to make instruction universal; and, as schools were multiplied, the number of teachers was increased and their grade of competence raised. The principal period of reformation growth was between 1520 and 1550, after which the Catholic reform movement got underway. *The Counter-Reformation* arose out of the Council of Trent (1543 - 1563) and used inquisitions and education as a reaction against the Reformation Movement, which was leading to separation. Thus, while the Protestants allied themselves to the state, the Catholic Church developed theological seminaries, encouraged teaching congregations, and reorganised parish schools to counter the Protestant onslaught.

In both religious reform movements, with respect to education, the key figures were Martin Luther (1488-1546) and Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556). John Amos Comenius (1592 - 1670) articulated the Renaissance and Reformation educational ideals and practices which saw to the childhood education movement of the 17th century and beyond.

Chapter 12 deals with 17th and 18th centuries' educational developments. In the 17th century, the enormous heritage of the past clashed with an overwhelming body of new ideas. The 17th century was to be gripped by the cult of realism, which resulted in an attempt to make education more meaningful. It witnessed both humanistic realism; an attempt to understand the content of what was taught and social realism; an attempt to adjust education to the life situation. John Locke (1632-1704) ably expounded the cause of the educational idealists of the Ages of Reason and Enlightenment.

In the 18th century, there was a general revolt against absolutism and ecclesiasticism. By the 18th century, authoritarianism was giving way to the spirit of truth and freedom based on reason and inquiry. Despotism and ecclesiasticism were becoming thoroughly intolerable, and the individual saw his development within his reach. The century was a time of optimism, guided by reason, natural law, a cosmopolitan faith in universal progress and a belief that mankind was at long last free from superstitions, prejudices and savagery. The picture of education however, was bleak, although the presence of perceptive individuals, like Rousseau (1712-1778), saved education from redundancy.

In *Chapter 13,* educational developments in both the 19th and 20th centuries are discussed. The closer one approaches the present, the more difficult it becomes to outline historical movements under a simple formula or a simple theme. This is particularly the case in trying to outline the broad intellectual and social contours of the l9th century. If there is any unifying link binding the l9th century to the 18th century, is to be found in 'the doctrine of progress'. At every turn, men were overcoming the world around them at a rate never before imagined or thought possible. The l9th century Europe was an age of conflicting ideologies . In this century, various socio-political dogmas replaced the much eroded and inherited commitments to the Church and the monarchies. The socio-political dogmas developed within the context of the continuing individualism, nationalism, democracy and capitalism.

It was inevitable that education graphically reflected the influence of these trends in society leading to great diversity of educational development in various parts of Europe, which corresponded to the diversity of national conditions resulting from the Napoleonic Wars. Both Jean Heinrich Pestallozi (1746-1827) and Friedrich Wilhelm Froebel (1782 - 1852), in their attempt to put the needs of the child at the forefront of the educative process, laid the foundation of the modern kindergarten and primary education.

The 20th century consolidated the l9th century changes, moulding educational change to provide socially and economically dictated innovations that were influenced by the two World Wars. Nevertheless, two historical trends are noteworthy: the thrust of modernisation and the changing criteria of educational authority.

In general, however, 20th century educational trends are mainly the concerns of the educational philosopher and the sociologist. To the historian of education, two major trends are noteworthy: the progressive and the radical educational movements. Indeed, in the 20th century, alternative systems of education were being sought. Maria Montessori (1870 - 1952), John Dewey (1859-1952), Ivan Illich (1926 to date) and Everett Reimer (1922 to date) variously epitomised the 20th century educational trends.

In *Chapter 14,* it is evident that early Europeans made a mistake in assuming that they brought education to an entirely uneducated African peoples. As it was then, and even today, African indigenous education still plays a very important role in African societies and a number of important features characterised African indigenous education

systems. It served first and foremost a preparatory purpose. Children were brought up to become useful members of the household, village and community and hence the ethnic group. The girls, for example, were brought up as future housewives and mothers, while the boys were brought up as future fathers.

In this respect, education was strictly functional. Education was generally for an immediate induction into society as opposed to a theoretical approach to preparing children for adulthood. For a greater part of their lives, children were engaged in participatory education through play, work, ceremonies, rituals and initiations. Children learnt through being useful to adults, engaging in productive and useful work.

Indigenous education therefore, emphasised economic participation through job orientation and the application of what was learnt to meet the needs of the community. What they learnt was not only functional to the community but was also valuable to the individual. For this purpose, unlike western education, the learner did not require much motivation in order to learn since he knew what he learnt was a preparation for him to play his rightful role in the society. Motivation also became unnecessary since learning was largely practical and enabled the learner to live productively.

Indigenous education enabled its learners to be adaptable. While some clans specialised in specific trades such as the manufacture of tools, they were also encouraged to acquire a variety of skills. The children learnt the skills of farming, hunting, house building, cookery and the principles required for the well-being of the home, clan and ethnic group. They learnt about trees, shrubs, birds, animals, the heavens and their role in the community.

To fulfil this function, therefore, the curriculum of indigenous education had to grow out of the immediate environment which was conditioned by the weather and different features of the landscape like mountains, lakes, plains, animals, birds, insects, plants and the people. The children had to be knowledgeable in the important aspects of the environment and its problems so as to be equipped with appropriate skills for exploiting resources. In this way, they were taught to cope with the environment. Since the environment was harsh, the children were taught to learn to live and work with other members of the family. There was a strong communal cohesion and individualistic tendencies were allowed only to grow within the ambit of the society.

Even though today elements of indigenous education are still in practice, it was supplanted by European educationists who never considered that the formal education they were introducing in schools had any relationship to the largely informal education African children were receiving in their communities. This was of course in line with the processes of colonisation and imperialism. To them education in Africa meant western civilisation and nothing else; take away western civilisation and you have no education. From the very outset, colonial education practice operated in total disregard of indigenous education.

Modern education or schooling is rightly accused of not dealing with the realities of the children's time and environment: with realities of life. Here is a field in which modern education could gain from indigenous education which reminds us of the importance of realism in education. Otherwise the way it has functioned, modern education is not realistic and purposeful, it is theoretical rather than being pragmatic. It is not designed to help the young to cope with the realities of life nor inculcate practical skills which can make children productive while learning. Methods of learning are neither natural nor meaningful and children do not learn what they live in the confines of

the classroom. In comparison, indigenous education for the most part achieved the objectives required by society in the economic, socio-political and cultural contexts of the pre-colonial era. This is graphically demonstrated by the Maasai case study.

An important bearing for curriculum developers and planners is to find a way of adjusting modern education and important aspects of indigenous education. Attempts have to be made of involving the community in discussing the content and quality of education instead of the common practice where parents generally hand over the responsibility of educating their children to the formal school authorities without worrying about what goes on in the school. Some aspects of traditional education which should not be left to fall into oblivion could be folk-tales, folk-songs, folk-dances, children's rhymes and play activities as well as traditional games and dances. Traditional teaching, which embraced an understanding of important institutions like the clan, tribe, chiefdom and others, could be extended today to promote national unity and to form a basis for world understanding and co-operation.

Chapter 15 discusses Islamic education in Africa. Islam plays an essential part in the lives of a large number of the people in Africa. The reality of it is that it should be accommodated in modern development. There are a number of ways of trying to integrate Islamic education with Western education. One common way has been to add subjects from the Western syllabus and, more fundamentally, this has always left the contradictions between the two traditions unresolved. The second common way has been to adapt either Islamic or Western education. This has not worked successfully either. The most effective approach would be a two way adaptation, preferably accompanied by a frank acceptance of differences between the two systems. This would involve not only different curriculum material, but also different relationships as well as a different structure in the schools and universities.

Integration is of a particular importance because Islamic education has suffered especially in Christian-dominated countries whereby Koranic schools have often developed as institutions associated mainly with religious learning and memorization of the Koran while more advanced religious studies are acquired in the few higher centers of learning. Muslim communities in many parts of Africa have never wholly approved of Western education because it has been a Christian education in a Christian environment. They have always been afraid that such education would convert their children to Christianity. In missionary schools, the curriculum was often dominated by scripture teaching. Where Muslim children attended such schools, deliberate efforts were directed at proselytisation. Government orders to exclude religious instruction or forbid the teaching of scripture to Muslim children were normally ignored. Even government schools for Muslim children had a strong Christian atmosphere because most teachers were Christians. This situation led Muslim parents to prevent their children from attending government schools and planted deep-seated suspicions which have continued to the present.

Chapter 16 spells out that an outstanding feature of early western education was its religious inspiration. The primary objective of the early Christian missionaries was to convert the 'heathen' or the 'benighted African' to Christianity via education. Knowledge of the Bible, the ability to sing hymns and recite the catechism as well as the ability to communicate both orally and in writing were considered essential for a good Christian. Government efforts at this stage were generally limited. This situation was inevitable in the circumstances of the time. It has to be remembered that in both England and France,

the education of the masses was still in its infancy and was being conducted largely by philanthropic bodies.

It certainly did not occur to the governments in the metropolis that they were under any particular obligation to provide education to the masses in Africa. A feature of this early education was that it was conditioned by the fact that it was initiated largely by the missionary societies. It tended to be closely related to religious instruction. To decide whether it was an education given for religious ends or for the value of education itself, one concludes that the former was more predominant.

A second feature about the early schools is that they reflected metropolitan curricula and methods of instruction. They were modelled on the Lancasterian monitorial system, the infant school system and the Bell system. It is not particularly difficult to see why the monitorial system appealed to the early educationists in Africa. Besides being thoroughly up-to-date, it was a system which was well-suited to the large groups of children attending schools with few teachers. In terms of curricula, the core work was reading, writing and religious instruction, supplemented by arithmetic, geography and history for more advanced pupils. Above all,was industrial education which reflected the education of the working class in Europe.

In *Chapter 17,* attention is further given to the beginning of western education in tropical Africa. The first instructors were mainly European missionaries. 'Brighter pupils' who emerged from the system were given further training as catechists and teachers. Eventually, education developed into a popular movement in which foreign missionaries occupied only the supervisory positions and in which most of the teaching and evangelistic posts were held by Africans. These educated elite constituted a new leadership that rivalled that of the traditional chiefs.

Again, the development of the colonial administrations, of commercial and mining companies and of European plantations all increased the demand for clerks and skilled craftsmen especially for those who could speak a European language. The mission school therefore emerged as an important venue for advancement through which ambitious young Africans could escape from the narrow discipline of village life into a wider world of well-paid urban employment. Initially, due to African opposition to Christianity and western education, missionary impact was generally limited.

Chapter 18 shows that the inter-war period marked an important turning point in the development of tropical Africa. In education, policies were formulated to facilitate the establishment of schools. Although the period marked a rapid development of education, most schools were of an elementary nature. Despite apparently progressive policy statements from the governments, the growth of African education was generally slow. The 1929 Great Depression and the outbreak of the Second World War had an adverse effect on the development of education. Beside diverting funds from services, the War took away the badly needed educational personnel.

In *Chapter 19* it is demonstrated that in the post-War period, the British and the French steadily supported educational developments especially at secondary and higher levels as a way of preparing their colonies for self-government. By the time independence was achieved, however, it was clear that, in spite of the many efforts made by the colonial administration in education, there was disparity between the stated goals and plans for education and what was actually achieved in the field. There are a number of underlying reasons for this kind of situation.

Western education was introduced in Africa for purposes of serving the colonial states and for the spreading of European civilisations. Its planning had little or no relation at all with the African conditions and life. For the *state*, the function of education was to produce junior civil servants, but for the Christian missionaries, it was to strengthen Church membership. Hence, in the planning of education, Africans were rarely consulted about their needs.

Although some colonial administrations had made important steps in providing educational opportunities at independence, succeeding governments found it difficult to reshape education to become an important process of human and social development. Most of them resorted to expanding the existing colonial educational structure to meet popular demand instead of its characteristics and values.

In *Chapter 20,* it is shown that many African countries have made rapid expansion in their education systems especially at the secondary and tertiary levels since independence in the early sixties. This policy was mainly guided by the need for highly skilled manpower. The stress on education to produce the needed manpower for post independent development was justified considering the nature of the colonial socio-economic and political systems that denied a majority of Africans such kind of opportunities. The emphasis placed on education for manpower, however, resulted in a situation in which the estimated manpower cannot be said to represent the current educational priorities of these countries. Many can no longer be accommodated in the existing labour market. The preoccupation of planners with the manpower model has prevented meaningful efforts to reshape educational systems and promote such important aspects like the universalisation of education which eventually would provide more people with learning skills and play a more productive role in development.

Finally, *Chapter 21* revisits the first decade of independence, where development planning in Africa was strongly influenced by the theory and experience of industrialised countries. In education, the major thrust was on manpower development. The manpower model led to a rapid expansion of secondary and tertiary education. The rapid expansion of education was not matched with the rapid growth of the African economies and hence precipitated a serious school-leaver unemployment crisis.

Many governments responded to the crisis by promoting non-formal education programmes. Voluntary efforts in recent years have also been devoted to the provision of supplementary education and training outside the school system. Considerable sums of money have been spent on these programmes, but in effect, very little real impression has been made on the swelling numbers of young people outside the school system .

Some countries have embarked on plans to restructure their education systems to include the teaching of pre-vocational subjects. Although such programmes are still being implemented, it appears as though the role of formal education will continue to be closely linked with the creation of urban elites. Parents and children are likely to continue to look to urban wage employment for the fortunate few who manage to go through the school system. So long as fewer than ten per cent of the age group in a country complete school and so long as jobs in the modern sector (however scarce these jobs may actually be) pay up to 20 times the country's per capita income, schools are likely to continue being elitist, no matter the type of curriculum diversification undertaken.

Questions

1. How would you define history of education?
2. What contribution, if any, does the study of history of education offer to teacher education?
3. "The inclusion of history of education in teacher education serves little or no purpose to the professional growth of student teachers". Comment critically on this statement.
4. Outline the major educational developments from the prehistoric times to the present.

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2

EARLY MAN AND EDUCATION

Man has existed in some form on this planet for between half and one million years. From the beginning, mankind was concerned with the struggle for survival. Early civilisations emerged when man began to control nature and manipulate the environment to satisfy everyday needs. With the discovery of fire, water use and making of iron tools, man left the prehistoric helpless, hapless and submissive state and started producing food rather than gathering wild fruits. He domesticated animals and plants; initiating the Age of Agriculture. This agricultural revolution changed every aspect of man's life; material things, the socio-political institutions, habits, customs and ideas. This revolution was essentially economic.

Man could now improve and change austere and dire conditions so that the patterns and living relationships became increasingly complex. Social and productive divisions began to crystalise and perpetuate themselves. The ability of symbolic signal and gestural representation set in and enabled him to communicate. Pictographic and ideographic writing then replaced the oral communication of the sacred tradition and laws. Man therefore was within the centre of civilisation.

The heavy demands on the human memory, led to the invention of writing which meant greater preservation of knowledge. The holy tradition and laws, pictographically and ideographically represented, were to be the very first textbook and curriculum which were reinforced within institutions and schools. Education thus became an institution.

Civilisation

Civilisation is a human enterprise or activity with man endeavouring to create an order rising beyond the level of a mere animal. It is an untenable activity; the goal of spiritual advancement and enlightenment eluding civilisations. Spiritual and worldly ideals are always struggling for dominance over the human soul while the human soul usually ignores religious goals until secular mishaps occur. Civilisations originate, grow, fall, experience upheavals and break to pieces. Hence, civilisations change, are dynamic and go through stages of development. They have a circularity and repetition about them.

Civilisation began some five thousand years ago. It arose either out of responses to the physical and social environment or out of a combination of the two. Early civilisations tended to surface in water valleys and hence riverine civilisations. Eastern Africa is considered as the cradle of man and civilisation. This is due to the discovery of hominid skulls at both the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania and by the Lake Turkana in

Kenya. The earliest *Homo sapiens* came from Africa and therefore the origins of all human beings and civilisation are traced to be in Africa. Nevertheless, the fluvial valleys of Middle Eastern Asia also contend to be the birth place of man and civilisation. This points to the great water courses of the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, Indus and the Hwang Ho as the very climax of early civilisations.

In these fluvial valleys, man settled and became organised into families, clans and tribes. Hunting and fishing developed into specialised trades. Indeed, in due course, surplus trading and manufacturing emerged. Some farmers became traders and artisans. Villages on trade routes grew into towns. Cities arose as goods and services shot up. Economic developments witnessed an economic revolution and increasing populations and interstate wars consolidated the cities into large empires. Man improved skills in commerce and communication.

Typical of the riverine civilisations was urban life, class stratification, writing, monumental architecture and sculpture. Because of being in fluvial valleys, their wealth was due to agriculture whose production was increased through irrigation and control of floods. With increased agricultural production and wealth centralised, theocratical governments arose to functionalise agriculture and the emerging economies.

Having witnessed writing systems, works of art, science and theology developed. Eventually, the prevailing circumstances in the riverine civilisations encouraged the birth of culture which diffused to neighbouring areas. Yet, in the face of barbaric disruptions from outside, the riverine civilisations collapsed.

Education and Civilisation

Education and civilisation have three distinctive features which rank man higher than other animals: the powers of distinct speech, coherent thought; and invention of implements or articles. Speech was a necessary outcome of the cooperation between and among individuals to facilitate the labour process. It is most likely that the labour process appeared *first* after the development of bipedalism in humans and then, side by side with it, articulate speech to facilitate cooperation.

Through the improvement of man's powers of communication and inventiveness, culture was developed. Culture, the sum total of way of living, saw the move from less complex levels of living, to highly complex ones whereas before the invention of writing, it is custom and tradition that dominated. Cultural growth was enhanced by accumulations, adaptations, elaborations and diffusions. As culture grew, so did civilisations automatically grow to satisfy man's social and natural conditions.

Writing about it, with the emergence of culture, man's educational ideas were enhanced and applied because education, in the sense of cultural transmission, is a peculiar human activity. Other animals do not share this; they only inherit the physical and psychic endowment from their parents. Through culture, man has created complex dynamic civilisations. More significantly, man thought and put down his ideas on education before educational problems were known. So education has been in existence for as long as man has existed. For education fosters civilisation, promoting the refinement of culture.

Early man's educational aims were geared towards immediate communal security and survival. This education was necessarily utilitarian. He sought to minimise starvation, keep warm and continue living. The 'here-and-now' and 'hand-to-mouth'

approach as well as imitation, governed man's operations. He was fixated to the present and was hardly concerned with the past or the future. Feeling perpetually in danger from forces within the cruel environment, he prepared the young to respect and fear the unpredictable surroundings. This marked the beginnings of believing in a supernatural power, the birth of animism. He resorted to magic to appease the hostile natural forces about the environment.

The purpose of this was to be secure and the young were accordingly conditioned to adhere to these religious customs and traditions. Communal conformity was emphasised for family, clan and tribal stability, survival and security. Accordingly, his education ensured, through approval and compulsion, that the offspring followed the customs and traditions of the community. Uniformity in behaviour and action was insisted upon in preliterate education. In this way, it can be maintained that magic is a precursor of both religion and Science. Indeed, man has come a long way to reach the stars. Myths and folklore in all societies attest to the common origin and destiny of human cultures and traditions.

Civilisations gave rise to religions during their trying moments, when they (civilisations) were disintegrating. Civilisations then were older and higher than religions. Higher religions consequently feature in tertiary civilisations. This assertion regarding the timing of religions is consistent with the cyclical and repetitive view of civilisations which follows from man's unfulfilled and unaccomplished search for the ultimate spiritual reality during times of troubles.

Early man's education, being utilitarian, included the simpler practical and theoretical aspects of the present-day education. The practical was work-oriented, while the theoretical was heavily geared towards the religious and the supernatural phenomena. The training of the young was fixed, simple and direct, with a religious dimension on how to deal with the unseen forces. The educational methods were clearly in response to the existing environmental circumstances. These included imitation, trial and error, trial and success through play and participation in daily activities.

The knowledge, ideas and inventions had to be learned and refined by incoming generations through experimentation apprenticeship, active participation imitationeven in earliest education. With the rise of the priestly class, indoctrinationwas used. All these methods ensured that the young were prepared for communal integrative living.

Boys were trained in hunting, fishing, fighting and instrument-making while girls were trained in caring for the young, preparing food, cloth-making and utensil manufacture. This physical training ensured that basic needs of food, shelter and clothing were met. Rituals, animistic practices, fetishes, totems and taboos formed the spiritual elements of early man's education. These were to see to the appeasement of the supernatural forces; to control the natural forces and the gods. Likewise, cave drawings and paintings had a magical purpose. Through customs and traditions, social awareness was instilled in the young in order to maintain homogenity in interpersonal behaviour.

Early man's education was transmitted by the older family members. Men taught boys male duties while women did the same for girls. This marked the beginning of specialisms. Man started to practise trades and vocations, setting forth the technological revolution. Technological and scientific specialisation gradually increased man's powers over the non-human environment. Tribal chiefs and priests took over the duty of instructing the youth in religious matters. Then the emergence of a priestly class, with a

secret body of knowledge, eventually resulted in some curriculum, a class of teachers, language and literature.

In organisation, early man's education was randomly given and actual schools were not needed. Classes or standards of instruction were unknown except for *rites of passage* at puberty with initiatory ceremonies. During this time, the youths were instructed by the elderly in proper conduct to the living dead, the totems, the elders, the opposite sex and the clan or the tribe.

Questions

1. Account for the earliest civilisations emerging in fluvial valleys.
2. Discuss the salient features of prehistoric education.

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3

EGYPTIAN EDUCATION

Ancient Egypt stretched south to the First Cataract of the Nile and north to the Mediterranean Sea. It was bound on three sides by the desert and the fourth by the sea. Isolated and fortified, it was peaceful for human settlement, allowing for the fostering of an independent culture. Its civilisation was a product of the agricultural activities around the Nile River and those of the emergent political unity and centralised autocratic and theocratic government which sought to maximise the agricultural economy.

About 3100 B.C., the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt were finally united under Pharaoh Menes, formerly King of Upper Egypt. *Pharaoh* meant 'Great House' or 'Royal House'. The unification also marked the end of prehistoric Egypt. After this, historic Egypt is divided into twenty-six dynasties, ending in 525 B.C. when Persia conquered Egypt. Dynastic Egypt falls into three prosperous periods: the Old Kingdom, Dynasties III - VI, 2700 - 2200 B.C.; the Middle Kingdom, Dynasties XI - XII, 2000 - 1800 B.C.; and the New Kingdom or Empire, Dynasties XVIII - XX, 1600 - 1100 B.C.

Herodotus, the Greek father of history, considered the Egyptians as extremely religious. The *Pharaoh* was taken and treated as god on earth, the earthly sun and the godly king. All land belonged to the *Pharaoh.* Sacrifices were therefore as much offered to the *Pharaohs* as to other gods. On the death of the *Pharaohs,* temples were put up to their memory. *Pharaohs* thus ensured that Egyptian gods were worshipped, and there was an intimate link between the religious, social and political practices. In Egypt, religion was even closely linked to art, science and technology. All was inseparable from religion.

The total number of gods was well in excess of two thousand. The most important gods were: the sun-god, *Ra;* the god of the Nile and the judge of the dead, *Osiris;* and the wife of *Osiris, Isis.* Religious life was polytheistic, both animals and men being worshipped. The dead were mummified, for the Egyptians believed in physical life-after-death where death was considered as a kind of sleep and the dead were believed to go to the Field of Reeds, towards the western part of Egypt. This supports the reasons as to why the pyramids and tombs are found on the west bank of the Nile River.

After death, one either lived in luxury and plenty or was thrown into dark rivers to be eaten by crocodiles. The soul or spirit, *Ka,* was expected to return to the body. Buying magic charms and the *Book of the Dead* from the priest assured one of immortality. One was further expected to continue working, as was the case on earth. If one had been wealthy, his servants and their statues, the *ushabti* figures, the 'answerers', food and

personal property would also be included in the tomb. Gradually, statues of servants, rather than servants themselves took their place.

Egyptian society was regimented and stratified. The Upper Class included the royal family, the nobles and the priests. In the Middle Class were the professionals and the scribes. The Low Class included the *fellahins* or serfs, and the slaves. Egyptian priests held a very powerful position politically, socially, economically and educationally. The entire educational system was *both* directly and indirectly controlled by them.

Educational Aims

Egyptian education aimed at perpetuating social stability and the *status quo.* Through the education process, societal classes were slotted into their social, political and economic life-stations. Education thus enhanced a socially hierarchical society. It was practical, technical and professional and sought to produce professionals and work-oriented personnel for propping the social, economic, political and religious structures of Egypt. The Egyptian educational system thus fostered the development of a complex agricultural science, creating irrigation and flood control networks, which made Egypt the granary of the world. Barley, wheat, millet, lentils, broad beans, peas, onions, cabbage, lettuce, grapes, figs and pomgranates were cultivated. Pottery, glass, stone, metalwork, textiles and jewelery were exported while ivory, spices and slaves were imported. Education was utilitarian.

Egyptian education also furthered a religious view of the world. Through education, Egyptians were helped towards achieving their polytheistic religious ideals. Education sought to enhance their religious and moral development and piety to the gods and was considered not only as preparation for life, but also as a vehicle for life-after-death. They therefore developed religious and philosophical studies to retain and strengthen the religious significance of their education.

Elementary and Secondary Education

Elementary education in Egypt arose in response to the basic needs of society. By 1000 B.C., formal education was specifically geared to the respective social classes of Egypt. The rising economic and political demands called for the services of a force of professionally trained clerks, copyists, computers and inspectors. With an agriculturally based economy, there was need for agricultural mechanics. These computed and recorded ideal flooding and irrigation seasons, using the Nilometre to measure the annual Nile flood. The annual flooding of the Nile Valley lasted from July to November. Indeed, by the 12th Dynasty, Egyptians were capable of reclaiming land in the Fayum through flood-control and partial drainage of Lake Moeris.

Agricultural mechanics had also to calculate the size and strength of dykes, ditches, docks and bridges to be constructed for irrigation purposes. Trenches had also to be dug and wells sunk. All these resulted in a reliable irrigation system, which meant extra agricultural products. Since the agricultural economy was based on plantations or large estates, the accompanying share-cropping activities also needed computers and recordkeepers to support them.

Having learnt and developed, through necessity and borrowing, the benefit of written communication beyond the demands of an agricultural economy and government, Egyptian scribes wrote down their achievements in science and arts. Boys

who had a chance of attending elementary schools learnt about these discoveries. The rest of the boys were informally trained by their fathers or masters in skills other than reading, writing and arithmetic. Such education was home-centred (home schools), with parents instructing their children. Through apprenticeships and oral tradition, the masses learnt to fit in their stations in life. They became the future metal workers, potters, weavers, jewellers, brewers and other craftsmen. Piety, morality and reverence of the *Pharaoh* were instructed by the father. Girls only received training in domestic arts, although daughters of the royalty and the nobility might have received some formal training befitting their life positions. Slaves were not offered formal training.

Elementary schools were first established between 3000 and 2000 B.C. They were established to offer training in vocations rather than literacy. Writing in Egypt was originally restricted to the clergy and, in the initial years, only their sons were exposed to reading and writing under priests in temple schools. Out of utilitarian reasons, the nobles, the military, the civil servants and the commercial classes in court, military and departmental schools respectively, had to learn how to read and write. Courses of instruction included reading, writing, arithmetic, story-telling, swimming, dancing, manners, social, political and moral education.

Those few boys, lucky to have access to schools, started doing so at four years. The school day was short; boys left at mid-day. Mastering the symbols and signs of writing peculiar to their respective social classes, professions or vocations formed the bulk of the curriculum at this level. In addition, elementary science, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music were included in the elementary school curriculum. Music, like dancing, was taught for recreational, moral and religious formation. There were prescribed state songs for inculcating the spirit of patriotism and political awareness in the incoming youths.

Egyptian education did not emphasise higher level thinking and problem-solving. Teachers hardly explained their lessons to the students. Elementary education had fixed teaching methods ranging from dictation, memorisation, copying of texts, imitation and repetition to observation, especially in physical education. Evidently, the art of teaching and learning was still poorly developed. School discipline was harsh and ruthless. Laziness was scorned upon and severely punished; 'Thou didn't beat my back and I didn't learn'; 'A young fellow has a back; he hears when we strike it'; so goes the well-known Egyptian story. Good manners, uprightness, physical fitness through swimming, wrestling, archery and cleanliness, were emphasised. To Egyptians, body hygiene was of religious significance and value.

Elementary education lasted up to the time the boys were fourteen years of age when they were considered prepared for the world of work. Secondary education took place in the same premises as elementary education. Surprisingly, it is harder to provide a complete account of secondary education in Egypt than that of elementary level, although writing still featured prominently; hence it paid considerable attention to refining the style and composition of the art of writing. However, there was no great departure from elementary education; secondary education being merely a continuation, improvement and consolidation of what had been started at the previous level in terms of literacy and craftmanship.

Higher and Professional Education

Higher and professional learning took place in temples, temple colleges, or universities. In the reign of Amenhotep IV, better known as Ikhnaton, meaning 'It pleases Aton', and later known as 'that criminal of Akhetaton', in the city of Akhetaton 'the horizon of the Disk' (now Tell-el-Armana on the East bank of the Nile), there was a kind of University, the House of Life. Higher education was meant to instruct both the priests and professionals and therefore fell under the domain of both the priests and professionals.

Both higher and professional education was guardedly, secretly and informally passed on to immediate relatives and colleagues - the social equals. It was hence restricted to those acknowledged to inherit it by virtue of birth. This was strikingly so in priestcraft and medicine, which were in high demand by the Egyptians. The professionals included teachers who used their homes, offices, business premises and temples to impart knowledge of literature, history, science and skills to the Egyptian youths.

Becoming a scribe meant going through demanding instruction in order to master the skills of scriveners. Scriveners were graded, from serving as mere secretaries and book keepers, to being highly placed learned judges, advocates and advisers to the *Pharaohs.* Scribes were held in high regard, for they were expected to have learnt the specialised skill of writing the religious and business transactions of the Egyptians, in addition to that of the history of the deceased. Those skills were probably mastered in special schools for scriveners, temple schools or through apprenticeships under master scribes.

Education and the Course of Civilisation

The Egyptian educational system was remarkably successful in achieving its aims for more than 3000 years. Egyptian educational achievements or contributions to the course of civilisation are considerable. These range from art, literature, architecture, mathematics and medicine to writing. Egyptians not only owed much to the availability of good stone for sculpture but equally important was their resourcefulness.

Modern painting and sculpture borrowed much from Egyptian models and initiatives. Egyptian art was brightly coloured, depicting Egyptian religion, industries, sports and amusements. It was well established by the Old Kingdom. Artists went through apprenticeships, demanding very careful training.

Egyptian literature was varied. It comprised of aphorisms and proverbs to perpetuate the Egyptian culture. A great deal of their literature was didactic, teaching conduct and morals. It had a religious dimension to it for Egyptians were not much interested in epics or narratives. Events were insignificant to them and therefore they concentrated on eternal truths or teachings. A number of features of the Old Testament were thus borrowed from the Egyptians.

Like art and literature, Egyptian architecture was established by the Old Kingdom. Imhotep, the architect to King Zoser of the Third Dynasty, designed the Step Pyramid of Zoser. Zoser is the first *Pharaoh* and famed as a pyramid builder having built the first pyramid at Sakkara. This pyramid brought the evolution of the pyramid a step further from grave, *mastaba* (or castle of eternity), leading to the first actual pyramid built by Snefru, the first *Pharaoh* of the Fourth Dynasty. Egyptians were hence the first to use

mass with stone successfully, copying the massive desert cliffs and mountains. The obelisk and the pyramid are native to Egypt.

Egyptian arithmetical system for multiplication, the 'Egyptian Method', was until recently used in Eastern Europe and Asia. They were handicapped with respect to fractions and notational system, but still carried out complicated surveying, efficiently constructed pyramids and even computed a twelve months' calendar. Romans borrowed the Julian and Gregorian calendars from the Egyptians and, with some refinements, the present twelve months' calendar emerged. The Egyptians had originally employed their pyramidal observatories for astronomy and, with their resourcefulness, managed to compute the rudiments of a calendar. Modern mathematical notation and arithmetical calculation owe a lot to the Egyptian initiatives.

Egyptians were advanced in medicine. The *Book of Surgery* reflects their keenness to observe and experiment in the field of medicine. Aided by their unique climate, they developed and refined skills for mummifying bodies and preserving them for centuries. Their mortuary practices show their advanced know-how in corpse preservation. The Egyptian Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, dating to the Old Kingdom, exemplifies the apex of their medical knowledge. Their Eben Medical Papyrus, going back to the Middle Kingdom, is detailed and informative on both the herbal lore and the function of the heart. They had knowledge of physiology, surgery, blood and sepsis circulation systems dating to the Old Kingdom.

Although it is said that the Sumerians invented writing, recent evidence indicates otherwise. It is at Ishango, the oldest human settlement (dating about 10,000 B.C.) on the shores of Lake Edward, in Zaire, where the first writing and numbers are most likely to have been invented and from where they would have spread to Egypt and the rest of the Middle East. The Egyptians developed sacred carving, hieroglyphics, including a sounds-based syllabic system.

The hieroglyphics was simplified to hieratic or native writing and demotic writing. The Rosetta Stone shows evidence of both the hieroglyphics and demotic in addition to Greek. Egyptian writing used pictographs, ideographs and phonetic representations, all these used together. In hieroglyphics, the pictures were meticulously drawn and had to be memorised and mastered by future scribes. In hieratic or native writing, the pictures were meticulously drawn than in the hieroglyphics and it pervaded business and commercial transactions. In demotic writing, the pictures were even more cursive than in writing and were further simplified for informal writing communication. Egyptians knew the alphabet principle but they did not put it to use.

Writing was done on stones, papyrus and metals. The writing material, including ink from gum and pointed reed pens, by far surpassed any other save for the Mesopotamian clay tablets. Indeed, the Egyptian invented the earliest known writing materials. 'Paper' is an abbreviation of 'papyrus', a cultivable plant in Egypt.

However, cynics of these educational contributions to civilisation maintain that Egyptian achievements of the Old Kingdom were never built upon. Consequently, stagnation and decay rather than progress ensued. Strangely, after the remarkable start, they never developed further than their initial achievements, although their civilisation lasted in excess of thirty centuries before it eventually fell. Nevertheless, for their accomplishments in terms of ideals and aims, theirs was among the few great world

civilisations. They laid the cultural foundation upon which that of the western world was to be built.

Today, the question of the ancient Egyptian civilisation having Black African origins has almost been fully settled. Modern scientific research methods have confirmed the Black African origins of the Egyptian civilisation. Being Africans, it shows that Blacks were among the initiators of world civilisations. The Greeks and the Romans emulated the Africans of the Nile Valley; hence there can be no truth in the assertion that Africans had no history and culture prior to the European intrusion into Africa because the Africans of the Nile Valley manifested immense educational and cultural achievements to the cause of civilisation. Egyptians taught and inspired Greek thinkers such as Pythagoras and Archimedes the Great Greek mathematicians; Herodotus, father of History among the Europeans; and Plato and Aristotle, the Great Greek philosophers and educators, thereby setting forth a firm basis for western education and culture. The problem was that the Egyptian education and culture was intolerant to change and could therefore not accommodate change when it inevitably did come.

Two centuries from the rule of General Harmhab (1352 - 1319 B.C.), the Egyptian Empire began to crumble. Hittites took over Syria, while the Libyan tribes and the sea-raiders from Asia Minor were attacking. Besides, with the royalty surrendering their wealth in order to please the gods, leaving government power in the hands of the priests, Egypt was on the course towards bankruptcy. By 1085 B.C., the priests were in charge of government, and least concerned about the welfare of the masses. For the next three centuries, Egypt was not only weakened, but anarchy reigned. Eventually, they were, in succession, subdued by the Assyrians (700 B.C.), the Persians (525 B.C.), the Greeks (325 B.C.) and then the Romans (30 B.C.).

Educational Features in Early Historic Civilisations

Using the Nile Valley educational phenomenon, a number of conclusions pertaining to education can be drawn with respect to the early historic societies. Education as a form of cultural transmission, imparted informally without schools, was popular up to the time when the complex demands of society exceeded it. Once the informal educational practices had been thus outstripped and wanting, there was no stopping the emergence of educational institutions to meet the demanding needs of the earliest civilisations.

With knowledge explosion, it meant that the family and society were unable to cope with the transmission of the emerging specialisations therefore paving the way for formal training. The supportive principles of divisions of labour that followed the agricultural, technological and urban revolutions of the historic societies saw a class of teachers rising. Initially, teachers imparted historical and religious knowledge to a selected few and supplemented the family and society in teaching what was considered relevant to meeting the needs of evolving communities.

The discovery of writing was an important stimulant towards the establishment of schools. The skills of reading and writing were useful for commercial, administrative and record-keeping purposes. The limited oral tradition based on memory was surely being phased out by the enduring authoritative recorded tradition of the written word. Schools became an overriding necessity, to teach people how to read and write.

Paradoxically, the authoritative recorded tradition produced a conservative, *status quo* orientation that was inimical and intolerant to change.

Except for the Jews, the art of reading and writing was limited to a small number of people in the early historic communities. Those in the higher echelons with a birth right, were at an advantage in receiving formal education. Being literate, an individual could rise to an important position in society. One who could read and write possessed a skill that was scarce and of great value to the community. Indeed, the acquisition of the art of reading and writing was further glorified by being accompanied by religious mysticism that had replaced the informality of preliterate education. However, the education of the masses still took the form of apprenticeships and oral tradition. Again, save for the Jews, girls and women were considered inferior to boys and men. The education of women was therefore neglected.

The approach of teaching and learning was at its infancy. Memorising and repeating word for word what the teacher had taught were rampant. The learner was not encouraged to relate what had been taught to everyday life. No allowance was made for the student to apply what was learnt to problem-solving. Teachers neither explained their lessons, nor saw lack of learning as the teachers' fault. Lack of understanding was due to the laziness of the student and severe school and class discipline was the order of the day. Thus, education was a means of producing submissive, conforming, and yet productive citizens for a cohesive society.

Questions

1. Using Egypt as an example, examine any five characteristics of ancient systems of education.
2. Discuss the geographical, socio-economic and political factors that produced the education system in ancient Egypt.
3. "In ancient Egypt, religion was closely linked to all aspects of life". Consider this statement with respect to the various levels of education in ancient Egypt.
4. Evaluate the contribution of ancient Egyptians to the development of the theory and practice of modem education.

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4

INDIAN EDUCATION

Little is known of the history of the Indian sub-continent up to the 6th century B.C., although Indian cultures are archaeologically granted, from material culture, to have had links with the Near East. There is evidence of a pre-Aryan, Harappa civilisation northwest of India. This was a peaceful civilisation under priest-kings, wielding their power on moral and religious grounds. This civilisation covered an extensive area; on the northeast stretching from the Upper Indus River and extending to Persia.

By the third millennium B.C., civilised systems emerged in the valley of the Indus River. Between 2500 and 1500 B.C., the Indus civilisation arose, having borrowed a leaf from the Euphrates-Tigris civilisation. The Indus civilisation was likewise built on the proper management and harnessing of the resources of the Indus Valley. Cities, agriculture, metal-technology, baked pottery, architecture and writing emerged. Agricultural activities promoted the Indus theocracies where wheat, barley, sesame, peas, melons, cotton and dates were grown. Cattle, sheep and goats were raised and the elephant was domesticated. Although the Indus script is yet to be deciphered, it is evident that it used between three to four hundred characters whose system of writing was both ideographic and phonetic and was read from right to left.

Then in the middle of the second millennium B.C., a catastrophe befell this civilisation following the Aryan (or 'nobles') invasion. The Indus people least resisted the Aryans. Upon the fusion of the Aryan and the surviving customs of the tottering Indus civilisation (water rites, taboos connected with some animals, the binary weight system, *shiva* worship and the sacred fig tree) social and religious networks of India were fashioned. These patterns were self-evident by the first millennium B.C.

In the 6th century B.C., Darius I of Persia managed to send an expedition to India, setting up a short-lived satrapy. In 327 B.C., Alexander the Great of Macedonia won the Battle of Hydaspes. This defeat was also short-lived (although Alexander, to the Indians, *Iscander*, is recognised as a hero). The Maurya Dynasty (322 - 185 B.C.), founded by Chandragupta Maurya, unified northern India. Asoka (273 - 232 B.C.), a grandson of Chandragupta, was converted from Hinduism to Buddhism, thus leaving coercion and instead resorting to tolerance, compassion and helpfulness to rule. Asoka was an ideal, model ruler. Sadly, with the death of Asoka the monarchy succumbed to barbaric invaders and did not survive long.

The intervening period witnessed the Kushan Empire (A.D. 40 - 220) which saw Buddhism becoming polytheistic. The Gupta Empire (320 - 647), especially under Chandragupta II (380 - 415) and Emperor Harsha of Kanauj (606 - 647), saw a

remergence of Asoka's benevolent despotism in addition to trade with the West and China. The main manufactures were textiles, metalwork and pottery with trading activities culminating in the Indian colonies of Burma, Java, Sumatra and Indo-China. At the same time, Hinduism and Buddhism were planted in the Indian colonies.

With the fall of the Gupta Empire, through barbaric invasions, the situation was chaotic and the Rajput princes were weak. In A.D. 1100 when the monotheistic Muslims invaded the Rajput princes, with their elephants, the princes were ill-equipped, unprepared and disunited to take on the mobile horsemen. This was the birth of the Mogul Empire which, under Akbar the Great (1556 - 1605), both Hinduism and Islam were tolerated, and order and justice prevailed.

Religion and Education

The Indus civilisation existed about 1300 B.C. - A.D. 450. During this time, two major world religions arose in India: Hinduism and Buddhism. To the two could also be added Jainism although the number of followers were less numerous than those of either Hinduism or Buddhism. These religions affected education in India, although the effect of Buddhism was to be felt in the Indian colonies of Burma, Java, Sumatra and Indo-China. Understanding the education of the Indian people therefore necessitates having some basic insights into their religious situation.

Hinduism

Hinduism or Brahmanism, is one of the world's largest religion given the number of its followers. It is a native of India, and has three main gods: *Brahma,* Creator, Lord of the Universe; *Vinshu,* Preserver; and *Siva,* Destroyer. The *Upanishads* contains teaching about the gods. It is a complex and eclectic religion, gathering several ideas: those of pre-Aryans and the Aryan ideas. To complicate matters further, it is not only polytheistic in worship and action, but monotheistic in theory. Hinduism is Platonic in that real things are illusions, while the invisible never deteriorate and god is nothing. Salvation amounts to getting out of this sinful materialistic world and being absorbed into god, *Brahma.*

Sanskrit is the language of Hindu learning and their scriptures, and *Vedas is* a body of ancient Hindu religious teachings which include hymns, chants and rituals. The Aryan *Vedas* include the *Rig-Veda,* the *Sama-Veda,* the *Yajur-Veda,* and the *Atharva-Veda.* The *Rig-Veda,* a collection of one thousand and twenty eight hymns show that they sacrificed to their many gods. *Varuna,* the sky-god; *Indra,* the god of rain and war; and *Agni,* the fire-god. The *Rig-Veda* points to the gods being at war against devils, *asuras,* as well as drinking sacred rhubarb juice, *Soma.* The gods also illuminate their worshippers on earth.

The *Rig-Veda* also show that, before the Vedic Age, the non-Aryan inhabitants, the Dravidians, were farmers who used ploughs, raised cattle and horses, and had horse drawn chariots. The warring Aryans were also to turn agricultural. The *Vedas* show that Aryans were stratified. They had castes. The caste system was recorded in the *Laws of Manu,* prescribing the duties of each caste. The castes included, *Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas* and *Sundras.*

The *Brahmans* are the intellectual rulers, teachers - the sacerdotal class, the priests. The *Kshatriyas* are the warlords, the warriors, the administrators. The *Vaisyas* are the

farmers, the herders, the money-handlers, the tradesmen. The *Sundras* are the menial servants, serfs of the first three castes.

The Aryans sought, through the caste system, to separate themselves from the Dravidians. The Aryan masters, priests, warriors and tradesmen dominated the Indian economy. There is no eating, sleeping, marrying outside ones caste, otherwise, one becomes an outcaste, an untouchable, a *Pariah.* Members of each caste have duties, responsibilities and privileges. The caste system is, therefore, central to Hinduism, being both a religious expousal and a social segmentation.

Hinduism revolves around the quest for *Brahma,* the great, all-encompassing, impersonal spirit. Man is shown as possessing a spirit, *Atman,* identical with *Brahma,* amounting to the sameness of god and man. In order to realise this sameness, man ought to meditate and contemplate, failure to which results in rebirth, transmigration. One's behaviour in preceding lives, *Karma,* governed whether one would be reincarnated in the higher or lower classes or any other creature. Belief that history is cyclical, that is, goes in circles, the wheel of rebirth, is central in Hinduism.

In the caste system, one was assured responsibilities, obligations and duties, thus, strengthening the community. Nevertheless, the caste system divided India and retarded economic development, making the country lag behind the West. Equality of opportunity, even in education, is thus non-existent. The caste system is based on one's skin colour and birth; facts that govern one's career prospects. The *Sudras* and women would hardly receive education. Indeed, women were seen as inferior and were not allowed to complain. Their first loyalty was to their fathers, then husbands, and third, their sons.

Buddhism

About 500 B.C., there was re-emergence of civilisation in the Indian peninsula. The use of metal became widespread, coins were used for money; the Aramaic alphabet was adopted; commerce particularly with Babylonia and the Indian cities developed; and the Ganges River irrigation system surfaced. Rice, sugar cane and cotton were grown. Industries and commercial activities grew. Evident also were the amalgamation of the Ganges Valley kingdoms, resulting in the nucleus of an Indian culture with the Ganges Valley civilisation strides spreading to southern India. With the new development, Hinduism was an inadequate source of solace to the rich and independent minded city-dwellers, resulting in new religions in addition to reformation within Hinduism. Buddhism was one of the new rising religions. By 200 B.C., it had spread to other parts of Asia.

Gautama Siddharta (563-483 B.C.), called by his followers as the 'Buddha', the 'Elightened One', was the founder of Buddhism. Buddha, was born in Nepal, northeast India. His father was either a king or a chieftain and he came from the warrior class. Legend has it that his birth was miraculous. It is claimed that when born, he said, "I am the chief of this world, this is my last birth, there is now no existence again".

At twenty-nine, the Buddha became dissatisfied and restless with the aristocratic lifestyle, leaving the family to lead an ascetic life of meditation through *Yoga.* He could not understand why suffering existed. Through a gruesome six years, studying Hinduism and yet failing to be united with *Brahma,* he gave up asceticism. Then, sitting under a sacred fig tree, a bo tree, the pipal, the long-awaited revelation of the right path came.

He is said to have seen the past, the present and the future, and found the cause of suffering to be *desire.*

Thus, for the next forty-five years, starting at the holy-city of Banares, the Buddha preached *the Four Noble Truths:* that the world is full of pain and suffering; that the cause of pain and suffering is desire; that pain and suffering can be stopped by moral and spiritual discipline, *the Eight-Fold Path of Moderation;* which is to be accomplished through meditation. He preached against being governed by one's desires; being controlled by asceticism; exalting moderation; following *The Middle Course Path* towards understanding, enlightenment and the desireless state, *Nirvana.*

The true way, *'The Noble Eight-Fold Path'* consists of Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness and Right Contemplation. Faith culminates into action, meditation and contemplation and that one had to rightly, moderately, ethically and kindly conduct one's life. Having rightly conducted one's life, one would be saved further reincarnations, in *Nirvana.* The Buddha underlined that all were subject to *The Law of Karma* and Reincarnations. Since suffering was inescapable, helping to alleviate suffering, being pitiful and compassionate was a noble duty and an expectation.

Other religions were to be tolerated and no forceful conversion was encouraged. The caste system is seen as part of the entire universal order. It conferred status and responsibilities to various members of society suffering or enjoying as per the reincarnations; the world being an illusion, a *maya to* be suffered. Once suffering was endured and surmounted, only then would one hope to make for *Nirvana,* where desire would be blown up putting an end to further reincarnations, the soul having become nothing.

Buddhists were expected to model their lives after that of the Buddha. In the temples, *pagodas,* there are golden images of the Buddha. To Buddhists, gold is a symbol of immortality. Buddhismtends to be a monastic religion, with Buddhists annually going for renewal in the monasteries, *Uposatha.* Being a modification of Hinduism, it later cleared to exist separately from Hinduism, although it has great influence in China, Korea, Japan, Malaya and Tibet. Interestingly, Buddhism, stressing equality, sought that education should be provided to all, irrespective of one's caste. The idea was to produce compassionate, sympathetic and selfless persons.

Jainism

Jainism is closely linked to Buddhism. It is one of the oldest religions in India, although a minority one. *Jain* means conquerors of evil. They are believed to be twenty such conquerors, the supreme ones being *Pishabha* and *Mahavira.* It is held that the earth is eternal and is revived by different Jains in different epochs. It was founded about 500 B.C., by Vardhamana who was born in northeast India.

Jainism arose out of a reform movement within Hinduism. Its temple worship is similar to Hinduism, it has Hindu gods and Jains believe in *Karma.* It accepts the Hindu religious ideas while reducing the number of rebirths to be suffered to nine. This is on condition that ascetism is accepted, vows pertaining to revering life, telling the truth, not stealing, being chaste and not being sensuous are taken and followed. In addition, the search for enlightenment is to be adhered to. After nine rebirths, a few souls attain and accept a right to *Nirvana.* Salvation is achieved when the soul is isolated from the body, reaches a state of bliss, *Nirvana.* Those who are eligible for *Nirvana* but do not wish to

accept it would come back to earth to help others achieve salvation. Jainism stressed asceticism and monastic life, and eventually took the place of Buddhism in India. Educationally, it enabled one to be sceptical, self-reliant, questioning existing religion and achieving spirituality through *yoga.*

Influence of Indian Religions

Indian religions are 'life-denying', given that to them the world is unreal, testing souls. Death, therefore, is a means of escape from the sufferings of the soul, a passport towards possible enlightenment. Compassion, gentleness, non-violence, gratitude, belief in rebirth and *Karma* and punishment for all evil actions, rather than self-assertion and aggression, characterise Indian life. Otherwise, much of Indian life is conservative, paying less attention to personal success and getting on with less ambition than in the West. Gentleness, resignation, non-violence, *ahimsa* rather than the western 'go-getting,' and mechanistic culture govern Indian life.

The influence of Indian religions on the West, has not really been proved. Plato and his follower, Plotinus, mortified the body and the earth. To Plato, the body was a prison of the soul and the earth was inferior to heaven. This is consistent with Hinduism. Plato's and Plotinus' teachings had a bearing on Saint Paul and Saint Augustine. Stoicism emphasised self-denial and sufferance as indeed Budhism does. The Stoic god of Divine Reason resembles the Indian *Brahma.* Indian numerals and the zero, are reminiscent of the Hindu wish to reach the state of non-being and reached the West via the Arabic conquest.

Indian Philosophy and Education

The family is the basic social and economic unit in Indian culture and respect for the elderly is stressed. The central self-sufficient, farming village is the basic political unit. What therefore affects a person or family has a chain effect on other villagers; emphasis being placed on communal cooperation. Further, Indian rulers were expected to be virtuous, wise, benevolent and fatherly. Examples of such rulers included Asoka, Harsha and Akbar, who were moral, just, merciful, humble, nonviolent, tolerant and courteous. Through education, the family, village and imperial values were to be cemented.

The Indian system of education was stratified, fitting one for specific occupation, being in the main vocational and consistent with the emerging patterns of division of labour. The social caste system reflected division of labour, revealing the segmentation of Indian life. One was therefore taught to respect one's class and position in society and educated to follow the foot-steps of one's parents. Spiritual and emotional development, and not the infusion of a new body of learning, reigned. The *Sudras* and *pariahs* had no opportunities for education. Women were to look after their husbands and bear babies.

The education offered served religious purposes. Education was for a life of meditation, contemplation and mysticism, the penultimate, the ideal so as to reach *Moksha,* Enlightenment or *Nirvana.* Education was for enabling one to fulfil religious obligations and to prepare for the ultimate absorption into the sireless state, *Nirvana.* Education was inseparable and indistinguishable from religious faith. Reason with moral education was given prominence. Punishment for evil and reward for good actions was the inevitable law of *Karma.* The system of education inculcated those religious tenets that stress good character and self-denial, accepting one's caste as a means towards

eventual salvation. Compassion, sympathy, unselfishness and respect to all beings was a sign of the educated person. Pacificism and non-violence was stressed.

The *Brahmans, Kshatriyas* and *Vaisyas* had access to sacred knowledge as recorded in the *Vedas,* books of knowledge; the *Code* or *Ordinance of Manu,* collection of traditions, customs and ethics and the *Angas,* dealing with philosophy and science. The teacher was considered holy and wise, Indian education being traditional and enveloped in sacred works. The *Brahman* teachers who were not paid salaries but received gifts, had the duty to help the learner accept subjection to a noble cause; that of self-denial, volitional abasement and reflection towards spiritual enrichment. The teacher ensured that the right education was offered, where the student had to seek for freedom from material and human desires rather than strive for wealth and position. He was respected, being holy, and was to be an example to others. The *Guru,* the *Brahman* teacher, was an ally and guide to the rest, being the 'destroyer of darkness'. *'Gur'* meaning 'darkness' and 'Ru' standing for 'destruction'.

The *Brahmans,* the *Kshatriyas* and the *Vaisyas* obtained elementary education; studying laws, traditions and customs. These were initially taught by the family and later in the open air villa schools or under sheds. The *Brahmans* served as teachers. Memorisation, imitation and oral or mnemonic teaching prevailed at the elementary stage. Education at this level hardly ventured into mental excitation and intellectual education. At the elementary level, education was geared towards vocations, and was practical together with instruction in religious observances. Bathing, vocational, domestic and military training were learnt through imitation and drilling. Physical education as such was not offered, but archery and wrestling were given in the school curriculum. Religious dancing and military training with horses, elephants and chariots were given where *yoga,* its postures and breathing exercises featured. The classes were small, usually no more than fifteen pupils, and lasted several hours.

Higher education was highly regarded, education being bestowed a high position, a means towards salvation. The *Brahman* college or training colleges, *parishads,* offered higher education among the *Brahmans.* Forest colleges attracted distinguished scholars and emphasised contemplation. Temple colleges drilled religious knowledge while court schools concentrated on secular matters. Buddhist monastries were available both for those seeking to be ascetics and those in search of knowledge *per se.* Through memorisation and imitation, the learners grasped their customs.

Writing was learnt by imitation of the teacher's copy. The process of learning how to write involved writing with a stick on sand; with a stylus on palm leaves; and finally with ink on dry plane leaves. Only five per cent of the population, mainly the *Brahmans* had the privilege of literacy and intellectual education although Buddhists sought education for everyone. The *Brahmans* founded great universities where studies in grammar, phonetics, rhetoric, logic, 'Arabic' notation, algebra, astronomy and medicine were offered. The most notable ones were to be found at Benares, Nadia and Taksasila. About A.D. 425, the Buddhists established Nalanda, one of the greatest universities of the time, famed for the intellectual and moral uprightness of its monk-teachers. Nalanda admitted students across the castes, though it insisted that only the best, mentally and morally competent would secure admission. Sciences, philosophy, and to a lesser extent law, were read at Nalanda.

The Indians not only developed algebra, grammar, rhetoric and medicine, but used balance and scales for weights and measures. They used a binary system, running in series from 1-2-4-8-16-32 for smaller weights, and decimal system for larger weights.

This weight system was unusually unique. Further, the 'foot' and the 'cubit' served as basic measuring instruments. The 'foot' measured 13-13.2 inches while the 'cubit' was 20.3-20.8 inches.

In both elementary and higher education, there was virtually no explanation or reason given for what was to be learnt; being bound by the past, with no room for individual spontaneity, predilections, innovation and initiative. School discipline tended towards corporal punishment and throwing water on the culprit. Therefore, it was rigorous: sleeping on litter of rushes, arising before dawn and greeting the *guru* respectively, touching his feet and being obedient to him when addressing him. Nevertheless, the *guru* was not to be a tyrant; he was to teach the truth.

Questions

1. What is the importance of ancient India for modern education?
2. Explain the place of religion and philosophy to the theory and practice of education in ancient India.
3. Discuss any five educational ideas from ancient India which are relevant to modern education.

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5

CHINESE EDUCATION

China is larger than India, extending into temperate zones in the north and sub-tropical zones in the south. The north and northwest being arid, the regions grow wheat by practising irrigation. The south has rich soil and grows rice. In the north is the Hwang Ho or Yellow River which has been drained, diked and controlled for irrigation purposes. The Yangtse River is the waterway, upon which commercial and industrial centres have sprouted. In the south is the Si River upon which lies Cauton. The Chinese are a heterogenous lot, including Mongolians, Turks and Tibetans among others. All these have been assimilated into the Chinese culture and ruled for more than two thousand years of history by 'Son of Heaven'.

China is the home of very old civilisation. Essentially, Chinese civilisation and culture was largely undisturbed due to isolation. Chinese history is more up-to-date than most others although there are archaeological disagreements regarding earlier historical records between the Paleolithic and Neolithic epochs of 4,000 B.C. which have still to be ferreted out. In the middle of the third millennium B.C., agricultural villages were evident in northern China, growing millet, barley and rice. These settlements were based along the Hwang Ho River and included those of Chengchou and Anyang. This part of Chinese history is therefore still obscure.

Archaeologically confirmed records date from the middle of the second millennium B.C., although this would hardly discard evidence of the existence of prehistoric 'Peking Man', *Sinjanthropus pekinensis.* The first Chinese historical dynasty was the Shang Dynasty, about 1450 B.C. The Shang Dynasty portrays evidence of exploitation of writing, using between two thousand to three thousand syllabic characters. It was an advanced civilisation. Evidence of a well-developed bronze technology, glazed pottery, porcelain, silk material, and horse-drawn chariots have been unearthed. Wheat was domesticated and grown intensively. Evident also is the existence of numerous gods, deities, divinations and human sacrifice of war captives. *Shang Ti* or Tien, 'ruler above' was the greatest deity and royal ancestors were worshipped. Rulers were buried in coffins, entombed with sacrificed slaves, and servants, horses, chariots and charioteers, jade ornaments, weapons, bronze vessels and dogs.

The Emperors of the Shang Dynasty were believed to have been chosen by 'the mandate of Heaven'. This Dynasty initially ruled Shensi Province in the northwest rather than the entire stretch of China. Later, the Dynasty pushed its sphere of influence to the south. In 1050 B.C., a rebellion witnessed the end of the Shang Dynasty, and the

emergence of the Chou Dynasty, which was to rule for over eight centuries. The Chou Dynasty was not native to China but was Turkish. The Turks were soon absorbed, and assimilated into Chinese culture, ruling as puppets of powerful Chinese lords. The eldest sons of nobles were educated in the capital, thus spreading their influence southwards.

In the 5th century B.C., the Turkish honorary puppet monarchs were pretty weak. It was in the light of this state of affairs that Confucius, (551 - 479 B.C.) espoused the not so original Confucian political and social ethics; being elaborated upon by Mencius (372 - 288 B.C.), a Confucius' follower. The two maintained that rulers, being god chosen, were to behave responsibly rather than arbitrarily towards their subjects. Also during the Chou Dynasty, large-scale irrigation was undertaken along the Hwang Ho River. Population and commerce grew. Buffalo-drawn ploughs, metal coins, cast iron and silk were evident.

On the religious front, Tien became equated with Heaven. Accompanying developments in ritual worship were the *Book of Rituals* and the *Book of Changes* for predicting the future. The Shang bronzes were refined and the *Chou Classics* thrived. Others were the *Classics of Poetry,* with its Iyrics on courtship, marriage, agriculture and sacrifice. The *Classics of History* or *Spring and Autumn Annals* chronicled events in the Chinese state of Lu (722-431 B.C.). Significantly, it was during the Chou Dynasty that the need for a literate bureaucracy became pronounced, culminating in a scholarly class, the Chinese philosophers. Given their troubled times, they pondered freely over matters of law, order and values. Questions of the nature of man, the universe and the earth were their other preoccupations.

The closing years of the Chou Dynasty are referred to as the era of 'Contending States' or 'Warring States' (481 - 221 B.C.), being a period of unceasing inter-state wars. The political situation was chaotic. The powerless Chinese lords took refuge under their more powerful counterparts with fourteen states surviving towards the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Intrusion into the south by merchants and military adventurers was hardly resisted, resulting in the unification of China under the ruthless barbaric Chin Dynasty of the northwest, for a short spell (256-207 B.C.). After numerous wars, lasting thirty five years, Shih Huang Ti, of the Chin Dynasty emerged as Emperor of the whole of China (221 - 207 B.C.),

Emperor Shih Huang Ti built an over-weight bureaucracy, centralised China in all spheres, brutally annihilating the autonomous feudal network. Despite a scarcity of able administrators, a bureaucratic, hierarchical system of administration was enforced, with standardised weights and measures. The taxation system was the same throughout the country. Vestiges of the feudal system were ruthlessly destroyed through burning related literature including books on Confucian philosophy. Land from the nobility was annexed and given to the peasants who in turn paid taxes to the state. The legalists and political philosophers who appealed for the supremacy of the state ensured that the annihilation was complete. The Emperor's minister, Li Ssu standardised Chinese writing. The Great Wall was completed at tremendous loss of human lives to protect the northern border of China, sealing off the Chinese civilisation from barbaric Mongolian nomads and keeping in the peasants. Chinese territory and influence was extended south, into Indo-China.

But rebellion ended the repressive Chin Dynasty three years after the death of Shih Huang Ti. The Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) took over the rule of China in 206 B.C. under Liu Pang (206 - 195 B.C.). Liu Pang insisted on obedience and uniformity, enforcing both strictly. The Dynasty retained the centralised apparatus of the Chin Dynasty. The emergent landlords united with the new Emperors to form a self-

perpetuating scholarly rural, 'gentry class', the scholar-bureaucrats. The bureaucracy was highly organised and graded being under three principal dignitaries: the Imperial Chancellor, the Grand Minister of War, and the Grandee Secretary. Sacrifices in honour of Confucius were compulsory in schools and future bureaucrats had standard Confucian texts to put to memory. A standard calligraphy was worked out by a brush pen and paper (A.D.,105). Indeed, the first Chinese dictionaries were made during the reign of the Han Dynasty. Moreover, it was during this reign that the tradition of recording history was started only to be rivalled by Herodotus and Thucydides.

Meanwhile, a socialist Confucian fanatic, Wang Mang, who was supported by a clique of the 'gentry class' saw to the temporary demise (A.D. 9 - 23) of the Han Dynasty even though this Dynasty was to remain in power to A.D. 220 . Nevertheless, in the process, Wang Mang had nationalised land, a bronze currency took the place of gold currency, prices were regulated and state monopolies were increased beyond those of salt and iron. But concerned about public discontent, Wang Mang belatedly set aside such edicts. It was too late then; a revolt ensued and Wang Mang was killed.

For the remainder of the Han Dynasty, order prevailed, and there was an economic boom. China also prospered agriculturally, harnessing the Hwang Ho waters, employing new agricultural techniques, using fertilisers and terracing land. The Chinese brought in new crops: grapes, lemons, chrysanthemum and tea so that villages were self-sufficient and their population doubled. Trade with Indo-China expanded; silk textiles, porcelain, dyes, tiles, and industrial techniques were refined. There were even contacts by sea between China and Rome. Buddhism increased and thrived in China.

In 184 B.C., there was a great revolution led by the Yellow Turbans who were influenced by Taoism. Heavy taxation of the peasants, forced labour and dues had often driven the peasants into selling their children. With the revolt, the control of the government was weakened, leaders came, and went, civil strifes were common place and life was insecure and uncertain. In A.D. 220 the Kingdom was divided into three, more territory being added towards the south. The north was engulfed in wars with the nomadic Hsiung Nu, or Huns. Between A.D. 280 - 317, there was a brief period of unity under the chin Dynasty. Nevertheless, it was during this chaotic post-Han Dynasty era that the Chinese advanced in scientific fields: the watermill and the wheelbarrow were invented at this time. Indeed, the old humanistic body of knowledge was preserved. Taoism and Buddhism were popular, and even Christianity found its way into northern China

It was not until the Tang Dynasty (618 - 906) that China stabilised, revived quickly, the scholar-bureaucrats were won over and revenue collection streamlined. During this time, China was the strongest country in the world, extending its influence to the Himalayas. It was during this Dynasty that the Chinese civil service examination system, the brainchild of the Han Dynasty, became entrenched. This was a difficult but open, three part literary, philosophical or classical-oriented examination. The three parts of this examination had to be passed if the candidate was to be appointed to the Chinese administrative system. Passing the intensive examination required long hours of study, rote learning and memorisation. It was thus prestigious to pass the Chinese civil service examination.

In 906, after revolts, invasions, and civil wars, Chu Chuan-Chung deposed the Tang Dynasty to become Emperor. With Emperor Chu Chuan-Chung, China was further divided, later culminating in the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960 - 1279). The Sung Dynasty defeated the northern Mongol hegemony restoring order, although the Sung reign of the

north was to be short-lived and ineffective. Then under Jenghiz Khan, the Mongols finally conquered China. The Mongol rule lasted from A.D. 1259 - 1368 with the effective, ruthless, son of Jenghiz Khan, Kublai Khan, being the last conqueror of China. It was during Kublai Khan's reign that Marco Polo visited China. The Mongols were racists; they passed and enforced racialist policies depriving the gentry their political positions. They forcibly moved the capital from Chengchou, near Loyang, to Peking, where they lived in style and grandiose.

The Grand Canal, linking the Hwang Ho River with the Yangtse, was constructed at the peasants' expense to meet the Mongol transportation needs to and from Peking. Under the Mongols, life for the peasants was intolerable and with the Mongols' hold tottering, the Chinese peasants revolted against the ruthless exactions of tax collectors and *corvee.* Under an ex-Buddhist monk, Chu, the peasants were organised into a formidable national resistance movement. These were joined by the gentry and forced the Mongols to retreat to the north. This was the beginning of the Ming (Brilliant) Dynasty (A.D. 1368 - 1644).

By the early 17th century, some northern Mongols, Manchurian tribes, Manchus, penetrated northern China once more. This marked the start of the Manchu Dynasty, and the re-emergence of their racialist policies. Through diplomacy and military might they subdued the Chinese up till the end of the 19th century when the barbarians from the west helped the Chinese overthrow the Manchus.

Religion and Philosophy

Chinese philosophy centred around ethics and had a moral perspective. The Golden Mean was to triumph. Human mind was considered as limited, leading the Chinese religious and philosophical thought towards scepticism and toleration of other's ideas. In Chinese art, the human being is portrayed as part of the natural environment, tranquil which is also emphasised in poetry. Time is represented as if it were a pool, continuous and eternal. Ancestors are projected as a preceding epoch of continuity in time, although they are not adored. In the main, Chinese religion is folk. Shang Ti is the supreme god of millions of gods. Good is rewarded by Shang Ti while evil is punished.

One has to find out through soothsayers and diviners what the special protectors (gods) want in order to be pleased or placated. Gods are purported to intervene in all spheres of life and their impending activities could be checked through persuasion, appeasement or placation. One's behaviour on earth, or in a previous existence, governs the person's next life position after rebirth, in the eternal life cycle. Since ancestors, between death and rebirth, sojourn, they have to be sustained by their dutiful families. As a good turn, the ancestors would also help the living. A distinction is not made between the living and the dead, for death does not bring about any substantial change. Death only means that, while the physical body is discarded, the spirit soldiers on. But the spirit still requires to be provided by the living for its sustainance. There is therefore the importance for bearing for continuity.

For those Chinese who have taken to Buddhism, Islam or Christianity, these religions have been integrated so that they are not contradictory to the basic Chinese folk religion: Buddha, Allah or Christ becoming one of the Chinese deities (gods); sources of solace and protection. It was not therefore unusual for people to subscribe to two religions, the Chinese being eclectic. Thus, other religions and gods were tolerated.

Confucianism

Kung Fu-tse, ConfuciusMaster Kung (Latinised Confucius) is the greatest Chinese humanist philosopher, sage and prophet. Confucius was born in Lu, a very remote place in China where at fifty-two he became a Minister of Justice. His father was said to be related to Emperor Huang-Ti though his life is legendary. It is said that he was a son of an aged father of previous nine daughters, the father taking a new wife and dying soon after Confucius was born. At birth, legend has it that large dragons hovered around the cradle. He is said to have been over six feet tall, with huge ears, a flat nose and two buck teeth.

Confucius remarkably learnt old Chinese rites, the knowledge of the time and became a scholar. He then struggled with poverty as a clerk which shaped and made him sympathetic towards the poor and the common man. He expoused teachings on ethics, music, poetry and traditional rituals as necessary for bringing forth gentlemen who were mentally disciplined, for the service of northern Chinese princes. In the preparation of gentlemen, Confucius taught three subjects: history, etiquette and poetry; an ideal gentleman being one who chooses those things that are of priority in life; one who is serious in personal conduct; one who acknowledges superiors; and one who is just in treatment of others.

Confucius did not write much although he edited the *Book of Poetry.* A friend recorded his conversations, *Analects,* a classic, posthumously appealing for social reform. Confucianism, therefore, was a political and social teaching: a social and civic philosophy rather than a religion. It had no deity, theology and pattern of worship. In Confucianism, morality and faith are identical. Halls have been erected in honour of Confucius who is regarded as a god but there are no priests and only a few images. The *Analects* portray Confucius' character as sincere, principled, conscientious, humorous and exemplary. *Analects* deal with social, political and religious topics, reflecting Confucius' concept of man and society. Man was to be ethical, and rulers were expected to be righteous, just and tolerant. Confucius was least concerned about issues of religion and after-life: he was concerned with secular life. People were to practise virtue. Acting virtuously was guided by the Golden Rule being 'What I do not wish others to do to me that also I wish not to do to them'. This is a negatively expressed Christian doctrine. One was to be kind and sure of his conscience being correct.

In Confucianism sons were instructed to care for their parents; observing ancestral cults. *Tien* is seen as some sort of universal guiding spirit. Confucianism insisted that ceremonies regarding funerals and ancestral cults were to be performed correctly. Confucius sought a perfect, ideal government in which rulers were to be worthy examples of being just; establishing an efficient government machinery. Essentially, Confucianism can be regarded as the foundation of communism in China, with a message and an appeal for the poor. To become good one had to help others.

After Confucius death, Mencius followed Confucius' ideas spelling out that people's wellbeing was to be the supreme aim, or justification for the existence of the state which was to be under scholars. For Mencius, a human being was naturally good. It was due to him that Confucianism gained state recognition. Rousseau (1712 - 1778) was later to follow after Mencius. Contrary to Mencius, Hsun Tzu (320 - 235 B.C.) saw a human being as naturally evil, deficient, and that a wise ruler enforced laws thus helping a human being to be good. *Li* needed to be thoroughly defined and studied. Hsun Tzu had

no place for spirits, *Tien,* or Heaven. Hsun Tzu sought a state system that was centralised and authoritarian.

Similar views to those of Hsun Tzu were expressed by the legalist school, denying individual freedom, endevouring to solve existing problems by emphasising the dominant stature of the state. Autocratic Shih Huang Ti applied their ideas, and built up a single state code. They sought a pro-Machiavellian approach based on reward, punishment, a strong obedient army and with the people being kept weak. Still Mo Ti or Motse, of 500 B.C. emphasised that all life must be love-based. Motse accepted the existence of a personal god, ghosts and spirit who intervened in people's lives. Motse appealed for a religiously based morality for the good of the state.

Taoism

One significant Chinese religious philosophy is Taoism. Taoism, 'the Path of Reason' is a religious philosophy of Lao-tsu, 'Old Boy' or 'Old Philosopher', (604 517 B.C.) who was born in the Honan Province. There are numerous legends about Lao-tsu's birth such as, that both Confucius, and Lao-tsu met, although their religious philosophies are not in agreement. Lao-tsu's main work was the *Tao-ten-Ching, 'the Book of the Way and the Virtue that Comes Therefrom',* consisting of eighty-one stanzas, being brief aphorisms on life and its purposes.

Lao-tsu has since been deified. Taoism maintains the unity, changing, transition and return of everything; 'Tao' is the 'Way' of the universe, and is pantheistic being revealed everywhere. It cannot be defined; it is like Spinoza's (A.D.1634 - 1677) 'Substance'. To pursue 'the Way' means not striving, accepting the relativity of everything, contemplating and becoming one with the universe. Taoism stresses three great virtues: humility, frugality and contentment. The three are seen as a means towards achieving the 'Way'.

Taoism maintains that one must not pursue change, interfere with the natural course of things or participate in government or private societies. Consequently, Taoists were keenly interested in alchemy, seeking to find the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life in order to quicken the endless mechanism of 'the Way'. Shih Huang Ti recognised and favoured Taoism as it attests to the Chinese quest for superhuman support, considering the people's sufferance at the hands of the Han local landowners.

Buddhism

Buddhism found its way into China in the first century after Christ, although it was of little significance not having acclimatised to the Chinese conditions, which were heavily Confucian. Confucianism had the capacity to slant new matters of thought into its line of thinking. Nevertheless, the Chinese via Buddhism, emulated the Kushan Indian artistic ideas which were exciting to the Chinese sculptors.

Religion, Philosophy and Education

China therefore is a land of three religions: Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism; the three comprising three ways of life. However, of the three, Confucianism is dominant. Hence education in China is mostly influenced by Confucianism. China was little affected by external forces. Indeed, the Chinese not only refused to be influenced by

other cultures, but also did not wish to influence other cultures. They insisted on uniformity, the past and the tradition regulating all their lives. Ideas, forms and beliefs remained static and sacred. Education did not escape being regulated by tradition; being mechanical, formal, regular, routine and with social consequences.

The Chinese aim of education was to maintain the *status quo,* through cramming the memory with the ideas of the past and suspecting change. Any change was slow and gradual. Taoism being laissez-faire-oriented, contemplative and mystical, least affected Chinese education. Education within Taoism was to be creative and enquiry oriented. Instead, Chinese education had an affinity for instrumental morality espoused in Confucianism which was to underline the crucial place of the state and the family, as institutions, whilst militating against personal interest. Education was for the perpetuation of the family and the nation. Unity of the family, less filial piety and subordinating one to family welfare were stressed for the well-being and good of the state. The practical training agency of the young centred on the family instilling one's duty in a conservative and unchanging state: training of the good submissive citizenry. Formal education was literary, requiring memorised knowledge of the teachings and copying of Confucius' style in the *Five Classics* and the *Four Books.*

The *Five Classics* are the *Shu King (Book of History)* which outlines history prior to Confucius; the *Shi King (Book of Odes) a* poetical outline; the *Yi King, (Book of Changes)* a prophetic and augurical outline; the *Li Ki King (Book of Rights)* a social etiquette outline; and *Hsiao King (Book of Filial Piety).* These were put together and edited by Confucius. The *Four Books* are the *Ta Hsio (Great Learning);* the *Chung Yung (Doctrine of the Mean);* the *Lun Yu (Sayings of Confucius);* and *Meng-tse (Sayings of Mencius*). These were written by followers of Confucius, being conversations with the sage; ethical and political maxims, and doctrines. These constituted the Chinese holy book, knowledge of them being obligatory to a position in the civil service.

There was no national educational system, although attempts were made to diffuse some kind of superficial private elementary and higher instruction. School fees was required amounting to largely boys of the upper classes having access to education. The teaching was undertaken in teachers' houses, patrons' homes, pagodas and temples. School attendance was poor and started on the student's seventh birthday. The school day extended from sunrise to five, with the school sessions running the year round.

The study of Chinese classics formed the body of their formal education; scholarship being a pre-condition for securing a position in the Chinese civil service, thereby subordinating education to formal government examinations. Thus, the system of education was geared towards producing civil servants. Respect for knowledge coupled with correct moral behaviour, rather than being controlled by unreasonable passion, distinguished the educated from the uneducated. The examinations were virtually open to all those youths who were knowledgeable and of good character. Very few candidates managed to pass the sustained examinations and 'leap through the Dragon Gate', with the accompanying promotion to the esteemed civil service.

The Chinese examination system did not break down until 1905 when bribery and family connections wrecked it. The examinations were graded in three parts: at the county level were preliminary examinations, stressing writing and literature for the award of *Hsiu Tsai,* the degree of Bachelor of Arts; in the provinces were the intermediate examinations, demanding knowledge of the *Five Classics* and the *Four Books,* for the award of *Chu-jen,* the degree of Master of Arts; and finally, in the capital

there was the final examination emphasising philosophical and ethical ideals for the award of *Chin-shih,* the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Following after Confucius, the youths were to respect their elders and teachers despite the teachers being from among failures in the civil service. The teaching vocation was held highly and nobly. Teachers were expected to be sincere, mannerful and morally upright so that students were encouraged to emulate the behaviour of their teachers. Individual morality, the Golden Mean and propriety were the basis of Confucian education where intelligence and character were cultivated. The teacher, therefore, was seen as a very important personality, instructing the youths in the morals of Chinese society, social training. Archery, boxing, health exercises and cleanliness were offered, although the emphasis was more on the quest for noble living through the study of Chinese classics than exercises in physical fitness. Whatever was taught, however, was subordinated to moral training.

Chinese teachers employed the Confucian method of instruction which was similar to the Socratic one: 'Learning without thought is labour lost, and thought without learning is perilous. Although a man may be able to recite three thousand odes, if he knows not how to act, of what use is his learning?' Teachers were to respect their students and teach according to the students' needs, abilities and interests: teaching in consideration to individual uniqueness. Life-centred and enquiry-oriented methods, in addition to the teacher fostering humane relationships with students, are Confucian. Regrettably, those who came after Confucius reverted to the rote learning methods of time immemorial: memorisation, imitation and the accompanying firm and harsh discipline. Using tracing paper, students traced and reproduced Chinese characters with a tiny brush.

And to the course of civilisation, Chinese educationally related landmarks were to be broadly witnessed. Chinese Buddhists visited Buddhist shrines and holy places during the reign of Asoka, Chandragupta II and Harsha. But Chinese influence on the West, emphasising communal cooperation rather than the western individualism remained minimal. Voltaire (1694 - 1778), in expounding ideas regarding benevolent despotism, saw the virtuous Chinese ruler as the ideal one. Rousseau and Montesquieu (1689 - 1755) studied Chinese institutions and Western art gained from that of the Chinese: the art of painting and water colours.

The family has remained the basic social and economic unit in China, with the village as a basic political unit. Significantly, the family continued to play a critical role in the education of the youths. There were basically four groups of people in China: scholars or wisemen; farmers; craftsmen; and traders although traditionally, Chinese society consisted of *mandarins,* or officials, and non-officials. Agriculture has been the mainstay or the backbone of the village-life while self-sufficiency is the norm. Once something happens to a member of the village, all village members of the small communities are bound to be equally affected for it is the family and the community that are sources of security rather than insatiable individual competition, effort, striving, incentive and success.

The barbaric, conquering Mongols resulting in the Manchu Dynasty were assimilated into the Chinese culture. China remained isolated and insulated from the West with the Chinese problem remaining that of how far to modify their culture without giving in to that of the adventurous West. Yet, Chinese influence was later to be felt world-wide through their sophisticated wheat-irrigation system; their cultivation of silkworm; and silk-weaving to the extent of Roman ladies wearing Chinese silk

garments; their printing from blocks of wood; their mariner's compass; their gun-powder, their porcelain manufacture; their paper and wall paper; their playing cards; and their umbrella.

Questions

1. Identify and examine five educational practices from ancient China which are relevant to modern education.
2. Discuss the importance of religion and philosophy to the development of education in ancient China.
3. What ancient Chinese philosopher has most impressed you? What do you consider to be his lasting contribution to modern educational theory and practice?

Suggested Readings

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6

HEBRAIC EDUCATION

The land of the Hebrews, (or Habiru - the children of Israel, referred to variously as Palestine, Canaan, 'the promised land', a 'land flowing with milk and honey' or Israel), extended from south of Damascus-based, short-lived but influential, Aramaean state, to the Sinai Desert, the Negev. Paradoxically, it was not a 'land flowing with milk and honey' for its southern area is a hard, rocky land with hardly any rain. Only its coastal plain has an adequate supply of water. Through irrigation, an abundant crop was ensured. The basic means of subsistence among the Hebrews included foreign trade and industry, with agriculture being the backbone of the economy. By 3000 B.C. they had done away with nomadic lifestyle.

Unlike other Near Eastern systems, the Hebrews would hardly exchange their rights for kingly absolutism. Thus, they had a weak political system which gave-in to the massive empires of 1000 B.C. The overriding importance of Palestine lay in its religious history, unequaled worldwide, becoming the 'Holy Land'. The Hebrews broke with the Fertile Crescent polytheisms, keeping their bond to one God, *Yahweh:* 'the Blower' or 'the Feller', 'The Thunderer of the Wilderness'. *Yahweh* was linked to fire, smoke or clouds. Indeed, the name *Yahweh is* unclear, though initially it was the name of a god of fertility thought to be living in fiery volcanoes. *Yahweh* had neither origin or sexuality, nor could He be identified with any object, being, or person. To Hebrews, *Yahweh* was a national, and only, god. The result of keeping to henotheism (or monolatry) was Judaism, which detailed that their actions were divinely sanctioned, with *Yahweh* caring about individual righteousness.

Palestine was fought over by Hebrews for centuries. With the unending conquests and mingling with the original inhabitants of Canaan, the Semites, its population was an admixture, a polyglot. Egyptians conquered it in 1470 B.C., Hittites penetrated it in 1200 B.C. and, in 1100 B.C. Philistines occupied its southern region. Before the eventual conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews, the Canaanites had established a massive civilisation, building important cities like Jebus, (later Jerusalem). The Canaanite civilisation was largely influenced by that of Mesopotamia, copying the monarchy of Babylon, of Hammurabi, and using the Hittite horse, chariot and iron weaponry.

The history of the Hebrews, though legendary, has occupied a significant place in the history of the whole world. The Hebrews were the founders of historical art and of studying history systematically. To them, history was meaningful, there being no chance event to their historians. The hand of the watchful *Yahweh* was seen to be behind every calamity, or pestilence among the Hebrews: being either a lesson or a punishment from

Yahweh. The Hebrews always believed in Divine Providence. Their historical writings were inevitably interwoven with establishing the relationship between man and *Yahweh,* who taught the Hebrews how to live godly lives, lest they be punished for disobeying. Significantly, archaeological and scholarly interpretations of their writings has consistently confirmed biblical record.

Scripturally, their history starts with Abraham, son of Terah, whose seed *Yahweh* undertook not to decimate. Early in 2,000 B.C., Abraham, due to hostility towards the Chaldeo-Babylonian religion (the forerunner to the Abrahamic religion), migrated from Ur of the Chaldees in Mesopotamia into Palestine, founding the worship of *Yahweh.* As to the religious and legal aspects of the period, Hurrian sources of Nuzi in Upper Mesopotamia corroborate. Isaac, a son of Abraham, and Jacob (or Israel), a grandson of Abraham, continued the work started by the patriarch Abraham. A son of Jacob, Joseph, was sold to Egyptians rising to the position of a vizier of the Pharaoh. As a vizier, Joseph in 1600 B.C. pursuaded the other family members to emigrate to Egypt escaping famine in Canaan. Reaching Egypt, all the descendants of Jacob were settled in the Delta region of the Nile; subjected and enslaved by a later *Pharaoh*, Rameses II in approximately 1301-1234 B.C. who did not know Joseph. In the end, they were in bondage to the *Pharaoh* for three hundred years. As slaves, they embarked on a massive construction exercise, till they were unified and delivered by a charismatic missionary priest, Moses, towards the end of 1200 B.C.

Under the semi-legendary Moses, their leader, prophet and law-giver, a successful revolt was staged against the Egyptians and, having languished forty years in the Negev, they returned into Canaan. But it was Joshua, their great warrior and Moses' successor who personally led them into Canaan, crowning the *exodus.* Moses had made a fresh covenant, the Sinaitic promise, with *Yahweh,* an all inclusive one: 'be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation'. Jealous *Yahweh* in turn was to protect the Hebrews. Being ethical, *Yahweh* demanded strict observance of the moral law. Thus, with the sealing of the Mosaic Covenant, the Israelites were firmly bound together to jealous *Yahweh.* Though they slid, given the powerful force of foreign cults and economic rewards, their desire to worship *Yahweh* did not completely give in.

Back in Canaan, the loosely united Israelites were for centuries engaged in wars to subjugate the Amorite Canaanites. These people's culture was neither strong nor independent, although it was still a force that threatened to displace that of the Israelites through social and economic adaptations. Some Israelites even intermarried with the Canaanites and took to worshipping their gods, *baals,* particularly those related to agriculture. The *passover* in the spring and the *Rosh Hashana* in the winter are linked to the farming activities of the year.

The Israelites were for two centuries loosely grouped under their priests and judges, or local religious leaders and military chieftains. It was not until the time of the incessant Philistine wars that the Israelites understood that their interests would be best served by having a king as a rallying point. The Philistines had an edge over the Israelites, having iron weaponry and were better organised than the weakened Israelites. The volatile situation called for a monarchy, powerful leadership and the reorganisation of the political scenario being prerequisites for better defence against the powerful Philistines.

Saul, a warrior and a Benjamite, was in mid - 11th century B.C. chosen and annointed by the prophet judge, Samuel. Saul wielded other chieftains into a strong military-political machinery, winning several encounters with the Philistines. However, with political-religious conflicts with Samuel and suffering from schizophrenia, Saul

committed suicide after he was defeated in a war against the Philistines. The king had secular and religious duties and was expected to secularly lead the Israelites, and be exemplary in adoring *Yahweh.* Thus, when Saul failed in religious matters, Samuel chose and annointed young David of Judah. But it was not until Saul had committed suicide that David was declared king.

David succeeded Saul in 1010 B.C. and reigned for about forty years. David was a shrewd seasoned brigand and had even served the Philistines as a mercenary in the rank of captain. He then captured Jebus (Jerusalem) making it the capital of the Israelite Kingdom. David subdued the Philistines, establishing an extensive kingdom which, though at high cost, (high taxation, and conscription which led to revolts) was to survive David's reign and that of the pampered Solomon, the son of David. With David, the Hebrew Kingdom was at its zenith politically and David's reign is referred to as their Golden Age.

Solomon took to the Near Eastern style of kingship; highhanded and autocratic. The Israelites took seven years to build the Temple of Solomon, so that the king would control their faith. Temples were also built for the gods of Solomon's many wives at Jerusalem. For thirteen years, the Israelites constructed and decorated the king's own palace, using Phoenician craftsmen, Solomon having united with King Hiram of Tyre. Other gigantic constructions were undertaken at Gezer, Megiddo, and Eziongeber. Needing formidable resources and organisation, new districts were carved to easen tax collection. Forced labour was rampant and a professional bureaucracy was introduced, with local independence being lost. Together with their Phoenician allies, trading expeditions sailed to the Red Sea, and mining was done in the south. The northern tribes of Israel were later to end King Solomon’s reign.

Having ended the despotic reign of Solomon, the northern tribes of Israel dissented against the accession of Solomon's son, Rehoboam. Rehoboam refused to comply with the northern tribes' request for setting aside Solomon's despotism. With the northern tribes revolting, the result was two Kingdoms: the North, also referred to as Ephraim (or Israel) and the South, comprising the tribes of Judah and Benjamin with its headquarters at Jerusalem. Jeroboam took the leadership of the Kingdom of Israel with his capital at Samaria. The Kingdom of Israel was urbane and progressive with heavy alien, cosmopolitan and sensual influence. Israel deserted *Yahweh* for *Baal* (bull worship) and was warned by the charismatic, courageous, covenantal, conscience, seer and reformer, Amos; only to be the first to collapse. Amos attacked the uncontrolled social religious order; which was evident in the luxurious living of a few; legal corruption, and the oppression of the rest of the population of Israel.

In 800 B.C., Omri overthrew the rule of Israel. Omri's son, Ahab (869 - 850 B.C.) resisted the Assyrians at the Battle of Quarqar (853 B.C.). The prophet Elijah protested the Phoenician influence following Ahab's wife, Jezebel, bringing Phoenician gods, *Baal* and *Astarte* to Israel. Elijah's protestations to Ahab and Jezebel were even stronger when Jezebel secured the murder of Naboth for refusing to sell the family's inheritance to Ahab: a violation of the popular rights of the Israelites. Later, a revolt under Jehu weakened the position of the monarchs of Israel. Thus, the conquering Assyrians, under Sargon II in 722 B.C., destroyed Samaria and sent the leaders of Israel, later to be referred to as the 'Lost Ten Tribes', to Mesopotamia.

The conservative and pastoral Kingdom of Judah retained some in-considerable autonomy, only falling to the Chaldeans: it was destroyed in 597 B.C. by Nebuchadnezzar. In 586 B.C., when the rulers of Judah proudly allied themselves to the

last vestiges of the *Pharaohs*, the unforgiving Nebuchadnezzar annihilated the Temple, and the religious leaders. Some Jews from the Kingdom of Judah were taken captive to Babylon (587 - 539 B.C.) where, under Isaiah and Ezekiel, the covenantal faith diehards and hardcores, they continued to worship *Yahweh.* Foreign invasion, exile and captivity were explained and interpreted as punitive tools and instruments against waywardness.

It was the Persian leader, Cyrus of Babylon (Cyrus the Great) who, on conquering Babylon and on overthrowing its ruler, Belshazzar, freed the Jews to Jerusalem (539 B.C.) where they set off a cultural and material renaissance, and rebuilt the Temple under Ezra, and Nehemiah. Ezra and Nehemiah therefore played a significant role in bringing about the religious and political reconstruction of post exilic Palestine. The Law, the *Torah,* or Pentateuch, further bound together the Hebrew religion and the Jewish nation. The Jewish government was run by the *Sanhedrin,* a senate of the religious and elderly; a semi-autonomous theocracy.

Palestine was to remain under the Persians until Alexander the Great conquered it. On dying prematurely (323 B.C.) he left it to General Seleucus. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, a descendant of Seleucus, tried to Hellenise unprepared Judaism. He desecrated the Temple and sacrificed a pig on the altar. The Law of the Jews was set aside, *Sabbath* observance was prohibited and no circumcision was allowed. But under the Maccabees, orthodox Jews fought and retained their independence up to the time of the Romans (63 B.C.) and their client kings.

Mattathias, then Judas Maccabeus, 'the Hammer', led the Jewish resistance against Antiochus' 'Hellenisation' policy of the Jews. This abortive resistance movement is referred to as the Maccabean Revolt (166 - 63 B.C.). In A.D. 6, Palestine was turned into a Roman imperial province and, when the Jews rebelled, the Roman Emperor, Titus, captured and destroyed Jerusalem in A.D. 70. This was the climax in the Jewish decline of their fortunes which set forth their dispersion and Diaspora. The Jews had already built a solid national culture and had devised a system of fostering their ideals; perpetually rejecting the dross of paganism with its magic and ideas and instead choosing to do the Will of *Yahweh.*

Religion and Philosophy

Extraordinarily, the Hebrew national and religious heritage has weathered time, with a nucleus always tenaciously keeping their traditions. Judaism ranks as the oldest developed religious outlook, surviving to modern times. The period 1200 - 400 B.C. of Judaism is referred to as the Biblical Era, an epoch underlined by the Old Testament which gives the legal codes, moral proclamations, commentaries, expositions, poetry, myths and history of the Jews. Jesus of Nazareth summed up the Hebrew heritage, ready to be passed on by the militant Christians, with incalculable consequences. This vindicated the efforts and thoughts of preceding Hebrew religious leaders: regarding issues of the purpose of life, the essence of human nature, the problems of human existence and the relationship of man, and *Yahweh.*

To the Hebrews, therefore, credit is paid regarding the statement of adoring one, and only one God; monotheism. However, this is a later Kingdom of Judah development for earlier on, they believed in anthropomorphism where God, living on earth, walked and spoke to people. Indeed, initially, they were polytheistic and becoming monotheistic must thus be considered as an inevitable progression in their religious thinking. Both its close relatives, Christianity and Islam, borrowed this central belief from the Hebrew

traditions. Additionally, from them came beliefs connected with the issue of sin and punishment as spelt out in the Ten Commandments, the Decalogue, and the Bible. Thus, arose the idea that man is accountable to God for one's earthly actions. Man must therefore endeavour to be good.

Hebrews were to be rewarded when they obeyed God's Law and chastised when they disobeyed. This was the essence of the covenant between *Yahweh* and the children of Israel. But then such occurrences were rare, the duty of the Hebrews, and the reward punishment theory were gnawing at the rationale behind the creation of man; not as a slave of *Yahweh,* but in the likeness of *Yahweh,* a child of *Yahweh.* The Old Testament prophets, and thinkers saw Hebrews suffering as a testing for a noble destiny; as a result of sin. From this discipline stance, that of the Messiah, a redeemer of the world emerged, and attested to this search for a convincing answer to the contradictions in Hebrew history.

Jeroboam II of Israel and Manasseh of Judah were wicked yet their reigns were long and prosperous. Their reigns witnessed the rite of Moloch in Topeth Valley, with first borns being sacrificed in difficult times. But the religious-reformist, Josiah of Judah's reign was short-lived, Josiah dying in battle. He annihilated pagan cults from Jerusalem, concentrating the worship of *Yahweh* in the Temple. Apparently, the priestly writers were selective, magnifying events of religious importance and slurring those reigns without a moral lesson and, in the process distorting the history of the Hebrews.

Significantly, the Hebrew-worship of one transcendent God had necessarily to influence human morality, demanding that Hebrews adhere to the moral expectations of *Yahweh.* The one, and transcendent Hebrew God guided, ruled and governed not only the Hebrews, but later the people of the world. The Hebrew God expected obedience to the Law, otherwise punishment followed. Hebrew prophets addressed the people and their rulers to properly and righteously serve their God, lest they be punished. Obedience meant prosperity and happiness, whilst disobedience resulted in pestilence, suffering and unhappiness: a matter of reward, and punishment. Although prescriptive, this has had tremendous religious and psychological effect throughout history.

Initially, *Yahweh* was meant to protect the chosen children of Israel. However, being omnipotent, *Yahweh* could simply deliver other peoples under the control of Israel without fighting them. But God's omnipotence and justice logically merited that other nations fell under the universal order of God; with Israel's special position being as a result of being the only God's people to whom *Yahweh* had been revealed, simultaneously revealing the Law. As God, *Yahweh* was above humans but still akin to humans and feeling for them. *Yahweh* was therefore to be worshipped and loved, with Him also loving.

Closely connected with the Hebrew religion is their literature, which is reflected in the beauty, richness and poetic language of their religious documents. Hebrew writers presented vivid pictures of their world as epitomised in the Old Testament Book of Job, the Psalms, Isaiah, Deuteronomy and Song of Songs. Their literature was basically religious, for their quest was largely one of man's relationship with God. The Hebrews were constantly cautioned by their prophets and seers to obey the Law. This religious-ethical preoccupation meant that the Hebrews hardly made strides towards the theory and practice of politics, arts, science and technology. Solomon's Temple was Phoenician in design and construction; while sculpture was hated and prohibited by the Law.

The Sacred and Education

The physical, the aesthetic, the emotional, the visual and the metaphysical aspects of life were not the concern of Hebrew culture. Jewish life centred on the human relation with *Yahweh;* utmost faith in *Yahweh* and moral righteousness. Schooling was to produce ethical persons with learning aimed at developing religious character: revering, obedient, charitable, thrifty, prudent, truthful, diligent, chaste, moderate and temperate. Hebraic education was to cultivate and instil a sense of being Jewish; of being a Holy People, pure and uncompromising with the 'gentile' cultures. There was no distinction between morality, religion, national consciousness and patriotism. Obedience to the *Will of Yahweh* was to restore and save the Hebrews in the midst of other considered ungodly cultures. Dependence on *Yahweh* was uppermost in Jewish thought other than individual initiative.

Dominating the Hebraic education content of instruction and teaching-learning processes, therefore, was the fulfilment of the Hebrews' religious purpose or faith. Organised Hebraic education was motivated, and conceived in terms of perpetuating the old sacral society, a theocratic state, and its religious, social, and national ideas. The strict observance of the Law: of the old codes, of ritual cleanliness, of tithing, of worshipping on the Sabbath and Judaistic circumcision were elements of Hebrew heritage which were to be enhanced and fostered by their education.

Hebraic education had also to produce young people who would satisfy the economic aspirations of the Jews. Hebraic education was therefore vocational, practical and training-oriented with boys being trained in a craft, a trade or a profession; and girls in housewifery. Education was a preparation for life-duties: trade, occupations, craft, profession, religion and ceremonies. "Whosoever does not teach his son a handicraft, teaches him to be a thief", was a Hebraic saying keenly pursued. Labour was respected, accepted as dignified and considered a necessity in human character development. The greatest scholars among the Jews were also artisans; Jesus of Nazareth was a carpenter, and Saul of Tarsus was a tent-maker.

Initially, in the Biblical Era, there were no formal, organised schools. Domestic home-based instruction in religious and moral traditions conducted by the family counted as education. The patriachal Hebrew family played a crucial role in the education of the young. Boys emulated their fathers, and girls their mothers. The young were also prepared for life by being given relevant skills, informally undergoing regular apprenticeships. Social education, learning their history, dancing and music, were also offered.

The young were to faithfully serve *Yahweh,* through Hebrew parental example and their faith. Thus, at home, religious practice was evident: observing the *Sabbath;* religious festivals like the *Passover,* the *Shabuoth,* and the *Tabernacles;* and private worship. These religious aspects were integral features of family life. Parents were duty-bound to ensure that the young were morally and spiritually righteous. The father taught the Law to the young and carried out the rites of family worship. The emergence of schools was not to replace the Jewish family's educational activities but rather to supplement the family's efforts.

Synagogues, an invention of the Exilic Era, were the focal point of instruction and worship. Synagogues thus became the cornerstone for the transmission and survival of Judaism. In the synagogues, the young were instructed to be righteous; they were to love

Yahweh and their neighbour while forgiving those who wronged them. They were also taught the history of the Hebrews, including the covenantal promises of *Yahweh.*

Some organised venues of instruction did exist by 500 B.C. With the emergence of prophets, who were outside the priestly network, these were expanded in order to provide for the required specialised instruction pertaining to the new religious revivalism. Colleges of the Prophets to enhance the prophetic movement arose. Music, holy poetry, theology, and rituals related to worship were taught. However, institutionalised education among the Jews is largely a feature of the postexilic era (539 B.C. - 70 A.D.).

Significantly, it was the Diaspora that witnessed a developed Hebrew schooling structure, which initially catered for adults and some seven centuries later, extended universal education to the young. Three educational institutions developed: elementary school, secondary school and higher education. The elementary school, *Beth-hasepher,* (or 'House of Books') was positioned in the synagogue. The *Talmud,* or commentaries, homilies, interpretations of the Oral Law, demanded that elementary school be attended by boys who had attained the age of six. The boys remained at the elementary school until they were thirteen.

Elementary instruction or teaching was fundamentally religious. The scribes, *Sopherim* ensured that the boys, through repetition and memorization, were grounded in the *Torah* or 'instruction' in traditions, and interpretations pertaining to liturgy, and social behaviour. Hebrew, Psalms, reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, general knowledge and astronomy was based on scriptures. The young were to be infused with a sense of duty and of fulfilling the expectations of the Law.

Memorisation was encouraged, whilst originality was not fostered. Various types of memory were appealed to: reading for the visual; pronouncing and writing for the motor; hearing for the auditory; and singing for the musical. Mnemonic aids, catchwords, symbols and grouping numerals also reinforced the memory. Using a stylus to follow the copy on a wax tablet, and later on papyrus, or parchment with a pen, the young learnt writing.

The secondary school, the academy (or the *Beth-hamidrash* or 'House of Exposition', or 'House of Midrash'), taught Oral Law, (or 'teaching', *Mishna*). Later, the *Gemera,* (or 'supplement') was also taught. The few boys who remained at school after their fifteenth birthday were therefore intensively tutored in the legal interpretation of the *Torah*, and matters pertaining to Judaistic rituals. Use of theoretical, and hypothetical situations reinforced the tutoring. Other subjects discussed included mathematics and astronomy, both of which saw the birth of the Jewish calendar; languages and Hellenic philosophy. This instruction was free, being a religious duty, and given to those to be ordained.

For higher education, the Rabbins, or 'Masters', teaching scribes taught the *Talmud.* The students translated Hebrew scriptures into Aramaic, or Greek; were instructed in Hellenic philosophy and literature; and made them further their study of the Law. Higher education was centred in Jerusalem. Only boys had access to the basic education of reading, writing and arithmetic. Schooling for girls was a later development. The training of girls was domestic and took place in the home. It consisted of mastering cooking, sewing, spinning, weaving, dyeing, caring for the flock, harvesting, household duties and caring after vineyards. There was also religious and moral training through Temple and synagogue worship and participating in festivals. Some singing and dancing

were also taught to the girls; who were expected to be pious, industrious and thrifty. Motherhood was honoured; women were respected and revered, being helpmates, and not slaves of their mensfolk.

Writing featured in Hebrew education from 700 B.C. This was restricted to scribes and priests who were vested with the responsibility of assembling Hebrew legal codes and history. By the time the priests assumed their Temple duties, either at twenty-five or thirty, they had received, organised, and extended formal instruction. Priests received technical education to carry out administrative duties on the economic front. Books and other records existed. Indeed, the art of writing was highly developed.

For the rest of the people, reading and writing was not necessary; yet Simon ben Shetach, president of the *Sanhedrin* in 75 B.C. tried to institute compulsory elementary schooling in Jerusalem, but did not succeed. It was Joshua ben Gamala, a high priest who, in A.D. 64, saw to compulsory public elementary education; each synagogue, town and province was expected to support a school, otherwise it would be excommunicated. Thus, the Jews became the first people in history to demand obligatory universal formal instruction, enabling their traditions and laws to be conserved through their history.

Thus, possessed and persecuted for eighteen hundred years, the Jews have preserved their exclusive identity, existence, their habits, manners and faith through education. Through indoctrination and instruction, the young have been exposed to Hebrew moral principles, and habits. Discipline was careful, tender, and mild, though firm. Says the *Talmud,* "Children should be punished with one hand, and caressed with two". Rewards, sweetmeats, dainties, praise, reproof, and admonition were preferred to punishment and chastisement.

Teachers were respected and honoured. The *Talmud* declares. The teacher precedes the father; the wise man, the king". Schoolmasters were required to be married, a sign of maturity. The selection of teachers and their training were rigorous. They were expected to be able to correlate the visual, auditory and kinesthetic memories; make extensive use of mnemonic devices, and even deploy principles of interest, socialisation and individual uniqueness in their teaching. They were to carry out their duties mildly, patiently, unselfishly, devotedly and keenly, teaching being a vocation, and God's work.

Scribes, a lay order, were the teachers. They were a feature of the postexilic period who spent years studying the Law and its interpretations before taking on teaching duties. Born of wealthy families, they were able to study leisurely. On successful completion of their study, they joined an association of scribes, intellectual leaders and teachers. They were the elite of the Jewish society and, as teachers, they set forth the Jewish intellectual and moral pattern of life. Scribes also served a multiplicity of roles as lawyers, interpreters and writers.

Education was to be pursued throughout one's life; Rabbi Maimonides said, "study by day and night". Scholarship, respect for ideas and tolerance for knowledge were highly regarded among the Jews. The supremacy of wisdom as mankind's utmost good was guarded by the Jews. A school of less than twenty-five students was entitled to one teacher and of more than twenty-five an additional assistant; and in excess of forty, two teachers.

Also, contributing to the presentation and perpetuation of Hebrew culture was the sophisticated and intellectual interchange of contending groups of Jewish society which was evident in 100 B.C. The *Chasidim,* the 'godly' (the 'pious'), were the diehards and conservatives of Hebrew culture. After the Maccabean epoch, they were represented by

the *Pharisees,* the puritans of the day. Also enhancing the conservative cause were the *Essenes,* ascetic priestly scribes who are widely associated with the Qumran, an Essenic community, and the 'Dead-Sea-Scroll'. The *Apocalyptists,* itinerant priests preached the coming of a Messiah and cemented the reforms advocated by the *Pharisees.*

In opposition to the conservatives were the *Sadducees,* the modernists who favoured Hellenisation. They were high class priest-politicians and collaborators who controlled worship in the Temple. They popularised the Greek gymnasium in Palestine. With the destruction of the Temple, their influence waned.

Questions

1. What was the importance of Judaism for education?
2. Outline and assess the educational ideas and practices of the Hebrews.
3. Evaluate the educational ideas and practices of Jesus of Nazareth.
4. Write a critique of the Hebraic education.

Suggested Readings

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7

Greek Education

Unlike the older civilisations which grew up in fertile river valleys, the Greek civilisation was an offshoot of the not so fertile, rugged and mountainous Greek Peninsula with its numerous steep valleys and an irregular coastline with many islands. These islands were bridge-heads to Asia Minor. It was based around the Aegean Sea. Marseille, Naples, Syracuse and Istanbul were Greek colonies. Greece was sparsely populated apart from a few city-states. It had a temperate climate: short, mild winters and an extended dry summer.

Ancient Greece extended east of the Mediterranean Sea, to southern Italy. The country was divided into numerous sections, which made inter-communication difficult. This resulted in self-sufficiency for different peoples suspicious of each other and hence, it was hard to unite. Only a common ancestry, race, language and religion tended to bind them; otherwise, they were disunited due to individualism on the part of the people, parochial political feelings, tribal origins and petty laws. Except in the face of extreme danger during external invasions, Greek peoples did not cooperate.

The Greeks, or *Hellens*, were an Indo-European people, who reached the Greek Peninsula after 3000 B.C. It was the Romans who called them Greeks but they called themselves Hellens; 'Hellas' being their name for Greece. Significantly, the Greeks settled down in non-political tribal groupings; the main groupings being the Ioanians, Dorians and Aeolians. The chief Ioanian city was Athens, although a number of Asia Minor cities were also Ioanian. Sparta and Corinth were Dorian cities and Thebes, the chief Aeolian city.

Politically, the ruling classes were dominant. Before 509 B.C. very few patriotic aliens were considered for privileges. One had to be born in the ruling class and receive proper education to become a citizen. Only male citizens held office, received court protection, owned land and attended public assemblies or *ecclesia.* Religion, being the business of the ruling classes meant that only citizens would participate in religious activities, festivals and rites. There was thus, a linkage or bond between family, religion, and citizenship. Education and training were preparations for citizenship and religious uprightness. Except for liberal Athens which toward the later period allowed children of aliens to attend Athenian schools, education and training were confined to male youths of proper birth. Greek education was aimed at perpetuating the rule of the dominant classes.

In 3500 B.C., the Greeks were at an advanced Stone Age and by 2800 B.C. they had settled to farming. On the Island of Crete, with early Egyptian contacts, they had

advanced to the Bronze Age with a thriving Minoan culture (2500-1400 B.C.). The other Greeks both adapted to and adopted the Cretan advances in technology to meet their needs. Archaeological evidence points to Mycenae, in the northeastern region of Peloponnesus, as the centre of Greek life during the period between 1200 and 1100 B.C. Evidence also points to Greek contacts with the rest of the people of the Mediterranean region, to the extent of using a syllabic script borrowed from the Cretans. By 700 B.C. they had adopted the Phoenician phonetic alphabet, added letters and represented Greek vowel sounds to it.

Evidence further points to the Homeric epics, *lliad* and *Odyssey* (900 - 800 B.C.) being based on reality or fact; the Trojan War taking place in 1200 B.C. Homer, the great blind poet, although it is not known whether he was then a simple poet or not, therefore, built up the *lliad* and *Odyssey* from the Greek myths, legends, folktales and chronicles. The *lliad* is a heroic poem describing the war between Greece and Troy, its rival, which is supposed to have broken out when the Trojan Prince carried off the beautiful wife of the King of Sparta. The *Odyssey* deals with the long journey of Odysseus, the man of wisdom. Both epics cover the habits and life of Greeks; Homeric heroes, and heroines idealised by the Greeks. They were opposed to despots thereby fostering liberty. For Odysseus, what mattered was sound and practical judgement while for Achilles, the man of action, it was bravery and reverence. The civilisation portrayed by Homer's works, though vigorous, came to an end in 776 B.C., the date of the Olympiad. This also marked the beginning of Greek civilisation. By 600 B.C. these had been recorded and were recited at Athens every four years during the festival in honour of *Athena,* the goddess of wisdom and protector of Athens. Homeric poems thus crucially influenced Greek life; Greek drama being based on characters and episodes emanating in Homer's works. Being widely scattered, their legends and myths served as their bard. Thus, through their visual arts and literature, they perpetuated their legends and myths.

Hesiod (700 B.C.), a shepherd from Boeotia turned schoolmaster, also wrote stories dealing with gods and heroes. Hesiod's *Theogony,* portraying *Zeus* as the supreme chief god is the very earliest undertaking, historically contemplative and organised instructional theology. Together with his *Works and Days,* a famous manual, these were the earliest school texts. He is therefore considered the earliest Greek school teacher.

With Persia invading Ioanians in southwest Asia (492-479 B.C.), the Athenians took sides with their kinsfolk. The ensuring political struggle between Greece and Persia in 400 B.C. culminated in the Persians withdrawing after a number of battles: the Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.), the Battle of Salamis and the Battle of Thermopylae (480 B.C.); with the Greeks defeating the Persians at Plataea (479 B.C.). The Graeco-Persian Wars however, left Greece in ruins as they were fought in Greece.

With the conquests of King Philip II of Macedonia (359 B.C.) who learned a lot from Greeks, as a hostage in Thebes, a new stage had set in. Athens, which was opposed to King Philip II, was together with its allies, defeated. The unheeded warnings about the rising power of Macedonia by Demosthenes in his speeches, *Philippies,* had become true. King Philip II proceeded to form a league of Greek city-states in 338 B.C. aimed at incorporating Greek civilisation, but he was assassinated in 336 B.C. before solidly establishing the league. His twenty-year old son, Alexander the Great, rejuvenated his idea, quickly defeating the rebelling Greeks. With the support of both Greek and Macedonian soldiers, Alexander the Great embarked on the conquest of the Middle East. He particularly set out to revenge against the Persians whom he believed to have been

responsible for his father's death. At the Battles of Isus (333 B.C.), and Arbella (331 B.C.), he defeated the Persians with Darius III running away. He proceeded to conquer Egypt which he easily defeated and built the City of Alexandria. He then surged on to conquer Turkey constructing the City of Iskandaroaun.

In thirteen years, Alexander had conquered almost the entire known world. On dying prematurely (323 B.C.), one of his generals, Antigonus, succeeded him. However, Antigonus' descedants could hardly control the Greek city-states. In 146 B.C., Greece became one of the Roman territories.

Greek gods or deities had an Oriental origin and, like in China, the Greek gods were considered to have power. Their gods were trusted to dwell on Mount Olympus. *Zeus,* was the chief god; *Hera* was the wife of *Zeus; Demeter* was the mother earth; *Athena* was the goddess of wisdom and protector of Athens; *Aphrodite* was the goddess of love and beauty; *Persephone* was the death god; *Apollo* was god of the sun and patron of the earth; *Dionysus* was god of vegetation, spring, love and joy; and *Poseidon* was the ruler of the sea. Other deities included *Ares, Hermes,* and *Artemis.* These gods were anthropomorphic and were thought of in human terms. Even heroes were worshipped. Besides the newer Olympian gods, there were also half-gods; strange figures and nature spirits, vestiges of their older primitive religion where fear and nature worship played a crucial role. The older primitive religion was indeed more materialistic than spiritual. The older nature gods were later to be merged with the newer Olympian deities.

Assistance of the gods was sought through ceremonial rituals and sacrifices. Religious cults developed due to the mystery of religion; centred around *Demeter* and *Persephone.* Temples were to be found in all Greek cities and each city had a god to protect it. In the Delphic Temple, in the city of Delphi near Mount Parnassus, was said to dwell a priestess, *Pythia,* the Oracle of Delphi, who served *Apollo,* the sun god. From the Oracle of Delphi, advice and guidance were sought, the priestess' utterances being interpreted by those priests around her.

The father was charged with teaching religious ceremonies to his family. There were frequent religious festivals which also served as the Greek *Sabbath. Panhellenic,* or all-Greek fairs, took place in connection with their festivals. The festivals offered drama, poetical recitations, music and athletic games. Athletic games featured prominently in the festivals, in honour of *Zeus,* the ruler of the gods at Olympia and *Apollo* at Delphi. Wine was also part of the religious festivals centred at Delphi. In Corinth, City of the Isthamus, there were held the biannual Isthmian Games in honour of *Poseidon,* the sea-god. The most famous were the Olympic Games which were first held in 476 B.C. During this period, all wars were stopped to allow free movement. The games included literary contests, music, dance, athletics and field events. There were also dramatic presentations in honour of *Dionysus,* a god of faithfulness. The leagues of city-states, the pillar of Greek solidarity drew up the rules for all these games. Indeed, their religion, its festivals and the common language was a source of unity among all the Greeks, religion being a patriotic duty.

Greek city-states owned land near their cities which they farmed. Trade and industry in Greek society relied on exchanging agricultural produce. Since their grain production was not enough for the population, the Greeks cultivated olive trees from which they produced olive oil and vineyards from which they made wine. Both the olive oil and the wine were exported throughout the Mediterranean region in order to import the extra grain required to support their population. Besides olive oil and wine, the Greeks exported manufactured goods like pottery, leather and metalware by 500 B.C.

Greek merchant ships exported such goods to their colonies from which they brought raw materials. The colonies meant increased trade and industrial expansion. Significantly, the mother coloniser never claimed suzerainty over her daughter colonies. Being sailors and traders, the Greeks thus broadened their knowledge of other countries adopting and adapting to much of the best they encountered elsewhere.

The *polis,* the city-state, was the centre of Greek political life. The main city-states were the follow-up of the pre-Greek city-kingdoms, which had taken shape by 700 B.C. Each city-state was the focal point of a region and had an *Agora,* a centre of commercial and business activities. There were twenty city-states, the most important three being Attica, with Athens as the central city; Boeatia, with Thebes as the central city; and Laconia, with Sparta as the central city. A city-state was smaller and not as complicated as a modern nation.

The Greek art of government within small city-states, was highly developed. Similar attempts towards developing larger political units (leagues and alliances), however, failed due to rivalries and competition for power. Thus, each city-state was independent and each individual fought for the independence of his *polis.* The Greeks, short of a political union and there being different types of governments in the respective city-states, still held the same view in respect to government; the government consisting of people to meet their needs. Patriotism to one's city-state could be equaled to today's national patriotism. Thus, political writing is indebted to the Greeks as numerous political terms have Greek roots: political tyrants, monarchy, oligarchy and democracy. The significance of these political terms is reflected in the different governments of Corinth, Sparta and Athens.

Corinth was a trading city-state. It was a member of the Peloponnesian League and, although it had a strong navy, it was not keen to deploy it to expand Corinthian influence to other Greek cities. However, Corinthians were prepared to go to war whenever their trade and self-governing trading colonies were threatened. In 400 B.C., when Athens threatened to dislodge Corinthians commercial control across the Isthmus, the result was the Second Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.) with expansionist Athens being defeated.

Corinth was an oligarchy, the Corinthians being under a small group of wealthy merchants. Two oligarchies, separated by an era of despotic, dictatorial and tyrannical rule, dominated Corinthian life. Oligarchies were usually governed by a constitution with a popular assembly. Initially, tyrants ruled for the well-being of the people, although they were not controlled by the peoples' representatives.

The first oligarchy of the noble clan of Bacchiads ruled for a century. Since 750 B.C. the various branches of the Bacchiad clan alternated yearly to rule wealthy Corinth, till their oppressive rule was challenged by other noble clans and citizens. These wanted to have a say in the running of Corinth. In 637 B.C., tyrannical and dictatorial Cypselis overthrew the Bacchiads. Tyrants were to rule Corinth till they were overthrown in 580 B.C. when the second oligarchy consisting of influential merchants was established.

Sparta was the strongest Greek city-state. Spartans were renowned for their demanding discipline. They were action people and encouraged health and physical fitness for both sexes and athletic contests for physical fitness and skill. Home life and art were not fostered but all economic efforts were focussed on perpetuating Spartan militarism.

People were divided into three classes: the elite citizens, the *Spartiates* consisting of soldiers and government officials; the non-citizens, the *perioea* made up of craftsmen,

merchants and peasants; and the state-owned serfs, *helots,* who worked on the land of the Spartan state. The defeated Messemians of southern Peloponnesus were their farmhands. It is estimated that by the time of the formulation of the Spartan Constitution in 850 B.C. by the practical Lycurgus, there were only nine thousand citizens as against two-hundred-and fifty-thousand subject people; the free *perioea* and state serfs, *helots.* Indeed, this disproportion was to increase in later centuries.

Sparta, therefore, was a nation of soldiers built on the old aristocratic lines. Other neighbouring city-states were forced to reckon with the Spartan military might, forging alliances with them. These alliances culminated in 510 B.C. in the Peloponnesian League with Sparta controlling the League's external and defence policies. Fearing rebellion at home due to fear of the numerous subject peoples and the growth of democracy in the surrounding city-states, Sparta used its military standing within the League to prop conservative city-states. Nevertheless, Spartans had a semblance of democracy having an assembly to which all citizens of over thirty years belonged. The assembly elected officials who decided on policy matters. There was also a powerful council of elders of twenty-eight members who submitted proposals to the assembly. The council of elders acted as administrators and judges. A board of five overseers, *ephors,* who were elected annually, oversaw to the administrative concerns of the Spartans. The *ephors* presided over the assembly and also checked or limited the power of the two hereditary Spartan kings. The two Spartan monarchs were members of the council of elders. The monarchs' duty was largely to lead the Spartan military apparatus, besides serving as high priests. They alternated yearly.

Athens led the other Greek city-states in thought, art and government. Athens was the greatest cultural centre of the Greeks. It had a highly developed democratic government and even used its power to propagate democracy in other city states and spread her culture all over the Mediterranean world. Trade, industry and seafaring, with not-so-lucrative farming, were the mainstay of the Athenian economy. Athens imported more than it exported; its greatest import being grain and its exports olive oil, pottery and marbles. It had a monetary system with banks and other financial institutions. It abolished a hereditary monarchy and resorted to an annual, elected office of the king. Up to 600 B.C., it was under an oligarchy when, through constitutional reform, Athenian citizens were vested with considerable control over their government. There were four classes of citizens according to land and property. The two top classes could vote and hold office. The third class could only vote, while the fourth class could neither vote nor hold office.

There were also *metics,* resident aliens, who were mainly craftsmen and artisans and received extra privileges, being indispensable to the Athenian economy. Besides, Athens had working slaves, although they were less than in any other Greek city-states. About 430 B.C., there were forty thousand citizens, ten thousand aliens and one hundred-and-fifty-thousand slaves.

The system of electing only from the two top classes, by the top classes, posed problems from those who were denied both the privilege of voting and being elected. This brought tyranny. Solon (640 - 559 B.C.) was such a tyrant who introduced new laws. The *archons* (or magistrates) were to be elected from the top three classes and the fourth class was allowed to vote. The *archons* administered the Athenian government. There were nine in number, including the king and they were originally elected from the top two classes by the top classes.

The other reforms undertaken by Solon were: the end of enslavement for debt; the introduction of uniform system of weights and measures; having one coinage; the creation of a Council of Four Hundred; *boule* chosen by lot from the top three classes; the establishment of new popular courts, therefore depriving the aristocracy of their control of the courts; and, fostering industry and trade. Solon's reforms were called the Laws of the Year 594 B.C.

Before Solon, two political parties existed in Athens: the *Plains* for the aristocracy and the *Hills* for the peasants. With Solon, a new party, the *Shower* for the industrialists and the merchants emerged. Peisistratus who ruled between 560-527 B.C. was supported by the Hills and the Shower parties. He encouraged trade and commerce and, as patron of the arts, built beautiful houses. He, however, exiled his opponents from the Plains.

In 508 B.C., Cleisthenes was elected head *archon.* This was after a protracted struggle and strife. Cleisthenes made concerted efforts to destroy the class party system abolishing all classes as political groupings; re-divided Athenians into ten tribes, *demes,* or districts regardless of the classes; gave the assembly more powers, allowing twenty-four year olds into the assembly's meetings; and, extended the membership of the Council of Four Hundred to five hundred members, chosen by lot from citizens over twenty years of age. The new Council of Five Hundred was subdivided into ten communities of fifty each. Each tribe elected a general and, in the interest of democracy, any dictatorial suspects would be ostracised by Athenians. The first victim of ostracism was Cleisthenes, who was ostracised for ten years, the Athenians fearing that he could alter the new system he had created.

With the additional constitutional reforms, Athens was to be unrivalled as the model of democratic state in the ancient world. Athenians took tremendous interest in the affairs of their government. Eligible citizens dealt with matters of government on the *Acropolis,* 'the high ground'; the sacred hill of the Athenians with many important buildings, especially the *Parthenon,* the beautiful temple with Doric columns dedicated to the goddess of wisdom and the arts, *Athena.* On the *acropolis* was also an air theatre. Athenian tribes assembled here and each *deme* chose those to represent them in the Council of Five Hundred which met in Athens. It was the duty of this Council to discuss and make important decisions and to select those who were to run the government. There was also a jury to rule on legal matters and to judge criminals.

Through 'semi-compulsory' contributions from duties, fines from the rich, tributes and foreign trade, to the treasury, the Athenian government was able to undertake public works. Notable public works were constructed during the second-half of the 5th century B.C. known as the Athenian Golden Age (or the Periclean Age 461-429 B.C.). The Temple of *Athena* (the Parthenon) was built during this Age. It was the period of the greatest sculptors, artists, historians and scientists. It was an era marked by increased trade, of socio-economic revolutions influencing Greek thought, of higher standards of living, of inventiveness and of freedom from traditions due to a struggle towards democracy. The greatest sculptors and artists included Phidias and Myron. They planned the entrace to the *Acropolis,* the Doric Propylaea, and were also responsible for the Parthenon; the Athenian statue, and the statue of Olympian *Zeus.* In addition to these architectural works, there was built an Ioanic Temple, the Erectheum, famed for its porch of the maiden and a carefully planned sea-front, Piraeus.

The greatest Iyric poet was Pindar; while Aeschylus, Sophocles and Europides were their three greatest tragedians. Aristophanes was their greatest comic poet and playwright. Herodotus, the Father of History, was the first great historian of the Golden

Age whose first book, *History,* partly covered the Persian Wars. Thucydides was the first scientific historian.

Great strides in science and medicine were made during the Golden Age. Significant discoveries made included: the brain as the centre of sensation and that blood moves from the heart to the rest of the body. Hippocrates, the Father of Medicine, disputed the belief that the spirits caused disease, maintaining that disease had a natural cause. He saw the best healer as in a good diet, fresh air and rest. Hippocrates raised the standard of the medical profession and ethics, resulting to the Hippocratic Oath.

During this Age, Athens was very democratic, whereby citizens were even paid for attending assembly meetings. The Assembly's powers were extensive: checking accounts of retiring leaders; having a final vote on government issues; and, initiating and repealing laws. Any citizen could initiate a new law and repeal any law provided it worked. If the proposed law would not work, the citizen faced punishment. This was also the period when Athenian power was at its zenith having defeated the Persians at the Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.) which saw the Athenians building the defensive Delian League of Greek city-states against the Persians. The Athenians transformed the Delian League into their empire, demanding tribute from the others to support their navy, which had been built by Themistocles. As long as they paid this tribute and had some type of democratic government, those city-states under Athens were left to run their affairs.

It was the Peloponnesian Wars (civil wars between Athens and Sparta) which greatly weakened Athenian power. Athens and its Delian controlled League or Confederation threatened the Spartan controlled Peloponnesian League. The First Peloponnesian War lasted between 461 and 445 B.C. The Second Peloponnesian War took place between 431 and 404 B.C.; and the decisive battle was the Battle of Aegospotami (405 B.C.) where Athens was defeated. The history of the Peloponnesian Wars was described by Thucydides who fought in these wars. Athens finally fell in 404 B.C. although, in the 5th century B.C., Athens was still the cultural and intellectual centre of Greece, producing great men like Themistocles and Pericles in government; Phidias and Myron in art; Herodotus, Sophocles and Euripides in tragic drama; and Aristophanes in comedy. Athens also produced eminent philosophers like Socrates (469 - 399 B.C.), Plato (429 - 347 B.C.) and Aristotle (384 - 322 B.C.).

Socrates

With the fall of Athens, there was a deep search for right living. In the midst of the search for right living, Socrates abandoned his career as a sculptor to discuss ethical and social issues. He was opposed to the Sophist explanation of scepticism or relative truth and morality and expoused the issues pertaining to the Old and New Greek education, including those of the relationship between social, and individual interests; and also suggesting solutions. He appealed to Athenians not to be prejudiced and unrealistic, and instead have foresight, be tolerant and exercise moderation. He also tried to find a spiritual explanation for the universe and human conduct. This led to the ambiguous view that virtue is personal knowledge of the good and could be taught rather than training in good habits; that is, virtue is knowledge, knowing the object of one's action. Virtue therefore is teachable, teaching right thoughts and actions. Through questioning of popular beliefs and inquiry, the Socratic Method, he sought the right path towards truth. For him, *Zeus* was not the cause of thunderstorms but the weather was its own cause.

As a teacher, Socrates stressed human conduct and encouraged constructive criticism. Educationally, his contributions include: learning objectively through conversations; learning subjectively through reflecting and classifying one's experience; seeing the moral and universal value of knowledge; and, understanding education in terms of the development of the power of thinking rather than the transmission of knowledge. Through his dialectic method of definition in the midst of criticism consisting of a set of clever questions, an idea was inductively defined, examined and explored for incompleteness, absurdities and contradictions, leading to a fuller and definitive definition. Socrates never gave this definition, but instead encouraged an individual, either to make a definite statement of one's belief and the range of human knowledge, or admit that one's views had been imperfectly constituted. He concentrated on everyday morality and endeavoured to find a new ground for education; in reasoned morality and virtue to take the place of training for State service.

In the end, Socrates, having exalted the position of reason, enhanced the course of human culture, education and moral freedom. Consequently, he was accused of impiety and misleading Athenian youths and in 399 B.C., Athenian leaders, with the backing of many people who believed that the power of the gods was behind the strength of Athens, condemned the undenying Socrates to death. The life and death of Socrates thus symbolise the price of intellectual honesty.

Plato

Plato, like Socrates, sought to draw up a new ethical or moral bond to take the place of the new emergent individualism of the Sophists. He founded a school of philosophy, the Academy, which had a students' - teachers' union, both in common owning a chapel, a library, lecture-rooms and living rooms. Both men and women were admitted. Plato was thus one of the earliest individuals who defended the education of women. They were both taught philosophy, mathematics and science, using the dialectical method of Socrates in order to find the truth of things. Under their masters, or among themselves, the students were therefore engaged in frequent discussions.

Plato undertook to continue Socrates' work. Through his writing, the world has come to know about his teacher, Socrates' multitude of arguments and methods, through the Dialogues of Plato. He wrote about Socrates' death, but was preoccupied with issues of government. In his *Republic,* an aristocratic socialism to secure individual virtue and state justice was suggested. In order to stem off self-seeking, family life was to be destroyed and rulers were not to own private property. To destroy ignorance, rulers were to be those who had received sustained instruction in their respective duties. In the *Republic,* Plato sought an ideal state, a three-tier class society: the iron men (the class of workers, the producers and the artisans), being the majority of the population; the 'silver men' (the soldiers), to defend and protect the city and the merchants to bring wealth to the city; and the 'golden men', the philosophers, being a small group of rulers, able, self-disciplined men having undertaken years of study and training. It was to the 'golden men' (the super-civic men) that the managing of government for the common good could be left.

Since each class was endowed with a characteristic virtue; the 'iron men' with temperance, the 'silver men' with courage and the 'golden men' with wisdom, each group was to receive training befitting the desired educational effects. Plato advocated for a liberal type of education, eliminating and subordinating the practical value of subjects to

their mental disciplines; the common people without ability to govern receiving no education, but to be conditioned to have self-control and submit to and support their rulers. The soldiers, though practical but without philosophical understanding, were to receive military training to serve as 'helpers' in the government arms while the true philosophers, having had many years of dialectics, would be the 'guardians' of the state.

Plato sought a combination of the ideals of both the Spartan and Athenian training of youths. Sparta offered the conservative, law and tradition-habit-based elements necessary for the endurance of the state, while Athens gave the needed civic life tendencies of political and intellectual freedom or openness for social improvement. Education to Plato, being a process of interaction between the individual person and society, meant the society training the individual to realise the educational goals of the state apparatus. His scheme of education therefore catered for both the individual needs as well as those of the state. Music and literature were to be offered for cultivating the child's imagination, sense of beauty and goodness. Gymnastics were to be offered for the child's physical fitness. At adolescence, the sciences, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy were to be offered for provoking reflection and sort out contradictions. Finally, dialectic training, the study of philosophy or the search for the whole truth, was to be given to future 'guardians' of the state as preparation for facing their challenging duty of ruling.

Platonic training would therefore necessitate that up to the age of eighteen years, Athenian boys would be given cadet-military training similar to the Spartan one. They would then be capable of entering industrial training while the very able ones would then enter higher education and the others follow up military training. Both activities would last for a period of ten years. This would then be followed with further dialectic education for the very bright ones whilst the others would move to minor offices. For the very intelligent ones, after dialectic training, they would be posted to major offices to guide and control the state. These would constitute an intellectual oligarchy where their services would be required until the age of fifty.

For Plato, an intellectual oligarchy would be an ideal state; the individual would be subordinated to society, human will would not be a factor in society and there would be no means of evolution from existing conditions, thereby banning change and progress effectively. In short, education was to be limited to the ruling class; both sexes (of the ruling class) being offered education; higher education was to be offered to the very able; scientific and philosophical training was to be postponed to mature age; and, the course of education was to be carefully and meaningfully organised.

Aristotle

Aristotle was from Stagira, a Greek colonial town, east of modern Salonika. Though not an Athenian, he studied, taught and wrote in Athens. Aristotle's father was a physician and sought the best education for his son. Therefore, for twenty years, Aristotle studied and taught at Plato's Academy. He was a disciple of Plato and became the tutor to Alexander the Great, son of King Philip II of Macedonia. Later, he returned to Athens in 335 B.C. and founded a school, the Lyceum. It is then that, together with his students, he wrote his great encyclopaedic works covering all areas of knowledge, streamlining and presenting the works of other Greek intellectuals on politics, rhetoric, natural sciences, ethics, logic and poetry. His greatest work was *Politics,* a critical study of Greek constitutions in which he was a practicalist. In *Ethics,* he presented a picture of how an

individual should discipline himself in society. In both *Politics* and *Ethics,* he outlined an ideal state system of education to go with it; a system of education that would perfect members of society.

With his students, scientific experiments were carried out and their results recorded. He revived and advanced scientific research, particularly biology as well as history. Aristotelian ideas were to greatly influence *medieval* Christian thinkers, through scholasticism, a feature of the I1th and the 12th centuries; which consisted of citing all known authorities on both sides of a given question, drawing an orthodox conclusion and then, by a variety of distinctions and devices, showing how each authority may be reconciled. His work thus, was to be the basis of all learning in the Middle Ages.

Aristotle, like Plato, viewed education in relation to the state; education being supremely part of the art of politics. The difference was that Aristotle saw it as an individual process; a process of self-actualisation rather than of mere social engineering. For Aristotle, the purpose of education was to produce virtuous men; men who were in harmony in body (nature), mind (habit or soul) and spirit (reason). To produce virtuous men required progressive (bodily) training, character (impulsive) training and intellectual (rational) training. Between seven and fourteen years of age, boys would receive formal primary education in the *patestra* (music school) which would include gymnastics and drills. From fifteen to eighteen years of age, they could receive secondary education, which would be a general broad education covering music, literature, art, astronomy and mathematics. The purpose of this education was to enhance character and intellectual training.

Education in Greece

Not much is known, or is available, about the state of education during the Homeric times. However, from *Hesiodic Legends,* it emerges that the education offered involved tribal traditions, customs and moral instruction of father-son orientation. In terms of the influence of education, Sparta and Athens are the most important. Their education was not as religious as that of the Egyptians, Indians Chinese and Hebrews. Theirs was more civil-oriented where priests had no recognised standing and special link with learning, like in other ancient civilisations. The laity, therefore, controlled education, the Homeric poems being the textbook in education.

Greek education sought to produce perfect citizens, being an education that emphasised civic manhood. Individual excellence, worth and public usefulness were its aims and therefore included gymnastics for body strength and beauty; and, music for the enrichment of the soul. Music included poetry, necessitating the division of intellectual education into music proper or the arts for purging the soul; and, the letters or sciences for instructing the soul. Greek education therefore was to consist of gymnastics, purgation and instruction thereby preparing one for participation in religious obligations, political matters and the defence of the state.

Greek education fell into two eras. The Old Era, was discipline-theological oriented, and represented by Spartan education. This included gymnastics, music and letters. The New Era added mathematics, geometry, astronomy and philosophy. Mathematics was regarded as an introduction to philosophy. These were taught in schools, the 'parents' of universities. Pythagoras (580 - 560 B.C.) was the earliest Greek school founder. The New Education of the Periclean Age (461 - 429 B.C.) was philosophically-peace-war-oriented, and was to be represented by Athenian education. It was scientific rather than

theological and it brought individual freedom, free reflection and democracy to the fore. It saw a shift from convention, particular subjectivity to science, a universal activity. Although the Athenian state supervised education, every citizen was free to arrange for his son's education. However, if a father failed to educate his son, the latter was legally freed from helping his ageing father.

Spartan Education

Dwelling in the middle of a hostile conquered people, the aim of Spartan education was to produce soldiers and warriors. Sparta, therefore, built up a powerful military machine to fight internally and externally. Obedience and loyalty to Sparta were the very cornerstone of their survival mechanism; and Sparta demanded one's whole activity. Being modest, revering, cunning, enduring, hardy, strong, social and controlling oneself, were the virtues of Spartan education. Reading and writing were not prominent although they were taught. Singing Homer's and Hesiod's old poetry constituted Spartan literary education. The Laws of Lycurgus (850 B.C.) had also to be memorised. Lycurgus had consolidated the Spartan system of education in his Constitution; the government thus controlling education to ensure that it served their social military interests. Genealogies of men, heroes, the establishment of cities and archeology were offered. In order to produce god-fearing, moral and military socialists, religion was part of everything. The physical and moral subjects dominated their education.

Military efficiency was emphasised and education was aimed at maintaining the *status quo.* Rigidity, severity and strictness charactersised the education of Spartan masters who concentrated on the art of war. Spartan armies were highly trained and swore to either win or die; they were not to retreat in war. The Battle of Thermopylae (480 B.C.) exemplifies this dictum. With the Persian invasion of Greece, the Spartans despatched some three hundred soldiers, under their king, Leonidas, to face a Persian army of some thirty thousand men. The small band of Spartans held the huge Persian army for a day, until all Spartan soldiers were killed, except one Pheidippides, who struggled back to Sparta. He was to live the rest of his life in misery, having a guilty conscience.

As Aristotle put it “Sparta prepared and trained for war, and in peace rusted like a sword in its scabbard”. Spartan education thus represented external military socialism, with the family being sacrificed for state defence. Without undergoing proper statutory training, one was excluded from being a member of the citizens' clubs or being alloted state land. At birth, infants were inspected by the state. They were exposed to ice and snow in the mountains so that misfits would die and sometimes misfits were given over to *helots.* At home, mothers and slaves were responsible for family education. This consisted of games, stories, singing, strictness on correct behaviour and obedience varying the unsystematic activities of family education.

When the boys reached the age of eight, they were taken from their mothers and put into 'packs' and 'companies', and started to live in public barracks. The most courageous and resourceful boy led the 'pack' acting as a non-commissioned officer. An *Eiren* or *Iren,* a young man of between twenty and thirty years of age, trained the 'pack' in stealing and judgement. The *Paedonomus,* a state inspector, who was above an *Eiren,* oversaw to the *Eirens.*

In the barracks, they ate small course rations for dietic discipline, had scant clothing, a hard bed, bathed in cold water and were beaten by elders. Every elder was a teacher and every Spartan boy had a tutor. There were regular military drills, swimming, hunting, running, leaping, boxing, wrestling, military music, ball playing and dancing. Severe discipline was stressed, with graded gymnastic courses while intellectual education consisted of some informal training in demeanor and laconic speech; learning to say what one wanted in very few words. Life in the barracks therefore emphasised a hardened existence.

Both Spartan boys and girls were offered instruction in gymnastics. The purpose of offering Spartan girls and women gymnastic training (consisting of singing, dancing, jumping, running, ball playing, javelin-throwing and wrestling), was to ensure that they were strong, and thus able to produce strong, brave and resolute men and also to produce mothers of warriors. However, the girls received their training at home, not in 'packs'. Women education was equivalent to that of Spartan men except in the area of preparation for public affairs.

At eighteen, Spartan boys became *ephebi* (cadet-citizens) and were relieved of menial tasks in order to begin professional studies in warfare. They were frequently whipped, so as to instil courage and endurance in them and were posted in the country on secret service; service in murder game whereby they discovered clever slaves and eliminated them. Just before entering manhood, they were flogged at the sanctuary or alter of *Artemis Orthia.* There was even a prize for the lad who could withstand the greatest number of beatings without flinching or crying.

At twenty years of age, Spartan young men were classified as *Eirens,* and were eligible for election into citizens' clubs; but it took them ten years to be fully fledged citizens of Sparta. Then they were forced to marry and continued to live communally in the public barracks. However, they were to continue with warfare drills in order to be in a state of preparedness until they were unable to do so by old age.

The multiplier effect of insisting on military efficiency and the entire submergence of the individual were that Spartans hardly produced any art, science, literature and philosophy, nor did they produce any great thinkers in education. Spartan contribution to civilisation must be sought in the practical world of militarism, where their military training produced some heroic soldiers.

Athenian Education

The origin of Athenian education is not clear, although tradition ascribes the earliest legislation on education to Solon (594 B.C.) who directed that every boy was to learn swimming and reading. Like the disciplined, obedient Spartans, the Athenians considered their State supreme. Nevertheless, they still felt that individual actualisation or fulfilment was equally good for the State. Therefore, Athens had a lot of freedom for the individual. Athenian education was literary so that Athenians were creative, imaginative and artistic.

Their education was general, broad, liberal and elitist. The training of the body was linked to the training of the mind so as to achieve physical and intellectual excellence. The educated was enabled to perceive the vital connections between the various

branches of knowledge as knowledge was not viewed in compartmentalised forms. Athenians shunned menial work and looked down upon the use of hands.

Athenian education sought to foster science and humanities; but Athenians were however weak on scientific application, despite the fact that many of the theories that have shaped scientific progress were developed by them. In the field of mathematics, however, they both theorised and put mathematical ideas to daily use.

Athenian teachers were self-employed, living on fees paid by their private students. The school-masters' position in the Athenian society was low, except for those who taught in higher educational institutions. It was even abusive to call someone a teacher; 'Either he is dead or he has become a schoolmaster,' so the saying went.

At birth, the infant was examined and the father decided whether it was to be exposed or spared. The baby then underwent recognition and acceptance in tribal ceremonies. Both boys and girls grew together in their homes till the age of seven, when they were taken care of by their nurses and mothers; who insisted upon good behaviour and self-control. Girls received whatever little education there was for them in seclusion at home, learning household arts with music forming part of the girls' home-based education. Athenian girls had no access to formal education outside their families and only boys had access to public formal instruction. Indeed, Athenian girls and women were not given the privileges of citizenship; they belonged to the alien class.

At seven years of age, the Athenian boys had two kinds of training schools: *Palaestra* (gymnastic or wrestling school) for physical training exercises; and music school for literary and music training. The physical exercises included good deportment, light physical drills, ball playing, pentathlon, jumping, running, wrestling, javelin and discus throwing. This training prepared the boys for both the strains of war and helped develop their bodies. The music school offered both literary training and music, including Iyre-playing; reading, writing and arithmetic; homeric poems; and, the study of Iyric poets. Indeed, music was granted to mean poetry, drama, history, oratory and the sciences, in addition to music in the more restricted sense.

It is possible that attendance of these schools was either alternated on a daily basis or that part of the day was spent at one training school and the rest at the other. The school day ran daily, except for the ninety festival and state holidays, from dawn to dusk. Discipline at school and at home was severe, corporal punishment being liberally given. It is also possible that Athenian boys had at the very least two teachers. The primary teacher, the *grammatist,* taught them reading, writing, counting, music and literature. The secondary teacher, *grammaticus*, instructed them in physical training. The schoolmaster dictated and the boys wrote down and memorised the dictation. The teaching of reading centred on learning letters, followed by syllables and learning words. Without accentuation, punctuation, spacing between words and small letters, learning how to read was no easy task. It required individual ingenuity to determine the gist of a sentence.

Having learnt how to read, special attention was paid to reading well, through accentuation, articulation and recitations. Homer's *lliad* and *Odyssey* were the 'Bible'. Other works that were read were those of Hesiod, Theognis (the Greek poets) and Aesop'sAesopfables. For language, drill enhanced the boys' abilities in memory, and imagination. Music for emotional, civic and moral development was never ignored and was linked to literary instruction for moral guidance.

After the thirteenth birthday, the boys received a special music course, learning to use the seven stringed Iyre. The teacher for this course was known as a *Citharist.* The teacher emphasised rhythm, melody, appreciation of measure and time. Music helped to develop the boys' character, emphasising decorum, temperance and regularity, and helped the boys to participate in state religious services. Professional music playing was considered disgraceful and was therefore the domain of aliens and slaves.

To learn how to write consisted of using the stylus to trace letters out in wax tablets, copying exercises, writing on the knee and learning writing with ink on papyrus or parchment. There being little need for arithmetic, only the basic elements of counting, using fingers or counting board, were offered. With the use of words for numbers, the teaching of arithmetic was bound to be impossible. Old slaves, *pedagogues* (or pupil attendants) carried the boys' books to the schoolmaster's place. The boys were trained to be gentlemen, adore the deities, and become moral and righteous. All education before fifteen years of age was offered in private schools which were not controlled by the State. Then at fifteen, sons of the wealthier classes received advanced courses in physical training in the public *gymnasia* under a *Paidotrobe* to fit themselves for legislative, judicial and military duties. The courses included running, leaping, discus throwing, wrestling and boxing. Also included were horse riding, chariot driving, rowing and swimming.

All these activities took place in public, in the open air. Being perpetually out of doors, they were least influenced by their families or home. Besides, being free of their *pedagogues,* they could go anywhere in the city; the gymnasium, *street* and law *courts* and also to the *agora* and the *Pnyx,* (the semi-circular area of rock facing the famous part of Athena, Piraeus, where the Athenian citizens held their regular assemblies). Or even go to the Theatre of Dionysus to listen, to discuss or debate public issues in order to acquaint themselves with matters of public life. At this stage, life was considered the real educator of Athenian youths. But considered to be minors, their fathers were held responsible for their behaviour. Considered as preparatory training for state service, the *gymnasia* received state support.

At eighteen years of age, an Athenian youth reached the age of maturity; of becoming a citizen. He was enrolled in the *demes* and presented as a candidate for citizenship to the assembled people, examined morally and physically and took the Solonia Ephebic Oath of loyalty to the Athenian State. He swore that:

> **"I will never disgrace my sacred arms, nor desert my comrade in ranks. I will fight for the temples and for public property, whether alone or with my fellows. I will leave my country not less but greater and better, than I found it. I will obey the magistrates and, and observe the existing laws, and those the people hereafter make. If one tries to overthrow or disobey the ordinances, I will resist him in their defence, whether alone or with my fellows. I will honour the temples and religion of my forefathers. So help me *Aghuros, Enyalios, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo*, and *Hegemone*"**

Having sworn thus, he became a citizen-novice-cadet, *Ephebos,* ready for two years under teacher and State censor of exacting military service. The military service included drilling, gaining military tactics, acting as a boarder militiaman or mounted policeman, and taking part in religious festivals. With the successful completion of the novitiate period, he took his full citizenship rank, receiving prolonged environmental-based university education till one's death. Even then, he was still in the reserve army of Athen's defence.

Thus, the progressive Athenian education surpassed all the other Greek ones. It produced individualistic and democratic spirited persons. Athenian youths were trained and prepared for both war and peace. Thus, though the Athenian system of education was as much chiefly concerned with gymnastics as the Spartan one, the gymnastics were modified to meet the aesthetic requirements of the Athenians. Indeed, the Athenian education, with its simple curriculum consisting of practical music, religion, literature, government and physical education produced a liberal, cultured and intelligent society. And although the Athenian education was discriminative, it nevertheless represented a crucial evolution from the rigid caste and governmental systems of the Orient.

The Athenian Education in the 5th Century B.C.

With the Athenian triumph in the life-and-death Persian wars, the Athenians were consequently exposed to new laws and traditions. Exchanges in the realms of politics, literature, philosophy and economics within the Delian League and its colonies also took place. Both these forces had the effect of making Athenians, extremely individualistic. During this transistory period of a cultural revolution, old traditions in education, religion and morality were scattered and disorganised with moral decadence evident. Athens was going through a period of crisis.

Peoples' simple life style, temples and habits were changing fast with a more luxurious life style creeping in. Philosophy was expected to offer a practical alternative to life to replace the old order. The earlier Greek philosophers had attempted to explain the physical world by attempting to find out the 'first principle' the source of all else: Thales (624 - 548 B.C.) the mentor of Greek science, concluded that water was the very source of matter; Anaximenes(588 - 524 B.C) concluded that air was the original source of all else; Heraclites (525 - 475 B.C.) maintained that fire was the 'first principle'; and Pythagoras (580 - 500 B.C.) saw number as the 'first principle'.

Thus, with the new demand upon philosophy, arose the emergence of the sciences of philosophy, ethics and logic as an alternative that would meet the needs of the emergent cosmopolitan Athenian state. As a result of this cultural revolution, a need arose to alter the Athenian school curriculum. The new curriculum was oriented towards the individual, the literary and the theoretical. It included geometry, drawing, grammar and rhetoric. The education of the citizen-cadets was geared towards intellectual development rather than physical fitness. This produced freelance, foreign, peripatetic professors, wisemen, sages, teachers, the *sophists. Sophists* were paid travelling teachers who faced the challenges of the new demanding conditions. Protagoras of Abdera (481 - 411 B.C.) was the first *sophist* to teach in Athens in 450 B.C. He was followed by many more *sophists.* They were an admixture of excellent teachers, and mere charlatans who purportedly taught Athenian youths law, ethics, logic, rhetorics, poetry, geometry and astronomy; subjects that led to a political career. Indeed, *sophists* claimed that they could teach any subject and could argue both sides of an argument, yet their freer views of life and teaching were superficial; leading towards *laissez faire. Sophists* believed that truth is relative, and that there are no absolute statements of morality.

Many young Athenians were prepared for political life. Physical training was largely replaced by grammar and rhetoric, the master studies. Physical training now existed for individual pleasure rather than for the well-being of the state. Youths became sceptics, accepting no universal criteria for truth, knowledge and morals. This created a generation gap as there was no satisfactory interpretation of life with every situation

being subject to individual judgement. To *sophists* man was the measure of all things; the rights of the individual were paramount to the demands of law and tradition. The *sophists* were sceptical of the old Athenian culture and preached a utilitarian individual type of education. Even though the *sophists* were ridiculed by the old guard for their extravagant claims of teaching any subject and enabling their clients to argue both sides of an issue, their influence on Greek education was evident by 350 B.C..

The Greek school education was fully differentiated into three levels: primary, secondary and higher (university). The primary level, taught by a *grammatist*, was attended by eight to thirteen year olds with reading, writing, arithmetic and chanting being offered. The secondary level, taught by a *grammaticus*, was attended by fourteen to sixteen year olds. Geometry, drawing, a special music course, grammar and rhetoric were offered. Higher or university, was attended by seventeen year olds and beyond. It was Isocrates (436 - 338 B.C.) who, in 390 B.C, organised and produced a graded studies programme which laid emphasis on clear thinking, elaboration and debate, rather than on argumentation. As a result of Isocrates' efforts, *rhetorical schools*, preparing *ephebes* for public life, emerged.

But, politically and socially, the individualistic tendencies were in vogue. Thus, Great Mediators who, while seeing the Old Education as insufficient considered the negative views of the *sophists* as inadmissible and insisted that some general moral bond be provided. Xenophon (410 - 362 B.C.) in *Cyropaedia* purportedly described the education of Cyrus the Great, advocating a Spartan modification of the Old tribal Athenian training system. Reading Xenophon's *Memorabilia* one is struck about its similarity with Socratic ideas.

Thus, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, on realising that this social process of disintegration could not be checked, suggested ideal educational solutions for the reconstruction of the Athenian society on a higher plane in order to bring about some stability and depth to the educational scenerio. This brought young men from other parts of the world to Athens to further their education. European universities thus had their roots in this period. Towards the last part of the 4th century B.C., efforts by the *sophists* produced the practical *rhetorical schools* which taught oratory and the knowledge of the times. There also arose the speculative *philosophical schools* which were concerned with metaphysical and ethical issues.

The University of Athens, a merger of the *Rhetorical and Philosophical Schools* existed from about 200 B.C. Its Vice-Chancellor was elected by the Athenian Senate. Thus, up to A.D. 380, Athens remained the chief intellectual centre of the European civilisation. Indeed, it was the Roman Christian Emperor, Justinian, who by Edict in A.D,. 529, closed the University of Athens, condemning it as a centre of pagan thought.

The Hellenic Influence

With Aristotle (322 B.C.), Greek thought, ideals and education came to an end. This also marked the beginning of a determined attempt to spread Greek culture and later, after the Roman conquest of 146 B.C., rendering itself to a fusion with Roman education. Alexander the Great's conquests had the effect of spreading Hellenism, which had a cosmopolitan slant given his ambition of founding a universal empire. The seventy cities he established were held together by a uniting government and Hellenic culture.

Through the Greek schools, *gymnasia,* baths and theatres, their education, art, science, literature, philosophy, politics and culture were spread all over the East. Greek

universities were set up at Pergamum and Tarsus in Asia Minor; Rhodes in the Aegean; and, Alexandria in Egypt. At Pergamum, a large library and writing on parchment were developed. Also at Pergamum, Galen (b. A.D. 130) streamlined all available medical knowledge. Rhodes produced great men like Cassius, Caesar and Cicero. The three studied oratory at Rhodes.

The Oriental mythology was Hellenised by translating the Oriental popular gods into Plato's ideas and the Stoics self-sufficient reason. Even the hardened Torah-clinging Jews could not resist the influence of Hellenism. In Alexandria, the centre of Hellenistic culture, Judaism and Hellenism co-mingled and some Jews went over to Hellenism. Hebrew scriptures were translated into Greek, the *Septuagint,* largely replacing the original. Jews took to speaking Greek, and using Greek names. To their old instruction in the *Torah,* the Jews added the Greek curriculum.

With the University of Alexandria possessing the greatest collection of over seven hundred-thousand volumes of manuscripts from all over the world, it took over the position of Athens as the intellectual capital of the world. In addition to the library was a museum which received royal support.

The University of Alexandria made great strides in mathematics, geography and science. Aristotle's scientific approach was adopted. Euclid (323-283 B.C.), in 300 B.C., established a school at Alexandria, where he worked out geometrical problems. Archimedes (287-212 B.C.), a student of Euclid, made significant mechanics and physics discoveries. Eratosthenes (226 -196 B.C.), a librarian at Alexandria, founded the science of geography and astronomy. Ptolemy (A.D. 168). made advances in geography and astronomy completing his *'Mechanism of the Heavens'*, *Syntaxis,* in A.D. 138. Advances were also made in medicine. There were charts, models and dissecting rooms for the study of human anatomy. Brain, nerve and heart functions were worked out.

When in 30 B.C. Alexandria was taken over by the Romans, it was gradually sapped by Rome. With the founding of Constantinople, formerly Byzantium, in A.D. 330, Greek scholars moved to Constantinople, which then became the new centre of Greek learning. In A.D. 640, Alexandria was overrun by the Muslims. Before then, a combination of fire, earthquake and invading Roman regions had destroyed the great library of Alexandria and the University of Alexandria was no more. Some university activity was to be revived at Baghdad, and later in Spain. It was this Greek learning, preserved first at Athens, secondly at Alexandria, and thirdly at Constantinople, with the Italian Revival of Learning after the barbarian deluge of the Medieval Ages, that was returned to Europe.

Questions

1. Outline the contribution made to modern education by *either* Sparta *or* Athens.
2. Why is knowledge of the Spartan and Athenian systems of education important to a teacher today?
3. Critically, examine the educational ideas of any one ancient Greek philosopher.
4. Why is Athenian education so much admired?

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8

ROMAN EDUCATION

In 400 B.C., Rome was one of several small Latin city-states that existed on the Italian peninsula. Between 509 B.C. and 250 B.C. the rural landowning *patricians* established an oligarchic republic of Rome. They elected a 300 member Senate, which made policies. These policies were enforced by two elected consuls who served one-year terms during which they exercised executive civil, military and religious powers. Since each consul could veto the other's decisions, neither could assume an exclusive control.

In contrast to the powers of the *patricians,* the *plebeians,* who were of lower socio-economic status, were second class citizens. Although they were rewarded with land grants for military service during Rome's wars with its Latin neighbours, the *plebeians* became dissatisfied with their low socio-economic position and threatened to secede from Rome and establish their own city-state. Faced with this threat, the *patricians* conceded more political rights to the *plebeians,* permitting them to elect their own representative assembly and ten tribunes to represent and safeguard their interests. Although the two classes were rigidly separated during Rome's early history, the social barriers were gradually weakened as some *plebeians* acquired commercial fortunes. Some *patricians* even intermarried with wealthy *plebeians.*

Early Roman Education

For several centuries, the Roman Republic developed an entirely national education scheme which was practically unaffected by external influences. There is no contemporary written account of Roman education during the early years of the Republic and one has to depend upon statements made by later writers. Like in many of the agricultural societies, life in early Rome was supported by religious, social, economic and political rituals that stressed traditional belief and value systems. It was the function of education society, the young Roman learned to respect the valued traditions and perpetuate them for purposes of guaranteeing a stable future. A boy of *patrician* ancestry, for example, learned to become a landowner, a dutiful citizen and a guardian of Rome's cultural heritage.

The main educational agency was the home, and the father was among the leading educators. The intellectual training of the home did not pass beyond reading and writing, the earliest stages of number work, as well as physical and moral training. It was the custom for the Roman boy to accompany his father in his daily routine and learn from what his father did. From his father the boy would learn how he would have to conduct

himself when he became an adult. Boys received practical training in farming and military life, while girls learnt the arts of home management from their mothers.

The poorer citizens were not able to provide effective training for their children as was given in the homes of the wealthy. When, as the result of successful military campaigns, the Roman state began to expand, the household depended more and more upon the services of slaves and it became the custom to employ them as teachers of the children. The boy still obtained from his father the lessons of piety; he accompanied him when he offered sacrifices to the gods; and he listened to the accounts told by his father and his acquaintances of the heroic deeds of the past. If his father was a senator, he would go with him to the Senate.

Roman civilisation paid particular attention to law. Originating as a society of individual landowners, Roman citizens were keenly conscious of their rights and duties relating to property and inheritance. The *Laws of the Twelve Tables* adopted in 450 B.C. codified the basic legal regulations governing Roman life. The rights and duties of a Roman citizen were clearly defined by legal specifications. The Roman boy had to memorise the legal prescriptions of the *Twelve Tables.* As he accompanied his father, he learnt his lessons in law, politics and traditions. Early Roman education also sought to shape the learner's character by inculcating a rigid system of moral values.

Apart from the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, physical training included javeline throwing, sword play, horse riding and weaponry. The father continued to educate his son until the age of sixteen when he assumed an adult role. The successful product of early republican education was therefore a highly practical man who managed his land and supervised his slaves. He was a patriotic citizen who was always ready to defend Rome against her adversaries. Above all, he knew the Roman traditions and laws well enough.

Greek Influence on Roman Education

Roman educational patterns were changed by the cultural dynamics that were unleashed as Rome moved from a relatively isolated and small agricultural city-state to a vast empire with overseas colonies. Through a series of defensive wars, Rome conquered the neighbouring Latin tribes.

A great change occurred in the character of Roman education about mid-3rd century B.C. This coincided with the ending of the first Punic War. Military operations and the growth of commerce had brought the Romans into contact with the Greek colonies in Sicily and southern Italy. The immediate result was that Roman traders and officials found it advantageous to learn Greek. This was intensified by the introduction, into Roman households, of increasing numbers of Greek slaves who had been captured during the war. Hence, the practical interests in the Greek language very quickly developed into a desire to acquire a knowledge of Greek thought and literature. This led to a growing class of teachers known as writing masters, *litteratores,* who were often slaves or freed men. Then followed the language teachers, *grammatici,* who taught Roman children to read, write and speak Greek. Although the teaching of Greek was at first due to practical interest, it soon developed into a study of Greek literature. Greek represented the language of civilisation and culture. It began to permeate many aspects of Roman life. Greek teachers brought with them, as a textbook, Homer's *Odyssey.*

The period of the later Republic and the early Empire revealed two significant developments. The adoption of Greek ideas was now complete and one of the

consequences of the change was the increasing interest in education by the State. So long as education was primarily an affair of the home, there was no occasion for State intervention. But as the Roman dominions extended there arose the need for a more elaborate organisation of the Empire. Although the early emperors did not attempt to establish a state-controlled system of education, they showed considerable interest in educational institutions, especially those concerned with higher education. Emperors began to work out a definite educational policy which eventually led to State control of the schools.

It can be concluded that in the course of establishing and administering an empire, the Romans came under the influence of Greek culture, which provided a model for a formal educational system. They patterned their own educational institutions on the Greek school and curriculum. Thus, it can fairly be maintained that Roman education, being an imitation of the Greek, made an insignificant contribution to education. Due to militarism and legalism as justification of their military conquests and cruelty, the Roman Empire *period* saw stagnation in science and technology, hence their failure to produce many outstanding educators.

There were three stages in the new system of education: the elementary stage for boys of seven to twelve years; secondary stage, from twelve to sixteen years; and, thereafter higher education of a more professional type in preparation for a public career. By the end of 300 B.C. an elementary school or *ludus* had appeared in Rome, presided over by a teacher, the *ludi magister* or *litterator*. Although *ludus* means 'play' as well as 'a place of practice' in Latin, the routine of the Roman *ludus* emphasised strenuous discipline and corporal punishment. As an institution for developing the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, the *ludus* was attended by children from the ages of seven through twelve. The emphasis was on acquiring literacy. As education grew more formal, the memorising of the *Twelve Tables* was replaced by the reading of Homer's *Odyssey* translated into Latin. The boy who attended the *ludus* was accompanied by a slave or *pedagogue,* preferably a Greek, who could act as a tutor. These elementary schools were completely private, with no state supervision.

In the middle of the 3rd century B.C., a Greek grammar school appeared as an institution of secondary education. Under the direction of a grammar teacher, *grammaticus,* Roman boys from ages ten to sixteen studied Greek grammar, composition, poetry and history. There was also a Latin grammar school which taught the grammar of the Roman vernacular. This was a parallel institution to the Greek grammar school, and Roman boys were expected to have attended both institutions. As the school of the *grammaticus* became more formal, its curriculum came to embrace all of the liberal arts and included elements of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy.

For higher studies, the Roman youth of ages sixteen through eighteen attended the *Rhetorical Schools*, which appeared in 100 B.C. These were concerned with the education of the orator. Rhetorical studies combined both the Greek conception of the liberally educated man and the Roman emphasis on practicality. They were quite important for the Roman in that speaking abilities helped the politician to gain control of the crowd, influence voting in the Senate and inspire troops.

The Roman conception of education is best exemplified in the person of the orator. The orator served as a model of the educated man during most of Rome's history. The conception of the orator as a model of the educated man had Greek roots. Socrates, one of the most prominent of the Greek rhetoricians, had an impact on Roman educational

theory and practice through his programme of rhetorical education. Rhetorical education conceived of the orator as a liberally educated participant in public affairs. This concept was not restricted to politicians or lawyers, but included teachers and civil servants as well. In sum, the orator was the educated man who demonstrated an interest in the affairs of the Republic. In discussing the Roman conception of oratorical or rhetorical education one of the major theorists of the conception is Quintilian.

Quintilian (A.D. 35-95)

Quintilian was the most influential educational thinker produced by Rome. He was primarily a teacher of rhetoric; directly concerned with educating orators and in elaborating a systematic educational theory. In his educational model, the orator was to be a person of humanities or liberal culture. To Quantilian, the perfect orator was not only an excellent speaker, but also a worthy human being.

Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria,* a plan for the proper education of the orator, appeared in A.D. 94. As a systematic educational work, it dealt with the education of a boy prior to the study of rhetoric, the studies proper to rhetoric, and the theory and practice of rhetoric.

Quintilian recognised that there are significant stages of human development that hold important implications for educational practice. Although his identification of these stages is rudimentary by contemporary standards, it reveals that he was a keen student of educational psychology. According to Quintilian, the child is impulsive from birth until the age of seven in that his actions are directed to the immediate satisfaction of his needs and desires. Since the early childhood years are crucial in establishing the right patterns and dispositions for later education, parents should be very careful in selecting proper nurses, *pedagogues,* and companions since these persons exercise moulding influence on the child.

In his discussion of early home training, Quintilian admonished fathers to conceive the highest hopes for their sons from the moment of their birth. These high hopes will inspire fathers to exert extraordinary care in planning and directing their son's education. In Quintilian's *Code*, boys do not lack ability to master the various arts involved in oratory; it is the lack of care. Curiosity and willingness to learn are instructive attributes of youth and boys always show promise of many accomplishments until faulty pedagogy causes natural talent to atrophy and innate curiosity to disappear. These deplorable demonstrations of wasted youth are not dictated by depravity of natural gifts, but by a lack of care.

The nurse was considered the first person the child hears and because children are both imitative and impressionable they will retain best what they learn first. While good impressions appear to have a certain permanence, poor or bad impressions are even more durable. Quintilian strengthened his stand by maintaining that although what is good readily deteriorates, no one can convert vice into virtue. And what can be said of vice and virtue on the level of moral formation, can be said about correctness and incorrectness in style of speech. Quintilian would never allow a boy to become accustomed, even in his infant years, to a style of incorrect speech that subsequently would have to be unlearned. The assumption is evident; relearning is more difficult than learning. Even parents who themselves did not have a good education should not for that reason neglect their sons' education; they should recognise their weakness and devote their best energies in those areas where good example is crucial

Quintilian questioned the dogmatic assumption that before seven, youth can neither endure the strain of learning nor profit from instruction. The practice of allowing a child's mind to the fallow until a certain magic age was mildly resisted and, since children are capable of profiting from moral training in the conventional pre-school years they should also be capable of mastering the elements of literary education. During these infant years, instruction was absorbed slowly and imperceptibly. While recognising those opinions doubting the efficacy of results obtained from such early efforts and expenditures of energy, a clear warning was thus instituted against despising or despairing of even limited progress and partial mastery.

Quintilian opposed private tutoring because he felt it had a negative effect on moral education. He preferred the broad daylight of a respectable school to the solitude and obscurity of private tutoring. With views formed largely by his Roman experience, he argued that the best teachers were always anxious to have large classes; they judge their skill and learning worthy of huge audiences. Inferior teachers, however, suspecting their own defects, reconciled themselves to teaching a single pupil and became, on the level of practice, not masters but *pedagogues.* In addition, Quintilian wanted us to realise that a good teacher must be a superior technician if purpose and direction in learning are to be given to large numbers of pupils. He did not believe a teacher's time is used wisely in directing one pupil. Moreover, he believed a good teacher with only one pupil is wasting his talent. Besides, the variations among subjects are taught more effectively to a class. Stimulation for the teacher and opportunity for students to learn are greater in group learning. He did not want teachers to overlook the learning outcomes from the friction of mind on mind possible only in public teaching. Finally, Quintilian expressed confidence that a good teacher will not overburden himself with pupils; that he will not try to teach more pupils than he can manage effectively. In a school with many students, boys learn not only what they are taught, but also acquire things taught to others as well. They hear merits praised and faults corrected and can profit when the indolence of a comrade is rebuked or his industry is commended.

Quintilian regarded the period from age seven to fourteen as one in which the child learns from sense experience; first the child forms clear ideas and develops memory. During this stage, the child learns to read and write the languages that he already speaks. The reading and writing teacher, the *litterator,* was to be of good character and possess the competency to make learning attractive. An integral principle in his theory, one adopted by many modern practices, is contained in the admonition to accommodate the teaching syllabus to a student's intellectual ability and level of interest. According to him, students' individual characteristics must be considered for they are relevant to the methods and objectives of teaching.

The fairly modern psychological principle of apperception is also recognised. Without using the term itself, Quintilian disclosed his keen psychological intuitions by explaining that new experiences are assimilated against a background of previous experience. He proceeded from this valid psychological assumption to advise teachers to begin their instruction at a point which coincides with the student's achievement level. He also endorsed the principle of learning readiness. Teachers were to take the syllabus step by step. He said that a theory of learning contains a commitment to postering mental activity in two dimensions, formation and information; both supported by the good foundation provided during the earliest stages of education. However, during the more advanced stages, his theory affirms the necessity of appropriate techniques for securing these two dimensions; drill (repetition) and stimulation. Drill reinforces information as a

stamping-in-process and leads to formation because of the inevitable involvement of discipline. Stimulation comes in, partly from the teacher's good scholarly example and, in part, from the student's joy in learning what he does not know.

Quintilian was sensitive to the stresses and strains of serious learning. He recognised that recreation gives students an opportunity to regain vigour and zeal either through intervals of rest or by a redirection or distraction of energy. Learning activities likely to be most productive are based on a student's goodwill towards his studies. The generation of goodwill remains pretty much a mystery; recreation which offers some balance between study and play may help to engender goodwill. So holidays, enabling students to leave their books for extended periods, are counted to be beneficial. When they return, they have greater enthusiasm for learning. In addition to extended holidays, Quintilian recommended brief periods of respite from work. The prescription for work and play, however, must be administered with care. If teachers refuse to give boys a holiday, dislike for study may result. On the other hand, if teachers are excessively indulgent, students may become accustomed to idleness.

Quintilian coupled relaxation and play with an attitude towards corporal punishment; he thereby revealed the general temperament of his school. Schoolmasters were expected to be stern and severe; the schoolmaster who had a reputation for moderate discipline had also a reputation for mediocrity. In an age when good reputations were hard to get and easy to lose, the schoolmaster applied his almost unlimited authority to chastise with zeal and devotion. He had to be careful not to punish a free child by an undignified method, but he could live this prescription and allow it to influence only the anatomy not the ardour of a beating. Any boy could be beaten with limitless intensity but a free child was not to be struck on the face. He tried to avoid all corporal punishment. His view was inspired in part by a feeling that flogging, a regular custom of the day, was fit only for slaves. To punish a free person in this way is a form of degradation. If, a student is insensitive to instruction and ignores reproof, flogging only hardens his nature and makes him less receptive to training and education. Quintilian was convinced that the imposition of force of any kind is really unnecessary if teachers are thorough disciplinarians and competent instructors. Beating, pain and fear breed shame, and shame unnerves and depresses the mind and motivates the child to avoid or loathe education.

Scholarly and skilful teachers understand the genuine motives of education and know that competition, commendation, attraction to the teacher's person and interest in learning are more effective than any kind of corporal punishment. Discipline, that is good order in the classroom, was understood as an instrument not an end, of education. In Quintilian's *Code*, perverting discipline was doubly damned. Knowing that children under the control of masters were almost helpless and easily victimised, he refused to endorse any school practice that allowed masters an unrestricted disciplinary authority over them.

From 14 to 17, the student was to develop his reasoning power by studying the liberal arts in the school of the *grammaticus.* Quintilian distinguished between *rhetoric* and *grammar* which he believed should be taught separately. Both Greek and Latin grammars were to be studied concurrently. Hence grammar involved the study of the literatures of Greece and Rome. Historical and mythological allusions were to be explained as texts were critically examined. In addition to grammar, the curriculum preparatory to rhetorical study comprised, music, geometry, astronomy and gymnastics.

After a thorough grounding in grammar and other liberal arts, the prospective orator was to begin rhetorical studies. Rhetorical study sought to produce a man of broad culture, or humanities, humanely educated and willing to serve his country. The orator was not to specialise in any of the liberal arts but was to have experience with all of them. His continuing studies were to include poetry, drama, prose, history, law, philosophy and rhetoric. Among the rhetorical studies, declamation and systematic speaking exercises were most useful for the orator. The themes of the declamations were to be realistic and not fictitious.

As the orator students delivered their practice orations, it would be seen that some of them lacked the capacity for oratory. Such students were to be dismissed so that the teacher could devote his energies to the most promising orators. As much as possible, the novice orator was to speak in the forum before an audience. After doing so, he was to return to the rhetorician for criticism and correction. Although the teacher should be tactful, patient and kind, he should not hesitate to demonstrate his competence and authority by correcting the student's mistakes. After sufficient practice and correction, the student would become a proficient speaker who could exercise his talents without further benefit of the teacher.

Quintilian therefore, is an important figure in the history of educational ideas not only because of the information about Roman education which he gives, but also because of his influence upon subsequent generations of teachers.

Questions

1. Describe the main characteristics of early Roman education.
2. Discuss Greek influence on Roman education.
3. Outline and discuss the main educational ideas of Quintilian.

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9

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION

During the Middle Ages, western Christianity, institutionalised in the structure of the Latin or the Roman Catholic Church, sought to integrate and sustain western civilisation. The early Christians and their teachers, the Christian fathers, were educated in the pagan schools of the Roman Empire. Their scriptures included the Hebrew Bible, the Gospel and St. Paul's Letters. Among the earliest converts to the religion of Christ were many Jews, trained as St. Paul was trained in the traditions of the Jewish home.

Some of the Jewish elements in Christianity are:

(a) A sacred history, beginning with creation, leading to a consumation in the future and justifying the way of God to man.

(b) The existence of a small section of mankind whom God specially loves. For Jews, this section was a chosen people; for Christians, the elect.

(c) A new conception of righteousness. The virtue of alms giving was taken over by Christianity from Judaism.

(d) The Law. Christians kept part of the Hebrew Law, for instance, the *Decalogue*.

(e) The Messiah. The Jews believed that the Messiah would bring them temporal prosperity and victory over their enemies on earth and in the future. For Christians, the Messiah was the historical Jesus. He was to enable His followers to triumph over their enemies.

(f) The Kingdom of Heaven. The Jewish and Christian doctrines conceived the other world as not metaphysically different from this world, but as in the future when the virtuous would enjoy everlasting happiness and the wicked would suffer everlasting torment.

Some of these elements in Christianity as was the case with Hebraic civilisation, created considerable conflicts between the only Christian Church and Graeco-Roman civilisation. Examples of such contentious Christian elements included:

(a) The idea of the 'chosen people' or the 'elect' which distinguished the Jews from other nations of antiquity.

(b) The view that *all* religions except *one* were wicked and that the Lord punishes idolatry, a thing emphasised by the prophets who were on the whole nationalistic; who looked forward to the day when the Lord would utterly destroy the gentiles.

The Christian Church, claiming divine sanction, traced its foundation to Christ, the Son of God, and drew inspiration from the Holy Spirit. As an institution, the Church developed a hierachical government with the Pope as Bishop of Rome and successor to St. Peter, exercising general authority over the universal Church. The bishops, successors to the apostles, were responsible to papal authority and charged with the episcopal administration of their dioceses. Lower in the hierarchy, and responsible to their bishops, were the parish priests who administered directly to the individual members of their congregations.

In terms of doctrines, literatures, beliefs and liturgy, the Old and New Testaments and the writings of the Church fathers, were its authoritative sources. From these sources came the doctrines that were protected, interpreted and enforced by the Church hierarchy. Among the fundamental beliefs were that God was omnipotent and perfect, the personal creator of all existence and that man, possessing a spiritual soul was created to share in the divine happiness. Endowed with an intellect and will, man had freedom of choice. As a descendant of Adam, man inherited the effects of original sin and was therefore spiritually deprived; and that God sent his Son, Jesus Christ, to redeem mankind through His death and resurrection. To aid man in achieving salvation, Christ instituted the Church and charged it with administering the grace-giving sacraments to spiritual force, although its policies had strong social, economic and political implications.

Early Christianity and Graeco-Roman Civilisation

In order to understand the attitude of the early Church to education and the conception of education that developed from these early conditions and prevailed throughout the Middle Ages, it is necessary to recall some of the characteristics of the thought life and the concrete social activities of the pagan life surrounding the early Church. To the Greek, culture and intellectual activity of the cosmopolitan period, (which was extended through adoption by the Romans), Christianity was introduced in the 1st century, spreading rapidly. It modified the foreign world both in thought and conduct, and was itself profoundly modified as well.

The Greek mind had developed a versatility that probably has never been equalled; a power of dealing with abstract thought and an interest in philosophical questions that is as remote from the interests of society as it was in the ages preceding the time under consideration. Schools were very numerous and flourishing in both the East and the West; neither had culture been so disseminated, nor the intellectual life so fostered. In very many points indeed, it can be shown that Christianity was influenced and modified by this solvent of Greek thought.

There were, however, many points of conflicts between the Greek and Christian approaches to solving various problems. In examining the problem of the individual and society, the solutions offered by Plato and Aristotle had much appeal to the pagan society. These laid emphasis on the intellectual nature of man. Opposed to this, Christianity considered the moral nature of man which, was common to all and universal in its application. The intellectual nature of man was aristocratic and encompassed only a few. The intellectual and aesthetic elements, so essential to the Greek ideal, were wholly wanting in the opinions of the early Christian teachers. This led to an indifference on the part of the Christians to these features and characteristics of the Greek and Roman education and culture.

To state that there was Christian indifference and hostility toward the Greek culture is no suggestion that Greek thought did not influence Christianity. The extent to which Christianity was influenced in its thought by Grecian intellectualism is evidenced by the growth of heresies, many of which were attempts to interpret Christian teachings in the light of the varying schools of Greek philosophy and in the formation of the Orthodox Christian Creed as well. This influence of the Grecian thought world on early Christianity can be seen in various aspects, for instance, in the methods of teaching. In the Grecian schools the method was that of formal selection of a theme or texts from the teaching of a philosophical school, of logical analysis, of careful choice of words, of discrimination in phrases and fine shades of meaning, and of formal delivery. The method of the Hebrew synagogue was that of informal comment and exposition; while the method of instruction of the early Christian Church was that of prophesying or impromptu exposition and exhortation.

Despite these scattered influences of Greek and Roman thought on education, the early Christian Church resented many practices of the pagan society. It strongly resented things like the gladiatoral shows which extended their demoralising influence throughout the whole Roman Empire; divorce, which had become such an evil that men changed their wives as easily as their clothes, infanticide which was universally practised and was largely responsible for the great shrinkage of population, the exposure of children, the immoral public ceremonials, and the lascivious practices of the private worship of the pagan religions. These aspects led the Church to concern itself in the moral reformation of the world.

In these respects, and above all, through the high standards of personal morality as expressed in the Mosaic Law and the Sermon on the Mount, standards altogether unknown among the masses of population, the early Church enforced a moral education that was entirely new in the history of the world as well as in the history of education. Compare the simplicity and purity of character of the early Christian worship with the ceremonials of the pagan religions: the character of the Christian priesthood with that of the pagan cults; the morality inculcated in the one with the habit fostered in the other; the sacrifice entailed in the one with the indulgence granted in the other; the humanitarian sentiments in the one with cruelty and brutality, however, refined, in the other; and the charity and generosity of the one with the selfishness of the other. These comparisons show the importance of Christian education.

The first two great challenges, however, for Christianity lay in a firm base of doctrines and building an institution for propagation of faith. The third challenge in the battle for survival involved the question of how to come to terms with Graeco-Roman culture. Could Christianity oppose the pervading Hellenism and still make its message intelligible in a world dominated by Hellenistic culture? Could the new faith assimilate its surrounding cultural milieu, accept its patterns of thought or intellectual structures, and still not thereby be engulfed? No single answer to these questions was forthcoming, though taken together, the various positions that were advanced profoundly influenced the overall character of early Christian education.

Basically, Christians of the first centuries elected to compromise. On one hand, they upraided the pagan world for its errors and adamantly tried to break with it. On the other hand, because the very permeability of Hellenistic culture made it difficult to resist, they tried to fuse Christian faith with pagan wisdom. The dilemma was recognised at a fairly early date; Christianity could not get along with it. In the first hundred years, most of the Christian followers had been poor and illiterate. As time went on, better educated classes

of people were attracted to the new faith. These were people unwilling to disengage themselves from conventional learning. Even less was the unwillingness to allow their children to be brought up in ignorance of the Hellenistic culture. They sent them to pagan schools with their non-Christian classmates to get a secular education. Here, Christian children made their first acquaintance with the Olympian deities whose textbooks were filled with the old mythology. There was nothing surprising in the fact that the Christian children ran the danger of absorbing ideas directly opposed to those of their faith. They were torn between two rival cultures and the result was predictably a certain weakening or loss of religious conviction. The strategy of grafting a specifically religious kind of training onto the classical teaching received in established schools simply did not work and it failed to secure the benefits of a regular education.

Tertullian, one of the Church fathers, tried to take an uncompromising stand, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem!", he exclaimed. "What concord is there between the Academy and the Church? What concord between heretics and Christians?" Secular literature should be recognised as folly with God, he believed. Greek learning, especially philosophy, was nothing but a network of contradictions. The Christian needed only his faith. "With our faith, we desire no further belief. For this is our central faith; that there is which ought to believe besides ".

Clearly, a Christian could not be a teacher because he would be compelled to speak of false gods and to instruct children in beliefs antiethical to religious truth. Yet Tertullian backed away from the obvious conclusion that Christian children should be forbidden to attend schools, in spite of the dangers to which they would be exposed. The upshot of it all was Christians uneasily accepting the existing schools, sending their children to them and even teaching in them, trying to absorb a classical education and accepting the culture it represented.

The *Apostolic Constitutions*, a 3rd century document, addressed unofficially to the laity and clergy, argued, "Have nothing to do with heathen writings", it enjoined bluntly, "and refrain from strange discourses, laws or false prophets." A Christian had no need to be exposed to their errors. The Bible provided all the wisdom and knowledge one required. "If you will explore history, you have the Book of Kings; or if you put words of wisdom and eloquence, you have the prophets, Job, and the Book of Proverbs, wherein you will find a more perfect knowledge. . ." If one wanted poetry, there was the Book of Psalms; and, if he sought a cosmology, he was counselled to find it in Genesis. "Wherefore", the document advised, "abstain scrupulously from all strange and devilish books."

An extensive literature arose, condemning the old culture for representing an ideal hostile to the Christian revelation and urging the clergy to avoid reading the pagan authors. St. Jerome later, in censoring priests who neglected Biblical lore for profane authors, said, "It is a crime for them to do voluntarily what children are obliged to do for the sake of their education". But, Jerome himself had been schooled in the Hellenistic school in Rome.

On the whole, only a small minority of Christians, after the 4th century, continued to advocate neglect of the old learning completely. Intellectually, most Christians regarded religious training as a superimposition upon classical education rather than a substitute for it. Institutionally speaking, they compromised by permitting their members to teach in classical schools. By this time, Christians were employed at all levels of instruction, from the lowest elementary grades to the highest university chairs of

grammar. Even bishops of the Church commonly found employment at some point in pagan schools.

There was a deliberate attempt by three Christian protagonists-Clement, Origen and Augustine, to create a Christian culture and defend it against its pagan counterpart . Or more accurately, they sought a synthesis that could preserve the former and retain the best elements of the latter. To Clement, there was no real antagonism between Christianity and Hellenism. He seems to have accepted the proper fiction that Plato was "Moses Atticized"; that Christianity's basic tenets were implicit in the Greek philosophers; that they were Christians before Christianity came; and, that fundamental harmony existed between the Gospels and Greek learning. "There is no river of truth", he taught, "but many streams fall into it on this side and on that."

Christianity is but the convergence of two streams, Judaism and Hellenism. Before Christ, "Philosophy was necessary to the Hellenes to bring them closer to truth just as Mosaic Law was essential for the Hebrews." The true Christian, according to Clement would find a rich fund of instruction in pagan learning; he would even discover that it confirmed, strengthened and helped explain the basic doctrines of the true faith when both were viewed correctly.

Christian truth was sufficient unto itself and needed no support from Hellenistic sources. On the other hand, the dangers were outweighed by the hazard of ignoring pagan learning completely. The apologist for Christianity must come to terms with it and use it when necessary in the service of religious truth. Nonetheless, the implicit tension between faith and reason and between acceptance and criticism, would return time and time again to bedevil Christian theologians.

In any case, uncertain compromise seems to have been worked out. The developing Christian theory of education recommended that the 'content' of instruction should draw mainly from the Scriptures and other Christian writings. The classics were to be included but used sparingly. The form of instruction would follow the grammatical and theoretical patterns of pagan schools. Textbook writers prepared materials suitable for Christian use along lines suggested by St. Augustine.

In sum, the confrontation with pagan culture was cautiously won by accepting its literary traditions and pedagogical forms while grafting on them religious doctrines. But it was not possible in one sense; to have a developed system of Christian schooling until the conflict of faith and culture was well on the way towards a solution.

Institutional Forms

Outside these attempts to integrate Hellenistic culture, Christianity made no provision for formal schooling. Its general distrust of the pagan culture created an educational vacuum. The content of its early education was directed mainly towards other worldly concerns. Its ecclesiastical monopoly of schooling led to a restriction of learning within the limits defined by Church doctrines. Schooling became largely a matter of clerical training for performing religious duties, not preparation for secular affairs. Classical learning found little place in the new scheme of studies except as it could be used to support articles of religious faith.

If one acknowledged the fatherhood of God, repented past sins, desired to lead a godly life and accepted the belief that Jesus Christ offered salvation, one would be accepted into a Christian community. As gentiles began to be accepted into the fold and

the old Judaic Law was abandoned, the need for a process of instruction in the rudiments of the faith became apparent. The sacrament of baptism marked the entrance of a convert to Christianity; it would not do to administer the sacred rite to just anyone requesting it. One might say that preparatory instruction before baptism was intended for pagan converts being equivalent to what instruction within the Christian family did for children; that is, it indoctrinated them with basic precepts, introduced them into a special moral climate and habituated them to the Christian mode of thinking.

Three major lines of educational institutions developed in the medieval period. Those that were:

(a) related directly to the Church.
(b) concerned with educating the feudal aristocracy.
(c) related to craft or vocational education.

Generally, the children of the serfs, a permanently indentured agricultural class, began to work in the field at an early age. Their education was direct and informal as they imitated the skills by which their parents survived. The medieval manors developed no extensive educational institutions, but relied instead on the churches' monastic and parish schools. While the feudal lords did educate their own children according to the chivalric code, they left general educational matters to the Church, which exercised a virtual monopoly over formal schooling.

Although all the three patterns of educational development bore a religious orientation, most formal educational institutions were under Church control. Stemming from the Church fathers' early concern for a cleric literature in Latin and followers knowledgeable in doctrine and liturgy, Church schools were most directly concerned with literary education. Chivalric training, the second line of development, was directed to the knightly education of the feudal aristocrats and guild education. The third kind, was charged with preparing craftsmen in the use of tools and other productive skills. This three-track system of education was keyed to the class structure of the medieval society, providing a distinct education for the cleric, the knight and the craftsmen. Yet the largest class, the mass of serfs, whose labours supported the entire medieval social structure, was largely uneducated.

Church-related Educational Institutions

During the medieval period, the Church exercised a virtual monopoly over formal education, either directly or indirectly. Although formal education was not always directed to religious life, a good part of it was supervised by the clerics. Access to education was not universal, but capable boys with a bookish inclination would generally receive some schooling.

Distinctions between elementary and secondary schools were rather vague in the early medieval era, but it is possible to identify four particular kinds of Church oriented schools that performed basic or elementary educational functions: *parish*, *chantry*, *monastic* and *cathedral schools*.

The Council of Rome of A.D. 853 specified that each parish, as a congregation served by a priest and located in a specifically determined area, should provide elementary education. The instruction in *parish schools* dealt primarily with the religious ritual and music needed for the celebration of the Mass, and secondarily with reading, writing and music. The *chantry school* was supported by 'donations' given by a wealthy

person to provide for the saying of Masses for his soul. In order to have a choir to chant the responses needed in celebrating the liturgy, the priest could use part of the donation to train boys in music. This involved the learning of Latin, the language of the Church liturgy. *Monastic schools* were associated with monasteries. They trained monks either as priests or brothers in Church doctrine, the basic instruction being reading and writing Latin. Monastic schools also provided instruction for those preparing for the secular priesthood and for boys living in the vicinity of the monastery who might be destined for non-religious occupations and professions.

Monastic schools first appeared in the 4th century and had an exclusively religious function, namely, preparing those who were to take monastic vows. In the 6th century, the patterns of monastic life and education were broadened by St. Benedict (A.D. 480-583). St. Benedict emphasised literacy as the necessary foundation for revitalising Christian thought and for maintaining classical culture. He prescribed that the monks spend at least two hours each day in reading. In addition to their literary endeavours, the monks, as members of self-sustaining communities, often became skilled farmers and craftsmen and frequently taught these skills to the people of surrounding villages. The Benedictine monastery and rule provided a favorable model for the preservation and advancement of learning from the 6th through the 12th centuries.

Cassiodorus later envisaged the monastery as a centre of scholarly theological study. For such study, the pursuit of the liberal arts was regarded as necessary. As a result of their commitment to preserving scriptural and literary works, many monasteries collected the writings of the early Church fathers and served as respositories for the sources of medieval culture. Under the influence of Cassiodorus, monastery libraries became centres where ancient manuscripts were copied and preserved.

Monastic schools offered instruction in reading, writing, simple arithmetic and religious doctrine. Reading was taught by having the students memorise the letters of the alphabet and words, with much attention given to Latin pronunciation. Since books were scarce, the teacher dictated, explaining the meaning of the passage to the students who copied it in their own copy books. Writing was practised by making impressions on wax tablets with a stylus. Arithmetic involved counting and finger-reckoning exercises. Music used in religious liturgy and chanting occupied a greater part of the instruction as was the catechetical use of memorised questions and answers. By the 10th century, the monastic schools offered instruction at a higher level and the curriculum was broadened to encompass a wider range of studies. Frequently, the seven liberal arts were offered and occassionally, law, medicine and the practical arts. By the 11th century, due to general political stability and economic prosperity, all this gave impetus to the rise of cities. A focus of medieval life moved to the cities. Monastic schools which were generally located in rural areas began to decline as major centres of learning. Although the monasteries continued to house libraries and to provide schooling, the scene of the most vital educational activity shifted to the *cathedral schools* of such big cities as Paris, Lyon and Liege.

In their early stages, cathedral schools offered both elementary and secondary studies. While primarily concerned with general or liberal studies, some of them provided elementary instruction in reading and writing Latin as a preparation for the liberal studies. Cathedral schools were flourishing by the 12th century when the Church Lateran Council of A.D. 1179 recognised that educational change had occurred and required every cathedral or bishop's church to maintain a school to educate priests, other clerics and the poor.

The various types of Church-related elementary schools discussed provided Latin instruction, which included lessons in reading and writing the language and the study of Latin literature and grammar. Although some instruction was given in the vernacular languages, they were not really school subjects. Latin, a legacy inherited from the Roman Empire, was the language of religious discourse, liturgical worship, academic and intellectual life, law and diplomacy.

For most of the medieval period, the small compedia or concise treatment of grammatical rules were read. Students memorised these Latin texts without necessarily understanding their meaning. As the teacher read from a book or manuscript, the pupils either repeated or copied the words dictated by him. Although corporal punishment was probably used, it was not justified by the medieval Christian theology of learning, which held that the child was spiritually deprived, as an inheritor of Adam's original sin, and through discipline, effort and the sacraments, this deprivation could be overcome.

In the 11th century, a more distinctive separation of elementary and secondary education instruction and institutions emerged. Although cathedral schools offered preparatory education of an elementary nature, they were chiefly concerned with secondary instruction, centering on the liberal arts. The cathedral schools taught the *trivium* and *quadrivium* inherited from the Roman education of the later imperial period. Some of the early Christian educators, such as Cassiodorus, and theologians, such as St. Augustine, had argued that the liberal arts were a desirable and necessary preparation for theological study. The term *studium generale* was used to designate a location of general learning. The cathedral schools as centres for the pursuit of liberal studies were often referred to as *studia generalia.* Certain major cathedral schools, such as Paris, were also the predecessors of the medieval universities. In the 11th and early 12th centuries, the terms *studium generale,* (or general school), and *universities* (or corporation of masters and students) were used synonymously.

The *trivium,* incorporating grammar, rhetoric and logic, was a most important area of concentration in the *studium generale.* The study of Latin grammar was of particular importance to the non-Latin speaking peoples for them to acquire proficiency in the language of liturgy and learning. Although oratory was no longer primarily conceived of as a means of persuasion, the medieval preachers certainly employed the persuasive arts. Rhetoric contributed to the medieval *arts dictamen,* which emphasised letter writing and correspondence methods useful for economic, political and legal affairs. Used as an instrument for writing contracts, wills, appointments and others, rhetoric lost its emphasis on speaking and came to be conceived of as writing. Logic was regarded as a separate study rather than an integral part of philosophical systems.

The *quadrivium,* which included arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music, formed the other liberal studies of the *studium generale.* Arithmetic involved addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. Geometry was based on the works of the Greeks, Arabs and Hindus. Astronomy, the most popular subject dealt with planetary motions and was used to calculate the date of Easter and other movable feasts of the Church. Astrology, an offshoot of astronomy, concerned itself with the plotting of astrological charts and horoscopes. In the Middle Ages, many state and personal decisions were made according to astrological charts.

Music was studied both as a theoretical discipline and an intrinsic component of religious liturgy. The significant developments of medieval music was mainly liturgical rather being strictly theoretical. Drawing upon the Greek choral music of the Byzantine Church, the Church developed a plainchant for its Latin liturgy that was sung without

instruments. The plain or Gregorian chant (so named because Pope Gregory endorsed it) was the official musical style for liturgical celebration.

By the 12th century, a revitalised form of higher learning appeared as some of the *studia generalia* evolved into universities. The cathedral schools' liberal studies were a necessary preparation for university studies.

Mention should also be made about the development of vocational education. Between the 4th and 10th centuries, primitive agrarianism, which sustained manorialism and feudalism, dominated European economic life. City life had markedly declined as the Old Roman cities deteriorated and the population shifted to self-sufficient manors protected by feudal lords. By late 10th century, however the feudal system was sufficiently stable to produce adequate agricultural surpluses.

Since not many people were needed for agricultural production, some were free to specialise in the skills, crafts and occupations that characterised town life. The 11th century crusades also stimulated mobility and produced a more cosmopolitan pattern of life. This marked the decline of manorial-feudal system and a social transformation which ushered in a middle class which began to exert a marked influence on the socio-economic and political life.

With the revival of town life, came the merchant and craft guilds. The merchant guilds, which had some semblance of modern corporations, were formed as traders bonded together for mutual protection as they travelled from one city to another. They selected leaders, devised trade regulations and formed common funds. Merchant guilds for instance struggled for stable prices and market conditions and won monopolies and trade concessions. City life also revived such specialised occupations as shoemaking, glassmaking and silversmithing. These craftsmen united in craft guilds which gained production monopolies and controlled the admission of new members. They also regulated working conditions, the number of working hours and set quality standards, wages and prices.

Although the vocational education of the craftsmen was not conducted in formal schools, it was based on systematised and well-defined procedures. There were three essential stages of guild education: *apprenticeship, journeyman* and *master craftsman*. The period of *apprenticeship* could vary from three to ten years, depending upon the complexity of the vocational skills that were needed for admission into the craft. As an apprentice, a boy was assigned to a master craftsman by means of a written contract which established a set of reciprocal relationships between apprentice and master. The master was obliged to teach the apprentice the skills of his trade, look after his morals and religion and provide food, lodging and a small stipend. In many of the craft guilds, the master was also required to provide instruction in reading and writing. In return for his training and education, the apprentice was obliged to work diligently, keep the craft secrets and be obedient to the master. Occasionally, the guilds established formal schools to educate apprentices in reading and writing.

After proving himself sufficiently competent in the trade, the apprentice moved to the higher rank of *journeyman*, which permitted him to travel about working as a day labourer. He would work with a number of master craftsmen in order to profit from their experience and expertise in the particular craft.

When a journeyman had attained the necessary skills, he was admitted to the guild as a full-fledged member. As a *master craftsman*, he could establish his own shop, hire journeymen, take on apprentices and serve as an instructor in the guild.

Scholasticism and the Rise of Universities

The synthesis between Aristotelian thought and the Catholic faith which originated in the twelfth century is usually known as the *scholastic philosophy*. By the 11th century, theologians had begun to concern themselves with serious study of philosophical problems relating to Christian theology. Their researches led to the development of *scholasticism* as a formal methodology of inquiry, scholarship and teaching among medieval educators. Although the scholastics accepted the general theology associated with Christianity, they differed on metaphysical, epistemological and ethical issues as shown by the academic feuding of *normalists* and *realists* on the problem of universals. Although delicate issues were raised as to the primacy of faith or reason as a methodological authority, the scholastics generally regarded both as complimentary sources of truth.

In faith, the scholastic accepted the Scriptures as God's revealed word. He also trusted that his intellect would function rationally and logically; and that his mind, reasoning deductively and syllogistically from a *priori* first principles, was a surer guide to God's universal truth than direct sense experience of the external words. Scholasticism became a dominant intellectual and educational methodology in the new universities. St. Thomas Aquinas was one of the most outstanding scholastic philosophers.

The 11th century intellectual revival that was initiated in many of the monastic schools spread to cathedral schools as city life revived. In most instances, universities evolved from either the expanding *studia generalia* or liberal arts curricula of the cathedral schools. By the 12th century, enrolment at certain cathedral schools had grown so large that the existing patterns of organisation were inadequate to accommodate the large number of students. For their own protection, students and masters organised associations, or *universitas,* that emulated the pattern of the craft, guilds and obtained the recognition of secular and religious authorities. The famous medieval universities that originated in the 12th century grew out of these associations.

Other related factors as the crusades, the revival of commerce and contacts with Arabic scholarship, stimulated higher education in the 12th century contributing directly to the rise of universities. Between 1100 and 1200 an influx of new ideas came from the Moorish scholars of Spain. The Arab world in particular had served as a repository for many of the classical Greek writings that had become obscure or believed lost. Indeed, during the Middle Ages: between the 6th and 12th centuries, it was Muslim works which rekindled the banner of intellectualism. The flowering of the 12th and 13th century renaissance of scholarship which produced the European university, was stimulated by Graeco-Muslim learning.

European universities began to emerge during the second half of the 12th century. These universities coincided with the spread of Muslim translations, adaptations and commentaries in literature, philosophy, theology, sciences and technology. They endeavored to assimilate and utilise the great Muslim works in science, philosophy and literature. This period witnessed the development of higher and university education in Syria, Egypt, Timbuktu and Spain. It was Spain and Italy that the first European scholars, emerging from the slumber of the European Dark Ages, had to go and study at the feet of learned African and Arab scholars.

It is the Arabs who rescued the Greek classics which, after several centuries of refinement, were returned to Europe via Egypt, where they had in the first place originated. For 500 years, the creative Muslim scholarship had been in the forefront of

enriching and passing back classical learning to Europeans. Few Europeans care to recognise and acknowledge their indebtedness to Muslim scholarship, though their Middle Ages' predecessors recognised the Muslim intellectual domination. Europeans took over where Arabs left off. Thus, European scientific and technological progress owes much to the Arabs.

During the 12th and 13th centuries scholarship was almost wholly based on the Muslim and Greek writings translated from Arabic and Greek sources. Muslim-Aristotelian science was the core of European university education until the 16th century. European geniuses, notably Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus, not only lectured on Muslim sciences but also acknowledged their indebtedness to Muslim scientists especially al-Hazen and Jabir. This broadened intellectual experience, which concurred with the decline of feudalism and the rise of the cities, contributed to the revival of learning Arabic medicine and mathematics. The crusaders not only introduced Arabic learning into Europe but also revived commercial and city life. The economic revival produced a middle class who possessed money needed to make professional studies both possible and profitable. As commerce revived, travel facilities improved and encouraged a spirit that contributed to scholarly interchange.

The stimulus of Arabic and commercial revival was enhanced by the scholastic theology and philosophy of the time. The ecclesiastical pre-eminence of the Roman Catholic Church allowed it do dominate the other European institutions. Religious orders, such as the Dominicans, whose origins coincided with the European commercial revival, produced a large body of scholars. Some of these academics, such as Abelard and Thomas Aquinas, were so acclaimed that thousands of students came to hear their lectures. The attraction that these famous scholars had for the mobile student population, also contributed to the rise of the universities. Theological interpretation and investigation were major interests of the medieval scholastics, especially at the University of Paris where Thomas Aquinas and other scholars sought to reconcile rediscovered Greek rationalism with the revealed scriptural and doctrinal sources of the Christian faith.

The early medieval universities had no distinct central organisation, but were a loose association of master, skilled and licenced teachers, and students. Just as the artisans and craft guilds trained craftsmen, the university corporation prepared students to be scholars and teachers by educating them in the content and method of the scholarly disciplines. The medieval university's arts faculty provided a liberal education while the professional schools prepared doctors of law, medicine and theology.

Students were free to live as best as they could according to their wits, funds and style. Although wealthy students could live in their own houses with servants and a hired tutor, most of them formed associations and rented houses as collective residences. Gradually, these collective student housing units developed into colleges, which eventually became directly identified with the studies pursued by the students who lived in them.

As scholars were free to travel from place to place and from one country to another, the medieval university was distinguished by its cosmopolitan nature. Latin was the universal language and there were two main methods of teaching in these universities, the *lectio* and the *disputation.* To understand why these methods were developed, it is necessary to realise the conditions in which teaching in a medieval university took place. Books were both costly and rare. Each book had to be written by hand on expensive parchment, a process which was extremely tedious and slow.

A poor student would not be able to own a book; even the more wealthy members of the university could only afford to buy a few of the more important books. In the later medieval period, the copying and selling of books became a regular industry in university cities. Texts were copied by the stationers, *stationarii* and sold or hired out to students by the book-sellers, *librarii.* In the 13th century, the master would probably be the only person in the class who possessed the text, therefore he had to rely upon oral teaching methods.

Some of the leading medieval universities were Salerno, Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge.

Medieval Educational Theorists

St. Augustine (A.D. 354-430)

St. Augustine's educational theories focused on the integration of pagan teaching with Christian teaching. He reacted to the kind of teaching he experienced during his childhood, that is in the pagan culture, and also reflecting on the practice of the Christian teacher.

Augustine's discussion of the curriculum content in relation to the general education of the Christian teacher focuses on the highly controversial question of the extent to which the liberal arts of the secular curriculum should be employed in Christian education. To what extent should the Christian tap the resources of the secular culture? Should he look upon the wisdom handed down from the pre-Christian past as superseded, and not merely supplemented, by the documents of Christian revelation in which God has at last spoken out clearly and directly to man? This question had been acute from the earliest Christian times. It had been rendered more controversial and acrimonious by the violent hostility of the pagan world to the Christian claims. From one point of view, the literature and thought of classical Greece and Rome were incompatible with the Christian spirit. For a clarification of thought on this controversial question, which had inhibited the development of an adequate Christian curriculum, he made an important contribution. In his second book, *Christian Education,* St. Augustine examined the secular liberal arts curriculum to discover those elements in it which could safely be incorporated into the Christian curriculum. In the first place, he cited scriptural authority in support of the view that the Christian should use what is valuable, whatever its source. For instance he found in Exodus that, by the express command of God, the Israelites on their departure from Egypt 'spoiled the Egyptians', taking with them jewels of silver and of gold and raiment which they had borrowed from the Egyptians.

The apparent immorality of such expropriation of the property of others suggests an allegorical meaning and the passage is interpreted as a command to the Christian to help himself to what is valuable from the storehouses of pagan culture. This interpretation is, as Augustine maintains, further justified by the suggestion in the Acts of Apostles that the outstanding success of Moses in leading the chosen people out of Egypt was due, to the fact that he was 'learned' in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and mighty, in words and deeds.

The episode of the Israelites coming up out of Egypt is cited again in his *Confessions,* where Augustine remarked on the danger that the valuable elements of the pagan culture may be turned to the service of pagan objectives instead of the worship of

one true God. Granted, however, that the core of the Christian curriculum remains the study of the Scriptures, there was little danger of such a perversion of use.

While, therefore, the Christian must not allow himself to be turned aside by the false and superstitious fancies of secular culture, he must recognise the essential truth of what is found in the best of pre-Christian literature and thought. For example, by the penetrating power of their intellectual vision, Plato and others like him, gained some genuine insight into the universe before the period of Christian revelation. It was open to Plato to read and interpret the signs or, as Augustine puts it, to dig the truth out of the mines of God's providence, which is scattered about everywhere. It is because Plato was so successful in this effort that Augustine describes him as 'almost a Christian'. The acknowledgement that God had not denied all knowledge of his nature to the pre-Christian thinkers, that Christian literature did not enjoy a monopoly of truth, was a liberating force in Christian education.

St. Augustine postulates a curriculum which has an overall unity and one clearly defined purpose. The study of the Scriptures is not merely one among a number of subjects of study; it is the central subject, which draws from the peripheral subjects the resources they can provide to guide the Christian along the pathway of self education towards an understanding of spiritual reality .

Augustine, reacting to the kind of teaching he had received during his childhood, examined psychological aspects that are related to the art of teaching. In the *Confessions,* he pointed out that the successful practice of teaching is founded on an accurate understanding of the psychology of the learner. He expressed the conviction that this study must begin with an examination of self; unless the teacher reaches an unprejudiced understanding of himself, he cannot further his own education much less educate others.

Augustine's psychology is built on Christian insight, supplemented by accurate observation and self analysis. He believed that the knowledge of the soul was the first step in search of truth and distinguished three elements in the act of sense perception. These are:

(a) The visible form.
(b) The form impressed on the sense.
(c) The will which brings the sense into contact with the sensible object.

Behind the five senses which receive the discrete elements of sensation, Augustine postulated a synthetic faculty which integrates these elements and passes judgement on them. He called this the interior sense. In the light of his psychological perceptions and his own experience as a teacher, he made far reaching recommendations on the art of teaching.

Augustine suggested that what matters is that the will should be consistently directed towards objects that are worth loving. He saw all the movements of the universe, including the movements of the soul, as deriving their momentum from the divine love by which everything was created and set in motion in the beginning. The curiosity, which impels the young child to reach out and grasp an object which he desires, is a manifestation of that same love which is behind every human aspiration, and which, even if misdirected, leads man to know God who is the source of love. Therefore, if the teacher is to succeed in stimulating his pupils to learn, his own behaviour must be motivated by love of the subject he professes and of his students. Unless this condition is

present, his students are unlikely to make the task in hand the object of their own personal devotion and effort; therefore, they learn less effectively than they otherwise would.

Augustine argued that, if learning occurs only under the impulse of the desire to learn, there must always be a specific object of knowledge which the learner desires to make his own. If a person desires to possess something, it is because he already believes that it really exists. But one cannot believe in the reality of something entirely outside the range of one's existing experience and knowledge. In other words, there can be no impulse to learn anything which is not already in part. The teacher must begin with what the student already knows and give a glimpse of what is still to be known. When this is done, the learner is said to fashion in his mind an imaginary form, by which he is fired with love. This form in the imagination is composed of the materials of his existing experience. "How does the learner form this image", Augustine asked, "unless he draws from the things he already knows?"

Augustine held a strong conviction that successful teaching depends upon the teacher adapting his material to the interests and experience of his pupils. Learning is a matter of progressively adding to a diversifying experience rather than accumulating scraps of ill-digested and poorly integrated information. The principle of coherency has been tested in the experience of the best teachers and supported from many different theoretical standpoints in the history of teaching.

St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)

St. Thomas Aquinas is regarded as the greatest of scholastic philosophers. He read at the University of Naples, where he encountered Aristotelian philosophy through his Dominican teachers. He later became a professor of theology at the University of Paris where he wrote his most famous work, the *Summa Theologica.*

Aquinas, unlike his contemporary scholastics, had a really competent knowledge of Aristotle. He succeeded in persuading the Church that Aristotle's system was the basis of Christian philosophy. Although he was a theologian who philosophised, Aquinas clearly distinguished between theological inquiry derived from faith and philosophical inquiry derived from human experience. He used both modes of inquiry as he pursued basic questions dealing with the Christian conception of God, the universe, the nature of man and the relationship between God and man.

As a philosopher-theologian, Aquinas was quite familiar with the body of Christian scripture and doctrine and Aristotelian philosophy. He therefore spent his life trying to integrate the Christian faith and Aristotelian philosophy into a coherent view. It was through this pursuit that he wrote the *Summa Theologica,* which was an attempt at a thorough application of the Aristotelian principles of logic. Drawing from Christian and Aristotelian sources, Acquinas asserted that reality is both spiritual and material; God is both the ultimate Being and personal and caring Creator; man, a rational being can achieve knowledge of reality. Man is endowed with a free will, which he exercises by making choices; and objective truth and value exist as the surest guide to human conduct.

Aquinas' conception of the educator was drawn from the Dominican system that blended faith and learning; that by serving his fellowmen, the teacher is called to the love of God. The teacher, as a contemplative scholar and an active participant in the learning process, should master his discipline by pursuing its basic sources and acquiring

an expertise in using the methods of inquiry relevant to these sources. Again, when the teacher actively engages in teaching, he should direct his energies to organising and transmitting the materials of his discipline to the student. There was to be no contradiction between research and teaching. The good teacher teaches a subject matter that he has carefully researched, and both active teaching and quiet scholarship are blended in the scholastic method.

Aquinas distinguished clearly between *educatio,* informal education, and *disciplina,* formal education. *Educatio* involved all the means or agencies that contributed to bring a person to virtue or excellence. *Displina* was the learning that resulted from the formal instruction of teachers and schools. In recognising the distinction between informal and formal education, Aquinas determined that schooling should centre on *scientia* or bodies of knowledge, based on demonstrated subject matters. Scholastic instruction began with first premises or principles and involved the demonstration of conclusions, through example and analogy, which were deductively derived from these principles.

Scholastic teachers used syllogistic reasoning, evident principles and accumulated an ordered body of demonstrated knowledge. The teachers task was to aid the students in recognising basic principles and in developing their implications.

Aquinas' frame of teaching was an exercise in language in that the instructional act involved the selecting of language that functioned effectively to communicate the teacher's thought to the students. He further asserted the importance of the liberal arts and sciences, logic, mathematics, natural and, moral philosophy, metaphysics and theology which formed the organised subject matters to be pursued in higher studies.

Questions

1. What were the common characteristics between the Judaic religion and Christianity?
2. Why was the early Christian Church opposed to pagan civilisation?
3. Outline three major lines of educational institutions that developed in the medieval period.
4. Discuss elementary education in Church related institutions.
5. What was the *studium generale ?*
6. Discuss factors contributing to the rise of vocational education in the medieval period.
7. What were the main factors that contributed to the development of medieval universities? Specifically discuss the Muslim contribution to the rise of European universities.
8. Discuss the main educational ideas of *either* St. Augustine *or* St. Aquinas.

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10

THE RENAISSANCE AND EDUCATION

Historians have termed the revival of interest in the Greek and Roman classics as the *Renaissance.* As a historical movement, the renaissance began at the end of the 14th century. It reached a climax in the I5th century and was carried over into the 16th century *Reformation.* Like many of the historical movements, the Renaissance was a complex movement and certainly did not begin abruptly, but drew upon medieval ideals that had emphasised classical learning.

Although the Renaissance has often been interpreted as *a rebirth of classical learning*, it was more of a shift in perspective as interest revived in the humanistic and secular implications of the Greek and Latin classics rather than in the providential and religious aspects. This is so because the attitude of the renaissance scholars to the Church is difficult to characterise. Some were avowed free-thinkers although they adhered to the Church teachings. A number of the renaissance scholars had used classical authorities, especially Aristotle, as a basis of scholastic philosophy; the renaissance humanist turned to the rhetorical works of Cicero and Quintilian.

This shift in perspective from a providential to humanistic world can be illustrated by contrasting the outlooks of the medieval and renaissance man. The medieval man had a providential conception of history that directed his life and aspirations towards God. He regarded all creation as being controlled by the Divine Force which was beyond human interference. Based upon this spiritual orientation the medieval authorities were the Sacred Scripture, Divine Revelation and Faith. In the framework of medieval scholasticism, all aspects of life were theoretically related to God or to the Church. Although the medieval scholastic might have studied many of the same scriptural and classical sources as did the Renaissance humanist, his interpretation emphasised God's direct intervention in the lives of men.

The Renaissance man's perception of history, on the other hand, was more humanistic in that it centred on the temporal world rather than the world after death. While concerned with religious themes, he was involved with secular issues and problems. Like the scholastic, the humanist regarded Latin as the language of scholarship, culture and education. The Renaissance is therefore best described as a transitional period between the medieval and the modern. It was not a period of great achievement in philosophy, but it ushered in essential preliminaries of development that took place later, breaking down the rigid scholastic system and reviving the classical studies encouraging more independent thought. So long as Christian philosophy was

little questioned, men could afford to ignore the factual experience of mankind since they were so well assured of its ultimate significance.

The Renaissance was accompanied by an increasing interest in the worldly activities of the past. The Italian humanists turned to the study of classical writers giving birth to the modern historical approach to problems and human life which increasingly came to be regarded as a historical process than a finished drama to be played out according to a divine plan.

The Renaissance also marked a period where there was the increasing authority of science. Experimental science in proportion displaced the Christian notion of an utopian existence after death. It opened up the engaging prospect of indefinite improvement in life to be effected by the application of human reason to the mastery of the physical and social environment which determined human life. In the 17th century, Galileo and Newton made possible a new attitude towards nature. Nature was now seen to be friendly to man since the universe behaved in a uniform way according to universal natural laws, a behaviour capable of being observed and measured and subjected to the uses of men. God was still the supreme lawgiver, the author of the universe, but His Will was revealed in the great book of nature which mankind was to study in order to interpret ideas and customs which might attain an increasing perfection by being brought into greater harmony with the laws of nature.

The Renaissance had many other achievements. It has remained renowned in architecture, painting and poetry. It produced great men such as Leonardo, Michelangelo and Machiavelli, and liberated educated men from the narrowness of medieval culture. It created an atmosphere where individual genius could flourish by reviving the knowledge of the Greek world.

Causes of the Renaissance

A number of factors contributed to the renaissance. The revival of commerce and city life in the later Middle Ages had seriously weakened the decentralised agrarian manorial-feudal system. City dwellers engaged in commerce, formed a new class, the middle-class (bourgeoisie). Possessing financial power, the commercial class often allied with the national monarchs to weaken the rule of the feudal lords. It was this class that was most effective in destroying the medieval system.

The rise of this middle class had great importance for educational development. It demanded literacy, arithmetic, bookkeeping and commercial skills necessary to sustain commercial and business enterprises. The scholastic educational patterns and content that had been inherited from the medieval period were inadequate to satisfy the needs of this class. They therefore actively promoted the extension and availability of formal education.

The decline of the feudal system gave birth to the growth of national states each with its ruling house within centralised political authorities. This had an important bearing on education since the new systems required efficient bureaucracies to administer justice, collect taxes and enforce national policies. The bureaucrats also required educated servants. The clerical scholastic began yielding to the emergent model of the humanistically educated group whose loyalties were to the king rather than to the state.

The commercial revival, an outcome of the crusades, and the consolidation of political power into national states contributed to the age of exploration. Through exploration, there was the diffusion of ideas and culture. The exploration of the 15th and 16th centuries were facilitated by the use of improved maritime technology, such as the compass and sextant. The economic ambitions of the rising commercial class and the political aspirations of national states coincided to stimulate investment in exploration.

Other factors contributing to the renaissance were the rise of ordered secular governments, the growth of towns and industry, the geographical discoveries and the extension of commerce which brought Europe into direct contact with alien customs and ideas. Above all, the rise of an educated middle class whose interests were hampered by a society in which power and the doctrine of the Christian Church supported the autocracy of kings and the privileges of a landed aristocracy, inevitably paved the way for Renaissance ideals.

The Renaissance was a gradual break with medieval times. The keynote of the shift to worldlines within the spirit of the renaissance was an emphasis on man, a belief in man, a passion for learning and a stress on scholarly exactness. Reason was more important than faith. All this led to a rebirth of the Graeco-Roman heritage of classical learning and liberalism. The renaissance ushered in the modern world and set off the development of modern education. In short, the Renaissance was a reaction against the authoritarianism of the medieval ages of both Church and State.

Renaissance Education

Although broad currents of the Renaissance might be considered as a single movement, differences existed between the *Southern (or Italian) Renaissance* and the *Northern (or Germanic) Renaissance*. The Italian Renaissance was more secular and worldly than religious. The commercial revival and trade monopolies of some of the Italian city-states had produced a financial surplus which was used to support art, literature and architecture. The Italian humanists regarded themselves as an aristocratic literary elite whose task was to act as the custodians of knowledge and believed that their scholarship could be appreciated only by an elite group.

Local rulers in the Italian city-states took advantage of the growing disenchantment with the papal rule by increasing their political and economic authority. They entered the field of education and claimed the right to control it. While the Church was interested in training scholars and clergy for ecclesiastic service, the rulers of the Italian states and principalities established court schools to prepare courtiers for State service. As the court schools increased in number, the demand for humanist teachers made education a profitable career. Wealth flowing into the prosperous cities supported humanistic education and teaching by the classical humanists which grew in popularity.

The classical humanist scholars of Northern Europe, especially of the Low Countries and Germany, directed their attention to criticising scriptural and theological writings which had been distorted by medieval copyists.

The Renaissance education system general view found no worthy aims or interest in life except as connected with a preparation of the life to come. It gave way to a conception of an entirely different education. This new view contained the elements of all modem educational development. As the appropriate subject matter of education, the new education took a radical interpretation of Greek philosophy. In its method, there was an absolute rejection of that attitude of mind which drew authoritative deductions. Hence

all knowledge from conceptions, which, could have been established by ecclesiastical authority or scholastic traditions, were mere assumptions. In its form, the new education declined to express itself in or be bound by the stiff, formal theories of the Church. Instead, it aspired in the freedom and expressiveness of the classical literature.

The new conception of education resulted from a profound social change. The causes were numerous and far-reaching. The crusades had disturbed the European mind and brought nations in contact with each other. Above all, they had brought the more thoughtful and inquiring minds into touch with Byzantine and Arabic learning, which was itself in the direct line of Hellenic tradition. The logically perfect systems of education which dominated the Middle Ages, whether for the monk, the cleric or the secular leader, were unstable because of their very perfection. In their completeness, the medieval systems of education permitted no change; no progress. They made no provision for the individual. Although the monastic life furnished a moral discipline, it provided for no progressive application in life of power when developed since the monk was separated from the world; hence the tendency to fall away from higher ideals and the inability of such standards to meet developing needs.

The universities stimulated the zeal for the intellectual life. Intense intellectual activity at all university centres led to the raising of many questions which had been held to be finally settled. Eventually, Europe passed out of a period of dogmatic and ecclesiastical bondage into the freer life of the modern world by very gradual steps and found itself unaware in a new intellectual attitude to life; which was possessed by a higher faith in human capacities and possibilities. The new movement emphasised the revival of Latin and Greek literature, natural life and art, whose delight led to widespread scepticism and to a loosening of moral bonds.

The invention of printing was also a vital factor in securing the diffusion and permanence of humanism. There was a growing development of vernaculars. These continued to hold the field in the schools. A scientific revival extended knowledge of the earth and inquiry into the causes of things.

The transition from the old learning to the new was not abrupt; as the clear definition of the new spirit came about very gradually. Even its triumph did not involve the disappearance of the old spirit. Both in educational interests and in those wide ones involving the human intellect and the human spirit, old methods of thought as well as old ideas and ideals continued to be active for many centuries. But the dominant thought, which gives character to the period, soon came to be aroused by the new knowledge.

Some Educational Theorists of the Renaissance

A number of individual humanist educators developed distinctive pedagogical strategies designed to produce well-rounded and liberally educated gentlemen. The educators generally believed that by furnishing the basic elements of a liberal educator, classical Greek and Latin literatures could produce cultured gentlemen. It was believed that the style of writing of the classical authors would produce an elegance of style and expression.

Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446)

The typical school of the First Renaissance was that of Vittorino de Feltre, born in 1378. At Mantua, where he had gone on the invitation of the Lord of Mantua (Gonzaga), he

opened a school for his children and such others as might be admitted. The school was organised on the basis of humanism which neither exaggerated the claims of the ancients nor broke the medieval Christian ideal. The 'house of joy' as the school came to be known, was spacious, contained broad corridors and well lighted and loft rooms. It was surrounded by broad meadows, walks and trees. Emphasising the selective function of the school, Feltre carefully screened the applicants to determine whether the child would be admitted.

Feltre's philosophy of education included elements of classical and Christian humanism. He saw no contradiction between the study of the ancient classics and Christianity. Like other renaissance educators, he accepted the ideas of Cicero and Quintilian and believed that an educated man should be able to speak knowledgeably on a broad range of subjects. He also emphasised the moral nature of education by stressing the values of Christianity and humanism. He drew heavily on the classics from which he extracted examples of noble lives to be used as moral exemplars by his students.

The core of Feltre's curriculum was a thorough training in classical literature, along with such subjects as mathematics, natural sciences, ethics, history and geography. Children of four or five years learned to read by means of letter games. By the age of ten, the pupils were memorising and reciting from the orations of Cicero. Grammar and composition were taught in both Latin and Greek. Composition writing was given much emphasis in his teaching. Like other humanists, Feltre wanted his students to return to the original sources of Greek.

Feltre has earned a place in the history of education because of his pedagogical innovations. He emphasised physical fitness and dexterity in the belief that the truly educated man should possess both an excellent mind and body. Regular periods were reserved for gymnastics and physical exercises. Physical education and games were regarded as recreational and a rest from the rigours of academic learning. Feltre himself joined his students in physical activities as a way of providing counselling and guiding them. He followed Quintilian's recommendation that students be motivated by appeals to interest and pride rather than by coercive corporal punishment. As a teacher, he encouraged and praised his students and demonstrated a sincere interest and concern for them. Although the learning atmosphere in Feltre's 'house of joy' was permissive for the time, it was not lax. He demanded quality work and poorly prepared lessons were repeated.

Since his school was intended to prepare future statesmen, scholars, administrators and ecclesiastics, he encouraged student self-government. A form of student council was devised in which the students were divided into the political factions that had characterised Roman political life. Self-government was encouraged both as a means of character education and a method of institutional governance.

Following the Quintilian pedagogy, Feltre's methodology emphasised the recognition of individual differences among students. A child was not to be forced into a line of rigidly prescribed study, but was to be encouraged to develop according to his capacity and interests. It is pointed out that as soon as he noticed a particular interest in a student, Feltre adjusted the method of his teaching. The school at Mantua became a model of other humanist educators who sought to emulate his success.

Feltre conceived of the educated man as: a humanist gentleman of good physical health and bearing; accomplished in social graces; capable of aesthetic expression; and, above all, possessing liberal ideas and outlook. To prepare such a well-rounded person,

he turned to the classical heritage of Greece and Rome which he believed to be the exemplar of ideas. His pedagogical insights were inspired primarily by the works of Roman rhetoricians, Cicero and Quintilian.

Feltre strongly advocated the liberal arts, which formed the basis of his educational system. Like most humanists, he looked upon certain aspects of medieval scholasticism with suspicion, rejecting the scholastic emphasis on logic. He aimed at educating a Christian gentleman, but believed that morality should be derived from classical literature rather than from specific catechetical instructions. He was therefore a real representative of the Italian renaissance and a promoter of modern education.

Erasmus (1466-1536)

Erasmus is one of the few educational theorists of the Renaissance who discussed the art of instruction for the emerging school practice. Although Erasmus was never a schoolmaster, he saw clearly the many defects in the educational process; schools were poorly managed, teachers badly prepared to lead students down the multiple avenues of learning and the curricula were disorganised and rarely constructed following any principles of selection. Erasmus saw method as an instrument for achieving eloquence. In his book, *Upon the Right Method of Instruction,* he is most articulate and detailed concerning the day to day practices of teachers. He argues out that the effort of learning should be directed at knowledge of truths and knowledge of words, a student should seek truth through the instrument of words.

This did not imply memorising rules of grammar. Erasmus pointed out,

> **"I have no patience with the stupidity of the average of a grammar who wastes precious years in hammering rules into children's heads. For it is not by learning rules that we acquire power of speaking a language, but by daily intercourse with those accustomed to express themselves with exactness and refinement, and by copious reading of the best authors".**

On the instruction of beginners, he referred to the teaching of Latin and Greek to boys for whom neither language is a native tongue. In reading the Latin and Greek authors, the student is to have a notebook in hand ready to record, under proper headings, unusual words, archaisms, innovation, ingenuity in handling material, distinction of style, historical or moral instances and proverbial expressions. Even the entries in the notebook were worthy of Erasmus' attention. If the student tries to record anything, his notebook will be useless to him. He must capture the pith of his reading and phrase it in such a way that it will enable him to recall what he has to read.

With the good start, in his reading and note taking, the student should shortly be ready to write. And here, according to Erasmus, is the key to success, "write, write and again write". Along with writing, goes learning by heart, for which the following conditions should be noted: understand the subject before undertaking memorisation; arrange material logically; and, repeat frequently that which has been committed to memory. He noted the success some persons have had with memory crutches, but seemed neither to recommend nor discuss them. Finally, he recommended as the surest method of acquisition, the practice of teaching what one knows. "In no other way" Erasmus wrote, "can we so certainly see the difference between what we know, and what we think we know."

On composition writing, Erasmus emphasised the composition of the rules through practice. Both the student and the master must keep before them the code of good

writing. He reduced this code to three points: selection, treatment and imitation. The student must select a subject and material for its development; treat his material in concert with the accepted grammatical and rhetorical canons; and, ensure the greater acceptability of his composition, sort of guarantee, that it is good writing by seeing that it follows in tone and style some classical masterpiece. The teacher, with the code before him can test the suitability of the composition, he can point to its weak spots, and he can recommend items for care in writing. The certain path to good writing is to keep the canons in mind and apply them in writing and rewriting. When writing begins, reading must not stop, for the world of literature is an almost inexhaustible source of knowledge that counts. But as writing can become more precise and generally more sophisticated, so also can reading. Reading in class becomes now a demonstration of what an author contains. This was an old technique dating no doubt from the Hellenistic grammarians and rhetoricians.

Erasmus made no claim to invention. He simply asked that masters keep their commentary relevant and that they do not take this occasion to display their erudition. What he wanted most was to be certain that the author's meaning was understood and respected. And in this reading authors should be selected according to the capacities and interests of the readers. He emphasised the grading of instructional materials; obviously, he is not presenting us with anything strictly new. It is hard to see him as an innovator save on the level of organisation on the one hand and in sympathy for the learner, on the other.

Erasmus is one of the first educators who comprehended the importance of politeness. In an age still uncouth, where the manners of even the cultivated classes tolerated usages that the most ignorant rustic of today would scorn, it was good to call the attention to outward appearances and the duties of politeness. He knew perfectly well that politeness has a moral side, that it is not a matter of pure convention, but that it proceeds from the inner disposition of a well-ordered soul. So he assigned it an important place in education.

The duty of instructing the young, he said, includes several elements: the first, and the chief, is that the tender mind should be instructed in piety; second, he loves and learns the liberal arts; third, he be taught tact in the conduct of social life; and, fourth, from the earliest age, he accustoms himself to good behaviour based on moral principles.

Like Quintilian, Erasmus did not scorn to enter the primary school and to shape the first exercises for intellectual culture. He argued,

"We learn with great willingness from those whom we love."

Parents themselves cannot properly bring up their children if they make themselves only to be feared. There are children who would be killed sooner than made better by blows. By mildness and kind admonitions, one may make of them whatever he wills; children will learn to speak their native tongue without any weariness by usage and practice.

"Drill in reading and writing is a little bit tiresome, and the teacher should motivate by attractive methods."

In the matter of grammatical rules, instruction should at first be limited to the most simple. As the body in infant years is nourished by little portions distributed at intervals, so should the mind of the child be nurtured by items of knowledge adapted to its weakness and distributed little by little. Erasmus stressed the nourishing care and

caresses of the mother, the familiarity and goodness of the father, cleanliness (and even elegance) in the school and finally, the mildness and indulgence of the teacher.

On women education, in his book called *Christian Marriage,* he teased young ladies who learn only to make a bow, to hold the hands crossed, to bite their lips when they laugh and to eat and drink as little as possible at table after having taken ample portions in private. More ambitious for the wife, he recommended her to pursue the studies which will assist her in educating her own children and in taking part in the intellectual life of her husband.

Questions

1. What are the main characteristics of the Renaissance?
2. Discuss the impact of the Renaissance on education.
3. What factors contributed to the Renaissance?
4. Assess the contribution of *either* Feltre *or* Erasmus on the development of European education.

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11

RELIGIOUS REFORMATION AND EDUCATION

Historians seem to point to a coincidence of factors that made the Reformation almost inevitable. The *renaissance* provided a base for critical thinking. There was a humanistic shift of interest from heaven to earth, supported by new geographical exploration and commercialism. Extreme nominalism, the product of a decaying scholasticism, tended to undercut the philosophical supports of conservative Catholic theology. Above all, the rise of German nationalism was a critical factor in the reforming movement. There was tremendous ill-will among Germans against the Italian papal court because it was believed, with some justification, to be sucking people dry financially to support the Italian Church. Thus, when Luther was let step by step from forensic protest to open rebellion, culminating in his excommunication in 1521, large portions of northern and western Germany were ready to support his comrade against the Church. The outbreak soon spread to Denmark and Sweden, where the same grievances against Italian rule had long smouldered. Independent reform movements quickly began in Switzerland, Scotland and England.

The Reformation profoundly affected European educational institutions, which had already been influenced by Renaissance humanism. The various denominations developed their own theologies of education, established their own schools and sought to commit the young members of the Church to defend the 'faith' against rival creeds. The general Protestant emphasis on individual biblical reading and interpretation fostered a demand for universal literacy.

The Reformation was the application of Renaissance reason to matters of religion. The 16th century Protestant reformation spelled the demise of the ground medieval synthesis, a consequence which was entirely unintended by the religious leaders. Both 15th century humanism and 16th century religious reformation were largely promoted by classical culture. To this end, the religious reformation took on the literary and the rational interests within humanism both of which found ready support in humanist scholars and German princes thus culminating in sweeping religious and educational consequences in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Martin Luther (1483-1546)

Luther, in his revolt, is believed to have served the cause of education with much ardour. He not only addressed a pressing appeal to the ruling classes on behalf of founding schools for the people but also, by his influence, methods of instruction were

improved and the educational spirit was renewed in accordance with the principles of Protestant 'spontaneity'. It has been said, not without some exaggeration, that:

> **"free thought and free inquiry, are basis of Protestantism; where it has reigned, there has disappeared the method of repeating and learning by heart without reflection, mechanism, subjection to authority, the paralysis of the intelligence oppressed by dogmatic instruction, and science put in tutelage by the beliefs of the Church."**

It is said that the Protestant spirit made man responsible for his own faith and placed the source of faith in the Holy Scriptures. The Reformation therefore, contracted the obligation to put each one in a condition to save himself by reading and understanding the Bible. The necessity of explaining the catechism and making comments on it, was for teachers, an obligation to learn how to expound a thought and to decompose it into its elements. The study of the mother tongue and singing was associated with reading of the Bible (translated into German by Luther) and with religious services.

The Reformation then is said to have contained a germ for a complete revolution in education. It enlisted the interests of religion in the service of instruction and associated knowledge with faith. In 1524, Luther, in a special document addressed to the public authorities of Germany, forcibly expressed himself against the neglect into which the interests of instruction had fallen. This appeal has the characteristic that the greater reformer, while assuming that the Church is the mother of the school, seems especially to count on the secular arm, upon the power of the people, to serve his purposes in the cause of universal instruction. He said,

> **"Each city", he said, "is subjected to great expense every year for the construction of roads, fortifying its ramparts and buying arms and equipping soldiers. Why should it not spend an equal sum for the support of one or two schoolmasters? The prosperity of the city does not depend solely on its natural riches, on the solidity of its walls, on the elegance of its mansions and on the abundance of arms in its arsenals; but the safety and strength of a city reside above all in a good education, which furnishes it with instructed, reasonable, honorable and well-trained citizens."**

Luther, as a preacher of instruction, did not only speak merely from the religious points of view, but he also made a resolute argument from a human standpoint. He said,

> **"Were there neither soul, heaven nor hell," he said, "it would still be necessary to have schools for the sake of affairs here below, as the history of the Greeks and the Romans plainly teaches. The world has need of educated men and women, to the end that the men may govern the country properly and that the women may properly bring up their children, care for their domestics and direct the affairs of their households."**

In criticising the schools of his period, he stated that parents should neglect sending their children to them due to the uselessness of the results obtained by those who attended them. He says

> **"We find people", he says, "who serve God in strange ways. They fast and wear coarse clothing, but they pass blindly by the true divine service of the home, they do not know how to bring up their children."**

He argues,

> **"Believe me, it is much more necessary to give attention to your children and to provide for their education than to purchase indulgences, to visit foreign churches or to make solemn vows. All people, especially the Jews oblige their children to go to school more than Christians do.**

This is why the state of Christianity is so low, for all its force and power are in the rising generation and if these are neglected, there will be Christian churches like a garden that has been neglected in the spring time....Everywhere we have seen such teachers and masters who know nothing themselves and could teach nothing that was good and useful; they did not even know how to learn and to teach. Has anything else been learned up to this time in the high schools and in the convents except to become asses and blockheads?"

So Luther resolved on the organisation of new schools. On the cost of their maintenance, he made a charge on the public treasury; demonstrated to parents the moral obligation to their children entrusted to them; to the duty of conscience, added civil obligation; and finally, gave his thought to the means of recruiting in the teaching service.

"Since the greatest evil in every place is the lack of teachers, we must not wait till they come forward of themselves; we must take the trouble to educate them and prepare them."

To this end Luther kept the best of the pupils, boys and girls, for a longer time in school, gave them special instructors, and opened libraries for their use.

In his thought, he never distinguished women teachers from men teachers; he wanted schools for girls as well as for boys.

"Only, do not burden parents and divert children from their daily labour he or she requires but little time for schools duties.

Is it possible to get along without our children and bring them up like gentlemen? "

Is it not necessary that they work at home?

I by no means approve of those schools where a child was accustomed to pass 20 or 30 years in studying Alexander without learning anything".

Another world has dawned in which things go differently.

"My opinion is that we must send the boys to school one or two hours a day, and have them learn a trade at home for the rest of the time. It is desirable that these two occupations march side by side. As it is now, children certainly spend twice as much time in playing a ball, running the streets, and playing truants. And so girls can equally well devote nearly the same time to school without neglecting their home duties; they lose time than this in oversleeping and in dancing more than in need."

Luther gave the first place to the teaching of religion. "Is it not reasonable that every Christian should know the Gospel at the age of nine or ten?" he asked. Then comes the languages, not as might be hoped, the mother tongue, but the learned languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Luther had not yet been sufficiently rid of the old spirit to comprehend that the language of the people ought to be the basis of universal instruction. At least, Luther gave excellent advice for the study of languages which must be learned, he said, less in abstract rules of grammar than in their concrete reality.

He recommended the study of mathematics and nature. He also had partiality for history and historians who are, he said, "The best people and the best teachers" on the condition that they do not tamper with the truth and that "they do not make obscure the work of God". Physical exercises are not forgotten in Luther's pedagogy. But he attached a special importance to singing. "Unless a schoolmaster knows how to sing, I think him of no account." "Music,"he said again," is a half discipline which makes men more indulgent and more mild."

At the same time, that he extended the programme of studies and introduced a new spirit into methods, he wished more liberty and more joy in the school. "Solomon", he said, "is a truly royal master. He does not like the monks, forbids the young to go into the world and be happy." Even as Anselm said,

> **"A young man turned aside from the world is like a young tree made to grow in a vase. The monks have imprisoned young men like birds in their cage. It is dangerous to isolate the young. It is necessary on the contrary, to allow young people to hear, see, and learn all sorts of things, while all the time observing the restraints and the rules of honour. Enjoyment and recreating are as necessary for children as food and drink."**

These remarks will suffice to make one appreciate the large and liberal spirit of Luther and the range of his thought as an educator. No one has more extolled the office of the teacher, of which he said, "when comparing it to preaching, it is the best work of all others, the nobliest, the most useful, and the best", and yet he added, "I do not know which of these professions is the better".

By the mid-16th century, Lutheranism had become the state church in many states of northern Germany and the Scandinavian kingdoms of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. In these areas, education developed according to the ideas expressed by Luther and his associates; dual system of elementary vernacular schools and secondary classical humanist schools and colleges organised under the supervision of state officials.

Calvinism and Education

Calvinism was started in the French-speaking Swiss city of Geneva by an exiled French lawyer, John Calvin (l509-l564). Calvinism rejected the medieval Catholic hierarchical traditions and the sacramental system. It asserted that the Bible was a self-sufficient authority in itself and that the Old and New Testaments had revealed all that could be known about God and man's place in creation.

Calvinism contributed to a particular way of life and a value system that had direct educational implications. Calvinist liturgy consisted primarily of scriptural reading, preaching of the sermon, singing of Psalms and recitation of congregational prayers. As members of a highly scriptural church, Calvinists were expected to read their Bibles. Calvin's highly intellectual theology required that the ministers of the church be literate and knowledgeable about doctrines. Calvinism also required a literate and educated laity. Since laymen were empowered as trustees of their churches, they were responsible for the collective conscience of the congregations.

In accordance with Calvin's doctrine of human depravity, no human being was free of the inheritance of Adam's sin, all men and their offerings were victims of the legacy bestowed by their first parents. Conceived in sin and born in corruption, children were especially prone to sin and were idle, noisy and willful. Formal schooling was conceived of as a means of disciplining the child and curbing his inclinations to evil. Calvinist educators rejected play as idleness and justified corporal punishment. Through hard discipline and the application of effort, the child could be brought into conformity to take his place among the citizens of the holy city.

Calvinists, like Lutherans, favoured a dual track-system of schools. The common people attended vernacular schools whose curriculum consisted of the catechism, psalms, religious materials, reading, writing, arithmetic and history. Classical Latin grammar schools were maintained for upper class children who were going on to higher

studies. The school sought to prepare future ministers, lawyers and leaders of higher education by emphasising Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

Anglicanism and Education

In the Anglican reformation, the Church of England or Anglican Church, retained a sacramental system, used the hierarchical principle in Church government and became closely tied to the English monarch (who was its Head) and to the English establishment.

The immediate educational effects of the Anglican reformation were not as direct as in the case of the Lutherans and the Calvinists. This was probably because those who were attracted to Anglicanism were upper class aristocrats, gentry, country squires and small farmers. These landed aristocrats, who found themselves well served by the existing institutions, generally neglected the education of tenant farmers.

The Anglicans adopted a *laissez-faire* educational policy. Upper class English children attended the various humanist schools and received a classical education which prepared them to enter Oxford or Cambridge, the main universities. Among the outstanding schools were famous public schools of Winchester, Eton, Harrow, Westminster, Rugby and St. Paul's. The Anglicans conducted parish schools in much the same way as the Catholic Church had done.

The establishment of Anglicanism as the official religion did affect academic freedom. The Act of Supremacy of 1562 required all teachers to take an Oath of Loyalty to the Crown and accept the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Faith. The Act of Uniformity required all teachers to support the established Church. Despite this legislation, the Anglican Church did not exercise overall control of education as was the case with the Calvinist system.

The Catholic Counter-Reformation and Education

The Catholic Church responded to Protestantism by hardening the lines of hierarchical and doctrinal authority. They also tried to regain the offensive by internal reformation and militant response to the spread of Protestantism. The Church seized upon education as an important weapon. Ignatius Loyola, a former soldier who had been converted to an intensely spiritual life, organised the Society of Jesus or Jesuits in 1540.

Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) studied classics, philosophy and theology at the University of Paris. His own schooling affected the educational theory that he devised for members of his Order. He regarded Latin as essential for the education of both priests and Christian gentlemen. He therefore made it a basic component of the curriculum. In devising the core of Jesuit education, Loyola adapted elements from both medieval scholasticism and classical humanism to provide both religious and secular education. Jesuit schools were to educate prospective members of the Society of Jesus and other Catholic gentlemen. Concerned with the education of the elite, they devoted little attention to the education of the masses.

As a student at university, Loyola was very much influenced by the Dominicanism of Thomas Aquinas. In his curriculum, *the Constitutions,* he recommended metaphysical lectures on Aquinas and Aristotle. Latin was regarded as a practical necessity because it was a language of the 16th century gentleman and was needed not only for the pursuit of higher studies, but also for any career in the Church, the state, letters and commerce.

Like most humanists, Loyola stressed the study of Cicero and Quintilian. Knowledgeable of Quintilian, Loyola stressed that Jesuit educators should recognise and provide for individual differences in their students such as age, education, capacity, character and physical needs. The *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 outlined the following basic Jesuit Curriculum:

(a) Human letters consisting of language and literature with emphasis on Latin and Greek classics, some venacular studies and work in grammar, poetry, rhetoric and history.

(b) The arts or natural sciences; consisting of logic, physics, metaphysics and mathematics.

(c) Theology, scholastic and positive theology and biblical studies.

Priest teachers for the Order received an extensive preparation in educational methodology. Prospective teachers were prepared by experienced teachers and given practice in methods of teaching, reading, writing and of correcting and managing a class. Classes taught by Jesuits were divided into small groups in which rivals competed against each other. This method rested on the premises that it was better to concentrate thoroughly on a small amount of material rather than deal superficially with masses of subject matter. Jesuit teachers tried to discourage punishment from the task of learning. Although they were to take personal interest in the academic progress of their students, there was to be no favouritism. The teacher was to be equally concerned with both the rich and the poor.

Among the specific methods associated with Jesuit education were *prelection* which was an introductory explanation of the precepts and content of the assignment. If the assignment was the study of a particular selection from classical literature, the teacher would provide a preliminary interpretation of the significance, rules and style exemplified in the selection. This was to provide the student with a means of analysis and clear up any difficulties that might block his study of the assignment.

Repetition involved a constant and consistent review of the subject matter in order to impress it permanently in the student's memory. Each day, the previous day's work was reviewed, and on Saturday, the work in all subjects studied during the previous week was reviewed. Similarly, at the onset of each school year, the studies of the previous year were summarised and reviewed.

Then there was a *written exercise* done by the pupil in the classroom under the supervision of the teacher. It was designed to apply grammatical and rhetorical principles of the student's own expression. An *oral* and *public examination* often took the form of class competitions intended to spur a desire to excel in scholastic achievement. *Dictation* of a theme to students was designed to test the student's ability to imitate the major classical authors who had been studied as models. The student was to develop and elaborate on the theme.

The ideally educated Catholic gentleman that Loyola envisaged was a product of his educational method. He was to be a person who could use education to strengthen religious belief and commitment. Jesuit teachers sought to prepare students who could infuse society with doctrines of reformed Catholicism and combat the activities of Protestant reforms. Loyola's plan of education and his priest educators, like his Order followed a pattern of strict military obedience and discipline. Geared to the education of the ruling classes, Jesuit priest teachers were often associated with persons of authority.

By 1640, the Jesuits had established over 372 colleges. These were secondary schools and universities far in advance of Protestant and state institutions. Jesuit schools very much excelled the humanistic secondary schools of the reformation as wholly to eclipse them and to evoke the approval of Sir Francis Bacon and Protestant men of eminence. This was largely because they had an organisation of teaching staff so conceived as to attain the objects of the school; suited to a system of carefully graded classes.

Their work was thorough throughout. A great many sensible rules of method in teaching were adopted and put into practice. All parts of the school worked as an organism. Although the discipline was authoritative, it was freed from the harshness that characterised other schools. Great attention was paid to the health of the pupils. All schools everywhere were alike and very much commanded the confidence of the parents since their success was certain. The Protestant schools had too much individualism about them though their educational theory was larger.

By their schools, chiefly, the Jesuits arrested the tide of Protestantism. They believed in education moulding the future man and had a conviction of its power which even to this day Protestants do not share in spite of all their platform talk. At one time it almost appeared as if the whole secondary and university education of Europe would fall into their hands, and had it not been for the restriction of their aims by Church requirements, the tendency of their system to crush out spontaneity and the reactionary character of their most advanced teaching, this aim would have succeeded.

A permanent and characteristic feature of the educational policy of the Jesuits is that, during the course of their history, they have deliberately neglected and disdained primary instruction. The earth is covered with their Latin and colleges. Wherever they have been able, they have put their hands on the institutions for university education; but in no instance have they founded a primary school. Even in their establishments for secondary instruction, they entrust the lower classes to teachers who do not belong to their Order, and reserve to themselves the direction of the higher classes.

Must we believe, as they have declared, in order to explain this negligence that the only reason for their reserve and their indifference is to be sought for in the insufficiency of their teaching force? No. The truth is that the Jesuits neither desire nor love the instruction of the people. They taught only the aristocratic classes of the society whom they wished to retain under their control.

At any rate, the Catholic Church in the 16th and 17th centuries did not altogether renounce her interest in popular instruction. She took measures to evangelise the poor people and teach them how to read and write. Nevertheless, up to the organisation of the Christian Schools by La Salle, no serious effort was made. Some religious foundations established gratuitous and charity schools, but no comprehensive purpose directed these establishments.

Conflicts of prerogative among certain independent colleagues, as that between the writing-masters and the masters of the infant schools, placed under the direct authority of the percentor or rector, saw to the enhancement of the *status quo*. Such dissensions came to defeat the intentions of individuals and to embarrass the feeble movement that was exerted in favour of popular instruction. For example, towards 1680, the writing-masters attempted to prevent the masters of the primary schools from giving writing lessons or giving their pupils any copies except the monosyllables.

John Amos Comenius (1592-1670)

During the reformation, there were many small sects and denominations that were loosely referred to as *Pietists*. Many of these groups established communities and lived as they thought the earlier Christians had lived; in shared brotherhood, work and prayer. The great diversity of theological interpretation that existed among the various Protestant *pietists* makes it extremely difficult to examine each of their particular theologies.

Among these small sects of dissenting Protestants, were the Moravian Brethren, a reformed evangelical sect descended from the followers of John Huss who was persecuted for heresy in 1415. The Brethren were constantly persecuted, but managed to survive in the Bohemian and Moravian hill country. This small sect is singled out because of the significant educational contributions made by one of its bishops, John Comenius.

The brutal realities of religious persecution, personal tragedy, the exile, and dispersion of his flock, greatly affected Comenius' educational philosophy. Comenius, who has been described as a belated humanist, kept the idea of European peace and unity alive in his philosophy of *pansophism*. He believed that it was possible to acquire universal knowledge and that, if this knowledge were diffused among all men, they could be educated to live good life, and world peace would be secured. Through knowledge, men would come to know God, the source of all truth. They would come to realise their common human nature as sons of a universal Father

During his time, Comenius was an internationally known teacher and educational reformer. He was a man of broad knowledge interested in many fields of study, ranging from theology to science and psychology. As an exile, he travelled extensively, composed religious music and wrote some of the major classics in the history of European educational theory. His educational philosophy was a blend, with some of his theories based on the humanism of the renaissance and others on anticipated sense of realism of the 18th century enlightenment.

As a humanist educator, Comenius was concerned with making language instruction, especially Latin, both interesting and efficient. He believed that language was a necessary foundation for approaching universal knowledge required for *pansophism*. He departed from traditional language teaching by approaching the study of Latin through the use of the vernacular. His grammar began with short and simple sentences and gradually progressed towards more complex and involved ones. He later prepared a dramatised form of language teaching by use of pictures combining language learning with a sense of perception.

Reflecting his evangelical theology, Comenius used the figure or model of Christ as the desired educational exemplar. The true Christian was to be formed on Christ's model and intellectually enlightened through universal knowledge. Schools were to strive to be Christian and since Christ had recognised the dignity of all persons, education was to be available to all men and women regardless of socio-economic distinctions. The purpose of education was to prepare man for the future on earth and for eternal life.

A *pansophic* education should cultivate the three qualities of wisdom, virtue and piety. As a rational being, man requires knowledge of all that the world contains; the virtuous man's behaviour being guided according to knowledge and prudence. The pious man refers all things to God, the universal Father and source of all truth and being.

Modelled on Christ, the ideally educated man is liberal in intellect, prudent in action and pious in spirit.

Comenius was quite critical about methods of instruction engaged during his time. His condemnation was that teaching methods used excessive violence to produce a minimum of learning. The methods concentrated on the learning of the intellect without giving the intellect adequate nourishment. Because the art of teaching was in former centuries unknown, the normal child was simply filled with windy and parrot-like information. Only the extraordinary child could acquire a sound education in spite of the teaching he received. Such teaching detained him for five, ten or more years over matters that could be mastered in one.

Schoolmasters were to be blamed, but even more, pitied, because they had been for the most part, ignorant of their art and had exhausted their strength in laborious efforts, trying in turn, one plan and then another. In the *Great Didactic*, Comenius suggested the following approach:

> **Everything must follow the order of nature. Not more than one thing taught at a time. Everything repeated , many times. Everything without compulsion.**

Parents were to take precaution against external injuries, chills and lack of adequate exercise and play.

The *School of Birth* is followed by the *School of Infancy* up to the age of about six years. Comenius is inclined with Plato to regard this as the most important part of education. Because infant education is informal, it is in some ways the most difficult stage of all. Parents must seize every opportunity of training the child in the whole range of activities required to make man in the image of God. A child's instructions were to be through nature. Things like singing, rattling and striking musical instruments were to be used. They were to have a creative character.

The first stage of infancy was babbling in which we learn mutually to understand by gesture. The second stage should be the association of symbols and things. Children should be made to name what they see, word and action be integrated. The third stage is the coordination of words to express meaning. This gives to sentence formation and eventually to abstract thought. Here, there is a need for listening as well as speaking. The process of reasoning is learned when the child observes that conversations are carried on by means of question and answer.

Comenius had a genuine horror of the ill-disciplined family where children scream, squall and stink, though he was far ahead of his own time, even ours. Coercion was entirely out of place.

The *School of Childhood* extended from the age of six to twelve. The course was to develop a full and accurate use of the native language. Writing and reading were to be taught. Pupils were to be taught to make simple measurements and calculations. They were to work at simple crafts according to their aptitude, learn geography, history and above all morality. All these were to be done through books with attractive titles. Singing was to be taught as an art as well as a pious accomplish-ment.

From 12 to 18 years, the *Latin School* was to provide an encyclopaedic course, the vernacular, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, physics, mathematics, ethics, dialectics, geometry, music, astronomy and theology. Sound and rapid learning were to be acquired through self-discipline and social manners. Boys were not to eat with their elbows on the table, take food out of the mouth or eat between meals.

The *Academia,* or university, was only to admit brilliant students and retain only those who were industrious as well as able. Comenius believed, with Bacon, that although the university should offer opportunities to study any subject, an important function of its academic staff should be to produce books. The highest standards were to be maintained in all activities, tutorials and public examinations. Positions of honour were to be given to those who had completed their university course with success.

Provision was to be made for specialisation in one subject by those who gave an adequately good performance in an examination to be taken at the end of the *Latin School* course. A few students of exceptional talent were to be encouraged to pursue all the branches of study. Plenty of books of university standard were to be made available.

In looking at this classification, one can perhaps say that Comenius' preoccupation with religion and with the task of elevating mankind nearer to God's perfection, blinded him to the value of certain aspects of education deemed significant today. True, he appreciated that education is concerned with the whole man and not only with his intellect, but in emphasising that the school's function is to inculcate morality and the university should give vocational training for public service, he ignored individual needs for creative activities and aesthetic experiences.

In the absence of a science of psychology, Comenius organised human development somewhat arbitrarily to accord with his general scheme. In spite of its artificiality, it is clear that a plan was devised with some definite consideration of the relation between age and ability. Although in the light of present knowledge, much of Comenius' psychology is crude and faulty it was at least a reasonable attempt to translate, into practical form, the generally accepted philosophical theories in the direction of clear understanding. At the same time, it was an attempt to introduce a humane system of child education at a time when harshness and arid instructions still prevailed in most schools.

It was not until the l9th century, that some awareness was made to the significance of Comenius' ideas. This was brought about by movements towards popular education arising out of the idealism of the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution and the upsurge of nationalist feelings in Prussia. This is how his ideas came to influence the works of philosophers like Froebel. During this period, his work spread to England and later extended to the United States of America. This was a time when education was emerging as an academic subject.

Comenius was extraordinary in his vision of education as a social concern, existing for the good of everyone. Yet, within this group instruction, the individual was not ignored or suppressed. The good of the group of the unique person was equally essential. To an unprecedented degree in his time, he created a balance between both values.

Questions

1. Discuss the main ideas of Martin Luther on education.
2. What were the contributions of the Calvinist and Anglican Reformations to the development of European education?
3. Discuss the Catholic Counter-Reformation education.
4. Assess the education theories of Comenius.
5. In your opinion, what do you consider to be the main achievements of the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation to the development of western education?

Suggested Readings

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12

MODERN MOVEMENTS AND EDUCATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The period of history which is commonly called 'modern' has an outlook which characteristically differs from that of the diminishing authority of the Church and the increasing power of science. It achieved its most spectacular successes in the 17th century. The renaissance and the reformation with their preoccupation with theology are often not considered under the modern period.

Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries was dominated by two socio-economic classes: the landed nobility and the commercial aristocracy. Below both classes were the peasants and the proletariat who had virtually no social and political rights. Having previously revolted the dominant classes, had fashioned laws to forestall any further revolts: laws which protected considerably the upper classes' socio-economic interests. However, especially during the 18th century, socio-conomic and political changes were beginning to be felt. Given the influence of rationalism, authoritarianism was beginning to give way with the acceptance of the 1689 Bill of Rights in England; the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution with its accompanying inventions and lastly, the 1789 French Revolution, all of which drastically affected European social stratification and education.

Thus, the 18th century *enlightenment* became a reaction against all forms of absolutism including the medieval unscientific understanding of nature and the universe. Again, the 18th century enlightenment was a commitment to natural law and scientific method in all spheres of life. This was in effect the 'Age of Enlightenment ' and the 'Age of Reason'.

The first influence of science was the publication of the *Copernican Theory*. In his chief work, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (1543), Copernicus argued that the sun is at the centre of the universe and the earth has a twofold motion; a diurnal (or daily rotation), and an annual revolution about the sun. This theory did not, however, become influential until it was taken up and improved by Kepler and Galileo in the 17th century. Newton (1642 - 1727) achieved the final and complete triumph for which Copernicus and Galileo had prepared the way.

The 17th century was remarkable not only in astronomy and dynamics, but also in other various ways connected with science. First was the question of scientific instruments. The compound microscope was invented, about 1590. The telescope was invented in 1608 by Lippershey, a Dutchman, (although it was Galileo who made

serious use of it for scientific purposes). Galileo also invented the thermometer while his pupil, Torricelli, is said to have invented the barometer. Clocks, though not new, were greatly improved in the 17th century largely through the work of Galileo. Owing to these inventions, scientific observation became immensely more exact and extensive than ever before.

There were other important scientific works in other sciences than in astronomy and dynamics. Gilbert (1540-1603) published his great book on the magnet in 1600. Harvey (1578-1657) discovered the circulation of the blood and published his discovery in 1628. Leeuwenhoek discovered spermatozoa and protozoa or unicellular organisms and even bacteria. Robert Boyle (1627-1691) is remembered for his famous Boyle's Law. In mathematics, Napier published his invention of logarithms in 1614.

Co-ordinate geometry, resulted from the work of several 17th century, mathematicians among whom the greatest contribution was made by Descartes. The differential and integral calculus were invented independently by Newton and Leibniz. These are the most outstanding achievements in pure mathematics, although there were innumerable others of great importance.

These scientific works transformed a general educational outlook. They contributed to the historical period often referred to as the *Age of Reason* or the *Age of Rationalism* (or the *Enlightenment*). This was an era during which man could exert his intelligence to reconstruct the social order according to scientific principles. This in turn had a profound impact on education. This impact is best understood by analysing some of the intellectual currents of the time among them 'reason' and 'progress' and 'sense realism'.

Reason and Progress

The intellectuals or philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries believed that human reason could cure mankind of his social, political and economic ills. In turn, this would lead to a time of perpetual peace, utopian government and perfect society. Through reason, man could discover the natural laws governing human existence. With this knowledge, man would be able to guarantee the progress of the human race. This kind of articulation coincided with the emergence of the Newtonian world view.

In the *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, Isaac Newton (1642-1727) had postulated a natural law theory based on the law of gravitation. Newton understood the universe to be a great machine that functioned according to its own in-built laws and design. He believed it is possible for man to employ the scientific method to discover the natural laws that kept the world in order and in motion. If discovered, these laws could be expressed in mathematical formulas and made intelligible to all men.

Some of the philosophers of the time tried to apply basic Newtonian ideas to human society. For example, Condorcet held that the laws of nature were applicable to man's intellectual and moral faculties. The crucial educational task was therefore to adjust man to natural law. As a result of superstition and obsolete economic, social, political and educational institutions, it was claimed that man's adjustment had been thwarted. As it was conceived, the philosophers' task was to:

> **Expose obsolete institutions to rigorous criticism, destroy those institutions that impeded the progressive adjustment of man to the natural order, construct a new set of institutions in conformity to natural law and reduce man so that he could exercise his natural goodness and live in perfect harmony with the emergent natural institutions.**

Through natural education, man could be restored to his original goodness. He could be given the stimulus and preparation to live scientifically, rationally and progressively. The emphasis in the new programme of the philosophers was a basic faith in man's rationality. This view of human nature came to the surface in the educational ideals of Rousseau in the 18th century, in the l9th century through Pestallozzi and in the 20th century through Dewey. In revolutions, such as the French Revolution, obsolete political institutions were destroyed.

The philosophers of this era also rejected both the Calvinist view that man was innately depraved and the Catholic view that he was spiritually deprived. On the contrary, they emphasised man's natural goodness. Evil, according to them, was not a product of man's nature but was an effect produced by an unnatural, artificial and irrational society. If man's reason was liberated by natural education, then he could follow his inherent benevolent inclinations, perfect the good life and construct fair and just institutions. In such a natural order, the course of mankind would be better than the past. Men were no longer to look backwards to ancient classical utopias, but were to look ahead to an earthly paradise; a modern utopia where poverty, superstition, hunger, persecution and war would forever be abolished.

This perception gave a new dimension to education, producing important methodological and sociological implications. If men were innately good, then the hope of the future was the unspoiled child, an uncorrupted and natural being whose interests, needs, and inclinations were the proper beginnings of instruction. Formalised schooling, with its emphasis on the written word and discipline based on corporal punishment, was seen as an outdated pedagogy which needed to be removed. Rousseau and Pestallozi stressed the goodness of the child, the importance of his needs and the liberation of his energies as the basis for a sound natural method of education. In addition to exalting the nature of the child, the educators influenced by the notion of progress, conceived education as an instrument for social amelioration and reform. This was strongly held by Pestallozi.

Sense Realism

'Sense Realism' in education was also based on the Newtonian thought of the universe as a vast mechanism functioning according to its laws. Through carefully constructed scientific experimentation and accurate compilation of data, man could discern the universal patterns of natural operations. Man could indeed, discover natural laws and reconstruct society in conformity with these laws. It was existing social institutions which in fact impeded the movement to a natural system of education.

Many of the 18th century rationalists also rejected the idea that man was naturally depraved; that he was a sinful creature. To cooperate with his original state, man's innate goodness had to be developed by a system of natural education that could liberate his intelligence; bring about a moral regeneration.

These views became more prominent with the 18th century's emphasis on science, nature and reason. This was consistent with the current thought of man carefully and scientifically observed; he could extract the laws of nature and establish new governments and even social systems in conformity with the natural law. This kind of theorising also relied on empirical methods as a source of knowledge. In the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), John Locke propagated an empiricism which profoundly affected education theory and method. Locke asserted that the mind is a

tabula rasa, a blank slate, upon which is imprinted the materials of experience that come to it through the senses. Stressing an empiricist epistemology, Locke asserted that knowledge derives from sensory perception of knowledge and man constructs his knowledge through combinations of simple ideas derived from sensation.

Locke's ideas were shared in France by Etienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715-1780), a materialist who denied the Platonic conception of innate ideas in the mind. Condillac instead asserted that sensation is the source of human knowledge. In developing a sensationalist psychology of learning, which anticipated modern behaviourism, he defined sensation as communication between sensory organs and the brain. As a sense realist and empiricist, he accepted the existence of a natural and objective reality that exhibits patterns of regularities or natural laws, that man can discover by carefully conducted observation.

Condillac's treatment of proper sensation involved five phases:

(a) man observes principal objects;
(b) he notes the relationship among them;
(c) he observes the intervals that exist between these objects;
(d) he observes the secondary objects that occupy the intervals between the principal ones;
(e) he compares all of these.

After the objects have been recognised as particular and discrete, and after their form and situation have been observed and compared, then an all collective and simultaneous concept is formed.

Condillac defined sensation as a way of analysing an object by first mentally decomposing and then recomposing it. Analysis involves the successive observation of the qualities of an object in order to present them to the mind in the simultaneous order in which they exist in the object. His conception of analysis was similar to pestalozzi's reductionism, which held that proper sensation requires that an object be reduced to its simplest elements or components.

According to Condillac and the sense realists, natural education begins with the learner's direct sensory experience of objects found in the immediate environment. They rejected generalised and abstract conceptions of knowledge. All instruction in their view should begin with immediate sense impressions and avoid premature introduction of abstract and verbalised definitions. Only after acquiring systematic and analytical series of sense impressions should the learner be encouraged to form general classifications of definitions.

These theorists moved epistemological research in the direction of empiricism. Their emphasis on sensation as the basis of knowledge undermined the school's exclusive concentration on verbalism and bookishness. It was in the light of sense impressionism that Pestallozi was later to devise an educational method that emphasised the child's immediate environment and objects within it as the source of learning. The sense realism of the 18th century philosophers and their l9th century disciplines had an important effect on the development of educational methodology.

The French Revolution and Education

The intellectual ferment unleashed by the 17th and 18th century philosophers was not merely theoretical, but had implications for politics, government, society and education. Basic to the thought of philosophers was the idea that social, political and educational institutions should be reformed and brought into conformity with natural law. The French Encyclopaedists, like Diderot and Voltaire, had a significant impact on the course of the French Revolution. Rousseau (1712-1778) suggested the possibility of creating a new educational methodology based on naturalistic principles in *Emile*. The ferment of the *Age of Reason* brought the established Church, state and school under critical examination. This section examines the educational consequences of the French Revolution.

From 1789 to 1793, the deputies in the French National Assembly attempted to centralise law and education. The National Convention, which had been elected in 1792, nationalised the French language so that local dialects and non-French languages were to be eliminated. The Convention assigned instructors of French to the necessary regions to teach French and expand the Declaration of the Rights of Man to children. The use of education to stimulate national uniformity, loyalty and patriotism marked a major attempt to apply the doctrine of nationalism to education. Since the citizen was born to live for the Republic, the state would educate him to love and defend his nation. Public games and festivals were organised to generate the sentiments of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord (1754-1838), a former bishop, was politically discreet enough to various ideological shifts that enabled him to exercise influence on the Revolution. He presented a report on public instruction to the Constituent Assembly in 1791. Talleyrand, in this particular report, argued that the old clerical dominated education was irrelevant to the needs of revolutionary France. Although the Republic should be responsive to the expression of the general will, it was necessary that republican education be instituted so that the populace would speak with reason. General education should therefore be made available to citizens without discrimination by age or sex. A three-stage system of schools was recommended:

(a) primary education to provide education for all.

(b) secondary schools to provide specialised education that would move men in the direction of particular vocation; and

(c) institutions of higher learning, to be located in each department of the Republic for advanced and professional education.

Although the Assembly adjourned before taking action on Talleyrand's report, it recommended the report to its successor, the Legislative Assembly.

Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritet Marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794), a leading member of the Committee of Public Instruction of the Legislative Assembly, presented a plan for educational reform. An examination of his philosophy of education reveals him to be a clear advocate of Enlightenment's concepts of science and progress. Essentially, he believed that man's knowledge was a product of a sense experience; he trusted that the course of human history would be the record of man's continuing and unlimited progress and unlimited perfectability. He believed that science was the instrument for securing the progressive development of mankind. In Condorcet's view science and education were intimately related.

In his plan of education, the state was to provide universal education and maintain equality of educational opportunity. He proposed four grades of schools:

(a) primary schools to provide basic instruction in reading, writing, measurement, morality, agriculture and industry.

(b) secondary schools, at least one for every town of 40,000 inhabitants, to teach the sciences.

(c) institutes, at least one in every department, to teach the applied sciences of agriculture and mechanics.

(d) higher education at the university level to be offered by nine *lycees*.

According to Condorcet's plan, primary and secondary education was to be free to the student. The emphasis throughout the plan was on scientific and social studies. Like most advocates of the sensationists' epistemology, Condorcet de-emphasised language study. In his plan, a system of scholarships would be created to give the poorer classes access to education. To protect the educational system against political interference, Condorcet proposed a controlling board, the National Society of Sciences and Arts, which would supervise instruction and disseminate knowledge. Condorcet's proposal was tabled, and the report marked an important landmark in educational history; it served to inspire other French educational reformers.

The Convention's definitive decree on school organisation was passed on October 25th, 1795. It provided for the establishment of a limited number of primary schools and also recognised the legitimacy of home and private instruction. One secondary, or central school, was to be established in each department, with five to be established in Paris. The secondary school curriculum was to consist of languages, drawing, natural history, sciences, literature, grammar, history and law. After initial difficulties, secondary schools proved to be prosperous institutions until they were suppressed by Napoleon in 1802.

The Convention was successful in its organisation of higher education. The School of Public Works, later the Polytechnic, was established in 1794 to educate civil and military engineers. In 1793, the Museum of National History was subsidised to carry out research and enlarge its collections. On October 25, 1795 the Convention created the National Institute, with more than one hundred resident scholars divided into three major divisions: physical and mathematical sciences; moral and political sciences; and, literature and fine arts.

The Constituent Assembly and Convention sought to safeguard the national artistic and cultural heritage after some irresponsible and destructive activities on churches, monasteries and private galleries and archives. The Royal Library was reorganised and expanded as the National Library. The National Archives were established to preserve books, manucripts and other documents. The Louvre Museum was founded to house the royal collections of paintings and other art works.

Some Educational Theorists

This section will focus on the educational ideals of John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau whose thoughts influenced educational methodology in the 17th and 18th centuries.

John Locke (1632 - 1704)

John Locke was one of the pioneers of the educational idealists of the *Age of Enlightenment*. Born into the professional classes, he studied up to university . He later became a tutor, a thing that inspired his educational ideas. His educational ideals were articulated in his book *Some Thoughts on Education* in which he addressed himself to the questions of physical development and general methods of education for young children.

Locke has long been associated with the idea of the newborn child as a *tabula rasa*, empty slate, to be written by training and circumstance in any way that dictate. "Imagine the way, minds of children to be as easily turned this or that way as water itself ", he wrote. Yet to feel that he had no respect for individual temperament is to overstate the case. He advises parents and tutors to study the child, to pay attention to his moods, his interests, his innate capacities and to shape the plan of education in terms of their understanding of him. The formation of good habits was considered essential, but it was not sufficient. Reason enters in as well as good human relations. "The careless self-indulgent parent would only have himself to blame for the careless, self-indulgent child", he states.

He stressed the inculcation of good manners and virtuous habits of mind as being the main aim of education which in turn would produce well-bred young people, wise in conduct and honest, courteous and sincere in attitude. He asserted that "to deny himself his own desires" is the quality of a virtuous man, and the only way to educate children to such virtue is to refrain from condoning slack behaviour even in the very young. If children learn that crying gains "grapes or sugar plumbs", that aggressive actions go unchecked and that parents are vain, untruthful and intemperate, it can hardly be expected they will be self-disciplined. On the other hand, with undue severity, righteous parents will achieve no greater success, if they will be "wicked in private".

In this respect,

> **"a strict hand is to be kept over children from the beginning. Firmness in this habit training, however, does not entail harsh punishment, which does more harm than good".**

The function of education is to help the child to learn how to use his reason more and more in the making of decisions. Thus too many prohibitions and too frequent application of the rod not only indicates laziness on the part of the teacher, but also trains the child not to behave well. Locke believed that unhappy experiences cause children to dislike those parts of learning with which the experience is associated. If beaten or scolded, the child may submit to the teacher's will either temporarily, until the latter is not present, or permanently as a spiritless nonentity. Yet, firmly but kindly instructed, he might have found the desirable course of action much to his own taste, or he might have reasoned that it would be a wise course for him to take. Rewards, according to Locke, are as dangerous as punishments, for again it means that there is a wrong motive behind the child's obedience and moreover, the granting of rewards tempts the parent into overindulgence.

The only way to ensure the right effort on the part of the child, in any aspect of learning, moral or otherwise, is to establish authority firmly and quickly by the rod if necessary, and then to depend upon the results of esteem and disgrace to regulate the child's behaviour, for he is extremely sensitive to the attitude of elders he loves and respects. Praise and commendation of a child may well be the most effective in the

presence of other children, but his faults are best reviewed in private for he then knows he still has the good opinion of others and will do his best to keep it.

"Playing childish actions are to be left perfectly free and unrestrained", said Locke, for such activities are necessary and restraint will come naturally in time. Children are also not supposed to be burdened by rules that they cannot be expected to remember; words and ideas they do not understand. Rules should be few and necessary. Parents and tutors' guidance should be based on a study of "natures and aptitudes", for the aim is not to turn all children out to the same pattern, but to make the best of what nature has given. A tutor has to be a man of integrity and learning and take the place of the parent in laying those foundations through his close personal relations with an individual pupil whose book-learning, social experience and moral training can be carefully organised and guided.

Locke recommended the use of tutors as opposed to school-masters, because they can find ways of giving their pupils a liking and inclination to what they (pupils) propose to be learnt. A tutor can observe his pupils' interests and moods and take opportunities not open to the schoolmaster, resulting in pupils learning more.

Children could be permitted to weary themselves with play and yet have enough time to learn what is suited to the capacity of each age. In this way, a child may be brought to desire to be taught anything you have in mind, and because children have to be busy, there is hardly any limit to what can be achieved by skill and gentleness. There should be no need for coercion except in cases of obstinate and continued disobedience.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

Rousseau played a major role in the French Revolution through his writings which dealt with socio-economic and political issues. His educational ideas were articulated in the *Emile*. There are a certain number of general principles which run through *Emile* giving it a systematic form.

The first of these is the idea of the innocence and the perfect goodness of the child. The *Emile* opens with the following solemn declaration:

> **Everything is good as it comes from the hands of the Author of Nature; everything degenerates in the hands of man.**

Another general principle of the *Emile* is the distinction of ages:

> **Each age state of life, has its proper perfection and a sort of maturity which is its own. We have often heard of a grown, but let us think of a child grown . That sight will be newer to us, and perhaps not less agreeable .**
>
> **We do not know infancy. With the false ideas we have, the further we go, the more we are astray . The most learned give their attention to that which is important for men to know without considering what children are in a condition to comprehend. They always look for the man in the child without thinking of what he was before he became a man.**

The different ages of *Emile* serve as a principle for the division of the work. The first two books treat infancy, the earliest period of life up through to the age of twelve. The only question discussed here is education of the body and the exercises of the senses. The third book corresponds to the period of intellectual education from the twelfth to the fifteenth year. In the fourth book Rousseau studies moral education, from

the fifteenth to the twentieth year. Finally, the fifth book in which the romantic spirit is still rampant, is devoted to the education of women.

It would be useless to search in the first part of the *Emile* for precepts relating to the education of the mind and the heart. Rousseau has purposely eliminated from the first twelve years of the child's life everything which concerns instruction and moral discipline. At the age of twelve, Emile will know how to run, jump and judge distances, but he will be perfectly ignorant. The idea would be that he has studied to distinguish his right hand from his left.

The exclusive characteristic of *Emile's* education, during this first period, is then the preoccupation with physical development and with the training of the senses. According to Rousseau, education should strictly be based on nature.

> **"What does nature demand? She demands that the child has liberty of movement, and that nothing interferes with the nascent activities of his limbs. What do we do, on the contrary? We put him in swaddling clothes, we imprison him. He is deformed by his over-tight garments, the first chains that are imposed on a being who is destined to have so many others to bear and as long as he preserves the human form he is held captive by our institutions!"**

Rousseau protests against the use of hired nurses and he eloquently summons mothers to the duties of nursing their own children. Where there is no mother, there is no child, there is no family. He insists on this especially on moral grounds. It is not merely the health of the child; it is the dignity of the home, that he wishes to defend and preserve. Yet the weakest part of the *Emile* is that which treats the education of women. Rousseau misconceives the proper dignity of women. Sophie, the perfect woman, has to be educated to the complete happiness of Emile. Her education is wholly relative to her destiny as a wife.

Rousseau asserted that the whole education of women should be relative to men, to please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves honoured and loved by them, to educate the young, to care for the older, to advise them, to console them, to make life agreeable and sweet to them - these are the duties of women in every age. Marriage was a second birth of man, that he rises or falls according to the choice he makes. By the time of marriage Sophie has learned nothing and read nothing. It is *Emile* alone who is to instruct and mould her into his own ideal, and in conformity to his individual interest. He commands and she obeys, the first duty of the wife being meekness. She is nothing except as she is by his side, or as dependent on him or as acting through him. Sophie briefly, is an incomplete person who Rousseau is not careful enough to educate for herself. In her subordinate and inferior position, the cares of the household occupy the largest place. Rousseau's expressions can be interpreted in the light of his poor experiences with women during his early days.

On hardening the body, Rousseau suggested that Emile should be barefoot. Locke gave his pupil thin shoes; Rousseau, surpassing him, completely abolished shoes. Emile, accustomed to walk in the dark, will do without candles. Rousseau objected, to vaccination, a physician will be summoned only when *Emile* is in danger of death.

Again Rousseau forbade the washing of the newborn child in wine, because wine is fermented liquor, and nature produces nothing that is fermented. And so there must be no plaything made by the hand of man. A twig of a tree will suffice. Rousseau by reason of his wish to make of his pupil a man of nature, brought him into singular likeness with the wild man and assimilated him almost to the brute.

Ordinarily, *Emile* the teacher will be but the inactive witness, the passive spectator of the work done by nature. Although the teacher is tolerated, he is not to act directly on Emile; teach him what is important for him to know; but it is simply to put him in the way of the discoveries which he ought to make for himself in the wide domain of nature and to arrange and combine artificially and laboriously those complicated scenes which are intended to replace the lessons of ordinary education. The true educator is nature, but nature prepared and skillfully adjusted to serve the ends that we propose to attain. For the body as for the mind, the child must be left to himself.

Rousseau continued to demand that infancy should be respected and the child's tastes and aptitudes be taken into account; encourage its sports, its pleasures and its instinct for happiness. As soon as they can feel the pleasure of existence, try to have them enjoy it and act in such a way that at whatever hour God summons them they may not die without having tasted the sweetness of living.

Rousseau rejected from the education of Emile, all the intellectual exercises ordinarily employed. He proscribed history on the pretext that Emile cannot comprehend the relations of events. Similarly, Rousseau did not permit the study of languages. Up to the age of twelve, Emile should know but one language because, till then, incapable of judging and comprehending, he cannot make comparison between other languages and his own. Later from twelve to fifteen, Rousseau still found other reasons for excluding the study of ancient languages, history and literature from Emile.

The grand preoccupation of Rousseau was the exercise and development of the senses of his pupil. The whole theory of object lessons, and even all the exaggerations of what is now called the intuitive method, are contained in germ in the *Emile*. Rousseau did not consider the senses as wholly formed by nature; but made a special search for the means of forming them and of perfecting them through education.

The third book of the *Emile*, from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, is the length of time that Rousseau had devoted to study and intellectual development proper. Not having acquired in his earlier years the habit of thinking, having lived a purely physical existence, he would have great difficulty in bringing to life, within a few months, his intellectual faculties. On the choice of the things to be taught, the principle which guides in the choice of Emile's studies is no other than the principle of utility. First, is the study of physical sciences and then geography, taught without maps and by means of travel. You are looking for globes, and maps. What machines? Why all these representations? Why not begin by showing him the object itself?

One of the consequences of an education that is natural and negative is the suppression of books. He determined that up to the fifth year Emile should not know what a book is. Besides, the fact that this raving is rather ridiculous in the case of a man who is a writer by profession, it is evident that Rousseau was roving at random when he condemned the use of books in instruction.

One single book, however, found favour in his sight. *Robinson Crusoe* was to constitute by itself, for a long time, the whole of Emile's library. We understand without difficulty, Rousseau's kindly feeling for a work which, under the form of romance, is like the *Emile*, a treatise on natural education. Emile and Robinson strongly resemble one another since they are self-sufficient and dispense with society.

The fourth book of the *Emile* deals with the development of affectional sentiments, the culture of the moral sentiment and that of religious sentiment. Rousseau explained,

"Let us begin by placing the child under the family or social influences which alone can furnish his affections and provide the occasion for developments".

Justice and goodness were to be inspired by reason. Let the child be made to make his way gradually towards severe morality, sanctioned by reason, in having him pass through the gentle emotions of the heart. Religion was to be taught at the age of sixteen or seventeen, so that the child does not form a superstitious idea of God. The child should have sufficient maturity of reason and power of thought to seize in its truth. The religion of nature is evidently the only one which, in Rousseau's system can be taught, and ought to be taught, to the child, since the child is exactly the pupil of nature.

Rousseau's temperament and the reminiscences of his own capricious, undisciplined childhood, led him to think that the child is a mere sensuous being swayed by purely sensuous instincts, and inaccessible to reason or conscience, and that these, when called forth by social demands, are marks of deprivation and budges of unfreedom. He wavered very much on the true meaning of spiritual freedom or the true ideal of social existence. His notion of freedom was negative and therefore unsocial.

Everything was seen essentially as its own activity. In isolating the child from society, he was depriving him of a large proportion of feelings and experiences, and hence impoverished the child's world. This is because Rousseau had no rationally organised world of his own. Much remained for him in the condition of almost brute feeling or emotion around which his fancy played.

Education is neither a work of nature alone, nor an art alone, but it is a natural process, supplemented, controlled and perfected by human art. What education would become when abandoned wholly to nature may be questionable and imaginable. Man is distinguished from all other creatures by the fact that he is not the victim of his environment, but is endowed with the power to control his environment, almost to re-create it, and so to rise superior to it. This ability gives rise to human art, which is a coordinate factor with nature in the work of education.

His infatuation with nature made the epochs of his system of education disorderly. The future is severely sacrificed to the present, for the fear that the future may never come. One finds that Emile arrives at the age of 20 so destitute of all aims and ends that, if he is not watched at every moment he could become an easy prey of his idle sensibilities. A young man, who has learnt to make the present subservient to the future by the exercise of his will, in the continual pursuit of worthy ends, and who knows the delight that comes from the attainment of these, will hardly be so victimised.

To Rousseau, a woman is a slave and an instrument of man, a creature whose whole being is exhausted in her sexuality. Her education, therefore is merely the education of her sexuality and might, on no account, go beyond this.

At any rate, Rousseau should be pardoned for his errors and wild ideas. One has to take into account the time when he lived, and the conditions under which he wrote. Rousseau's demand that children should, from the moment of their birth, be allowed complete freedom of movement, that they should be educated through direct experience and not through mere information derived from books, that they should be taught to use their hands in the production of useful articles, are all responded to. Thus, *Emile* exerted much influence in France and abroad. It had considerable influence on writers like Pestallozzi, Herbert, Kant and Froebel.

Questions

1. Why is the seventeenth century associated with the rise of science?
2. Discuss what you understand by the following terms, "Reason and Progress" and "Sense Realism". Show how they affected educational thinking in the 17th and 18th centuries.
3. How did the French Revolution affect education in France?
4. Write notes on *either* the educational ideas of John Locke *or* those of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

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13

MODERN MOVEMENTS AND EDUCATION IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The Industrial Revolution, which began in the 18th century, had a profound impact on the 19th and 20th century Europe and North America. The industrial factory system, resulting from the harnessing of power and the introduction of machinery, made mass production efficient and profitable. Industrialisation not only modernised the western society but also brought into existence a capitalist middle class of businessmen, entrepreneurs and managers who began to exert profound power on social, economic and political life.

Besides, there were other classes whose interests conflicted with those of this powerful middle class. This gave rise to conflicting ideologies that appealed to the needs and interests of a particular class. The various socio-political dogmas replaced the much eroded inherited commitments to established religious dynastic monarchies and were given such names as liberalism, conservatism, socialism or Marxism

In terms of their educational consequences, the ideologies had a two fold effect; they were often used as the rationale for educational philosophies; and, the various political parties that were associated with particular ideologies either advanced or hindered the cause of popular education. The rise of the middle class to power, in particular, had considerable educational consequences; it developed its own definition of "good education"; and, sought to make schools responsive to its needs. Since this was a mobile class, it sought to use education to advance its own upward mobility. And, being a monied class, it tended to measure educational results in monetary terms. As a practical, entrepreneurial class, it aimed at utilitarian and scientific education.

The middle class, as the new claimants for political and social power, was often attracted to liberalism and related ideologies. As the rising class, it challenged the political status quo which denied them power commensurate with their economic position. It opposed traditional aristocratic education, especially the close alliance between Church and school, and sought to disengage education from religion. Since it preferred an evolutionary and peaceful parliamentary process of political change, it believed that a literate citizenry was necessary for the proper functioning of representative political institutions.

In contrast with the middle class was the older landed aristocrats. Resistant and fearful of the modernising tendencies ushered in by industrialisation, they supported, and in turn were supported by established churches, hereditary monarchs and the peasantry.

Their ideology favoured political reaction or conservatism. They asserted that education followed the doctrine of "appropriateness", which held that there was a predetermined and appropriate kind of education for each social class. In their view, the function of education was to maintain the *status quo* by transmitting the cultural heritage.

The third major class, was the working class, which Marx called the proletariat. These workers had migrated to the cities where factory work was available and formed an industrialised mass of the urban population. Often victimised by the economic and social policies of their employers, the industrial working class became a dispossessed group.

This chapter will examine the various ideologies and their educational consequences. It will also focus on early childhood education and deschooling society.

Ideological Movements and Education

In this section, we shall briefly examine some of the ideologies as they affected education in the l9th and 20th centuries.

Liberalism

Liberalism was among the strongest ideologies of the western world in the l9th century. It was an ideology which was most closely related to the ideals of the "Age of Reason" namely intellectual, religious and economic freedom. Reflecting the middle class ethic, liberals stressed individualism in the belief that each man should be allowed to reach the status and attainment that his ability can allow. Intellectually, they argued for freedom of thought, while economically they opted for free trade and freedom of contract. Politically, they conceived of the state as the "passive policeman" whose functions were to maintain order, enforce contracts and preserve property.

One of the main achievements of liberalism in the l9th and 20th centuries was to democratise political life by gradually extending universal suffrage. Liberals generally regarded popular education under state control as a functional instrument for propagating civic, economic, social and moral responsibility. They believed that popular education would advance enlightenment and secure progress by widely diffusing scientific and practical knowledge.

Conservatism

Conservatism was basically a reaction against l9th century rationalism, the philosophy of the French Revolution and liberalism. Its main proponent was Edmund Burke (1729-1797) who attacked the concept of radical or revolutionary social reconstruction. Conservatives believed that genuine change resulted only from gradual historical processes and to them, each generation of man (past, present and future) is a link in the chain of humanity that transcends the ages. Inherited language, traditions, religion and rituals meaningfully identify contemporary man with his past and serve to prepare a place for posterity in the social and cultural order. Social class distinctions gave each individual a clearly assigned place in the functioning of an organic society which maintained social stability. Advocates of conservatism held that the proper role of education is to preserve language and tradition by transmitting the cultural heritage to the young so that they can assume their predetermined roles. Thus, education should

provide class skills and values to the immature so that they can fit into the social order of the State. The basic objective of education therefore was to preserve the *status quo* and maintain cultural continuity.

Humanitarianism

Humanitarianism was a response to the ills created by industrialisation. The transformation of the mode of life from an agricultural to an industrial one had profound social, economic, political as well as psychological consequences. A majority of the industrial city dwellers were former peasants who had been uprooted from their rural environment with its long established morals, folklore and traditions and the dehumanising working conditions had considerably alienated this former peasantry. Crowded into urban slums, which were both poorly lighted and ventilated and with long working hours in unsafe factories, tended to channel the discontent of the proletariat into socially destructive behaviour.

As a response to these conditions, humanitarian reformers proposed a variety of changes in the socio-economic order to cure these ills. Education was often regarded as a means of alleviating these problems. A number of educational programmes were launched to improve the conditions of the working classes. For example, the Sunday School movement, originating in England, was designed to impart religious values and reading, writing and arithmetic to working class children.

Robert Owen proposed a programme of infant schools designed to provide a wholesome environment for the young children of factory workers. Pestallozi devised a system of natural education in which working class children could learn basic skills and habits. Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster simultaneously proposed monitorial schools in which large numbers of children could be made literate at low financial expenditure. Others proposed popular education.

Nationalism

The l9th century also witnessed the rise of nationalism which generally cut across lines of ideological demarcation. Nationalism tended to be extended from literary and works of economic and social life and its force found entry to liberal and conservative political camps. As the old attachments to the local community, to the dynasty or to the Church, were eroded by the process of industrialisation, the nation became a new unifying and integrating force. This was a consciousness based on common descent, language, religion, tradition and economic interests, which cut across class and political lines to achieve a sense of natural identity.

The nation-state system became the basis of worldwide political organisation. It was the unit upon which political authority rested. According to the concept of national sovereignty, each nation had the right to set its own boundaries, establish its own government and make its own internal domestic arrangements. Closely tied to political sovereignty was the concept of cultural nationality; each nation claimed a common historical experience, language, religion and tradition.

Since the late 18th century, nationalism has been a major force in education. National systems of education were organised not only to bring about popular literacy but also to generate commitment and loyalty to the aims of the nation-state. A major emphasis in the national systems of education was placed on the study of the national

language, history and literature. Good citizenship was constructed as the manifestation of obedience and duty to the nation. The national impulse in education fixed loyalties and provided a core of integration that went beyond socio-economic class lines.

Marxism

Communism, one of the major revolutionary forces of the 20th century, arose as an ideological, philosophical and political movement in the l9th century. Its originator, Karl Marx drew together the theories of the various socialist ideologies into one single ideology. Marx rejected the peaceful and gradualistic procedures of utopian socialists and instead relied on the instruments of class warfare and violent revolution to effect social change. He envisaged a permanent class struggle which would culminate into a classless society. The sequential events from the initiation of the revolution to the classless society were to be:

(a) Proletarian revolution;
(b) Capture of the state machinery by the working class;
(c) Establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat;
(d) Elimination of opposition and remnants of capitalism; and
(e) Emergence of the classless society.

In the Marxist model, as the proletariat captures the machinery of the state government, it is also expected to capture the machinery of the formal education system. The curriculum would be purged of its capitalistic, individualistic and nationalistic biases to respond to utilitarian needs. Art and aesthetic education would reflect the aspirations of the proletariat and teachers would be recruited for their proletariat dedication and their knowledge of the processes of dialectical materialism.

Educational Theorists

Beyond ideologies and national systems of education, the l9th and 20th centuries attracted a wide range of educational thinkers. This section gives examples of some of the philosophers and their education theory and practice: Johann Heinrich Pestallozi (1746-1827) the famous Swiss educator, who sought to establish an educational philosophy based on the child's needs and interests; Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) and Maria Montessori (1870-1952) the advocates of early childhood education and John Dewey (1859-1952) who exercised tremendous influence on the development of 20th century American educational theory and practice. Lastly, the section will focus on the ideas of the de-schoolers.

Johann Heinrich Pestallozi (1746-1827)

In his early years, Pestallozi had read the ideas of Rousseau which had led to an evolution of a new educational theory concerning the replacement of religious control of education by the state. This made it desirable that instruction in the school, and particularly in the *Vernacular School*, should be recast, both in method and content, to bring the school into harmony with the new secular purpose.

Pestalozzi's educational ideas remarkably differed from his contemporaries because they were based on empirical experiments. His educational experiments at Neuhof,

Burgdorf and Yverdon Institutes demonstrably supported the applicability of his educational methods.

One of his early publications was *Leornard and Getrude* where he depicted an ideal community through a graphic account of rotten conditions and a clear indication of the means for their improvement. He saw better education of the children and a new attitude in the homes as the indispensable conditions for a good administration in the village, beyond it and in the whole country, of Switzerland. He incessantly emphasised the role of the mother in the family and her great importance in education.

In another volume entitled *How Getrude Teaches her Children,* Pestallozi reacted to the methods of instruction and the principle of self-activity in acquiring and using knowledge in its first stages. Although it should be realised that *How Getrude Teaches her Children* did not appear quite explicit on this principle, it is quite difficult since Pestallozi wrote down his ideas while experimenting on them. Its arrangement in a 'letter' form is not conducive to detecting a clear line of thought.

Pestallozi saw education as the art of bringing to life and fortifying the good which is inherent in every human being. It consists of guiding the child towards the best realisation of himself and of the things of the world. It does not impose anything alien upon him, but draws out what lies in him, either latent or obstructed; it takes as its starting point the child himself. It cultivates his own powers and encourages his independence.

Given these premises, it is necessary to discover the laws according to which the human mind works if appropriate principles for educating the intellect are to be formulated. Pestallozi postulated a fundamental power of the human mind underlying all mental activity and making possible all knowledge. He called it *Anschauung*. This appeared the most difficult of all Pestalozzian terms even in his own language, because he uses it in different ways; applying it in every aspect (or phase) of the mental operations which he considers relevant to the formation of ideas or concepts. Thus, it may mean sense-impression, observation, contemplation or perception.

Intellectual power is considered potential in every human being. It may not be developed at all and it may still be at a low unconscious level. It must not therefore be left to itself, but turned into an art, (i.e. it must be cultivated and made conscious if man is to be enabled to reach the highest possible degree of knowledge). Simple sense impressions, giving the lowest unconscious form perception, produce only obsecure impressions, which at a more advanced stage, may develop into more definite impressions. Through 'art' (or making conscious the mental process), definite impressions can be turned into clear images, which in turn can be raised to distinct notions. Through education, the child can be led from the stage of receiving obscure, chaotic sense impressions to a recognition of particular objects (clear images). The first demand on education of the intellect is, therefore, to make sense-impression, observation and perception, the foundation of instruction.

Teaching should advance very slowly, by small steps, from simple to more complicated stages, attempting the more difficult only after having brought the easier to perfection. Essential near objects should always be preferred to more distant ones. Knowledge should have its origin in the child himself. This implies that the child should not be given ready-made answers but should arrive at solutions by himself. To enable him to do this, his own powers of perceiving, judging and reasoning should be cultivated

and his self-activity encouraged. This gives the child a feeling of satisfaction and confidence in himself which is the foundation of a happy and useful life.

The school curriculum, he said, must be concerned with the transmission of the products of learning, the active process of search, not with dead letter work but with sensory intuition; not parrot-like repetition but with rational thought. Teaching of arithmetic, for instance, must begin with the use of real objects and proceed to abstract numbers.

Pestallozi wanted to introduce a new system of education which would take fully into account the child himself; what he was capable of achieving mentally and physically while bearing in mind his future situation in adult life. Education was to become child-centred and adapt itself to the intelligence, feelings, and enthusiasm of the children. He believed that the art of education lay in providing the correct exercises as well as a satisfactory background for the development of the child's talents to the full.

To Pestallozi, the art of teaching lay in ensuring that the level of difficulty of the subject matter corresponded exactly to the child's developing capacity to comprehend. There is indeed a similarity between what Pestallozi argued and what the modern Swiss psychologist, Jean Piaget, who by extensive observation and experiment, has shown how a child's capacity to comprehend the world around him develops. Piaget has pointed out that a child's comprehension of certain phenomena and concepts often tends to follow a strict chronological order.

Physical education to Pestallozi means the training of body, practical and vocational skills. Because of the individual's place in society, such physical education is the necessary complement to intellectual education. Knowledge without skill, he said, would be the most terrible gift which a hostile genius ever made to the age! Knowing and doing must be connected in such a way that if one ceased, the other must be developed in the same way as his powers of thinking. Physical education must be carried out on the same principles as intellectual education.

Physical education must be turned into an art too; it must not be left to chance (to 'blind nature') but must proceed according to rules. It must proceed in a definite order so that it may bring mankind to the full height of physical capacity of performance and finally, of happiness. An ABC of physical exercises must be found according to which children advance continuously from simple to more complicated activities. It must begin with the elements. All practical skill must be based on the most elementary body movements. Pestallozi gave striking, carrying, throwing, pushing, pulling and turning as examples after the mastery of which the more difficult manipulations of a future occupation may be approached. Thus, the procedure is analogous to that laid down for intellectual education.

It is not quite clear why Pestallozi patterned a practical question to a theoretical one in order to achieve a parallel method in intellectual development. This obviously is a forced approach. However, his system of total education for the development of the body had great importance. His reaction was for the education of the poor who were said to be increasingly crippled. He felt that the very narrowness of their lives aggravated their situation, for it induced in them a blindness to the dangers of ill-health. The schools of the poor did not regard physical training as a necessary part of their syllabus.

While attacking the old teaching methods which involved forcing knowledge into recalcitrant pupils by the use of the cane, he remained in favour of maintaining firm discipline in class. He expected the teachers to stimulate the children's interest

sufficiently to absorb them in the work being undertaken and thereby avoiding the necessity of imposing discipline by external means. In order to learn their lessons properly, children must be protected from all unnecessary distractions. He claimed that children learnt best by self-discipline.

If regular habits and good manners were instilled in the children, and the teachers presented their material in a fascinating way, then punishment would rarely be necessary. On the occasions when it could not be avoided, he considered corporal punishment justified as long as the relationship between the teacher and pupil was such that the pupil would understand and therefore resent his punishment. He recognised that the teachers might sometimes abuse their right to use corporal punishment more to satisfy their annoyance than to correct the child; therefore the teachers at Yverdon were forbidden to give such punishment. Pestalozzi's ideas on discipline show clearly the dualism between theory and practice in his philosophy. The collapse of his institute at Yverdon was partly as a result of lack of rigid organisation and the free unrestricted discipline.

His major concern for the majority poor class led him to advance some ideas on industrial education. Severally, he attempted to set up a pioneer institute for the poor children which would elaborate the activities and exercises necessary to equip the poor child for his adult life in a manual job. Early in his life, he tried to set up a poor-school in the Neuhof, and later, at Burgdorf and Yverdon. But the fate of the schools was decisively influenced by the contradiction between his theories on education according to social classes which was in accordance with contemporary thought, and his actual practice which was partly the result of his necessity and partly of his humanitarian views.

Human nature and, consequently, education according to nature, are the same with every man; he had just pronounced in his great Birthday Address. In all stations, man should be educated to be religious, knowledgeable, kind, useful in the home and community. But divergencies in their circumstances necessitate differences in the education of children from various homes and with desperate prospects. The child of the rich must be stimulated to greater effort by greater knowledge, while the poor child must be guided to greater knowledge through need to work. The same aim of balanced use of all their powers must therefore be pursued by different means and in opposite ways.

In Pestalozzi's view, the children most readily educable are, those of the middle classes, i.e. of people who have only a small share in the goods of this world but a high degree of working and staying in power and on whose endeavours the national well-being depends. For the children of well-to-do parents, the method of teaching various school subjects was to be further developed; their place was the Yverdon Institute. For the very poor, Pestallozi hoped to found as soon as possible a school in the Neuhof in which book-learning was to be combined with industrial and agricultural work.

He opened a school in Clindy within the vicinity of Yverdon for some carefully selected boys and girls from the lower middle class. Because of the children's predominantly middle class origin, Clindy had from the beginning not entirely been the poor-school which Pestallozi had had in mind, and as time went on, it developed more into a training college in which instruction in definite school subjects was of first importance. Pestallozi, however, argued that for industrial education to be effective, it must be based on a wide general education. This had to include moral, intellectual and physical aspects. In recommending a general system of education for the poor, he was involving himself in one of the most controversial issues of the time. There was no

possibility of establishing education for the poor without cooperation of the middle class who regarded any form of general education as a threat to their position of privilege.

The opposition of the Pestalozzian method had various explanations. In some instances it was simply due to the envy of Pestalozzi's success and renown and in others, to the anxiety of religious and political orthodoxy to preserve traditional practices. In 1803, a feud between Pestallozi and pastor J.R. Steinmiller of Gais began. Steinmiller had organised a teacher's training course and, jealous of Pestalozzi's success, he moved to wage a vindictive campaign. He spread abroad his view that Pestalozzi's method was merely play-work designed to save children the effort of thinking which was unsuited to the rural schools of Switzerland. He also spoke offensively about Pestalozzi's private life and his personality. Yet he had seen the Burgdorf Institute only once for three-quarters of an hour.

In Germany, the schools of the philanthropists had been flourishing for several decades. Their aim was to educate children for a useful and happy life. They tried to achieve this by realistic teaching methods. Teachers such as Campe, Olivier, Salzmann and Gutsmuths were widely known and esteemed. They were convinced that they had uttered the last word on education. Their main objection to the Pestalozzian method was that there was nothing in it which they had not said just as well, if not better and if Pestallozi had read some of their books he would have gained valuable knowledge. The philanthropists had indeed modernised school teaching considerably from theological in studies to natural science, but they confined their instruction to children of the middle classes and were mainly concerned with intellectual education.

Other German critics found Pestalozzi's method too intellectual. Wilhelm von Humboldt thought it "a terrible idea to make mathematics the main foundation of popular education and regretted that imagination was given too little scope". Goethe also disliked dealing with "mere figures and forms" and disapproved of the concept which the education of the individual and the encouraging of self-activity were, (in his view) bound to create. He knew only the striking features of the "fireworks" of the method, but his aristocratic outlook was diametrically opposed to Pestalozzi's democratic ideals.

Pestalozzi's feelings about these controversies vacillated between a longing to die and a desire to fight. He was often depressed by the ill-will of his enemies and frustrated in his activity but at other times he was stimulated to carry out his work against all the 'Pharisees' and 'Sadducees'. What is, however, true of Pestalozzi's methods is that he was always on the alert and always in quest of something better, hence admirable pedagogic instinct never came to full satisfaction. His merit was that he was in search for truth; his theories almost always following, rather than preceding his experiments. As a man of intuition rather than of reason, he acknowledged that he went forward without considering what he was doing. In formulating and applying his educational ideas, he relied solely on his own observations. This rugged independence was one of the reasons of the strong impact he made upon people. But it was also a source of danger to the survival of his institutes, for this had become dependent entirely on his person.

If the defects of his qualities were ever to gain dominance, catastrophe was bound to follow. He had the merit of making many innovations, but he was wrong in taking counsel of no one but himself and of his personal feelings. Pestallozi never knew how to profit by the experience of others. He never arrived at complete precision in the establishment of his methods and complained of not being understood which he was not.

Tested by the simplest rules of order and economy, the schools Pestallozi organised were failures, but tested by the exalted humanity, the heroic devotion and self-sacrifice of their founder, and by the new life which, through his example, was henceforth to animate the teaching profession, his schools were successful beyond all precedent. Judged by modern standards, Pestallozi was a poor teacher but an unsurpassed educator.

Pestallozi certainly attempted what more than one single man could achieve. His aim was not merely to establish a new method of teaching, not even to educate children or to improve the lot of the poor. His dream was to promote the well-being of all men through the strengthening of their own better powers and thereby bring peace and security to the world. In his "most ambitious days", as he described them himself, he tried to achieve no less than a harmony between a complete theory of education and a practical policy for the happiness of mankind. He is certainly the father of modem activity methods and self-centred education that is widely advocated. He advocated the principle of learning by doing and the methods were demonstrated in his institutions. In the teaching of geography, he illustrated a method which the best teachers are struggling to put into practice today; the study of geography through field study. Modern world educational practice is still far from achieving Pestalozzi's ideal or his practice of child-centred learning.

Pestalozzi was one of the great teachers whose method and influence stem, not only from his theories but also from something emanating from his practice and innermost self. A badly educated, poor country boy, Pestallozi nonetheless became the very embodiment of the educational ideal for many cultured men of his time. His whole life was an expression of tender concern for the unfortunate, the poor villagers or farmers of rural Switzerland of his day, the beggar children and orphans whom he took in and cared for with his own meagre allotments. He also laid a foundation for modem kindergarten and primary education.

Friedrich Wilhelm Froebel (1782-1852)

Froebel's educational ideals were greatly influenced by his strong religious background and association with Pestallozi. He visited Yverdon in 1805, where Pestallozi had his Institute. He began his educational practice with young children, because he saw that progress could be hampered if the six-year olds coming into classroom had already been damaged by lack of attention, and training and sometimes by abuse.

Froebel viewed the kindergarten as an essential step in the whole ladder of educational experience, which could remake man and hence be closer to the image of God. He opened his first kindergarten in 1837 and later established other kindergartens and training schools for teachers. Through these experiences he formulated his educational ideas which were strongly guided by his religious zeal.

On the basis of his idea of the unity of all living things, Froebel derived a new conception of childhood. Childhood, according to him was not mere preparation for adulthood but a value in itself and possessed its own creativeness. It participated in the divine whole with the same rights of its own as adulthood and therefore it could claim the same respect on the part of the educator. The adult had, therefore, no right to feel himself superior and to interfere with the natural conditions of childhood; rather, he had to combine guidance with the capacity of waiting and understanding. This meant that the educator was to lead the child through such situations as would help to relate his

experiences organically with another. It was through such an approach that the child would realise his own personal unity and the unity inherent in the diversity of life.

Froebel, therefore, built his system on the respect of the individuality of each child and an organised, articulated curriculum designed to ensure the step by step progress of the child through the subjects necessary for his education. An educator had to strike a balance between the child's freedom to be himself and to grow in his own way and the society's obligation to impart the skills, knowledge and values which allowed him to become a productive member of the larger whole.

This balance characterises Froebel's system. He taught that some part of each day ought to be spent by the child in each of these worlds. Play was the mode through which the child achieved an equilibrium through harmonious development. His classes were not in the school rooms, but gardens for children where every activity was designed to instruct through giving pleasure. Although Froebel was merely making assertions on the importance of play, these have come to be accepted by modern child developmentalists. It is now generally realised that play can be more than pleasurable to a child, it can be instructive and even therapeutic. In this regard, Froebel laid a true start of early childhood education of a distinctive, widespread and lasting variety.

Committed to play as a mode of instruction for young children and a curriculum representative of the larger society, Froebel went about devising his educational plan. He designed gifts (objects) to be handled and examined by the child in order to lead him step by step to an orderly sense of reality and planned occupations to train the hand, eye and mind. His kindergarten occupations are akin to present day crafts and table games. They were designed to synthesise and creatively express the impressions received through gifts. The latter were presented to a group of children by a teacher with the help of rhythmic songs and hand motions.

A modern kindergarten teacher is apt to be startled by examining the collections of work done a hundred years ago in Froebelian classes. There were intricate abstract designs or complex pictures pricked out with tiny regular pinholes and sheets printed with extremely detailed pictures to be coloured; for example a farmyard scene, sewing cards with complex patterns to be filled with stitches. Some of these were admittedly too advanced for the five or six-year olds, but they were a foundation of the modern kindergarten and the primary school.

Froebel envisioned the school as a selective environment for the socialisation of children where the ways of courtesy and helpfulness were to be learned. Creative expression was to be encouraged. The seating of children in a circle was for Froebel a symbol of unity. This pattern of seating is still in use in many classrooms, not for its symbolism but for its informality.

He respected the individuality of each child and strove to develop the pontentialities to be found in the individual. In the kindergarten, he used play as a vehicle for that development. Among the activities in which the child engaged were nature study, appreciation of aesthetics, weaving, sewing, gardening, clay modelling, dramatics, construction, singing, listening to stories and the use of material.

Gifts such as spheres, cubes and cylinders ranged from the simple to the complex, each built upon the previous gift but added some new features. Into these gifts, Froebel wove an elaborate symbolism which was later so criticised by psychologists that most kindergartens abandoned it.

He did much to lessen formality of school routine and the almost exclusive emphasis upon book-learning. Creativity helped to lift the spirit of learning. The emphasis upon the social development of children led teachers to recognise the child and his growth as of paramount importance. He believed in building the curriculum around children's interests as their interests are symptoms of their potentialities. Modern psychologists corroborate this emphasis upon the child's interests, needs and abilities.

Froebel's chief books were Education of Man, Education by Development, Pedagogics of the Kindergarten and Mother Play. These books detailed his educational theories although his chief contribution to education was the kindergarten. Modern education has modified many of his theories, but many types of educational practice today still show the influence of his theories. It was not only millions of k indergarten children but also millions of primary school children that owed Froebel their thanks for wholesome happy classrooms as the spirit of the kindergarten moved upwards into the other grades of the school.

Maria Montessori (1870-1952)

Montessori became involved in the education of young children without any formal training in the field. She was the first woman to earn a degree in Medicine in Italy and developed an interest in 'pedagogy' while working with retarded children as an intern at the psychiatric clinic of the University of Rome. At the age of twenty-eight, she assumed the directorship of a tax-supported school for defective children where she made tremendous achievement.

Montessori was best known for her design of materials for sensory training. Committed to the idea that movement, manipulation and the isolated training of the senses develops the capacity for thought, she developed materials that could be self-administered and were self-correcting. The younger children practised sensory discrimination of various graded stimuli, proceeding from a few which were strongly contrasted to many stimuli, gradually and imperceptibly differentiated.

Activities were developed for touch, visual and auditory senses; identifying objectives through words. The materials she developed for reading, writing and arithmetic were similar to those for sense training. Graded wood cylinders, geometric insets which fitted into variously shaped holes, sandpaper letters and graded rods are some of the examples of her work. When self-correcting materials could not teach skills, Montessori carefully taught the routines of 'practical life'; how to wash, sweep, prepare food and dress. Children were encouraged to repeat these homely tasks in the prescribed way. Repetition, she observed, was enjoyable to young children.

Some of her teaching principleswere:

(a) Teaching materials were to be simple which did not mean easy. It was to enable a pupil to discriminate what was to be learned. In this case complications were to be avoided.

(b) Teaching materials were to be inherently interesting.

(c) Children were to work largely on their own on materials that were self-correcting. It was through such that children were to discover on their own whether they were right or wrong.

(d) Teachers were expected to thoroughly understand their teaching materials.

Her teaching techniques are elaborated in *The Montessori Method* and in the *Elementary Materials*. Like Dewey, Montessori contends that the main problem of the child is to adjust himself to his immediate environment in which process the educator should play the part of guide and organiser. This principle is followed today in primary schools in many of the western countries far more widely than earlier critics would have believed possible. It is the principle underlying "activity methods". Montessori stressed that the teacher's background function is not mere passivity but rather that of "anxious scientific curiosity", whereby she was to understand and feel her position of observer.

Montessori required the careful organisation of the child's environment, the regulation of his liberty and the provision of special materials for his use, designed to give him practice in activities which might otherwise be encountered in the environment irregularly. Through the regular, graded use of this didactic materials, children are to gain skills of manipulation and judgement through their senses, physical and intellectual development. It was inevitable that during the years which followed, innumerable attractive sense-training toys were to be devised largely on the principles of the original apparatus.

She disapproved the use of fairy tales, fable and fantasy for the stimulation of the child's imagination. She aimed to achieve this through realities because, in her assessment, "the imagination of modern men was based upon the positive researchers of science", although she does not deny that in art, music, poetry, and also in morality and religion "there is a creative work which lifts man up from earth and transports him to a higher world which every soul may attain within its individual limits".

In comparing the Froebelian kindergarten and that of Montessori; one notices that in the former, the teacher is a story-teller as well as a group leader and an organiser of short-period activities. In the Montessori school, the teacher is an observer of individuals, who select their own activities and who decide for themselves when to change. In this case, the Montessori school needs more apparatus than the Froebelian one; for instance, the latter gives physical training through groupwork while the former gives through specially designed apparatus such as a climbing frame now found in many nursery schools.

Montessori's methods allow for development at an individual rate, free of the stress of rivalry and from the false incentives of rewards and punishments. They involve learning through interested activity and are thus in line with the methods evolved by psychologists, although Montessori herself was sceptical of the value of much contemporary work in the field of psychology. Her teaching principles do not however ignore the social factors in education. The 'children's houses', as they were known then, required their members to conform to standards of cleanliness and behaviour necessary for the comfort and welfare of the group.

Pupils, according to Montessori, were responsible for the tidiness of the classroom and for helping with the laying of tables for meals. There was to be no interference with natural tendencies to group together in some activities, nor any prohibition of the guidance of a child by another. Montessori indicated that she was not unmindful of the child's social needs and of the task of improving society.

It is quite significant that Montessori's doctrine of free development was interpreted as a threat to authoritarian governments of the time. In 1935, the German Montessori Society was dissolved by the political police and in 1936, all official Montessori schemes in Italy were abolished by decree. That two dictators of large countries should

be afraid of an elderly lady and her teaching of small children, surely indicates that her individualism seemed likely to lead to more intelligent group cohesion. Although she was to suffer a long exile from her country in her old age, she had the spirit to give personal direction to her disciples in countries as far apart as America, India, the Netherlands and Britain.

To this day, Montessori is considered a seer and law-giver by some, and an anathema by others. Montessori teachers in many countries are trained to follow exactly what Madame Montessori wrote; the conflict continues, however, between those who follow her and those who deviate from her curriculum. Unquestionably, she was a woman of remarkable insight and sensitivity. Her theory of intellectual development was oversimplified, yet her materials transcended her explanations and are still enormously beneficial for children all over the world.

John Dewey (1859-1952)

John Dewey developed his educational theories through practice at his University Elementary School and the Laboratory School founded in 1896. They were set up two years after his appointment as Head of the combined Departments of Philosophy, Psychology and Pedagogy of the University of Chicago. His University Elementary School and Laboratory School were, from the beginning, an integral part of the University. There were sixteen pupils and two teachers when it opened and when it closed, it had one hundred and forty pupils, a staff of twenty three and ten school directors responsible for its general supervision.

The Elementary School at Chicago, was organised by using as many connections as possible between everyday life and experience and formal work of the school. The introductory work was a simple continuation, of the forms and experience and modes of expression which the child is already familiar with. Differentiation was gradually introduced and, at all times, points of contact with everyday experience were maintained. The aim of the School was to secure the organisation of equipment and facilities which would give the children typical and varied contacts with the materials of experience, so arranged as to further consecutive and orderly growth. The School was intended for children between four and thirteen years of age. The first period covered children between four and eight years; the second eight and ten years; and, the third ten and thirteen years.

Dewey saw education as the reconstruction or reorganisation of experience which adds to the meaning of experience and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience. In the *Pedagogic Creed*, he defined it more briefly, as "a continuing reconstruction of experience", getting from the present the degree and kind of growth there is in its education. In *Experience and Education*, he described it as intelligently directed development of the possibilities inherent in ordinary experience.

Education, is a specialised form of experience whose aim is to guide the process in directions more profitable than if it were left to itself. Without isolating the school from the wider experiences, the teacher selects from the total available experiences that which he believes will help the child to incorporate in his growth an increasing richness of potential for future growth. The pattern of the child's experience is constantly reshaped and reconstructed, as it absorbs from past experience and present activity, new elements from which to create new possibilities of future experiences.

By eliciting innate capacity, by stimulating curiosity, insight and interest, by practice in various skills of mind and body and by involvement in social relationships within the school community, schooling intensifies and canalises the process of reconstruction which is entailed in the very fact of being alive. In this way experience is no longer haphazard or even miseducative, but is guided. This same principle was not merely to determine the treatment of individual subjects, but served as the fundamental criterion for their inclusion in the curriculum.

The conception of schooling as experienced within social context has the clue to discipline. How are the child's impulses, interests, energies and ideas to be so controlled and ordered that he acts with persistence, effort and ingenuity in the pursuit of these aims? How does it acquire discipline in the other sense of orderly and responsible living in a community? Not by the narrow repressive methods of the traditional school which is the very place where children are likely to find it. The only discipline of any value is that which comes from experience of having a part to play in constructive work and from doing it in a social and cooperative way.

From the tasks and the problems it throws up in children, they learn the disciplined use of their powers; from doing it in a social context they also have the behaviour proper by living in a community with others. Moreover it is only, thus, that they train for citizenship. The only way to prepare for social life is to engage in it; habits of usefulness, service, industry and responsibility are learnt only in relation to the social need and motive. Clearly, to achieve discipline in this way requires a measure of freedom where restraint is excessive. It is stated that there can be no genuine transaction with environment and where this is lacking, there is no reconstruction of experience and education.

The essence of freedom to Dewey was freedom of intelligence, i.e. freedom of observation and judgement exercised on behalf of purposes that are intrinsically worthwhile. But it includes also freedom in physical movement without which there lacks the opportunity for experiment both in learning and in personal relations; hence his criticism of the traditional schoolroom which is so crammed with desks that children cannot move and hence learning becomes a passive listening. Freedom is prevented from degenerating into licence partly by the teacher's guidance and partly by the double control of the social context and of a subject matter in which the child is genuinely interested.

The school, accordingly, has to be progressive. Education, said Dewey, is the fundamental method of social progress and reform. By means of it, society can formulate its own means and resources, and thus shape itself with definiteness and economy in the direction in which it wishes to move. It does this in two ways: guiding children towards new values and assisting the development of intelligence in individual children thereby increasing society's potential for its own transformation.

Dewey deplored the traditional concept of the curriculum as something external, a body of ordered material neatly packaged into subjects and ready for doling out as occasion requires. This reduces the child to passivity, (the source of whatever is dead, mechanical and formal) so that he contributes nothing to the creation of the knowledge he absorbs from his own experience. The store of human experience recorded in books has, however, an important function to the present, for it is part of the context in which the transaction of learning of the child's powers grow into the future. But it should never substitute for experience.

Dewey assigned science a place of special importance in the curriculum. At the Elementary School, it was introduced from the start of the course and children as young as six were given work involving both observation and experiments in the laboratory. Science emphasises the importance of ideas as hypotheses to be tested by consequences, and children demand the continuous use of observation and reflection in order that their experience may be capitalised for future use.

Occupations such as carpentry, cooking, sewing and weaving were considered for the provision of shelter, food and clothing and their potential educational value was very great. By engaging in them, children were associated with basic human needs and with man's struggle to assert himself against his environment. They were important for the balance they offer to the intellectual and the practical, though they were manual activities requiring the use of muscular skills.

Children also required observation, planning, reflection and experiment in furthering their practical activity. Finally, they appeal to interest in all their struggle because of their link with human need both past and present, and because they articulate a vast variety of impulses, otherwise separate and spasmodic in a continuous and lengthy course of action.

Dewey does not overlook the educative value of history, geography, literature and the cultural subjects. The significance of geography is that it presents the earth as the enduring home of the occupation of man. History is indirect sociology, a study of society which lays bare its process of becoming and its modes of organisation. Literature is also regarded as a social expression and approached through history; this avoids the danger of distracting and over stimulating the child with stories which to him are simply stories. He saw teaching method in terms of learning and experience. The provocative element is experience, which evokes intelligence and puts its work in the problem. The educator takes his cue from this and puts problem-solving, in situations which are meaningful and purposeful for the child and the centre of adult experience. He will no longer dole out parcels of information wrapped in adventitious allurements to make them acceptable.

The teacher's aim, either through fear or persuasion, should not be to reduce his classes to a state of passive recipiency or drill them in memorising schemes of logically processed facts. His approach should be less direct and more subtle. First, he must understand the child, both the child in general and the child in particular; this is one reason why the classroom teacher cannot dispense with a knowledge of psychology. Next, he must select the environment, choosing from abundance of available material which has the greatest capacity for inducing growth. There should be no external imposition.

The idea of education particularly obnoxious to Dewey was 'preparation', a reconstruction of experience; a continuous unfolding of potentiality, each step looking forward to the next. The future goal is not known in advance, not at least in any definite form. It is approached experimentally and shaped by the test of consequences. What Dewey was attacking is the attempt to educate children for goals already fixed, to force them in preconceived patterns of achievement in anticipation of the circumstances in which they can be put to use. Thus children are educated for citizenship, vocation and leisure; they are taught reading, arithmetic and geography, because they will be "useful" to them in later life.

This assumes, however, that skills acquired in the present can be effectively applied in future circumstances which may be very different. But, as later research has

confirmed, there is no such automatic transfer of training. Moreover, to teach in anticipation of experience instead of within it, entails the loss of interest and attention and is the reason why so much of what is learnt at school is not retained. Finally, to use the present simply as a means of preparing for the future, is self-contradictory; it ignores the only means by which anyone can be so prepared by present experience.

According to Dewey, education is a process of living and not a preparation for future living. He criticises not only traditional schooling but also extreme or distorted forms of progressive education. It is not sufficient, he argued, to react negatively against the past. Progressive schools have rejected the concept of subject matter as a finished product logically presented in books; they have rejected the imposition of external authority in favour of freedom, expression and individuality, but have elevated present experience above the study of the past. They have not given sufficient attention to the positive task of thinking out of the practical consequences of their own position, the due place of subject matter in schooling, the factors of control within experience which must take place of external authority, the function of the mature in guiding the immature. Nor are they sufficiently aware of the dangers inherent in their own position; for freedom can easily be misinterpreted as *laissez faire*. Too much emphasis on the child's present needs and impulses can lead to a neglect of the basic fact of growth and new theories may tend to degenerate into dogmatisms as rigid as those they replace.

On Psychology of the Elementary School, Dewey attacked two assumptions which he believed to be invalid. One was of likeness between child and adult. Children were often regarded as adults in miniature, smaller replicas of the same basic pattern. Dewey argued that the characteristics of childhood are growth and development as contrasted with the settled framework of habit and specific skill which belongs to the adult. On the other hand, it is commonly assumed that, whereas the adult must be allowed freedom, initiative and responsibility in developing his powers, the child must submit to determination by external authority. These mistaken assumptions, he continued, have had unfortunate consequences in the school curriculum and methods of instruction. The narrow scope of the traditional elementary curriculum, the premature and excessive use of logical analytic methods, the assumption of ready-made faculties of observation, memory and attention which can be brought into play if only the child chooses to do so and the ideal of formal discipline, all these can all be explained in the neglect of psychological distinction between the child and the adult.

Through adult power and control over the child, personal (adult) ends are realised. This is done through selection of means and materials, to which a child adopts and applies in his/her daily life.For the child, problems and aims are determined by another mind. The material that is relevant and irrelevant is selected in advance by another mind. And, upon the whole, there is such an attempt to teach him ready-made methods for applying his material to the solution of his problems, or the reaching of his ends, that the factor of experimentation is reduced to the minimum.

With the adult, we unquestioningly assume that an attitude of personal inquiry, based upon the position of a problem which interests and absorbs, is a necessary precondition of mental growth. With the child, we assume that the precondition is rather the willing disposition which makes him ready to submit to any problem and material presented from without.

Dewey criticised the teaching force which he felt was incompetent by reason either of wrong motives or inadequate preparation. They react in gross to the child's exhibitions

without analysing them into their detailed and constituted elements. They do not recognise pupils' emotions and motor impulses.

American critics of the post-war era have attacked Dewey with odd inconsistency as a formentor of communism and permissiveness. Because Dewey is regarded as progressive, he has attracted criticism that properly belongs to extreme forms of progressive education which he himself repudiated. This however, has been easy because of the ambiguity of his style and because he risked misinterpretation by leaving to others the task of the practical consequences of his ideas. Finally, despite the persuasive element of his writings, Dewey could be the first to admit, on the basis of his own principles, that his views were tentative and subject to modification.

It has been objected that he seriously underestimated the place of authority in education. In the past, it has received excessive prominence and the child's freedom has been severely and even brutally restricted. Also the exercise of the mind in discovery and in the solution of problems is an essential and long-overlooked technique of instruction, to dispense entirely with the authoritarian transmission of knowledge is impossible. This is true with the moral and intellectual instruction.

One reason for this is that the child has neither the time nor the opportunity to learn everything for himself. Further in the course of history, a society establishes by trial and error norms and values which give it coherence and continuity. On the long perspective of evolution, these values may well be temporary and relative but at any particular point in the process they have an apparent permanence; they are handed on by the teacher and received by the child as part of a tested and accepted pattern of life to which he must learn to conform. There is therefore no escape from authority; the school and its teachers must exercise it in the transmission of both academic knowledge and moral conduct; even the adoption of a discovery method of instruction involves a choice by the teacher which he imposes on the child.

Dewey tends to underrate the importance of the past and is therefore biased against the factual and the academic knowledge. By his emphasis on change and growth, it is argued, he depreciates the value of enduring ideas and structural beliefs which direct as well as condition all thinking. He fails to make clear the enormous dependence of even the modern scientist on the past knowledge before the presence of a problem can be recognised and a hypothesis formed. He opposes the place of subject matter with serious exaggeration. His child-centredness can also be questioned. Unless a clarification is made on what he claims to be external to the child, it becomes a narrow self centredness. Child-centredness in Dewey's educational thought implies absorption into a confined world whose values are derived from the immediate needs of transaction with environment modified by social pressures. Children are left with no standard outside themselves in terms of which to judge their own inadequacy.

Dewey's contribution to education cannot, however, be shaken. His peculiar significance lies in the fact that he gave rise to the movement now loosely called "progressive education". On American education, Dewey's impact has been immense. More than any other writer, he has been responsible for educational changes in modern America. In the kindergarten, primary and, more recently, secondary school and college, his influence has guided practice away from formality and authoritative instruction towards a more humane concept of learning as centred in the child and proceeding from the child's experience. His influence has become international.

The Deschoolers

Ivan Illich (1926 to date) and Everett Reimer (1922 to date)

The term 'deschooling' is vague. It is used in different senses by different people sometimes to refer to views that do not involve getting rid of schooling. Ivan Illich is said to be the 'father' of the deschooling movement. The essence of his views on schooling is contained in his two books *Deschooling Society and Celebration of Awareness*. This is also presented by Everett Reimer in his book *School is Dead.*

The concept of deschooling involves explicit emphasis on two ideas. First, a recognition that education and schooling are not necessarily the same thing or that form and substance, ritual and content should not be confused. Second, the institution of schooling by virtue of being an institutionalised process itself automatically and inevitably causes damage.

Illich asserted that the mere existence of schools discourages and disables the poor from taking control of their own learning, partly for economic and organisational reasons, but more significantly because they make mankind believe that they are the proper and only channel for genuine learning. All over the world, the school has an anti-educational effect on society. The essence seems to be to rid of the ritual imprisonment that schools achieve. To deschool society therefore implies eliminating all institutional and other school mechanisms because they merely contribute to failure.

A considerable part of the works of Illich and Reimer originates in relation to the Third World and is particularly concerned with economic issues. One of their points of emphasis is that the Third World has been invaded by a mythology that is irrelevant and disastrous to it. The suggestion is that a particular western culture and a western type and system of qualification has been imposed quite inappropriately at great material cost on alien cultures facing different circumstances.

Illich and Reimer have three closely related objections to the institution of schooling, namely:

(a) The multi-dimensional objection.
(b) The graded curriculum objection.
(c) The hidden curriculum objection.

These focus on the fact that schools combine four distinct social functions; custodial care, social selection, indocrination and education as defined in terms of the development of skills and knowledge. They see this combination as being responsible for much of the expense on education and for the school being inefficient educationally. They claim that concern for custodial care, besides being expensive, is wholly inappropriate since it extends childhood beyond its natural term. The use of the school to sort people out for different kinds of jobs and social roles is wasteful and often disastrous in consequences. Here, they cite the number of people who drop out completely after long and expensive investments have been made.

In a schooled society, life chances are determined by school achievement level. This in practice means by certification, so that even a garbage collector needs a diploma. Furthermore, in practice, schools define merit (the 'meritorius' is he who does well at school), and what causes merit, or lack of it, as principally the advantage of having literate parents, books in the home and the opportunity to travel. Thus, merit is a smokescreen for the perpetuation of privilege.

On the *graded curriculum*, Illich and Reimer object to the fact that the content, order and pace of learning in schools and the way in which the curriculum is graded, is dictated by university requirements. In the graded curriculum, there is also the assumption that learning pressupposes teaching and knowledge is seen as a production to be distributed. The graded curriculum is an array of packets of knowledge each with its time and space assignment in proper sequence. This is considered undesirable. Free people should choose freely as individuals and in voluntary groups among an ample array of alternatives. People should be the best in making such decisions.

The *hidden curriculum objection* is tied to the contention that schools, because they are institutions, have logic of their own which impels them towards a certain type of propaganda. Schools succeed in indocrination by claiming to teach such things as "the value of childhood, the value of competing for prizes, the value of being taught" among others. Schools perpetuate and validate some fallacious aspects of education which they enshrine in their daily setups to the extent that such aspects come to be taken for granted. An aspect like progress might be non-existent though it is assumed to exist through research. Progress is seen to be going on because people keep looking into things and coming up with new ideas and answers.

By keeping some activity going, the myth of efficiency is perpetuated simply because doing something is confused with taking useful and appropriate steps. Schools have learnt that the way to keep children from thinking is to keep them busy. The whole idea of degrees and diplomas, besides keeping people active and consequently under the misapprehension that they are doing something worthwhile, prepares them well to participate in the activity rites of the outside world.

In school, people are taught that valuable learning is the result of attendance, that it increases with the amount of input (i.e. that what you learn casually and easily is less worth learning than what you struggle over), and finally that this value can be measured and documented by grades and certificates. The school also teaches obedience and silence, the virtue of punctuality; of time dictated by the clock and by the seasons and the lesson that children's role in life is to know their place and to sit still in it.

In the new pedagogy, Illich and Reimer involve as many cheap and non-competitive alternatives as possible. For example instead of going to school one can go to a seminar course in nuclear physics or the local fish market. Learning should not be separated from other activities and pursued as an activity in itself. It is asserted that learning occurs with great difficulty with the student in the classroom and occurs naturally at work and play. Everything and every person in the world is a learning resource. Toys and games are singled as a special class of objects with great potential for offsetting the educational disadvantages in a technological society. Toys provide a pleasant way of learning skills and have the particular merit of constituting a means of organising activities among peers without recourse to authority. There have to be webs of network, so that there should be no obstacle for anyone at any time of his life to be able to choose instruction among hundreds of definable skills. Dominant institutions have to be done away with. Besides webs or networks of things, Illich and Reimer also plan skill exchanges, arrangements for peermatching and access to education at large, all of which become network of people. Skill exchange are centres that provide access to skill models, (i.e. individuals proficient in a particular skill).

Once individuals have dialled a model and seen the skill they wish to acquire practised, they will need to practise it and for that purpose will require partners to practise with. To that end, central agencies are set up through which people with similar

interests can be contacted. Learners in search of peers need only identify themselves and their interests in order to find matches. Alternatively, advertising through journals or newspapers might prove adequate.

Finally, educators are allowed back into the scheme of things. Three types are identified, architects and administrators of the educational resource networks, pedagogues who can design effective individual educational programmes, diagnose educational difficulties and prescribe remedies and leaders in every branch of learning.

Questions

1. How did the Industrial Revolution affect the organisation of social classes in Europe?
2. Show how the ideologies of liberalism, conservatism and humanitarianism affected the development of western education.
3. Assess the contribution of the following educational theorists on the development of education: Pestallozi, Froebel, Montessori, Dewey and Illich.

Suggested Readings

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14

AFRICAN INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

Long before the coming of Arabs and Europeans to Africa, the African peoples had developed their own systems of education. The view held by many Europeans who first came to Africa, however, was that the African was a savage, a pagan with no history and culture to perpetuate, that he was primitive, that he knew nothing and that Africans never taught their young. This kind of mistaken belief reflected the ignorance of the Europeans about African education systems and helps to explain why the first European educationists never considered that the 'formal' schools they were introducing had any relationship to the largely 'informal' education African children were receiving in their communities. The basic assumption was that they were introducing something totally new. This naïve way of looking at African traditional education presupposes that there was no social interaction or socialization. In other words, there was no deliberate attempt made by adults to bring up children to the kind of men and women required by society. Nothing could be further from the truth as we shall discuss later.

Furthermore, other scholars tended to assume that since the Africans knew neither reading nor writing, they had no system of education and hence had no contents and methods to pass on to the young. To such scholars, education in Africa meant Western civilization. So to speak, take away Western civilization and you have no education. Such scholars neglected anything traditional because of their restricted view of the nature of education. To define education in terms of school or reading and writing is definitely fallacious. Schooling and education are not synonymous in any way at all. Education is defined as the 'whole process by which one generation transmits its culture to the succeeding generation' or better still, as 'a process by which people are prepared to live effectively and efficiently in their environment'. On the basis of this definition, it is then quite easy to see that before the coming of the Europeans, there was an effective education system in each African clan, chiefdom or kingdom. African traditional education was effective ever since the evolution of the African race; it was not elusive or visionary, but it was tangible, definite and clearly intelligible.

There was, and there still is, no unified form of indigenous education for Africa as a whole. Societies differing from each other (as they do) developed different systems of education to transmit their own particular knowledge and skills. The differences were not necessarily great but it was quite clear that, for example, the indigenous system of education among the Yoruba of south-western Nigeria and the Akan in Ghana differed in method and content. On the other hand, indigenous forms of education were sometimes remarkably similar, and one form could be seen to have influenced another. Part of the

reason for this is that certain education specialists, as is the case in the Western type and Islamic systems, were extremely mobile. A false impression has often been given of pre-colonial Africa as consisting of static cultural units dwelling in isolation. Evidence, however, shows that cultural and economic interaction between different societies were at times very fluid and intense. An example of this is the way the peoples of different ethnic origin in parts of what are now Ghana and the Ivory Coast came to share some of the same artistic traditions. The mobility of specialists such as the Dyula dyers and the Numu blacksmiths in the Ivory Coast and Ghana was in large measure responsible for this.

Another misconception is that within one particular society all young people learned the same skills. This may have been so in ethnic groups where all families followed roughly the same economic pursuits and where political and social roles were relatively undifferentiated. But some traditional societies, for example the Yoruba, had marked specialisation in occupations as well as pronounced political and social hierarchies. Although they shared general knowledge, a child at the royal court of Ife had a different orientation and training in skills from that of a blacksmith's son in the war camp of Ibadan.

Educational Goals

Although indigenous education systems varied from one society to another, the goals of these systems were often strikingly similar. Indigenous education was essentially an education for living; its main purpose was to train the youth for adulthood within society. Emphasis was placed on normative and expressive goals. Normative goals were concerned with instilling the accepted standards and beliefs governing correct behaviour and expressive goals with creating unity and consensus. There were however, competitive elements within the system which encouraged competitiveness in intellectual and practical matters, but these were controlled and subordinated to normative and expressive aims.

Indigenous education, in its various forms, had a many sided character intimately intertwined with social life. What was taught was related to the social content in which people were called to live. Among the Chagga of Tanzania, for example, there was a course for imitative play. It consisted of representations of scenes from adult life by means of which the young were made familiar with the norms and ideals expected from full, responsible members of society. Indigenous education was not only concerned with the systematic socialisation of the younger generation into norms, religious and moral beliefs and collective opinions of the wider society but it also placed a very strong emphasis on learning practical skills and the acquisition of knowledge which was useful to the individual and the society as a whole.

Indigenous education, therefore, embraced character building as well as the development of physical aptitudes and the acquisition of both those moral qualities felt to be of an integral part of adulthood and the knowledge and techniques needed for active participation in social life in its various forms. In broad terms, indigenous education emphasised social responsibility, job orientation, political participation and spiritual and moral values.

The Curriculum

The success of any education system depends not only on the nature of its aims but also on its content. Education grew out of the immediate environment, real or imaginary. From the physical environment children had to learn about the weather, the types of landscapes as well as their associated numerous animal and insect life. It was a 'harsh' environment, to say the least, and children had to cope with it. And because life was a real struggle against these difficult aspects of the environment, certain emotional attitudes and sentiments were developed around them. Children had to have knowledge of the important aspects of the environment as well as of the attitudes the people had towards them.

Over and above this knowledge, children had to be acquainted with the problems and possibilities of the environment by partly being equipped with the skills of overcoming and exploiting them. They had to make proper adjustment to the physical environment by means of using equipment such as the axe, the hoe, the spear and other tools that the experience of the past had helped to evolve. They were taught how to cope with the environment; how to farm, how to hunt, how to fish or prepare food or build a house and how to run a home among others.

The physical environment also demanded close-knit societies under a strong form of government, to foster a strong communal sense. Individualistic tendencies were allowed only to grow within the umbrella of the society. Through his relations with other members of society the child was made to learn to imitate the actions of others and to assimilate the moods, feelings and ideas of those around him and thus, acquire the community identity. An individual was to live and serve other people in accordance with the accepted manners, customs, laws, avoidance of taboos and a rigorous code of morality. Children were also taught their roles in the all-embracing network of kinship relationships and what their rights and obligations were within it. Above all, every person in the homestead, as well as the community, knew his or her economic part in the daily and yearly round and performed it with others.

The economic role of the children featured prominently in their training. From their earliest years, elders aimed to adapt children to their physical surroundings and to teach them how to use it. Parents saw newborn babies in economic terms. After the birth of a boy at sunset, a Ngoni mother cried to the admiring neighbours, "See the baby has been waiting the return of the cattle, because it is he who will tend the cattle". All descriptions of early African life make this a close link between education and economics.

Within the homestead and its environs, parents and older relatives were responsible for the training in economic responsibilities. Learning by imitation played a big part as the smaller children followed the example of the older members in building, herding and hunting in the case of boys, or sweeping, carrying wood and water and cooking in the case of girls. Some duties required skills only obtained after much practice. Others demanded a quickness of mind in counting a considerable herd of cattle.

Indigenous education inculcated a religious attitude of life. Religion, which was concerned with morality, gave support to the laws and customs of the community and to its accepted rules of conduct which included courtesy, generosity and honesty. Religion had much to do with moral principles such as conduct of one individual towards another. It was also ethical since it covered and controlled the relations of the individual to the community. Morality was largely sanctioned by religion. Individuals had to learn when to use as well as when to avoid the ancestral spirits together with other mysterious

powers if they had to adjust themselves for the sake of their survival. They had to learn to appreciate the ties between the living members of the invisible world. They, therefore, learned the right observances on which the welfare of the individual and the clan depended.

The Educators and the Methods of Instruction

In most African societies, parents played a very important role in the education of their children. There was often a marked division of labour. The mother educated all children in the early years, but later the father took over the education of the male children while the mother remained in control of the females. After learning to walk, speak and count, the male child went to his father and male elders' to begin his training for manhood. The female child continued to be taught by her mother, assisted by other women in the community, and began to learn how to live and work as a woman in that community. Although there was overlapping in the simple tasks of training for both boys and girls before the age of six, the general rule was that of establishing sexual dichotomy in most work activities in order to prevent girls from becoming 'mannish' and boys 'womannish'.

Traditional educators applied various methods of instruction to attain the educational or learning purpose that was desired. These methods could be broadly divided into informal and formal. Among the informal methods of instruction included learning through play. In most communities, the importance of play was generally realised. A child who did not participate actively in play after 'work' was normally suspected of being ill or even abnormal. Children were left to take their own initiative to make toys for play from the rich environment. They made toys of animals, houses and people of their own choice and interest out of local materials. They moulded from mud and clay and made use of articles which they knew or thought were of little use to adults.

Children also engaged in make-believe play activities which could be described as initiatory, imaginative and symbolic. They enjoyed imitating their parents or other grown- ups, especially activities which they themselves would pursue in later years. Boys imitated activities which were appropriate to their sex. These included building huts of grass, digging and hunting. Girls, on the other hand, participated in activities of the family and life in the home. They imitated their mothers' cooking, grinding and fetching firewood and water.

A popular form of play was wrestling. A wrestling game was staged by children inciting each other. The provoked child or group of children took courage and accepted the challenge. To be declared winner, one had to throw his opponent down so that his back touched the ground. It should be emphasised that children did not partake in the game for its own sake or for the fun; they did so in order to become more proficient in it and also to compare their physical strength. The child who had been defeated on a number of occasions by most of his age-mates invariably became a laughing stock of the group and was considered a weakling. On the other hand, the child who had distinguished himself as the strongest usually assumed the power of leadership of the peer-group.

Other play activities included swinging, chasing one another aimlessly, sliding and dancing (performed in moonlights after evening meals especially designed to develop children's memory and promote their language).

Oral literature constituted an important method of instruction. This included teaching through myths. Myths were tales which effectively described or accounted for

natural phenomenon; tales about gods or things which were beyond the understanding of men such as death and the origin of man. Elders used myths to explain to the young things they did not understand.

Allied to myths were legends. Legends, however, were tales fabricated to account for real events that took place or were believed to have taken place in time immemorial. Like myths or fables, legends sounded like fairy tales, but were fragments of actual history. They were, therefore, closer to real life than myths; they told about people or things that actually existed.

Closely related to myths and legends, were folk-tales. These were not concerned with the explanation of natural phenomena nor were they concerned with familiar situations or recalled some ancient customs but were based primarily on day to day happenings. Much of the ethical teaching that was given to children was through folk-tales most of which had happy endings and involved triumph over difficulties. Virtues such as communal unity, hard work, conformity, honesty and uprightness were reflected in many of the folk-tales. Similarly, by listening to folk-tales. children learned a lot about human problems, faults and weaknesses. They were calculated to inculcate morals.

Children also learnt through dance and folk-songs. Music formed an integral part of their daily lives. Many of the rites and ceremonies. feasts and festivals were performed to the accompaniments of melodious music and dancing. The ceremonies, feasts and festivals were also important sources of teaching. Adults made desirable religious doctrines, practices and experiences available to the young largely through the medium of religious ceremonies and instructions arising out of such ceremonies.

Proverbs were used widely in ordinary conversation. A judicious use of proverbs was usually regarded as a sign of wit. Proverbs were condensed wisdom of the great ancestors. In a given proverb, one or two moral ideas were contained in a single sentence. Most of them referred to different aspects of the socio-economic and political life. There were proverbs dealing with co-operation and personal human qualities, others were related to authority and domestic life, while others referred to a particular mode of production, and relationships between children and parents and wives and husbands. Some of the codes concerned with the regulation of behaviour were embodied in the proverbs. Old people and parents used them in their dealings with the children to convey precise moral lessons, warnings and advice since they made a greater impact on the mind than ordinary words.

Traditional learning also involved the use of deterrence or inculcating fear in the children. Right from youth, children, whenever it was appropriate, were made to conform to the morals, customs and standards of behaviour inherent in the clan into which they were born or were living. Bad habits and undesirable behaviour, such as disobedience, cruelty, selfishness, bullying, aggressiveness, temper, tantrums, thefts and telling lies were not tolerated. Usually verbal warnings were used and more often followed by punishment. Children who committed offences would be rebuked, smacked or assigned some piece of work which they would be expected to complete before being allowed to eat. Serious offences, however, resulted in severe beating or some form of inflicting pain on the body. Such punishment was regarded as being reformatory. Sometimes, children were discouraged from indulging in what was regarded as a bad habit by being ridiculed with a funny or nasty nickname. Deception was also another deterrent method, especially used with young children from acquiring what were regarded as bad habits.

Informal methods of instruction included involving children in productive work. Learning through the medium of work enabled children to acquire the right type of masculine or feminine roles. Children learnt by being useful; by doing and working hand- in-hand with adults. This kind of learning prepared children through a number of stages to be capable future husbands and wives. What was required was ability to perform various farm or pastoral and domestic tasks. Every mother, therefore, wanted her daughter to master home management skills before marriage. Similarly, every father wanted his son to become a competent farmer, hunter, fisherman or herdsman. Thus, of all the different aspects of educational training to which children were subjected, the one to which most attention was paid was probably the one that prepared them as prospective wives and husbands.

A child was expected to learn largely by seeing (observation) and imitating. He or she was given formal teaching usually after he had made a mistake or when the outcome of his work was found unsatisfactory. He was usually given a gradual process of training according to age and sex. Firstly, the work that a child did usually increased in amount and complexity as he grew up. Secondly, the physical ability of the child was also taken into consideration; rarely was a child assigned a task which was beyond his or her physical fitness.

Formal methods of instruction involved theoretical and practical inculcation of skills. Learning through apprenticeship, for example, was formal and direct. Parents who wanted their children to acquire some occupational training normally sent their children to work with craftsmen such as potters, blacksmiths and basket makers who would then teach them formally. The same was true with the acquisition of hereditary occupations; for example, a herbalist, in handing over his trade secrets (about which medicine to use for which disease and how), would instruct his child from time to time until he became knowledgeable and proficient in its practice.

Formal instructions were also given in the constant corrections and warning to children; in some aspects of domestic work, in herding, in cultivation and tending to certain crops, in fishing, in making known to children the wealth of folklore, in teaching children the every- day customs and manners of eating, greeting and how to behave with relatives and important people, in preparing a girl getting married on the smooth running of a new home, and in stressing parental and marital obligations.

Among some of the ethnic groups, formal education took the form of succeeding stages of initiation from status to status. At the age of about five, the outer edge of a child's ears were pierced. At about the age of 10 or so, the lobes of the ears were also pierced, a visible indication that the child has advanced from childhood to boyhood or girlhood. But the most prominent of initiation practices were those associated with puberty which took the form of male circumcision. This test was regarded as the point of passage into full membership of the community. It was deliberately made an emotional and painful experience, sometimes covering a period of many months which was engraved forever on the personality of the initiates.

Without circumcision, a man could not be regarded a full member of the ethnic group or have rights of property. Circumcision was normally accompanied with formal lessons. They took the form of formal lessons, songs and efforts made by the instructor to test whether or not the initiate understood the lessons. Questions were asked in the form of riddles for the initiate to interpret their meaning. Such questions dealt with issues pertaining to the protection of the homestead against enemies, committing adultery and many others. In some communities, this involved making such tools like

bows and arrows, the use of sharpened sticks for different weapons, and staging mock fights.

Philosophical Foundations

Some writers on African indigenous education have argued that any system of education, whether simple or sophisticated, is firmly based on some kind of philosophical foundation and the African traditional education was no exception. A number of principles underlying indigenous education are identified - communalism, preparationism, functionalism, perennialism and holisticism.

Communalism

The philosophy of communalism or group cohesion was the way parents sought to bring up their children within a community in which each person saw his well-being in the welfare of the group. Children were brought up largely by the process of socialisation as opposed to the process of individualisation. This was done deliberately to strengthen the organic unity of the clan. Every child was brought up to be an extrovert; to be a social atom which was capable of entering into social relations with other social atoms which made up the clan. Freedom of the individual was completely subordinated to the interests of the clan or tribe; co-operation was preferred to competition, the individual was brought up to have love and sympathy for fellow human beings and such love was to be reflected in all forms of human relations and activities.

Preparationism

Preparationism, or a preparing philosophy, dominated the practice of traditional African education. Children were brought up or prepared to become useful members of the household, village, clan and tribe. Girls were brought up as future wives and mothers of children. In the company of their mothers, they learnt domestic and related duties. Similarly, boys were brought up in close association with their fathers and male adults to become well-versed in such aspects as looking after cattle and how to be a responsible head of the family.

Functionalism

Indigenous education was guided by the principle of functionalism. Education was strictly utilitarian, and was generally for an immediate induction into the society and a preparation for adulthood. For a greater part of their lives, children were engaged in participatory education, through learning by doing. Education was therefore, an integrated experience where children learnt by being useful to adults and engaging in productive work. It embraced among other things, spiritual and moral ways of living, social and economic communal participation, and more importantly, job orientation and application of what was learnt to the needs of society. What they learnt was also of utility to them and they, therefore, did not require much motivation to learn.

Perennialism

Traditional education had strong elements of perennialism in that it focused mainly on the transmission of a heritage from one generation to another. It aimed at assuring a continuity and being the instrument by which civilisations perpetuated themselves. Through education, members of the society made sure that behaviours necessary for the survival of the cultural heritage were learnt. It was a collective means through which society initiated its young generation into the values and techniques which characterised life.

Holisticism

Holisticism is another important principle in indigenous education. This involved multiple learning. There was hardly any room for specialisation in learning. It was not rigidly compartmentalised. In this, its aims, content and method were intricably interwoven. Farmers, for instance, were required to build their own houses and granaries. They could also be skilled craftsmen and hunters. The holistic approach to learning developed children into "jacks of all trades and masters of all."

Permanence and Decline

In considering the African environment today it can be observed that it is no longer possible to observe indigenous education anywhere in its pure form, free from foreign influences. But the modifications which it has been undergoing have affected it to very different degrees and at different levels depending on ethnic groups, regions, families and individuals. However, nowhere has it completely disappeared to give way to Western education. Even in the most Westernised communities, it is always possible to find some elements of traditional education, and very often, it continues to form the background of the educational contribution that the child receives from his family and environment.

One factor that has adversely affected the permanence of traditional education is school attendance. Indigenous education has often found itself competing with modem schools which spread new ideals and skills. Attending school has become the main criterion for differentiating between the traditionalist and the modem segments of the population, which in some communities are sometimes divided by deep antagonism. The modem school is said to open the way for new professions and a way of life based on individual remuneration.

Western education has had a significant impact on the pre-colonial socio-economic and political systems. Through transformation, different categories of people have had to assume new functions and roles. For example, the younger children no longer have older children beside them while the older people have partially lost their authority; their knowledge is not in much demand. Women have had to assume functions which were not traditionally theirs as the men become more marginal. New cultural elements are being introduced into the remotest parts of the countryside which have severely affected indigenous cultural values. The gradual acceptance of new ideas and ways of life and the corresponding disenchantment with the old ones have led the young to aspire to the teachings given at school. The motivations of both children and parents are based on the observation that the old culture is falling apart and that only the school is in a position to prepare them for entry into the new system that is taking shape.

The school to which everyone seems to be rushing has not generally met peoples' expectations. It has developed to affect larger numbers of pupils, but the problem of job placements has had to be felt, at times, rather dramatically. The dreams of advancement for a whole family group that have been built up on the basis of a single individual's entry into school have therefore proved illusory. The process set in motion, thus, and the urbanisation (which it has encouraged), has left parents dismayed and dissatisfied. Complaints are constantly voiced against the independence the school confers on the children against the crisis of authority that the whole society is experiencing as a result of the general collapse of values once dearly held.

The traditional educational system is not breaking up uniformly but in stages or by institutions. Among them, the initiation institutions seem to have been the most fragile though they are classically presented as the cornerstone of traditional education. Christian missionaries unanimously fought against the initiation practices in the colonial period. They strictly forbade Christians and catechumens from going into camps and expelled from schools those who underwent initiation. They came to consider it as the most important pedagogical institution of the traditional society which would lead a person to embrace a definite pagan mentality and thus bar any other form of education. Circumcision was tolerated but more as an isolated practice removed from its ritual context.

What has become of initiation in societies undergoing cultural changes is that they have become isolated practices, stripped of ritual and educational underpinnings. The circumcision done during the holidays in a dispensary without even a family ceremony no longer resembles a traditional ritual act, it is still considered indispensable for marriage and any young man who has not gone through it feels inferior and ashamed before his peers. The school calendar makes children less available because they leave for school and the age- group becomes smaller and smaller. The hazing of the bush camps is considered outdated and is no longer accepted. Even though nobody openly attacks initiation institutions, they are weakened by the fact that their sociological supports are breaking down gradually. Eventually no one is left to keep them alive and they disappear altogether.

The urban setting in Africa has posed the greatest threat to traditional education. In towns, one witnesses the decline of the role of the family unit in sustaining cultural values. For instance, it is more within the family circles than anywhere else that the use of the mother tongue is maintained. In the urban setting, the use of a European language is much more common and it tends to reflect the general transformation of society. The rural areas, on the other hand, still maintain stronger attachment to the traditional values. In the rural context, such features as evening conversations around the fire and beliefs in witchcraft and evil influences continue to gain ground. Practices of child rearing and the infusion of every education have hardly changed. Parental education has continued to follow the traditional models.

From the foregoing discussion, a number of socio-economic factors have contributed to the decline of traditional education. It, however, still plays a very important role in modern African societies, not only in those areas largely untouched by the Western ways of life, but also in the early and in the later years of many rural children who enter schools. There are considerable traditional cultural practices that they go through. In this respect, rural schoolboys and schoolgirls usually learn in two education systems, their own and the imported one.

Indigenous versus Western Education

Indigenous education was undoubtedly effective in the pre-colonial period. Today, this good education, as already discussed earlier, is being ignored and left to fall into oblivion chiefly because of its irrelevance in a modem world which appears different from the African past. Its purpose can no longer enable children to adjust themselves comfortably to modern dynamic life.

Traditional education has some inherent weakness and deficiencies which makes it inadequate for modern societal needs. In the first place, since attention was focused on the group, the clan and tribe, it led to the neglect of the individual; it was for adjustment to clan and very little contacts outside the narrow confines of the tribal life.

Secondly, its adherence to tradition was an obvious hindrance to development. It mainly served a static society which changed little from generation to generation. Thus, it was not an education for change; it was a non-progressive adjustment to life because it aimed at maintaining the status quo. Modern society, on the other hand, is dynamic and interdependent. Birth and environment dictated the channels of development. There was no room for a new career for the individual or choice of profession; birth fixed for life, the social status of each individual. Hence the tendency for passive attitudes towards life and lack of incentive to change one's environment. It is particularly unsuited for today as it seems to offer little scope for constructive thinking and, as pointed out earlier, it did not tolerate change as there was no provision for individual liberty or initiative and judgement which is necessary for progressive education. The individual was unconsciously and consciously suppressed to standard norms.

Thirdly, no figures and letters were learnt. There could be no future for such a system and it was bound to break down on its first encounter with the outside world. The development of external trade and government called for a system of written records. It is true that the ancestors were able to keep laws and customs in their heads, calculate the days of the year and annual festivals, and remember the chronology of their rules or the anniversaries of certain important events for several generations. But details were often forgotten and were lost to them; as the years passed by, their oral histories became adulterated and distorted.

The methods of teaching of the African indigenous education were both formal and informal, but they were generally inadequate. Formal instruction, for example, was given not in an attempt to discover and to impart why things should be done, but largely to indicate the action to be initiated or doctrine or belief to be accepted. There was no attempt at explanation or interpretation. Emphasis was on amassing or recognising, accepting and assimilating the known facts, facts upon which there was consensus of agreement were considered good and were therefore supposed to be known by everyone. The duty of the learner appeared to have been implicit obedience through initiation, also to be submissive, and devoid of the spirit of enterprise and initiative. The tasks of the educators appeared to be to compel, rather than to guide, and to indoctrinate rather than to motivate. They were also authoritarian, and on the whole, their objective was to preserve the past instead of creating the future. The products of the system were, therefore, uncritical with imprisoned mind instead of being a critical examiner of the world in which they lived. Conformity dominated the minds of adults who controlled the up-bringing of the youth. This sort of learning, albeit effective with the pre-colonial societies, was definitely irrelevant to the modem world.

Despite some of its weakness, traditional education still has an important bearing to the modem school. Indigenous education and Western forms of education cannot necessarily be seen as opposites since there are ways through which they could supplement each other. As already discussed traditional education grew out of the immediate physical as well as the social environment. The most commonly heard criticism levelled at the Western school system inherited at independence is that it does not deal with the realities of children's time and environment (i.e. with the realities of life). Here is a field in which modem education could learn much from the traditional education which reminds us of the importance of realism in education. Traditional education was deeply rooted in the environment, both physical and social; it brought children into contact with the world of nature and the people. In a nutshell it involved children in real life situations. Indigenous preparation was guided by the principle of learning by doing. Children received functional learning which largely prepared them to live and work on the land as well as in specialised occupations. Western literary preparation, on the other hand, seems to prepare children to despise the land and manual work, to seek white collar professions and to live in towns. An important implication to school curricula is that education should be work-oriented. By basing education on everyday life and the laws of nature inherent in technology, economic processes can be made clearer through manual training with the aid of simple tools and through productive work in the community. In order to be able to promote a development process, during which the knowledge and skills gained at school is applied to the improvement of living conditions in the community, a control over these technical processes is an indispensable pre-requisite. Learning will be concretely oriented towards the situation of the pupil who is to comprehend his situation and is to be worked out by both reflection and action. If the school attempts to anticipate the future situation of its pupils the subject matter to be taught must be definitely work-oriented.

Some other aspects of traditional education which should not be left to fall into oblivion include values, folk-tales, songs dances, children's rhymes, play activities and traditional games. As already seen, indigenous education tends to reflect the values, wisdom and expectations of the community or the wider society as a whole. Western education, on the other hand, tends to stress the intellectual development of the individual while paying less attention to the needs, goals and expectations of the wider society. The solution to such a situation does not lie in abandoning one form of education for another. Formal education system has an important role still to play in African societies, but if such system has to meet the cultural, social, moral and intellectual as well as political and economic needs, it ought to be indigenised. This is an area where the study of African indigenous education will be of particular significance and relevance. The philosophy, methodology and schooling in Africa needs to be reshaped and moulded to reflect some of the traditional ideals and perspectives. In this regard, the views, opinions and assessments of past and contemporary African educationists, who through research and experience have become aware of the needs and goals of the various African societies, must be considered. Not much serious educational planning can be undertaken without identifying such specific needs and goals. This, of course, also calls for an articulation of a sound African inspired philosophy of education in which the curriculum and methodology of indigenous and Western forms of education can be integrated.

Questions

1. What is education?
2. Discuss the contention that before the coming of Europeans to Africa, Africans had their systems of education.
3. What were the goals of African indigenous education?
4. Outline and discuss the major influences of indigenous education.
5. With reference to some African ethnic groups, discuss skill acquisition through apprenticeship.
6. Assess the philosophical foundations of indigenous education.
7. Discuss limitations and relevance of indigenous education to modern development in Africa.

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15

ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Western civilisation owes much to the Arabs and the Muslims whose sciences and civilisation had a great influence upon the European Renaissance. It was Islam that revived the human study of science and it was through the Arabs that the modern world achieved development through science. In the 9th and 10th centuries. Muslim scholars compiled great works of the Greeks and Romans. A century before the Western world began establishing higher institutions of learning, the Muslim world had already established such centres in Basra, Kufa, Baghdad, Cairo and Cordova. These institutions began as religious schools located in mosques, and later developed into universities.

In mathematics, the Muslims introduced the Arabic numerals and the decimal notations. Arabs made great advances in geometry, invented algebra and developed spherical trigonometry, especially the sine, tangent and contagent. In the field of physics, the Muslim Arabs invented the pendulum and advanced the world's knowledge of optics. They also dominated the field of astronomy and had built several astronomical observatories and instruments; they worked out the angle of the ecleptic as well as the position of the equinoxes.

In chemistry, they discovered many new substances such as potash, silver nitrate and nitric and sulphuric acids. In manufacturing, they surpassed the rest of the world in variety, beauty of design and perfection of workmanship in gold, silver, copper, bronze and iron. In design, their glass and pottery were of the finest quality and they knew the secret of dyeing and manufacturing paper. They practised scientific farming and devised advanced systems of irrigation. In medicine, they studied physiology and hygiene and methods of treatment while in art and architecture, the Muslim world showed its artistic versality in its construction of mosques, palaces, tombs and cities. It gave the world what is commonly known as 'arabesques'.

The Arabic language and records have greatly contributed to the understanding of early African history and civilisations. Much of the knowledge on the ancient kingdoms of Kush, Timbuktu, Kanem, Bomu, Mali, Songhay, Darfur, Sokoto and others was derived largely from Arab travellers and historians.

In West Africa, Islam was first established towards the end of the 11th century A.D. when a Muslim dynasty began to rule the Kingdom of Bomu in 1085. In other parts of West Africa, the spread of Islam was delayed for several centuries; it was not until the late part of the 15th century that it was finally established in Hausaland. It was, however, not generally accepted. The process of Islamisation took place through the activities of individual Muslim scholars who may, at the same time, have been traders who penetrated individually or in small groups into larger towns and cities and established

centres of Islamic literacy in largely pre-literate cultures. Their influence and their numbers grew over generations such that by the early 17th century, Islamic madrasa and institutions of higher learning existed in Katsina and Kano and spread into Yorubaland by the end of the century.

The literacy that these Muslim scholars possessed and their associated culture was generally confined to a minority, but their intellectual achievement was none the less impressive as suggested by historical records of the time. They had a very sound knowledge of Islamic learning including law, theology, philosophy and classical literature. These scholars were a minority apparently content to practice Islam within their own small groups; they made little effort to convert the animist population around them, except perhaps for the kings and courtiers whom they sometimes persuaded to confer nominal allegiance to Islam.

In most areas of West Africa, the 19th century ushered in a series of jihads (Islamic holy wars) whose consequence was to establish Islamic institutions within many of the African societies in which Islam became virtually the dominant culture. A typical example of this feature is northern Nigeria where over 70 per cent of the population is Muslim. In the West African coastal areas, however, only pockets of Islam were established in the midst of Christian or traditional populations. In the Sudan, Islam was introduced into the northern Nilotic people by Arab immigrants between the 10th and the 15th centuries. From the western half of the continent and the Sudan, Islam slowly filtered down across the Sahara into the heart of the Savannah and then, more gradually, to the coast.

In East Africa, a different process of Islamisation took place. It was carried across the sea from Persia and Arab and first established along the coast, from where it slowly penetrated into the interior. Thus, Islam in East Africa is strongest along the coast and becomes less strong as one proceeds inland. In West Africa, the opposite is broadly the case. Also, while in West Africa Islam was mainly carried by people from the north of the Sahara to West Africa, in East Africa, early immigrants from the Orient established Muslim groups along the coast which have tended to maintain a social and cultural identity more clearly differentiated from the non-Muslims around them than is the case in West Africa. Intermarriage, especially between the Arabs and indigenous coastal people, however, resulted in the Waswahili people who have their own distinct language and culture, but have produced a rich Islamic literature.

Educational Objectives and Curriculum

The objectives of any education system are instrumental in attaining specific educational ends and they influence the nature and content of the curriculum adopted. The Islamic system of education places less emphasis on examinations and diplomas than does the Western education; in general, it places less emphasis on instrumental goals and more on expressive and normative objectives.

Muslim philosophers seem to generally agree that the essence of Islamic education is moral and character training. This does not mean that it places less emphasis on the physical, mental, scientific and practical aspects, but it is concerned more with moral education than other types of training. According to Muslim educators, the purpose of education is not to stuff the minds of the students with facts, but to refine their morals, educate their spirits, propagate virtue, leach propriety and prepare them for a life full of sincerity and purity. The first and highest goal of Islamic education, therefore, is moral refinement and spiritual training. Each lesson is expected to stress the moral aspects and every teacher is supposed to consider religious ethics above anything else.

Apart from the cardinal objective of moral training, Islamic education also focuses on secular issues in life. It is, therefore, concerned with material aspects of life. Muslim philosophers and educators therefore concerned themselves with the study of the sciences, literature and arts. These subjects are said to be useful not only in the acquisition of livelihood in the world, but also in the attainment of truth and strengthening of the moral character.

Islamic education is expected to promote vocational and industrial education. The individual is to earn a livelihood by the study and practice of various professions, arts and trades. When a child finishes the study of the Koran and the elements of language, he seeks a trade and directs himself to it. He undertakes vocational preparation until he excels in a profession, an or trade and is able to earn a living and lead an honourable life, preserving the moral and spiritual aspects of it. In other words, the secular aspects of education are expected to supplement its spiritual function.

Although the objectives of Islamic education aim at embracing spiritual and secular teaching, the Koranic school currriculum in Africa has tended to be uniform with a strong religious bias. This curriculum focuses mainly on memorising the 60 parts of the Koran. The curriculum of the Koranic school has been widely criticised for ignoring such important aspects as Arabic grammar, poetry and composition all of which would greatly contribute to a clear understanding of Arabic and the Koran. Pedagogically, for many of the communities which do not use Arabic in everyday life, the students do not understand the meaning of words they chant.

Another aspect of the Koranic education that has attracted severe criticism is that of discipline. Although teachers are expected to be understanding and gentle with their pupils, the majority are commonly said to be harsh in punishing their students. Koranic teachers are expected to regard themselves as custodians to their students, their duty being primarily to train them to be good citizens. Care is supposed to be exercised with fatherly levity and caution; harsh discipline has, however, not been approved by Islamic educational theorists. Koranic schools have, therefore, been called upon to create a happy learning atmosphere.

Islamic education has tended to be a man's domain. Recently, many Muslims accept that there has been serious neglect or insufficient attention given to women education. Although, in practice, women education has been entirely neglected, in theory, that should not be the case. Islam prescribes the pursuit of learning for both men and women; in spiritual, religious and educational matters. The Islamic religion treats men and women as equal, making no distinction between them. On the right of Muslim women to receive education, Muslim scholars cite verses of the Koran (such as Chapter 9 verse 39) and refer to several hadiths. They give many names of educated Muslim women who could read and write in the early Islamic era including the Prophets wife, Aisha. who was a leading Islamic scholar. Nevertheless, the neglect of women education in some of the Islamic communities has been serious and could partly be attributed to conflicting views on the subject among Muslim authorities. There have been those who openly oppose teaching women anything beyond certain aspects of the Koran and even asserting that they are low in intelligence. Others have, however, advocated the advancement of women education. Some sternly zealous Muslims oppose teaching boys and girls together for fear of the effect of mixing them.

These conflicting views on women education have varied from one Muslim society to another and have tended to adversely affect the promotion of schooling for girls.

The Koranic School System

Koranic schools are normally found in or outside the mosque. The oldest Muslim University, the *Al-Azhar* in Cairo, was established in a mosque. In many parts of Africa, these schools are either in mosques, private houses or premises set aside for the purpose.

In a traditional Koranic school, the *maalim*[*] sits under a tree, or in his parlour, veranda or porch. surrounded by volumes of the Koran and other religious books. A little further off, but near enough to be within reach of his long cane, squat his pupils in a semicircle, with wooden slates and different verses of the Koran. In some cases, the teacher is assisted by one of the pupils who is considered the brightest or the oldest in the class.

Children between the ages of 6 and 15 are normally admitted to the schools. They are taught to recite the Koran by heart; at this stage the pupils learn the shorter chapters of the Koran through repetition and rote. The only pleasure they can derive from the system at this stage lies in the choral recitations which often follow a sing-song pattern. The pupils seem to enjoy reciting these verses to themselves in their homes and at play. The method of instruction is as follows: the teacher recites to his pupils the verse to be learnt and they repeat it after him. He does this several times until he is satisfied that they have mastered the correct pronunciation. Then the pupil (or group) is left on his own to continue repeating the verse until he has thoroughly memorised it The verse is then linked with the previously memorised verses and in this way, the pupil gradually learns whole chapters of the Koran by heart. A chapter at a time is written on his wooden board (slate) which has been scrubbed smooth with the aid of some coarse leaves and then painted with a white clay-like substance. The *tada* (ink), which the teacher uses to write the chapters on the wala (or slate), is extracted from certain leaves which are boiled until they give off their dye.

The Koran is divided into sixty parts (or esus) each of which contains a number of chapters each. Pupils at what may be called the 'primary' level of the system are expected to memorise one or two of these parts often beginning with the short chapters, which are usually required for daily prayers.

From this step, the pupil moves on to the next stage at which he learns the alphabet of the Arabic language. The Arabic alphabet is composed of some 26 letters all of which are consonants. Some teachers divide these letters into three, often in the ratio 5:5:3, and teach the pupil to recognise the letters by writing some of them on his slate and making him repeat the sounds several times over. This stage lasts between 6 and 36 weeks depending on the rate at which the pupil learns to recognise the individual letters. After the teacher is satisfied that the pupil has attained the standard required for reading Arabic characters, he introduces him to the formation of syllables with 'vowels'. There are only four vowels and they are simply four different notations (or signs) written above or below a consonant to indicate what vowel sound should go with it. On the completion of this exercise, the pupil then employs his newly acquired skills in the reading of the first two parts of the Koran all over again. This stage lasts for 6 to 18 months depending on the capabilities of the individual pupil. The spelling pattern, once correctly grasped, enables the pupil to read off head any texts written in the Arabic language. This is usually the final stage in the acquisition of reading skills.

[*] Among the Hausa (of West Africa), mallam is used for maalim.

The teaching of writing starts at different times in different schools. Some pupils start learning how to write Arabic characters as early as the first stage of the system. Others do not start until much later; for example, when they are learning the alphabet. This is generally a very slow, painstaking and rather tedious process during which time the teacher writes out the model of the verse on the writing board and the pupil copies it out several times. The 'pens' (or *qalam*) are usually made from reeds or guinea com straws which are carved until they taper off into a nib-like point.

The reading of the Koran marks the elementary stage of the Koranic school system. Although the pupil has committed the first two *esus* to memory and is now able to read and write in Arabic, he still generally does not know the meaning of the verses of the Koran except for a few translations which he picks up unconsciously either at sennons (*waaz*) or during other ceremonies. This is the level every Muslim must pass through if he is to be able to pray and perform other religious duties since the *salat*, birth, death, marriage and other religious ceremonies are usually performed in Arabic.

On completion of the Koranic schools, some students proceed to what may be regarded as the secondary level, or an *ilm* school of higher learning. The *ilm* has a much broader curriculum embracing a wide range of Islamic literacy, theological and legal subjects. The curriculum consists of *tafsir*, the interpretation of the Koran and the study of literature much of which is derived from Koranic commentary. The study of *hadith* is also of central importance in the *ilm* school curriculum. These are traditions which cover such subjects as marriage, divorce, inheritance and personal conduct. They are supposed to give the student a clear idea of the kind of behaviour expected from an orthodox Muslim and an insight into how the Islamic society should be organised, administered and governed.

The *ilm* students, who are usually of all ages, are expected to study *figh*, the theory of Islamic sacred law (sharia). The Koran is believed to contain the whole sharia which occupies a central position in Islamic society; the sharia prescribes peoples' status, duties and rights as well as their prospects of eternal reward or punishment.

The *ilm* students also learn Arabic and literature. Literature broadly interpreted includes *madith* which mostly consists of praises addressed to the prophet Muhammad. There is also *sira* literature in either prose or verse which contains stories about the life of the Prophet and *wa'z* which is the literature describing the Islamic notions of paradise and hell.

The pupil begins by learning the meaning of the verses he has committed to memory. The teacher does his best to explain the Arabic texts. But this is usually far too difficult for the young minds and, in many cases, for the teacher as well. Besides knowing the meaning of verses of the Koran, the pupil is also introduced to other writings, such as the *hadith* (the Traditions of the Prophet) where translation method is largely used and repetition is still fully exploited.

In the traditional system, this level merges imperceptibly with the higher level (which in current usage may be termed as post-secondary level). It is at this stage that the pupil begins to learn grammar. The method generally employed is commonly referred to by linguists as the grammar method, as contrasted with the direct, practical method that emphasizes the presentation in context of new grammatical patterns and vocabulary. The method used capitalises greatly on the mechanical rote-learning of grammatical rules. This, as the linguists often point out, is not the most effective way to teach a language meant for communication.

It is also at this stage that the student decides the area he wishes to specialise. This marks the beginning of the university level. Having chosen his specialist subject, he proceeds to a university (usually one of the celebrated universities at Fez, Sankore, Timbuktu or Al-Azhar) or continues at home learning from local specialists. By this time, the student has acquired some proficiency in the Arabic language and is able to read, understand and interpret many of the works of earlier scholars in his field. At the end of his studies, he receives a 'licence' empowering him to practice either as a teacher, an imam or an alkali depending on his area of specialisation.

In Koranic schools, unlike formal schools, there are no rigidly codified rules, but there are a few conventional ways of behaviour which guide the pupils and the teachers. Although the periods for the classes are vaguely fixed, the teacher does not treat lateness as a serious offence. He is ready to pardon a latecomer if he is convinced that his lateness was caused by some engagement at home. The teacher himself is able to declare a holiday if some religious obligation (such as a burial or naming ceremony) takes him away from home. The teacher regards himself as the custodian of his pupils, his duty being primarily to train them to be good citizens. Whenever he uses the cane, he does so with fatherly concern. When a pupil is sick, the teacher usually visits him and sometimes applies some treatment. The relationship between teacher and pupil is generally intimate and personal.

The school week starts on Saturday and ends on Wednesday. There is no bell to summon the pupils to school nor is there a fixed dress. The exact times of the beginning of classes vary from area to area, and from teacher to teacher. In many parts of Africa, there are three sessions a day: morning, afternoon and evening. The morning session generally begins about 8.00 a-m. and ends about 10.00 a.m. The afternoon session lasts from about 2.00 p.m. to about 4.00 p.m. There may be a third session which lasts from about 7.30 p.m. (directly after the evening prayers) to about 9.00 p.m. When the child is old enough to go out and learn a trade, the hours of schooling are reduced and the afternoon session is cancelled.

Fees are paid in cash and kind. There is no fixed amount as this varies from teacher to teacher. The teacher collects the 'fees' from his pupils. These do not usually amount to more than a few shillings. The teacher may also receive gifts such as grain, meat, cooked food-stuffs, a piece of cloth, or a prayer mat (almost invariably a goat's skin), particularly during one of the Muslim festivals.

Helping with chores is considered part of a pupil's duties to his teacher. During the month of *Ramadhan,* the older pupils accompany their teacher to his preaching ground - usually a busy and conspicuous part of the street. There, it is usually their duty to get the place lit and chairs arranged and to treat the audience to melodious songs and poems in praise of the Prophet. On ceremonial occasions - such as the *Eid-el-Fitr, Eid-el-Kabir, Malud Nabiyi* (the Prophet's birthday) and the *Lailatul Oadr* (The Night of Greatness', a night in the month of *Ramadhan* when the Koran is believed to have been first revealed to the Prophet), the pupils present plays based on the life of the Prophet. These are very similar to the Roman liturgical plays and the medieval miracle plays.

The greatest day in the life of the Muslim scholar is the day he performs the *walimat*. Initially intended as a modest graduating ceremony, in many communities, it has become an elaborate affair. But it still retains its religious overtones. The *walimat* can take place once the Muslim has gone through the 'primary' level. The graduand takes his slate to his teacher who writes a chapter of the Koran on one side and on the other draws a rectangular figure filled with a number of geometrical patterns. On the

scheduled day, the graduand, his decorated slate in his hand, tours the houses of his teachers, his in-laws and his own parents and relatives with an entourage of friends. At each station he reads the chapter written on the one side of the slate as though to convince his hearers that he has truly completed the Koran. At the end of the recitation he is given presents. On this occasion, a ram or cow, bought by the graduand, is usually slaughtered at the teacher's house. The teacher may keep as much as half of the slaughtered animal for himself. In addition to this, the teacher is given grain, millet, some money, a turban and a flamboyant and lavishly embroidered article of native dress.

The qualifications of Koranic school teachers differ from person to person and from place to place. Sometimes they are highly learned *ulama*, well versed in Islamic studies, but this is rare. Then there are some whose only qualification is that they can recite the Koran and write Arabic characters. Such people usually start up a class with their own children, and neighbours are encouraged to send their children along.

Some Koranic school proprietors do not insist on a set fee to be paid by the pupil. But recently, some Arabic schools have introduced various fees for admission, award of certificate and monthly or annual tuition fees. Most of the Koranic schools are run according to the discretion of their individual proprietors, who are invariably Koranic school teachers themselves. As a result, instruction differs from school to school and there is no uniform curriculum or prescribed qualifications for teachers. In most schools, former pupils are appointed as teachers at extremely low wages. Since the Koranic school is usually a one-man affair, the proprietor is in a position to appoint or dismiss any teacher with or without any reason.

Major Features of Islamic Education

There are some major features which distinguish Islamic education from the Western type of education.

Islamic education is not structured according to age as Western education normally is. The individual Muslim has access to it any time in his life, in youth or maturity or even sometimes in old age. Once started, it frequently continues throughout life. Students can attend and leave as they see it fit and registration is not compulsory. Students may leave school and join others if they want to specialise in specific subjects. Islamic education is not dependent for its operation on specific, administrative and institutional patterns.

Islamic education is also not competitive. The idea of an entrance examination, which an aspiring student must pass before he can enter at a given level of the education system, is alien to Islamic traditions. This too applies to the final examinations which confer qualifications in the Western education system. It, therefore, puts less emphasis on certificates or diplomas. Instead, Islam employs the device of the *ijaza*, a scholarly genealogy which links the student with the line of scholars and teachers to whom he is indebted for his knowledge. The *ijaza* is a diploma given by a master to his students and allows a student to teach with authority. Attached to it is the *ishad*. This is a list of names of those who have handed down a tradition or who have taught a given work which validates the *ijaza*. A student can find out how prestigious his teacher is by looking at the names of the scholars who appear on the teacher's *ishad*. If these scholars have a high reputation, the teacher will also be highly respected.

Access to Islamic education does not depend upon the ability to pay fees. Every Muslim scholar has the pious duty to pass on his learning and is rewarded by almsgiving, the amount of which varies with the individual student's ability to give, not by fixed

fees. Parents can pay for their children's education by giving the teacher a gift or donation. If they cannot afford to do that, they still send their children to Koranic schools and the children pay their way by working on the teacher's farm and by performing a number of other tasks such as collecting firewood. A student from a very poor background wanting to continue education after the Koranic school, may simply attach himself to his teacher until he completes his studies.

The attendance of classes is quite flexible. The time at which classes in Islamic schools begin varies and is arranged by individual teachers. Two sessions are usually held each day, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. Sometimes, a third evening session is held for pupils unable to attend during the day, often round a bonfire. Classes are from Saturdays to Wednesdays, with holidays on Thursdays and Fridays.

The basis of Islamic education is found in the Koran and in the *hadith* or traditions of the Prophet Muhammad. The *hadith* in particular makes obtaining Islamic education mandatory. There are *hadith* which state that both men and women should seek education. Other *hadiths* describe learning and wisdom as being equal to worship. For these reasons, Muslims have had a long tradition of travel in search of knowledge.

Another characteristic of Islamic education is that of the status of Muslim teachers. Teachers are essential and indispensable in Islamic societies since they transmit knowledge of the Koran, *hadith* and *sharia*. Islamic teachers are generally held in high esteem because of their learning and their ability to make charms and to divine. They are, however, expected by the Islamic tradition to live simply and without being luxurious. As regards the students, the extent to which the teacher is patronised depends on the degree of satisfaction he gives, not on his formal qualifications or the fact that he is employed in an academic institution.

Finally, another important feature of Islamic education is that it is relatively homogeneous and widespread and that it is also characterised by great strength and vigour. There is evidence, from areas which are widely distant from one another geographically, that Muslim children are prepared to spend two hours in the evenings after they have already completed a full day's work in a government or Christian mission school learning classical Arabic and the rudiments of their religion. Moreover, Islamic education continues to flourish in areas such as the Francophone West Africa where it suffered official hostility or indifference during the colonial period as well as in some East African countries. In areas that are peripheral to the main concentrations of Muslim populations, for example, the West African coastal areas, Muslim groups struggle to maintain their schools despite lack of funds and other material difficulties.

There are a number of reasons which help to explain the vigorous nature of Islamic education. Among the important reasons contributing to this is the sacramental and charismatic nature of the Arabic language. In Muslim eyes, Arabic is the language of God in a way that has little parallel in the Christian tradition, not even when Latin was widely used as a Christian liturgical language. Another reason is the constant stimulus and spiritual nourishment that Muslim African communities receive from visiting Muslims from other African countries and from elsewhere in the Islamic world. Together with this is the annual pilgrimage to Islam's holy places which is a powerful influence in sustaining Muslim enthusiasm and a sense of Islamic identity. Perhaps more fundamental than some of these factors is the underlying fact that Islam, in its traditional form, is not only a religion but also a total way of life lacking the division between what is religious and what is secular, a division that characterises most Western societies.

Integration of Islamic and Western Education

Since the colonial period, attempts have been made to accommodate Islamic and Western traditions of education. Integration has involved two distinct aims, not mutually exclusive. One has been to incorporate, within the framework of Islamic education, certain secular curriculum. The second has been to teach the traditional Islamic subjects, in particular, Arabic, in a more modern way.

In the first approach, the principle idea was to introduce a limited number of new subjects into the Islamic curriculum, particularly arithmetic and literacy, in Roman script. This approach was considered to have two main advantages. First, it avoided the expense of operating Islamic and Western education systems separately, and, secondly, the system remained distinctly Islamic and hence easier for at least some Muslims to adopt Western education. It was also felt that the strategy was a good way to introduce modern methods into Islamic education. The success of integration has varied from one African country to another.

Questions

1. Discuss the contribution of Islamic civilisation to the development of Western civilisation.
2. What are the aims of Islamic education?
3. Examine the content and methods of Islamic education.
4. What are the major features of lslamic education?
5. Suggest ways in which the Islamic and Western education systems might be more fully integrated.

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16

EARLY ATTEMPTS OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Portugal was among the first European nations to adventure into Black Africa. The roots of their enterprise lay in the great expansion of merchantile activity which transformed Europe in the late medieval period. The emergence of towns, growing wealth, and expanding populations quickened the pace of international trade and enhanced the development of national states. Two major factors seem to have determined early Portuguese activities in Africa: the commercial expectations fostered by current knowledge and notions of Africa influenced greatly in that direction and, from the traditional conflict of Christians and Muslims which was fuelled by the conquest of the Iberian peninsula. Information about the wealth of the interior had accumulated from contacts with the Moors of North Africa who knew about the caravan route that terminated in the gold port of Massa. Since the 11th century, Christian states had been moving forward against the Muslims fighting for the conquest of territory, but equally eager to secure commerical rights within Muslim states.

For the above reasons, the Portuguese empire was launched in West Africa by the conquest of Ceuta in 1415. Subsequent expansions established Portuguese ports at Fernando Po in 1475, Sao Jorge da Mina in 1482 and Benin in 1483. The most ambitious undertaking at the time was the construction of fortified trading posts through which Portugal was to secure its overseas trade. The Portuguese also pushed far up the great rivers hoping to find the sources of gold. In many rivers, a regular trade began to grow and became systematic.

From about 1530, the fortunes of Portugal in West Africa began to decline. The human and economic resources of so small a nation proved unequal to the burden of imperial ventures extending to China and the East Indies. Other European nations began to make inroads into the settlements and trading posts. In 1612, the Dutch seized some of the Potuguese posts and built new trading posts at Mouree and Goree in the Cape Verde area. The English trading settlements were established on the Gambia River and on the Gold Coast. Their fortified castles included Cape Coast Castle, Egya, Winneba and Komantine. James Fort at Accra was built around 1672.

Apart from gold and a few other merchandise, the West African coast offered little to attract European trade until the discovery of America which provided a demand for slaves. This discovery instituted the famous 'triangular trade' in which many European nations were anxious to participate. By the second half of the 16th century, about 1300

slaves were being shipped annually, a figure which rose to 27,000 in the 17th century and to 70,000 in the 18th century.

European traders normally built heavily armed forts on coastal promontories from which they conducted their business. Beneath the walls of the fort were clustered huts and later the more imposing dwellings of the African traders and their families. The supply of slaves and the subsequent distribution of the imported European trade goods, was almost entirely in the hands of the Africans. In some of the larger states, such as Benin and Dahomey, the trade was controlled by the king. The European traders did not usually go far inland from their coast forts and hulks because the African traders were anxious to retain their monopolistic role as middlemen. Confined to their small forts and hulks, these Europeans had therefore little direct impact on the social and political structure of neighbouring peoples.

The Portuguese too were the first European nation to establish an empire on the East African coast. The inspiration and determination which had carried the Portuguese explorers farther and farther along the unknown coast of West Africa were rewarded in 1486 when Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Later Vasco da Gama explored the East Coast and Portuguese settlements were set up in places like Sofala, Kilwa, Malindi, Zanzibar, Pemba, and even Pate. By the close of the 17th century, however, Portuguese power was on the decline. Dutch and English commercial competition grew and supplanted Portuguese influence.

Proselytisation was an important factor in the Portuguese and other European policies in West and East Africa. Their main target was the Islamised people who were regarded as natural foes, although this proved a difficult objective to achieve. Portuguese Christian missionaries made various contacts with castles and trading posts but their influence remained minimal. In the middle of the 17th century, Spanish and Italian Capuchins made determined efforts to convert the Oba of Benin but failed. Similar efforts on the Kingdom of Warri scored initial partial successes but later declined. There were also two isolated attempts, through the Protestant Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), around 1751, but were abandoned. In East Africa, related efforts by the Jesuits, Augustinians and Dominicans remained sporadic with no impact in an area dominated by Islamic influence especially along the coast.

The Castle Schools

The earliest contact with Western education in both West and East Africa was through the coastal forts erected by European trading nations. A number of these forts contained a school from time to time but few of such schools achieved permanence as they were dependent on the personal interest of the officials and merchants concerned. Much of the formal education provided was a by-product of the sporadic attempts of the European trading nations to convert the natives to Christianity. Later, the companies were also concerned with producing Africans who could read and write in order to fill vacancies in their service. Leading traders, especially along the West African coast were interested in their children or more usually selected slaves to undertake the tedious task of acquiring the skill of speaking and writing European languages and of keeping accounts. They did this either in Europe or by a system of apprenticeship on board the trading vessels. By the 19th century Portuguese and English were widely spoken in places like Lagos, Warri, Benin, Bony, Calabar and Elmina. In Calabar, there were Africans who knew not only keeping regular accounts but also keeping diaries in pidgin English. Schools were

opened to provide education to the children of European traders by African wives, the *mulattos*.

Historical records indicate that the Portuguese undertook the earliest educational experiments in West Africa. In reference to Elmina, King John III of Portugal instructed the captain to advise his representatives to take special care that sons of the Negroes living in the village learn how to read and write, and how to sing and pray while ministering in church. The school was required to conduct regular catechetical instruction on how to read in Portuguese. The Portuguese teacher was to be paid handsomely in gold; 240 grains of gold a year for every pupil he taught up to a maximum of fifteen.

When the Dutch seized the Elmina Castle, they restarted the school in the Castle. The school was mainly for the *mulatto* children. Their aims were similar to those of the Portuguese because they wanted to help the children who were qualified to learn to advance in the Christian faith. The Dutch Charter of 1621 had also given instructions for the setting up of Christian schools wherever they traded, in accordance with the teaching of the Dutch Reformed Church. It was hoped that the children from the school of Elmina, apart from advancing in the Christian faith, would also become more favourably disposed to the Dutch authorities as well as being accomplished in the Dutch language. There were a few *mulattos* from Elmina who became distinguished scholars during the time of the Dutch on the West Coast.

The Danes also had a number of trading forts on the West Coast. The most important one was at Christiansborg Castle. In 1722, the Danish chaplain, Elias Svane, in cooperation with the commandant of Christiansborg, David Herrn, opened the first Danish *mulatto* school. Like the Portuguese and the Dutch the aim of the school was to bring up the children in the Christian way of life. The children were provided with shirts and caps and a soldier was employed to teach them. The school was not initially successful but in 1726 Svane took along with him two *mulatto* children on his return to Denmark and a few years later, they were baptised.

British forts also provided some education in West Africa. The urgent need for literate interpreters had induced the Royal African Company to set up a school at Cape Coast Castle in 1674, with John Chiltman appointed its first teacher. The school was shortlived. With the appointment of Rev. John Jameson to the chaplaincy of the Castle in 1712, he resolved to revive the school for the purpose of instilling good principles into the young *mulattoes* and some of the Blacks who would serve the Company's interests.

A major distinclive feature of these early schools was that they were mostly aimed at teaching *mulatto* children. *Mulatto* children were considered to have more right or a stronger claim to education under European jurisdication than ordinary natives. The European-African marriages which produced *mulattoes* was a common practice on the West African coast. It should however be pointed out that there were a few Africans who married European women. Their children, who were of course *mulattoes*, might also have profited from these schools.

The early educational practice in West Africa, therefore, aimed at the offsprings of such mixed marriages. In places like the Cape Coast, for instance, a *Mulatto* Fund was instituted, in which all resident Europeans were expected to make monthly contributions in proportion to their salary. The aim was to finance the education of the *mulatto* children and to help support *mulatto* and African women with whom the resident

Europeans had children. In a number of cases, education was not exclusively for the *mulatto* children; for example, while on the Cape Coast the Castle school concentrated exclusively on teaching *mulatto* children, the Cape Coast school on the other hand, took on both mulatto and African children. Apart from wealthy merchant traders and chiefs, there is evidence that other sections of the African population were also keen to give their children education. It can therefore be concluded that those selected to these schools were from among *mulattoes*, children of African traders who were closely involved with the emergent coastal economy and, to some extent, other Africans.

In terms of the content of instruction, the curricula of these early schools were similar. They consisted of reading, writing, (with the occasional addition of arithmetic), and the inevitable core of biblical instruction. This constituted the sum total of knowledge that they dispensed. It is said that, in effect, the curricula of these schools offered the same content as those European institutions that catered for education of the 'poorer classes' in this period.

Another important feature of the early schools on the West Coast was sending boys for education in Europe. It was felt that the educated Africans would carry back to their country minds considerably enlightened and would be particularly well instructed in the Christian religion. It was reasoned that since most of the Africans to be educated were the sons of chiefs, and that in due course a large proportion of the kings and headmen of the surrounding countries would receive their education in England, there was a probability that they would value the friendship and, in a good measure, adopt the views of the British Government. It was also envisaged that since the governments in Africa were in great degree hereditary, these youths would succeed to power and there would be a fair prospect of their carrying into effect, in the countries which they would respectively govern, plans more or less similar to those inculcated in England and pursued in the colony. As a result of this policy, a considerable number of pupils were sent to Europe for their education.

Turning to the Eastern Coast, there are not many records of Potuguese educational activities. Portuguese Christian missionaries seem to have confined their religious work in the Portuguese settlement where they made converts from among the slaves and employees of the Portuguese. A couple of boys are said to have been sent to study in Europe.

Abolition of Slave Trade and European Expansion

The centuries of European and Arab slave trading in Africa produced little in European and Arab political influence in the interior than a few forts along the coast. The movement to abolish the slave trade and the new economic relationship brought about by European demands for produce instead of slaves, however, created a situation in which European political and cultural influence grew from its weak position in 1800 and became dominant in 1900. As a matter of fact, the atittude of the main trading nations towards Africa underwent a complete change during the last years of the 18th century and the early years of the l9th century. Denmark made slave trade illegal for their own nationals in 1805, Britain in 1807, Holland in 1814 and France in 1818. In 1815 and 1817, Spain and Portugal respectively restricted their slave traders to the seas south of the Equator (as far as Portugal was concerned, this meant trade between Angola and Brazil).

In West Africa through the victory of the anti-slavery movement, a freed slave settlement was set up in Sierra Leone in 1772. Despite the initial difficulties, the Sierra Leone experiment made a permanent impact on the nature of British presence in West Africa. With the passing of the 1807 Act, it became the first British colony in 1808. Politically, it became the centre and base for all British activity until the 1880s. Culturally, it became a diffusion centre for the English language, trade and indeed civilisation throughout West Africa. Further in the South, the British started to extend their influence inland from their forts in the Gold Coast.

The French in West Africa had for many years been trading from posts on the coast of Senegal. With the abolition of slave trade, Senegal had therefore to be furnished with a new economic base. By the 1840s, the French turned their efforts to developing commerce along the Senegal River and the rest of what was known as the Western Sudan. The French and British influences inland seem to have been motivated by new commercial interests especially the rise of palm oil trade and advances in European geographical knowledge especially the explorations.

There was increased European interest in East and Central Africa in the l9th century. Most of the activities were initially confined to trade but they took a political turn following intense commercial activities between the French, English and Germans.

Christian Missionaries

Christian missionary activities in this period were motivated by the new missionary movement which had started towards the end of the 18th century. The movement undoubtedly grew out of the conditions surrounding the slave trade. Slavery had of course existed from time immemorial in most societies. The old vicious system of human exploitation was now taken hold of by some of the enterprising and seafaring European nations, and turned into a vast international trade. Perhaps benevolent domestic slavery would probably not have disturbed human conscience sufficiently to produce radical social change. However, the stark inhumanity of the slave ship began to stir the conscience in some individuals. The exploitation was now being operated on such a scale that the sheer size of the brutal commerce drew attention to itself and stirred the conscience by its gross inhumanity. An aspect which disturbed the conscience of many in Britain was that though in previous centuries countries such as Portugal had been in the lead, England had become thc leading slave trading nation in the world by the second half of the 18th century. The anti-slave trade campaign therefore naturally began in Britain.

The aim of the abolitionists was to end the commercial transactions in human beings and the transportation of slaves and then end slavery in England as an accepted institution. The second objective was a new attention to the continent of Africa and the suffering African people. The long campaign against the trade had produced in many Christians a deep sense of guilt, because of the gross injustice through commerce to the peoples of Africa. Those who later became involved in the first missionary endeavour to Africa had become concerned, implicated, and educated through the long agitation for emancipation in England and the abolition of the trade. Study, protest, and legislation about slave trade led them to a concern for the people involved and the place from which they came. The leaders of the anti-slave movement, therefore, became the same people who concerned themselves with the Christian mission in Africa.

The religious impetus behind the new missionary movement was motivated by the evangelical revival of the late 18th century which started through the work of John Wesley. This rivival created a new and growing Methodist Church and an increasingly powerful evangelical party within the established Anglican Church. It affected all Protestants in Europe and North America with a new fervour and zeal in religious matters which resulted in the foundations of various societies in the last decade of the 18th century. In West Africa, Sierra Leone became a base for Christian evangelists to other parts of West Africa. These included major Protestant denominations of Anglicans, Baptists and Methodists. In Southern Africa, there were the German Moravians, the London Missionary Society, the British Methodists and the German Lutherans. In East Africa, there were the Church Missionary Society (CMS). The Catholic groups included the White Fathers, the Lyons Society of African Missions, the Oblates of Mary the Immaculate and the Oblates of St. Francis de Sales.

Missionary Establishment of Education in British West Africa

In British West Africa, Sierra Leone became the centre of educational activities which produced traders, missionaries and civil servants for other parts of the region. In 1804, the CMS began to set up their own schools. In 1827, they established a teachers' college at Fourah Bay. In 1845 the CMS opened the first grammar secondary school.

The Wesleyans started a teachers' college at King Tom's Point in 1845 and began a boys' secondary school in 1845 followed by a girls' secondary school at Annie Walsh Memorial in 1849. The Catholic activities in education in Sierra Leone were carried out by the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny. They started a school in Freetown which developed into primary and secondary departments.

In Gambia, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission opened their first school in Bathurst in 1826 and later another school on McCarthy Island. Soon afterwards the Roman Catholics and the Anglican missions began work in the Gambia and by 1860 both missions had opened and developed their own schools.

Education in the Gold Coast had a stronger tradition of government support. Schools at Dixcove, Accra and Anomabu, started by merchant companies, received government grants from the early 1820s. With the advent of the mission, however, a new phase of educational expansion began by the third decade of the 19th century. The Basel Mission started a school at Akropong in 1843 and opened a teachers' college at Abetifi in 1898. Other schools opened at Christianborg and Begoro. The Wesleyans opened a school at the Cape Coast.

In Nigeria, the Methodists opened their first school at Badagary in 1842 and Abeokuta in 1843. The Church Missionary group of Samuel Ajayi Crowther opened a school and a teachers' college at Abeokuta in 1843 and later another school at Ibadan. In 1859 they opened a grammar school in Lagos. Ajayi Crowther started a girls' school in Onitsha. Other missionary groups entered the race with the United Free Church of Scotland starting work in Calabar in 1847.

The American Southern Baptist Convention began work in Oyo in 1847. In the same year they founded the Baptist Academy in Lagos and vocational and trade schools in Abeokuta. In 1860, Catholics started their work in Lagos which became a main area of their educational activities. A girls' school was started by Sisters who arrived from France in 1872. The Irish Fathers opened the famous St. Gregory's Grammar school in 1876 and later moved to Bagadary and Abeokuta where they started schools.

Apart from strong government participation in the running of schools in the Gold Coast, much of the education was run by the missions. The Government, however, made small financial contributions here and there.

French Education in Senegal

In Senegal, basic instructions given to the first Governor, Colonel Schmaltz, contained no mention of formal education. The initial social strategy called for a conversion of indigenous customs and mentality through extensive Christian evangelisation and fruitful economic development. However, several months after issuing these instructions, plans were made to send a lay school teacher to Senegal with the mission of initiating elementary education and of determining the most effective means of its expansion. This expansion was to take place once the native had been partially accultured through the medium of Christianity and the new economic structure.

At the same time, the Ministry of Navy, which was responsible for the administration of the Colony, began negotiations with the superior of the Sisters of Saint-Joseph of Cluny, R.M. Jahouvey, for the service of the Order in the field of colonial education. As a consequence the first sisters arrived in Senegal in March, 1818. Their first efforts were directed into the operation of a hospital with the education of a few girls being an incidental activity. Following the visit of Mother Jahouvey to Senegal, the nuns' serious pursuit of native education was officially sanctioned. In the rapid expansion of education, the Ministry anticipated to employ the monitorial system devised by two Englishmen, Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell. The Ministry of Navy, in a communication to the Governor stated that, in its opinion, it was particularly suitable for application in the colonies. In 1822, the Ministry was approached by the General Superior of the Sisters of St. Joseph, R.M. Jahouvey to bring boys and girls to France in order to educate them as priests and nuns or teachers. Several *mulatto* and African children were sent to France; eventually Senegalese children were sent to France although the scheme did not succeed.

In 1840, an experiment was started in secondary education. Thc Father Superior of St. Esprit Seminary proposed to the metropolitan government the establishment of secondary education in the colonies where African priests were to take charge. The school operated for a number of years but collapsed.

By the end of 1854, official French schools in Senegal numbered four with some 590 pupils. Two schools were located at St Louis and two on thc Island of Goree. A fifth mission school opened near Dakar in 1855. Formal education remained virtually non-existent apart from the activities of a few missionaries scattered along the coast southwards to Gabon. A small number of chiefs' sons from the Ivory Coast had been sent to France to be educated, but the future of all settlements south of Senegal was too undecided for substantial investments in education.

Education in Eastern Africa

Educational activities in Eastern Africa were closely linked to the abolition of the East African slave trade and followed a similar pattern to the development of schools for freed slaves in West Africa. Between 50,000 and 70,000 slaves were reaching the coast from the interior in the 1860s when Catholic priests arrived in Zanzibar with the double aim to redeem slaves and teach them Christianity. This was through the direction of the

Bishop of Reunion. In 1863, these Holy Ghost Fathers increased their work under the leadership of Pere Horner. Within a short time, the missionaries had built two hospitals and two schools.

These elementary schools consisted of literacy instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, singing and the catechism. Apart from arithmetic, the curriculum was strongly religious and the main intention lay in training Christian converts in their faith. The second school was industrial, to give the former slaves an occupation and means of livelihood. In this school, young Christian Africans learned various trades and handicrafts, such as carpentry, blacksmithing and building. By 1866, over 136 pupils were in attendance at the Holy Ghost Mission. The Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) and the Anglican High Church Missionary Society, started similar educational institutions.

Although missionary education work was relatively successful in Zanzibar compared to later progress on the mainland, the Christian churches made little headway in the strongly Muslim states of Zanzibar and Pemba. The Holy Ghost Mission therefore transferred to a site at Bagamoyo on the mainland of Tanganyika in 1864. It retained for a time a seminary in Zanzibar town for the training of teachers and ordinands. On thc other hand, the Universities Mission decided to create a major diocesan school at St. Andrew's College, Kiungani, for their extensive work in Zanzibar and later for the mainland Tanganyika. It is said that over 600 primary teachers from Kiungani worked on the mainland between 1869 and 1912.

Amongst the earliest educational activities on the mainland Tanganyika were those of the Holy Ghost Fathers at Bagamoyo, a port on the mainland opposite Zanzibar. In this station, 26 Europeans, including 12 sisters, looked after 172 slaves. Pere Horner, the mission superintendent, purchased his pupils at the Zanzibar slave markets or accepted them freely from British naval captains who obtained them from slave *dhows*.

In Mozambique, early educational activities were mainly provided by Catholic missionaries, primarily the Jesuits and Dominicans. By the end of the 19th Century, the number of missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, increased dramatically. A pattern of education developed whereby government and private schools provided education for the European population and administration centers mostly along the coast while mission schools taught Africans in the interior. There was no formal relationship between the two systems of education.

Early Educational Activities in Kenya

Before colonisation, no foreign education systems had been established inland. This did not mean, as is sometimes believed, that no education systems existed and that European missionaries were pioneers in education. All the African communities had developed their own ways of training the younger generations as has already been discussed. On the East-African coast, Koranic schools had sprung up in and around the mosques which the first Arabs built for their worship. By A.D. 1333 such schools were well-established. They were also attended by the Bantu people who spoke the Swahili language.

Christian Missionaries and Education

Christian missionaries are rightly acknowledged as the founders of Western education in Kenya and in other parts of Africa as we have already discussed. The first group of

missionary settlement in Kenya can be traced as far back as the time of the Portuguese. Roman Catholic missionaries from Portugal were at work,on this coast for a short period in the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1557, Augustinian Friars, established a monastery at Mombasa, and at about the same time began work further north at Faza and Lamu. The Friars confined themselves to the coast, where Portuguese administrative influence had been established. Although these missionaries did not remain to take up sustained evangelical work, they, however, are said to have made sporadic contacts with the local population. The Augustinian Friars are claimed to have had over 600 converts from among the local populace.

The second wave of Christian missionaries was that of John Krapf, a Lutheran trained at Basel. He had been a missionary in Ethiopia. Frustrated in his attempt to work among the Galla (Oromo) in the Kingdom of Shoa under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), he sought and obtained permission from the Home Committee of the CMS to reach the same tribe from the eastern base of Mombasa. Johann Rebmann joined him in 1848 and Erhardt in 1849. They decided to move from Mombasa, a predominantly Muslim town and by no means friendly and established the CMS station at Rabai Mpia among the Nyika (Mijikenda).

Livingstone's last journey of exploration and the abolition of slavery had far reaching effects on missionary activities in Central and Eastern Africa. His attacks on the Arab Slave Trade attracted popular imagination. His death and burial opened a new chapter in the history of missionary occupation. After a public burial of his embalmed body in Westminster Abbey, pulpits took up the tale of the missionary explorer who died on his knees invoking his solitude "heaven" rich blessing upon everyone who would help to heal this open sore of the world. This set a stage for a new kind of missionary into Africa. In most missionary circles, talk was largely upon the suffering and neglected Africans. Livingstone's writings undoubtedly led the British Government to intensify its anti-slave activities. It was estimated that British warships were catching about 900 of the 50,000 to 70,000 slaves that were reaching the coast every year.

A rehabilitation of the freed slaves was a difficult matter. Captured usually from among the interior tribes, they had somehow to be educated to survive in the comparatively alien conditions of the coast. Left on their own, they could be recaptured and turned into slaves. The problem of freed slaves therefore did much to attract missionaries and the British Government involvement in missionary enterprise to East Africa. This led to the establishment of the freed slave station at Freretown.

The fourth driving force in missionary enterprise in Kenya was the *scramble* and *partition of Africa* and the subsequent establishment of colonial administration. Whether by design or sheer accident, active missionary efforts concided with the era in which European powers attempted to establish their rule abroad. Following the partition of the mainland, Christian groups did not only expand inland from the coast but were joined by other groups. The CMS, who had by now been joined by the United Methodist Free Church, started to extend their work, among the coastal tribes after the 1880s. The Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers, who had established themselves in Central Tanzania established mission stations at Mombasa and Bura in Taita and later in Nairobi in 1890. The Italian Consolata Fathers stationed themselves in Kiambu, Limuru and Mangu. The Mill Hill Fathers spilt into West Kenya from Uganda; so did the CMS.

The directors of the Imperial British East Africa Company started the East African Scottish Industrial Mission, first established at Kibwezi and later transferred to Kikuyu

with an offshoot at Tumutumu. In 1895, the African Inland Mission started a small station in Ukambani but finally moved their headquarters to Kijabe. American groups of the Seventh Day Adventists and the Quarkers moved to Nyanza.

In Kenya, an important educational phase was started by J.L. Krapf in 1844. Within a short time of his arrival, he began translating parts of the Bible into Swahili and Rabai to provide reading material for his pupils in their preparation for baptism. The school at the Rabai Mission Station made very slow progress and Krapf's attempts to persuade parents to send their children to school were generally unsuccessul.

The freed slave settlement at Freretown was however more successful in its educational activities. By the late 1880s, the school within the settlement had over 300 pupils. The curriculum embraced the 3'RS and the teaching of Swahili and English. Vocational subjects were also taught. Students attended classes in the mornings and did some cultivation in the afternoon hours. Within a few years, schoolboys were making mats, bags and baskets and learnt general trade. Girls spent their afternoons sewing.

Although there was general African opposition to the introduction of Christianity and Western schooling, some Africans started to develop interest in formal education when settlers began to pay relatively highly for reading and writing ability on the new farms. The Government began to look for clerks and employees who could obey instructions, and the mission, by giving their better educated Africans responsibilities and material benefits, helped to encourage interest in schools. Therefore, while the missions saw education as a valuable arm of their work, one reason for their concentration on education, (especially during the second decade of the 20th century), was increasing Africans' demands for it.

This new African enthusiasm was very much exploited by the missionaries. Teachers were trained hurriedly and sent out to teach in the "bush" schools which African communities began to build around the mission centres. Some unfortunate aspects resulted from these activities. First, the fierce competition between Catholic and Protestant groups led to divisions and races in putting up schools; often as close as possible to those of the rival group. Both groups deliberately taught their pupils to mistrust their rivals, leading to animosity between them. Second, a majority of the missionaries were not generally prepared for education. Money was scarce, trained teachers were in limited supply and no suitable curriculum was available. Missionaries who had no educational training were expected to train "bush" school teachers. They themselves varied in background; some were graduates but others had little education beyond missionary training. The training they gave was often very superficial and included a heavy emphasis on rote learning aimed primarily at religious teaching and simple literacy. Third, many missionary teachers chose to use the new African desire for education to induce them into adopting a Christian way of life. They demanded that their pupils do away with some of their traditional activities, beliefs and customs and accept a new way of life. The idea that Christian Africans could only be effectively civilised out of their pagan environment, contributed to the setting up of boarding schools especially in mission stations.

The "bush" school reflected the type of instruction their teachers had received and, in a majority of cases, were unable to provide more than a token of what was considered to be education. The Central Mission Schools began to extend their courses and able pupils were retained to be trained as catechists and teachers. In most cases, these students had to fulfil a dual role, serving in the first instance the religious aims of the mission and the other of the educational needs. The Central School curriculum depended

almost entirely on the ingenuity of the particular missionaries concerned. In some schools, simple technical education was included and basic agricultural instruction was added to develop local farming. The educative work was haphazard, lacking in definite policy.

Questions

1. Describe early European settlements on the Western and Eastern Africa coasts before 1800.
2. Discuss the education enterprise of the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes and the English in West Africa before 1800.
3. Discuss British and French influence in West, Central and East Africa before 1850.
4. Discuss factors leading to Christian missionary settlements in Africa in the l9th century.
5. Outline and assess the development of education in British West Africa before 1800.
6. What were the major landmarks in the development of education in Senegal before 1870?
7. Discuss the view that the development of education in East Africa in the l9th century was closely linked to the abolition of slave trade.
8. Write notes on education of the freed slaves at Bagamoyo.
9. Discuss the major characteristics of Western education in Africa in the l9th century.
10. Outline the major phases of missionary settlements in Kenya. What do you consider to have been the major impact of their educational activities?

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17

COLONISATION AND EDUCATION IN AFRICA 1900 - 1920

Despite the steady increase in European power in Africa only a small proportion of the African continent was under European rule by 1879. Algeria was under French rule but elsewhere in North Africa, it was only in Egypt and Tunisia where some kind of European control existed. In West Africa, where Europeans had had commercial dealings with the coastal peoples for four centuries, the French Senegal and the British Gold Coast had colonial administrations ruling a considerable number of Africans. In Senegal, French rule penetrated a few dozen miles inland. The British colonies of Gambia, Sierra Leone and Lagos were no more than small enclaves of European influence. Portuguese rule in Guinea was negligible. In the south, apart from a few coastal towns, Portuguese Angola and Mozambique were hardly colonies in the modern sense, but ill-defined trading regions. North of Mozambique, the coast was generally untouched by European political powers, British diplomatic influence was strong in Zanzibar and the French had a foothold in the Comoros and Madagascar but for a long time, European powers showed very little interest in creating colonies in Africa.

During the last quarter of the l9th century and the beginning of the 20th century, however, European governments were claiming sovereignty over all but six of some fourty political units into which they had divided the continent by then. By 1914, the lives of almost all Africans were being deeply affected by the changes brought about by foreign rulers. The European powers partitioned Africa among themselves so hastily, like players in a rough game that the process has been called the 'Scramble for Africa'. The motives for the partition, other than the immediate economic factors, were part of European history of the time rather than African history.

The economic factors emanated from the long standing coastal trade that European commercial companies had been carrying out for centuries. Between 1873 and 1893, the world passed through a severe economic depression. Trade was slow, prices low and profits small. Some companies went bankrupt while others joined together both to reduce competition and to drive down prices of raw materials so as to increase their profits. As the depression continued more and more firms looked upon their governments to cut out the African middlemen, for if they could be brushed aside and European traders allowed to deal directly with the producers, prices could be driven down and profits increased. By the 1880s, the West African coast firms were appealing for the help of their governments in crushing coastal states and middlemen.

Another important economic factor is that, until the middle of the 19th century, the British held a near-monopoly of the manufactured goods of the world and they therefore had the greatest need for the raw materials from Africa. By the eighties, France and Germany were industrialising and they resented dependence on British sources for their tropical products. Since their industrialisation was relatively immature to the British one, they found it difficult to compete with British merchants in the credit they could offer and in the quality and cheapness of their products for sale or in the price offered for raw materials for their factories and markets for their goods.

The partition was prompted by the various European nations scrambling for territory in different parts of Africa culminating in the famous Berlin Conference of 1884 which established territorial boundaries. By the final stages of partition in 1914, territorial apportionments were as follows: Britain possessed territories embracing the Union of South Africa, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Southern Africa; the British East Africa Protectorate (Kenya), Uganda and Zanzibar in East Africa; the Anglo Egyptian Sudan Condominium and Egypt in North Africa; and Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria in West Africa. The French territories consisted of Algeria and Tunisia in North Africa; much of the Sahara region, the Equatorial Africa and the Island of Madagascar. The Belgians through the personal efforts of King Leopold II, possessed Belgian Congo (formerly the Congo Free State), Burundi and Rwanda. The Germans owned Togo, Cameroun and South West Africa, while Spain possessed Spanish Sahara and Spanish Guinea. Italy owned Somaliland, Eritrea and Libya.

European powers went ahead to establish colonial administrative structures in their respective territories. By 1914, the construction of railways and feeder roads had opened up most of tropical Africa to some kind of wheeled traffic, with the result that cash crops could be grown and marketed profitably.

Colonial Education Policies

There were, in general, two types of policies of colonial administration established in the African colonies. One utilised by the French, Belgians and Portuguese known as *Direct Rule*, and, the other utilised by the British known as *Indirect Rule*. The systems of *Direct and Indirect* Rule differed in their theoretical approach to colonial administration. The system of *Direct Rule* assumed that indigenous African authority groups and administrative institutions were incapable of providing the kind of control and political security required by modern colonial regimes. Being illiterate and technologically backward, it was assumed that little in the indigenous political institutions was adaptable to modern colonial government. *Direct Rule* therefore sought to replace African categories of government with administrative units fashioned by European officials and operated largely by them.

On the other hand, the system of *Indirect Rule*, while sharing the view that indigenous political systems were not directly adaptable to the needs of modern colonial government, assumed that African authority groups should have an established role in the colonial government. It was argued that for purposes of day-to-day colonial administration in local African communities, it was desirable to have indigenous African rulers performing a wide range of governmental functions customary to African societies. It was considered financially less burdensome to have such functions performed by indigenous rulers than by imported European officials. Thus, rather than

fashion, new administrative units as the basis of colonial administration in African territories, the policy of *Indirect Rule* accepted the prevailing indigenous administration or authority units as the basis of local administration. The African rulers or chiefs who ran the indigenous authority units were endowed with powers, rules and regulations which enabled them to perform initially a limited and later a wider range of modern governmental functions.

The two administrative approaches, when applied in the sphere of education, were known as *adaptation* and *assimilation*. It is argued that the British colonial practice emphasised the notion of cultural adaptation, the adjustment of metropolitan institutions to local political and social organisations and the creation of a group of educated Africans, who at the same time, would be rooted in their own culture. *Adaptation* as a policy was advocated during the British colonisation of Africa. There was the general government dissatisfaction with the idea of introducing a metropolitan academic school curriculum in the colonies. In the Colonial Office in London, a strong anti-academic group attributed the political unrest in India to a lack of industrial training in the school curriculum. A leading champion of this view was Lord Valentine ChirolChirol, Lord Valentinewho in his book the *Indian Unrest*, advocated that industrial education be given more prominence in the education programmes of the new colonies and education be adapted to the needs of the local people.

In the educational policy statements, one of the major goals of the British education system was to create a group of African civil servants who could operate an administration, which though based on British models, could be concerned with adaptation to African conditions of life. This view was explicit in Lord Lugard's book the *Dual Mandate*. He argued that the school should as far as possible be conducted in accordance with native customs in matters of dress and etiquette, in order that the pupils may not become denationalised or consider themselves a class apart. He emphasised that education results should be manifest in the adaptation of the people to the existing conditions of life and in enabling them to effect some betterment and progress in those conditions. It had to train a generation able to achieve ideals of its own without a slavish imitation of Europeans, capable and willing to assume its own definite sphere in public and civil work and shape its own future. What is however clear is that Lord Lugard was not just committed to *adaptation* for its own sake, but he saw it as a way of combating political agitation, which would have been detrimental to the stability of the Empire. Literary education on European lines, according to Lord Lugard, had mischievous results and only produced hostility and ingratitude.

On the other hand, the French colonial approach is characterised by *assimilation* and aimed at the creation of an elite cherishing metropolitan values and aspiring to be Black Frenchmen. *Assimilation* was for a long time a traditional colonial French, Belgian and Portuguese policy. France based it on the assumption that all French colonies would eventually become integral parts of the mother country. The ultimate goal of colonisation in assimilationist terms was the political, social and cultural integration of the colonial peoples into the French nation. This idea was based on ambiguous assumptions of the universal equality of man and the superiority of European civilisation. The consequence for the people of the colonies was that their cultures were dismissed as being of little value. As a policy of administration, *assimilation* implied that French institutions could be established throughout their colonial empire to make legislation uniform. In *assimilationist policy*, education was assigned the role of familiarising students in the colonies with the European economic, social and moral

order as a first and most important step towards integrating them into that order. French education was therefore not to be altered in structure, content or method.

The objectives of the French education policies were aimed at creating a political and professional elite of a very high intellectual quality that would be identified as closely as possible with the French cultural image. The education system had therefore to be similar to that in France. The fact that the French system might not always be suitable to African conditions was regarded as largely irrelevant; the goal was to create a French African elite who could adapt African societies to the French model. Subsidiary to this goal, was the spread of mass education and the consequent improvement of mass standards of living. On the whole, the emphasis throughout the system was maintaining standards equivalent to those in France in the teaching of French language and culture. To undertake this effectively, the use of a considerable number of French teachers was required, and unlike in the British systems, no teaching of vernaculars even at the primary school level was allowed. It was argued that French was the only suitable vehicle for imparting the necessary knowledge of French culture. It was also argued that there were too many vernaculars and that it would be too expensive to train staff and print books in these languages. It was further emphasised that vernaculars were unsuitable for technical training and only a thorough knowledge of French would permit the primary school student to continue with secondary or higher education.

The French later articulated a policy of *association* which was similar to adaptation, but was not vigorously pursued. In advancing *association*, it was considered that *assimilation* was rigid, unscientific and harmful to the natural development of the various peoples of France's new and highly diversified Empire. *Association* was expected to be a new philosophy in terms of the method of French colonial administration. This policy was expected to be more pragmatic and flexible than *assimilation*. It sought cooperation of the people of the colonies for economic and social development of their regions. French authorities were to respect native institutions; colonial policy in each region of the Empire was to be determined by local geographic and ethnic considerations and by the level of social, political and economic development of local peoples. Native peoples were to evolve on their own lines and French citizenship would be granted only to natives who had demonstrated their acceptance of French civilisation. Education in *associationist policy* focused on preserving those aspects of traditional African culture that did not conflict with French standards of morality. French educators were to combine lessons in French civilisation and Western technical expertise with as many references as was possible to indigenous culture. When it came to implementation, however, colonial administrators found it difficult to distinguish between *assimilation* and *association*.

In methods of approach to education, the British at the policy level aimed at adapting education to the local situation and the French aimed at assimilation. In examining the school system generally, it reflected their main policies of *adaptation* and *assimilation*. At the primary school level in the British dependencies, for example, the curriculum in some subjects laid emphasis on the local environment and vernacular languages were studied and used as media of instruction. This was not generally the case with elementary education in the French controlled colonies. In secondary and higher levels, however, it was generally difficult to draw a distinct line between the British policies of *adaptation* and French policy of *assimilation*. At these levels, for instance, the issue of maintaining standards became confused in both systems with the need for identification with a European curriculum. Consequently, in the establishment of higher

education, the relevance of the African tradition to educational needs was not discussed. Instead, the colonial administrations concentrated on producing as close a duplicate of Cambridge or Paris as was possible within the African territories.

Christian Missionary Education Policies

Christian missionaries entered most parts of tropical Africa ahead of the colonial governments. By 1914, missionaries were a more common feature in the rural areas than government officials. With the coming of the colonial period, missionary activities took a different turn. Colonial expansion provoked intense missionary activity in Africa. Missionary societies of every denomination experienced a boom in recruitment and in financial support with the result that missions all over tropical Africa were greatly strengthened during the years between 1890 and 1914. European rule following the partition began to provide an umbrella of law and order for missionary activities. There was also the improvement of communications, especially the construction of railways and roads. In almost all areas of Africa, there was a remarkable record of missionary work. By 1910, it was estimated that there were 4,273 Protestant and a total of 5,977 Roman Catholic missionaries in Africa. This was a remarkable figure considering that in 1810, there were only a few dozens of them.

The object of all missionaries was to bring Africans into the membership of the churches to which they themselves belonged. They at last began to be outstandingly successful in doing so in this period. The main means used by all the Christian missions in evangelism was to found networks of village schools in which children of all ages could be given a very simple education in reading, writing and arithmetic alongside the religious instruction leading to baptism and church membership. Their early schools grew out of the desire to win converts, train African catechists and workers and create an African middle class. The objective of creating this class stemmed from the belief that it was the best way of introducing European civilisation. It was however, recognised that this particular group would be small and that many generations would pass before anything approaching a sizeable middle class could be created. Therefore the main goal, first and foremost was for the Christian missionaries to win African souls for Christ. This was to be done through educating the native catechist who was to be responsible for the spreading of the gospel, particularly since he was a man who spoke the local language and was one of the people himself.

The spread of Christianity, especially among the Protestant denominations, had to rely heavily on a person's ability to read and understand the Bible. Although this in itself did not necessitate schools, the setting in which the missionaries worked,characterised by heathen superstitions and savage customs', dictated the need for establishing institutions to ensure the success of their work. The education provided by both Protestant and Catholic missionaries was restricted, especially during the early years, to the basics which would enable students to carry out evangelistic-catechetical functions. It included mainly singing, scripture, prayers, reading, arithmetic and religion.

Also considering the prevailing image of the African as being a lazy scoundrel wallowing in heathen superstition, it was not surprising that Christian missionary groups took up the educational forms and contents currently in practice in England for the working class, a group considered to be afflicted by similar weaknesses. This education emphasized the spiritual value of hard work and the tenets of evangelical Christianity.

Although the role of religion was paramount, there was some room in the curriculum for secular subjects.

This kind of consideration emanated from the fact that l9th century missionaries were victims of their own propaganda: they came to believe that the Africans' degenerancy was rooted in their culture and traditional belief systems. Africans were said to be redeemable but first evils within their social systems had to be destroyed. Only then could the process of civilisation commence. Implicit in this was the replacement of traditional culture with something higher', new and European:

> **Clothe the savage, topple the pagan idols, silence the drumming, break up the extended family, encourage individualism, and abolish polygamy.**

These were some of the basic elements of evangelical Christianity.

With some notable exceptions, the emphasis during the early years of missionary expansion was a basic education enabling pupils to become better Christians. Post-primary education was not encouraged and it was in fact considered not useful by some who feared that those who achieved it would be unable to communicate with the masses. This lack of emphasis on secondary-level education was very much applauded by administrators who often argued that more attention should be paid to manual labour than to training as pointed out by the 1847 memorandum on education of the Privy Council. This emphasis on manual labour for African development became an article of faith for most missionaries by the end of the l9th century. There was the general agreement that Africans were lazy, and manual labour was advocated as the panacea for this kind of malaise.

These sentiments received strong reinforcement from pseudo-scientific racism which came into practice in Europe in the middle of l9th century. The central thesis advanced was that there were fundamental physiological differences between Negroes and Caucasians. The increased attention given to the measurement of cranial capacity in reputable 'scientific' circles reinforced a growing belief in African inferiority. All the studies were said to have indicated that the capacity of the Negroid skull was less than that of a Caucasian skull. Although certain of the African organs might be oversize, his intellectual ability was severely limited by a cranium whose capacity connoted a small brain. Some missionaries refused to countenance such beliefs, but the publications in 1859, of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, however provided more ammunition for the proponents of African inferiority.

Africans were therefore to be relegated to a position of inferiority on the scale of mankind's development. Although many missionaries continued to insist on the perfectability of the Africans amongst whom they laboured, many more shared the racist vision of Africans as semi-barbarians incapable of attaining European standards. The impact of these theories on missionary education was no doubt profound. The belief in African inferiority and depravity led many to conclude that Africans and their American descendants could not possibly benefit from a literary education. Rather, their education should be geared towards those manual occupations more attuned to their attested development and childlike bearing.

It was argued that vocational education, would help to combat the well-observed African characteristic of indolence and depravity. On the other hand, it was said to teach Africans to be more industrious, while at the same time instil in them certain Christian virtues to counterbalance immorality. The elevating value of labour, marked one of the

few points of agreement between l9th century Protestant and Catholic missionaries in Africa.

Christian missionaries drew encouragement from the successful vocational programmes undertaken at Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes in the United States. Immediately after the Civil War, representatives of an American Protestant Missionary Society played leading roles in establishing Hampton, an institution dedicated to the principles of vocationalism for recently liberated slaves. In 1881, Hampton's sister institution at Tuskegee opened its doors under the stewardship of Booker T. Washington, a staunch proponent of the vocational approach.

The apparent success of these institutions and their satellites in training Christian middle class Negroes, some less than a generation removed from slavery, was well known to missionaries going to Africa. There was a fallacious but widely shared belief that the situation of the American Negroes was approximated by the African masses. If the vocational approach to education, it was argued, had proved successful with the former, making them independent and economically self-sufficient Christian citizens, then a similar course of action would prove successful in Africa. This view was strongly held by missionaries.

The 1890s, therefore, ushered in widespread attempts to put the vocational aspect of African education into practice, an approach which held sway for several decades. At its 1890 meeting at Keswick, the Home Board of the Church Missionary Society resolved that industrial training should form part of the curriculum in all its schools. This was followed by various missionary groups.

Missionary insistence on vocational training as part of the school programme was not exclusively ideological. There were very pragmatic concerns of economic viability and self-sufficiency involved as well. The missionaries in Africa were, with few exceptions, terribly underfinanced. Without the characteristic material self-denial of their field workers, neither Protestant nor Catholic mission societies could have expanded their work on such a grand scale. Since the typical missionary enterprise in Africa was backed by a parsimonious Home Board answerable to congregations interested in winning souls at nominal cost, the missionaries in the field initiated money-saving practices out of necessity. The most obvious of these included the production of foodstuffs for mission workers, converts, and schoolboys. Also quite common was the introduction, especially after 1900 when the Hampton-Tuskegee philosophy gained wide currency in Africa, of training in various artisan's skills such as carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing and bricklaying.

Educational Developments: 1900-1920

After the planting of colonialism came the introduction of Western education. The colonial school was founded because it was needed. The colonial administrations could not cope with all aspects of colonialism and if that had to be, it could have made the entire process of colonialism terribly expensive. The first educated Africans had to become the local administrators and clerks in the colonial administrative set up. Christian missionaries were also in favour of establishing schools since education went hand in hand with evangelisation. Colonial administrations and the missionaries attached so much importance to education that it had to be organised to inculcate the values of western civilisation in the minds of those who were to loyally serve the occupying

power. The advantages to be gained by Africans were not primary objectives of colonial education. A foreign culture was imposed through Christianity and education.

British West Africa

In Sierra Leone, the so-called Protectorate came into existence in 1896. Up to 1909, government contribution to education was limited to the financing of Bo School which had been founded in 1905. In this year, it was decided that the government should assist the mission schools and also open new ones. A number of government primary schools were opened between 1912 and 1916.

Education in Sierra Leone continued to be mainly in missionary hands. In 1900, the American Missionary Association founded Hardford School as a primary boarding school for girls at Mayomba and in 1904, the Albert Academy, a school for boys in Freetown. The African Methodist Episcopal Seminary opened early in 1908 and the Foreign Missionary Society of the United Methodist Church of England opened the Collegiate School in 1914. Among the Catholic groups, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny separated primary and secondary streams at their Convent in Freetown. In 1916, a new Education Code came into effect and by its provisions, schools were graded into elementary, intermediate and secondary.

From 1900 in Gambia, the government showed an inclination to assume direct responsibility for education in the territory. A sum of money was voted to support a number of mission schools. Missionaries continued to develop their educational work in Bathurst and in the Protectorate. In 1908, the Catholic Mission opened an agricultural school at Abuko.

In Ghana (Gold Coast), by the turn of the century, education was almost entirely of the elementary or industrial type. There were no secondary schools apart from the two Basel Mission seminaries, although some advanced education was given at Accra Grammar School and the Cape Coast School. The first secondary school did not appear until 1906. At the primary school level, a government school opened at Kumasi in 1911 and at Sunyani in 1912. By 1914 government primary schools numbered nine. Missionaries also increased the number of their schools.

The Catholic White Fathers opened a school at Navrongo in 1910 and in 1911 started a girls' school at Keta. A non-denominational urban school known as the Accra Royal School and financed through private effort opened in Accra in 1915. In teacher and technical education, the government opened two institutions in Accra in 1909. It also decided to give a grant to the Church of England Grammar School at Cape Coast in 1910. In 1913, it moved into assisting the Richmond College or Mfantsipim School run by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission.

In Nigeria, the beginning of the 20th cenlury saw a considerable government interest in education. In 1901 it took over the Boys' High School at Bonny and opened the first government elementary school in Benin City. In 1907, a first govemment secondary school, King's College, opened in Lagos. By 1910 government run schools numbered 40. The government also increased its assistance to mission schools. By 1912 no less than 91 schools were receiving government grants. Christian missions were however, still carrying a much greater burden in the field of education than the government. The Church Missionary Society opened a grammar school at Abeokuta in 1908, Ibadan and Ijebu-Ode in 1913; and the Catholics founded St. Mary Convent in Lagos in 1913.

French West Africa

By the start of the 20th century, French West Africa had about 70 schools in the entire area, in the principal inland centres and particularly the coast. At most 2,500 pupils were enrolled and most of the schools were run by the missions. An attempt at general reorganisation of education took place in 1903 following the federation of the colonies into a political group in 1895. The Charter of 1903 constituted the first colonial education policy. It regulated the development of elementary, vocational, high and commercial schools together with education for girls. At the primary level, the schools were of three types; village, regional and urban. The regional schools were to be located at district administrative centres and in other important towns. There were to be several types of vocational education. The decrees of 1912 reorganised the Department of Education in each of the colonies which included Ivory Coast, Guinea, Senegal, Niger and Dahomey. Educational institutions opened as follows:

Ecole Faidherbe 1903 Pinet - Laprade Vocational School in Dakar founded in 1903. The William Ponty School foundcd at St. Louis in 1904 as the federation's first teacher training school.

Ecole Normale de St. Louis, was named after Governor-General William Ponty and transferred to the Island of Goree in Dakar. It was an elitist institution where many French leaders and professionals were educated.

The Ecole des Pupilles de la Marine at Dakar founded in 1912. The Ecole de Medicine at Dakar founded in 1912.

Secondary schools includcd *Lycee Faidherbe* in 1919 formerly the *Cours Secondaire de St. Louis*. The secular and private *Cours Secondaire* were founded at Dakar in 19 17.

Uganda, Tanzania and Mozambique

Education in Uganda and Tanzania before 1920 was mainly under Christian missionary control. In Uganda, the educational enterprise was dominated by missionaries of the Church Missionary Society and the White Fathers. These missionaries pioneered and maintained education for many years with little or no government assistance. The first objective of mission education was to establish schools for the sons of the chiefs. The first school along these lines was the Mill Hill Fathers School at Namilyango in 1902. Other schools included Mengo High School in 1903, Gayaza 1905, King's College, Budo 1906 and Kisubi 1906. More schools opened at Mbarara and Bukalasa.

By 1914, in Tanzania, the German Administration had established a fairly extensive education system for Africans. It had 89 elementary schools and 10 higher schools. Most of the educational work of the German Administration was confined to the coastal area with Tanga as the main centre. Tanga School opened in 1895 and started secondary school work in 1905.

There were also several German missionaries who worked in the territory. These included the Evangelical Missionary Society for German East Africa who operated in Dar-es-Salaam and Tanga, the Benedictines of St. Ottilien who worked in Dar-es-Salaam and extended southwards and westwards in such areas as Lukuledi, Peramiho and Tonamaganja. The Moravians operated in Lake Nyasa area. Generally, there was very little cooperation between the government and missionaries. The government gave small grants to missionaries as assistance towards the teaching of the German language.

All educational activities were abruptly brought to a halt with the outbreak of World War I in 1914 which caused most disruption in Tanzania than in any other part of East Africa. The German Administration collapsed, missionaries were dispersed and schools were closed. After the War, Tanzania became a mandated territory administered by Britain on behalf of the League of Nations. By 1919 some of the schools previously administered by the Germans were reopened. St Andrew's College, Kiungani was the most outstanding school.

There were no major changes in the development of education in Mozambique. Christian missionaries continued to provide rudimentary education for the African in the interior while the government provided better education for children of Portuguese settlers and administrators along the coast.

Developments in Kenya

Under the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890, Germany recognised Uganda as a British sphere of influence and agreed that Britain should turn Zanzibar and Uganda into protectorate status in addition to the East African Protectorate. In return, Britain recognised mainland Tanganyika as a German sphere of influence. To the British Government, the East Africa Protectorate (as Kenya was known before 1920), appeared to have little economic strategic significance. But since Zanzibar and the coast formed a necessary base for British operations in East Africa and the Indian Ocean, the Protectorate had to be made safe.

As far as the interior of the protectorate was concerned, the major interest of the British Administration between 1895 and 1901 was not so much in the establishment of effective control over the local peoples, but in the construction of the Uganda Railway. It was desirable for the line to be built for strategic and economic reasons. The railway was to provide an effective link between the coast and Lake Victoria and was to strengthen British control over the Nile headwaters.

The construction of the railway led to the arrival of what became Kenya's largest immigrant community. Thousands of labourers were imported from India to work on the railway. They established themselves at several key points between Mombasa and Kisumu. The British Administration began considering *white* settlement as necessary to make the protectorate a going concern and obtain some return to the considerable outlay for the construction of the railroad. This made the dream of white settlement a reality. European settlers had been arriving in the country since 1896, but through active encouragement of the Protectorate Commissioner, Charles Eliot, settlers began to arrive in large numbers in 1903 mainly from South Africa. They were soon followed by other immigrants from Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. The decision to encourage European settlement was the British Government's insistence that its colonies pay for themselves.

White settlements meant land alienation. The 1900 Land Ordinance sparked off land alienation for European settlements. Land alienation to create what was also referred to as a *'White man's country'*, affected a number of ethnic communities who lost their traditional lands. In addition to the problem of land alienation was that of labour. European settlers who felt superior were unlikely to agree to do manual work in their farms in a country inhabited largely by Africans. To prosper, they needed cheap labour and to secure this labour force they had to strengthen their hold over the African

population. They forced Africans to work for wages in order to pay hut tax, which had been imposed on all areas under the colonial administration since 1901.

Government Education Policy

An important aspect in the development of education was missionary-government cooperation. This started at the turn of the century when the government started urging missions to give technical education a central place in their schools. Early commissioners like Charles Eliot and Hayes-Sadler were in favour of working through Christian missionaries in the provision of educational facilities.

Missionaries of the Church of Scotland felt that the first step towards an efficient education system was to bring together the various Protestant missions for discussion on common problems and for a united approach to the government in the matter of grants-in-aid. A Joint Committee on Education was formed in 1908. This embraced the Church Missionary Society and the Church of Scotland Mission. In 1909, the Joint Committee became the Missionary Board of Education representing all Protestant missions in the Protectorate. It provided a forum for the discussion of common problems in language, school texts, method and discipline. When the government Education Board was formed in 1909, Henry Scott of the Church of Scotland was appointed to it to represent Protestant missions in his capacity as Chairman of the Missionary Board of Education.

The formation of the Missionary Education Board coincided with the Fraser Education Commission of 1909. Following the Giroud's Commission which envisaged a racial approach in the development of the Protectorate, Professor J. Nelson Fraser of Bombay was commissioned to recommend a structure of education in the East African Protectorate. Among his terms of reference was 'not to put forward plans for literary education of the natives, but to consider the possibilities of developing industries among them'.

Henry Scott and Nelson Fraser appeared to share the same ideas on education. They saw the problem of African education in terms of reducing the rate at which western influences were corroding the traditional fabric of society. The answer to the problem was seen to lie in religious teaching, a training in strict obedience to authority and practical education of a technical nature. They also agreed that the government should assist mission schools. Fraser also discussed, with the Missionary Education Board, and agreed on the need for government missionary cooperation in education.

In his report, Fraser recommended (to the Government) an industrial apprenticeship scheme through indentures. He reasoned that missions and government might, through such a scheme, begin a fruitful cooperation in replacing the relatively expensive Indian artisans by Africans. In proposing an industrial formula, Fraser also felt that he was making an assault on those undesirable qualities, like self-conceit and insolence, that were assumed to follow from giving Africans literary education.

On government-missionary co-operation, Fraser took a stand that it was desirable that education facilities for Africans should be provided by mission societies on the grounds that education of any kind, industrial or technical, was mischievous without morality and should therefore be accompanied by definite Christian instruction. He also recommended establishing a Department of Education and appointing a Director of Education. Education was to be on racial lines, namely European, Asian and African. European and Asian children were to be given an academic type of education.

The Education Board approved Fraser's proposals relating to the administrative structure of the education system. As soon as the report was published, experimental grants were offered to certain mission schools for technical education and the Department of Education was founded in 1911. With J.R. OrrOrr, J.R.appointed Director of Education, government grants-in-aid went through a system of payment to some eight mission schools capable of trade training. By 1912 industrial training in basic skills such as smithing, carpentry, agriculture and even typing was successfully underway.

At the end of 1912, the Education Department announced that the small government school at Kitui, opened in 1909, be expanded and that in 1913, a new government school would be opened at Machakos. The Director of Education was trying to open government schools in areas he believed were not adequately served by missionaries. The Ukamba Native School was opened in 1914. Other schools were later opened. The first was the Maasai School at Narok and the Coast Technical School, Waa, for the Wadigo.

The Director of Education was not at first contended with administering grants for industrial education. He wanted the adoption of a policy that took into account the African's political status in a 'white settlers' country. He advocated an education adopted to the African's psychology and economic needs. Well-versed in current literature on the under-developed areas, he referred to Booker T. Washington for confirmation of his ideas on education for adaptation.

In 1918, proposals were put forward for a commission to bring together various views on the nature of education. Before formulating its recommendations the commission listened to various evidence given by different bodies and individuals. Among the bodies were the Christian missionaries and settlers. In its report, the Education Commission of 1919 noted that the best method of furthering education among the natives is by means of the organisation which already existed among the various missionary bodies. On grants-in-aid it was recommended that the government subsidises missions in respect to pupils at technical schools. The content of the African curriculum was to continue on technical lines. It was observed that if any literary education is given, the children would be ruined because they would look for clerical jobs instead of entering manual field labour.

Despite these education commissions and statements of policy, government participation in African education remained minimal until the 1920s. Its main concern was education for the immigrant groups. In 1911 for instance the Board took over and improved the European and Asian Railway Schools and opened new schools for Europeans and Asians. African schools remained largely in the hands of the Christian missionaries.

By 1920, missionaries were increasingly committing themselves to education not only to meet the demands of the converts, but also to forestall any attempts on the part of the government to monopolise education. In a number of cases, despite great difficulties, missions refused early government offers to help because of their determination to retain the church's hold on formal education. However, certain mission schools received government grants-in-aid for industrial education from 1911 onwards.

African Reaction

The period preceding the outbreak of World War I is invariably referred to as a period of African resistance or indifference to education. The initial African reaction to the

Europeans was one of curiosity which turned to hostility as soon as they realised that Europeans meant to stay. Christian missionary stations initially attracted the social outcasts and victims of famine and other maladies. Later, groups of curious people gathered around the stations but as soon as their curiosity was satisfied, they returned to their villages. Early missionary records speak of small schools in the interior because people failed to appreciate the advantages of education and many of them in their hostility to Christianity refused to allow their children to attend school. Some of them even used force to keep their children at home.

A number of reasons can be advanced for this kind of initial African response to education. Parents wanted their children to continue contributing labour to the family compound rather than waste time in the classroom. Parents and the clan alike were eager to preserve customs and traditions in the future. Children were under great pressure to submit to these wishes, lest they jeorpadise the wellbeing of their entire lineage and clan. Among many African communities, elders were believed to possess magical powers for evil; so for the youth to go against the elders' wishes could prove foolish and fatal. An inquisitive youngster was also risking his inheritance and even his family identity by opposing the wishes of the elders.

Early Christians were suspected since they did not perform clan rituals and were often abused by the elders. Consequently Christianity and education affected only a marginal proportion of people; with converts being orphans, strangers or persons escaping punishment or a forced marriage. Africans on the whole perceived missionaries as an integral part of the European groups, and agents of colonisation and oppression.

The demands placed upon boarders at the mission schools were far too great to ensure continued living in the schools. In the boarding schools, very often, regular classwork was strongly weighted by manual labour and missionaries appeared to use their students as servants. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the boarders did more physical work than classwork. In the missions, the pupils were under the strict supervision of a white man and discipline was generally rigidly maintained. Pupils were largely used as labourers. This led African parents to demand payment in return for the work they did on mission stations. Even with pressure on the local communities, either by coming to agreements with elders or chiefs, or through government officials, there was a strong tendency to send the dull or difficult children, for this limited the actual loss to the family economy.

The organisation and operation of schools was such that learners possessed little motivation to master schoolwork or be attracted beyond vague curiosity about the written and printed words. For this reason, despite serious efforts by the missionary, attendance at school generally remained low.

The issue of African resistance cannot however, be oversimplified. There is sufficient evidence to show that indifference to education was not widespread. In Nyanza, the importance of European education had been recognised by the end of the first decade of the 20th century probably due to its traditional links with Buganda. Under the strong Anglican influence, the idea of literary training for church leaders and chiefs was given emphasis. Demands for education especially of the literary nature were high. The strike at Maseno School in 1908, when the boys refused to participate in manual labour and pressed for more reading and writing provides testimony for African demand for literary education.

New opportunities in the colonial world through the mission school came to have an adverse impact on tribal societies. In 1912, at Dagoretti near Nairobi, headmen were complaining about young men who ran away to European farms for higher wages and also to missions, thus escaping their tribal obligations. There is little doubt that the mission school from the outset served to reduce dependence of the young men upon their traditional societies. The apparent enthusiasm of the African youth to the western school arose from the socio-economic structures imposed by the colonial administration. Such problems like population pressure were met by the youth looking for alternatives offered in the colonial set-up by way of education.

In 1907, John Owalo who had started as a Roman Catholic and later joined the Scottish Mission at Kikuyu and the Church Missionary Society is said to have received a direct call from God to start his own religion in Western Kenya. After much controversy, Ainsworth, the Provincial Commissioner in Nyanza authorised him to start his own mission since his teachings were not subversive to good order and morality. In 1910, Owalo therefore founded his *Nomiya Luo* (the Luo Mission that was given to me), proclaimed himself a prophet and claimed the divinity of Christ. He went ahead and marshalled over 10,000 followers in the district and started building his own primary schools. Owalo had gained valuable teaching experience at the Church Missionary Society School in Nairobi. Apart from building his own churches and primary schools, he demanded a secondary school in Nyanza free from missionary influence, initiating the cry that was taken up at a later date both by the Young Kavirondo Association and the Nyanza Local Native Council.

European and Asian Education

The increasing flow of immigrants from Europe, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and India into the East African Protectorate naturally raised problems regarding the education of their children. The railway became the pioneer of European and Indian education. In 1904, the railway authorities opened a school in Nairobi mainly for their employees' children. It operated on racial lines. Although the pupils met in the same building, the Europeans and the Indians used different parts of it. The protectorate government took charge of the school in 1907 as a means of attracting more settlers from Europe. Initially, the school experienced financial difficulties because many of the farmers could not pay the fees charged at the school. Boys who went to the Railway School left at the age of 13 or 14 to join government departments or private companies as clerks or trainees. The school did not teach for the Cambridge Certificate, but for the junior examination of the London College of Preceptors which took over four years.

A number of Christian missionaries participated in the education of European and Asians. The African Inland Mission started its own school, the Rift Valley Academy, at Kijabe in 1902. This was partly on racial grounds and because most of their missionaries were American and needed a type of education which was similar to the American one. Churches such as the Church of Scotland gave strong support to the government for the provision of schools for European children. The Holy Ghost Mission made some strong attempts to provide western education for European and Asian pupils and a Catholic training for the young members of its church. As early as 1903, they had started a boarding school in Nairobi for girls and boys of all religions.

In 1911, the government made grants available for the opening of a European school in Nakuru. The grant amounted to £230 and school fees of £40 enabling pupils to

study to Standard Four before transferring to the Nairobi School. The School at Eldoret started in 1915.

One problem that emerged early regarding the provision of Asian education was the numerous distinct communities and religious divisions. There was also the racial element practised by whites. In the wider scope of Kenya, their politics tried to resist Indian challenge to their supremacy. In education, through the backing of the influential settler community and the British government, they succeeded in keeping the standard of their schools higher than that of the Indian schools. Through their numerical advantage in the composition of the Board of Education, Europeans controlled the racial education policy, the recruitment of trained teachers and the distribution of financial grants. For example, the more qualified staff at the Nairobi School gave it a great advantage over the Indian School in Nairobi to which the govemment gave a small subsidy. Pupils took the same syllabus as the European in Standard Three to Five, after special lessons in English in the first two classes. On the whole, Asian parents carried considerable responsibility for the education of their children including financing their secondary education in India. Language also posed a problem with a variety of native tongues for the children of Asian origin.

Mention should be made about the experiment in multiracial education at the CMS Buxton High School, Mombasa, named after Sir Thomas Forwell Buxton, the CMS Secretary in London. The school recruited Asian, Arab and African children. A small government grant, income from school fees and money from mission sources provided the necessary funds. The school started at the turn of the century and by 1910, it was getting students of different races. The school was making good progress until the mission changed its policy towards the teaching of religion, making Bible lessons compulsory for all pupils. Parents threatened to withdraw their children and Muslims in particular were hostile to this form of indoctrination and demanded for a government Arab school in Mombasa.

Questions

1. What factors contributed to the Scramble and Partition of Africa?
2. Outline and discuss British and French education policies in Africa.
3. What were the main characteristics of Christian missionary education policies?
4. Compare and contrast educational developments in West and East Africa before 1920.
5. Assess government policy and practice in Kenya before 1920.
6. Discuss African reaction to Christianity and Western education in Kenya before 1918.

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EDUCATION IN AFRICA IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD 1920-1945

World War I, fought between 1914 and 1918, marked an important turning point in the history of the tropical African territories. Before the War, these colonies had been backwaters of the colonial powers. There had been little overall policy. Having been locked for four years in internecine combat, the colonial powers were less arrogantly self-confident as to the natural superiority of Europeans. In the metropolitan countries, it began to be felt that colonialism needed a good and a justifying philosophy.

In education, an important event that gave rise to the expansion of educational institutions was the visit in the early 20s of the Phelps-Stokes Commission on Education in Africa, which included among its members Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey of Ghana who had spent about twenty-two years studying and teaching in lhe United States of America. The aim of the Commission was to assess the nature and quality of education of Negroes both in Africa and the U.S.A. The importance of the Commission to Africa lay not only in its recommendations, but also in the fact that it focused attention on the needs and problems of African education and encouraged local administrators to study the experiments that had been made among American Negroes.

The report of the Commission stressed the need for girls' education, character training, rural improvement, secondary schools and the cooperation of the Africans themselves. The Commission stressed the fact that education must conserve whatever was sound in the African's life and transmit the best that civilisation and Christianity had to offer. It also emphasised the point that African education must cater both for the masses and for the leaders, but that the latter must be trained directly for service to the community.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission whipped up much interest in education. In 1923 in British territories, the Colonial Office formed a permanent Advisory Committee on Native Education in the Tropical Dependancies. The Committee urged the need for continuity of policy and fuller cooperation between governments and the missions. In 1925, the governors of the African colonies were summoned to a conference, and a practicable and far reaching education policy was agreed whereby colonial governments would spend their limited funds in subsidising, inspecting and improving the schools already operated by the Christian missions, instead of founding rival and far more expensive systems of state education.

In the following ten or fifteen years, therefore, most of the territories in British tropical Africa witnessed the development of educational systems capable of providing about a quarter of the children with two to four years of schooling and a select few with eight to twelve years. Belgian policy in the Congo was similar, but with the emphasis on primary education. The French on the other hand, made no use of the pre-existing missionary foundations, but set up state schools in which a very small minority of Africans followed the curricula of metropolitan France.

British West Africa

In the inter-War period, Sierra-Leone experienced an expansion of education at various levels. Secondary education was offered at the CMS Grammar School, the Methodist Boys High School, the Albert Academy, St. Edward's School and the Prince of Wales School. All these were for boys. Girls' schools included the Anne Walsh Memorial School the Methodist High School St. Joseph's School, the Freretown Secondary School and the Bo School. For many years, secondary schools prepared their pupils for the Junior Cambridge as well as for the Cambridge School Certificate. Teacher education was offered at the Government Agricultural Training College at Njala which opened in 1919 and the Teacher Training College at Bunumbu which opened in 1935 to train teachers for Protestant missions. The Bo Teacher Training College was opened in 1942 by the Roman Catholics and the Methodist Women's Teacher Training College at Wilberforce started in 1928. Fourah Bay College offered degree courses in affiliation with the University of Durham.

In the Gambia, the missions continued to develop their educational work in Bathurst and in the Protectorate. In 1922, the Methodist Missionary Society opened a boys' high school and later a high school for girls. In 1929 they opened a teacher training centre. In 1930, the Roman Catholics began secondary classes in St. Augustine's School.

Ghana also experienced an educational expansion. Secondary education was offered at the Church of England Grammar School at Cape Coast, Richmond College or Mfantsipim, the Roman Catholic Boys Secondary Schools, Accra Grammar School at Cape Coast and the Presbyterian School at Odumase. All these were boys' schools. Girls' secondary education was offered at Church of England St. Monica's School, Manpong and the Wesleyan Girls' High School. Between 1935 and 1938 a number of privately owned secondary schools were opened at Kumasi, Koforidua and Sekondio. Teacher education was offered at the Wesley College, Kumasi, and the Government College, Accra. In 1930, two teacher training colleges for men were opened at St. Augustine's Roman Catholic Church at Amisano and St. Nicholas Church of England College, Cape Coast. Girls were trained at Navrongo, Tamale and the Methodist Women College. An outstanding landmark in this period was however the opening of Achimota College in 1924, which by 1930, was offering education right from kindergarten to university.

In Nigeria, secondary education was offered by the Church Missionary School, Lagos, Dennis Memorial School Onitsha, Ijebu-Ode, Abeokuta, and Ibadan. The Catholic schools included St. Joseph's Ibadan, St. Gregory's Lagos, and Our Lady of the Apostles, Lagos. The Wesleyans had girls and boys schools at Lagos and Ibadan. The United Free Church schools were Hope Waddell Institute and Duke Town, Calabar. The American Baptists had one high school in Lagos.

In the late 30s, however, the number of secondary schools expanded tremendously. New secondary schools were opened by both the churches and the government

numbering to about 30 in 1940. Each of the missions had several teacher colleges for men and women. A notable development in the period was the founding of Yaba Higher College which pioneered university education in Nigeria.

French Africa

In French Africa, much of the education provided in the Inter-War period was given by the state. Primary education was given in regional schools which by 1937 were about 80 and scattered over French West Africa. A very small number of them existed in French Equatorial Africa. Secondary education was limited to filling the needs of the government service. Nearly all of it was given in three first-class institutions in Dakar. The best known of these institutions was *E'cole Normale William Ponty*.

The E'coles Normales, including E'cole Normale des Jeunes Filles at Rufisque and E'cole Normale Katibougou, essentially trained secondary school teachers, and recruited students by holding competitive examinations among the graduates of the advanced primary schools.

Uganda, Tanzania and Mozambique

In Uganda, as in other parts of East Africa, there was considerable enthusiasm in western education after the end of World War 1. Education expanded considerably at all levels with missionaries having a virtual monopoly of all types of education. Secondary education was given at the leading junior secondary schools which included King's College, Budo, Mengo High School, St. Joseph's Namilyango, and St. Mary's Kisubi. From 1938, following the Earl De La Warr Commission Report, these schools started preparing students for the Cambridge School Certificate. Teacher education, which had generally been a weaker aspect in the system, received some boost during this period. Kampala Normal School was expanded and several Primary Teacher Colleges were opened.

An important development regarding higher education was the opening of Makerere as a technical college in 1922. In the Directors of Education Conference held in Dar-es-Salaam in March 1929, it was agreed that higher education for East Africa should be centred at Makerere, Kampala. Makerere taught Medicine, Agriculture, Elementary Engineering, Surveying and Teacher Education. The De-La-Warr Commission Report of 1937, recommended that the College should award its own diplomas which were to be secured and recognised by universities and professional bodies.

Tanzania was given to Britain after World War I as a mandated territory. The effects of the War and the transfer had a drastic impact on the development of education. Policy formulations were slow and this affected the emergence of secondary schools. Tabora and Tanga provided education to Standard Six. These were gradually upgraded to junior secondary schools by 1939, preparing students for entry to Makerere. In Mozambique, the Antonio Salazar government, which assumed power in Portugal in 1932, made no effort to encourage trade, industry or advanced education among the African population. Its main concern, however, was to convert Africans to Catholicism and the Portuguese culture. Catholic missionaries in particular assumed responsibility for educating a few Africans in the use of Portuguese language for skilled labour positions. It was considered a waste of government resources to develop an educational

infrastructure for a large population of Africans, save for the very few *assimiladoes* and loyalists who were allowed more than a very rudimentary type of education.

Education and the Rise of Nationalism

In Tropical Africa, the first opposition to European rule was that of traditional African societies. These were resentful of the new ways which the colonial powers were imposing on them. Although traditional opposition was weak in a large measure, in some cases the unity of some traditional societies was so strong that it forced colonial governments to compromise with them. The best example of this was the Buganda Kingdom.

Opposition to European intervention was not always political. At times it took a religious form. In Eastern, Central, Southern and West Africa, where Christian missions often preceded European administration, and where the development of European settlement often led to severe maladjustments in the African society, African opposition sometimes found expression in religion. The consequence was the formation of separate and specifically Black Christian churches in which beliefs and practices learnt from the missions were often coloured to suit local ways. The members of such churches on some occasions broke out into blind revolt against the European administrators and settlers who were often suspicious and hostile to them. One of the best known examples of such a movement was the rebellion of John Chilembwe in Malawi in 1915.

With the establishment of colonial administrations at the turn of the century, by the 1920s, colonial affairs became dominated by European governors and administrators. No important decisions were made by Africans. By this period, the traditional elite had largely been replaced by the educated African elites who owed their promotion to Europeans and who tended to be the 'trustees' of the colonial administrations. Some of these elites had studied in Europe and America and became doctors, teachers, lawyers and the like. On return to their countries, they were often not given the status merited by their qualifications. Such people considered that their attainments deserved greater rewards than what the colonial administrations accorded them. Out of these individual grudges emerged a more general dissatisfaction with the way their countries were being governed and this contributed to the formation of political parties or associations.

The earliest political associations were naturally first formed in West Africa where coastal peoples had been in contact with Europeans for centuries and where a tiny minority had enjoyed' Western education for many years. A good example of this were the Creoles in Sierra Leone and Senegal. They forged a pan-Africanist approach to politics, where student organisations in Britain and France were the chief means of turning local and individual grievances into a spirit of nationalism. Much of the inspiration of the student organisations came from the writings and activities of American and West Indian Blacks, such as Edward Blyden, W.E. DuBois and Marcus Garvey, who stressed the similarities in the conditions of Black people on both sides of the Atlantic. Under their influence, Africans began to think in terms of taking over control of the political units which the colonial powers had created, and uniting them after the manner of the United States of America or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Foremost among the student organisations was the West African Students Union founded in London in 1925 by the Nigerian, Ladipo Solanke. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 added more fuel to the growing nationalist feelings.

There seemed to be a distinct contrast between political organisations in West Africa and other parts of Africa. Most of the West African politicians were people who had to a great extent disengaged themselves from their tribal backgrounds. They organised their activities in a western style by use of newspapers and popular agitation. These caused riots at times, but were essentially non-violent. In other parts of Africa, discontent with European rule tended to assume a tribal form. For example, in Kenya which was by far one of the most troubled British territories between the Wars, opposition to British administration operated on ethnic lines. The difference between political organisations in West Africa and other parts of Africa could partly be explained on the long exposure to European life through coastal contacts dating as far back af the 15th century.

Developments in Kenya

The end of World War I marked an important turning point in African acceptance of Western education in Kenya. The relatively sudden change during this period has a number of probable contributory factors.

The most successful strategy involved persuading local leaders to send their sons and subjects to the mission schools for training. This policy had started with the talk about establishing schools for sons of chiefs. The policy for courting the local chiefs and headmen began to pay off with the systematic establishment of the British administration. The British encouraged the newly created chiefs and headmen to educate their children so that they might succeed their fathers in the ruling posts. The colonial officials also intended to have these literate children assist their uneducated fathers in government business so as to make the colonial administration efficient. The government rewarded the chiefs with parcels of land and permitted them to force people to work on them. In return for the labour, the chiefs gave the workers free food, an important commodity, in a period that Africans experienced serious famines. The chiefs and headmen were salaried officials in an era when few Africans had any steady income. These local officers also collected fees, a position that enabled them to sponsor schools, pay teachers and force pupils to attend school. Chiefs were under orders to assist missionaries in their educational efforts.

As the colonial years passed, it became increasingly clear that the traditional society held few of its past attractions and rewards to the youth. The end of warfare and raiding had robbed the warriors of their most important purpose. The youth had therefore to perceive the alternatives the colonial society offered. It increasingly became more and more idle to herd cattle and work in the farms instead of facing the new challenges in the classroom. Reading and writing seemed like magic in societies where superstition and magic had been so widespread. The opportunities to obtain some attractive cloth and free food, to hear some enchanting stories about foreign lands told by teachers, and receive printed sheets of material were indeed powerful factors.

Missionaries and their teachers tended to possess greater powers and wisdom about the mysteries of the world than the elders. School children could tell more enchanting stories than the elders and these seemed to supersede the role of teachers. Increasingly, the youth saw that the power the missionaries held lay in their religion and knowledge. Reading and writing were obviously the key to this power, and therefore came to realise that they could obtain the European economic and political power if they obtained a type

of education that was equivalent. Missionaries were said to possess supernatural power to command nature, particularly make rain.

With the establishment of British rule and the creation of the settler-oriented economy, there was the demand for farm labour for the settlers. Recognised association with mission schools often served to shield individuals from these demands as missionaries were frequently able to negotiate arrangements with the local District Commissioners where proper registered students were excused from all or most of the demands for labour. Furthermore, through their access to administrative officials, missionaries could protect their students from illegal labour demands by the chiefs. Given this situation, it is not surprising that a number of young men viewed the mission school as a means of escaping the irksome labour demand. The demand for the Carrier Corps during World War I led to young men seeking enrolment in mission schools to avoid going to War.

Another factor was that African improvement and education was a gateway to employment in the new occupations created by the colonial government and its associated enterprises. This was particularly so with the poor families which had generally less stock to herd, hence the economic loss on these children's labour was not critical. These families had therefore an incentive to try alternative ways of achieving their social and economic goals. This factor was to be reflected in the African insistence that they be given better education in the 20s and the 30s. The skills of reading and writing resulted not only in paid employment as clerks and storemen in the administration and in the large-scale new farms, but also a new and respected status. Perhaps the most important factor was the knowledge of the White man's ways of life and his language gained at school.

Another contributary factor is that, following the breakdown of tribal systems and a changed economic system, African communities became interested in western education. They demanded that both the missionaries and the colonial government provide them with more educational facilities and opportunities. Where there was reluctance to meet their demands, independent organisations were formed to establish schools outside the umbrella of the missionary and the government. Even within government institutions like Local Native Councils, efforts were made to levy rates to start schools. Education was not only to prove a means for economic improvement, but was also to prove an effective instrument in political leadership.

The period also marked the formation of political organisations and welfare associations, whose leaders were by and large drawn from the small but significant segment of educated Africans. Frustrated by the severe limitations imposed upon African upward mobility in the political and economic spheres, these men tended to oppose tribal exclusiveness as an obstacle to general African advancement.

Education facilitated the breakdown of tribal barriers and fostered the emergence of a new cleavage between the educated and the illiterate. With the education largely in the hands of Christian missionaries, this cleavage had therefore to coincide with the division between Christians and pagans. For Africans with high education, the European community served as a reference group which possessed characteristics and civilisation which they were to imitate. European superiority was believed to have been fostered through formal academic education.

This cleavage made the educated assume a very ambiguous position in their political leadership. The illiterate or pagan peasant and worker being closer to traditional

customs and religion, tended to be suspicious about the educated Africans who struggled to become Black Europeans. This mistrust was always reinforced by the fact that a good number of the educated Africans were salaried officials or employees of the colonial government, particularly in the case of African administrators who often tended to enforce unpopular government policies. Despite this ambiguity, it was amongst the educated African elite that political leaders had to emerge and articulate the grievances of the illiterate peasants and workers. These, however, held their leaders in great respect. They prized education highly and often made sacrifices to educate their children. The educated, though cherishing Western values, did not lose contact with the peasant community completely. Discriminatory policies practised by the colonial government made it difficult for them to do so.

By the end of the second decade, therefore, missionary education had produced a new elite among the Africans. This elite accepted European values and for sometime acted as the chief proponents of Western civilisation. These, however, turned out to be the severest critics of government policies and some of the Western values, through political organisations formed after the World War I. Their participation in the War as Carrier Corps provided them with an added incentive to stand against European domination.

Government Education Policy

Against the background of political agitation, during the inter-war years education was shaped by an increasing government involvement, primarily through its support of missionary schools. In 1922, the Education Department officially established a grants-in-aid system by which mission schools judged to meet certain standards received financial aid. In 1923 an Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa was created.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission which visited East Africa in 1924 welcomed the development of the grants-in-aid pattern and focused attention on the dismal state of education for Africans from both the quantitative and qualitative aspects. It praised the appointment of the Committee on Native Education with representatives from government, missionaries and settlers. The setting up of the Advisory Committee had earlier been recommended in the document *British Education Policy in Tropical Africa.* The Commission emphasised the need for greater cooperation between the government and missions.

The Commission recommended a uniform system of all the various mission and government schools with increased grants-in-aid administered by the Department of Education with more staff and responsibilities. Adequate teacher training centres were to be organised and, in particular, the government was to shoulder more responsibilities in this area. Training in agriculture and industry and the adaptation of education was to meet the local needs. Girls' education was to be expanded. The Commission also envisaged higher education for Africans in the form of a college at Kikuyu proposed by the Alliance of Protestant Missions. English was to be a medium of instruction in the upper forms.

The government responded to the recommendations of the Commission by instituting the Education Ordinance of 1924 which marked its definite commitment to supervise and direct education at all levels with the assistance of three Advisory Committees to deal with European, Asian and African education. All schools and

teachers were to be registered, and the Director of Education was empowered to inspect all schools. District Boards were set up to assist in the management of all local schools. Although members to the Board were nominated, it marked a start of African representation and opinion in education matters. The government imposed a uniform nomenclature for schools of all races though the content of education for each race differed in many respects.

In 1925, an inquiry was made into the grants-in-aid system. It was decided that the government should pay four-fifths of the scale of pay of European teachers in missionary employment plus leave passage allowances. For African teachers, the government granted two-thirds of their salaries provided the missions paid one third, while allowances for the upkeep of buildings and equipment were considerably increased, subject to a satisfactory report by the government inspector. The government would also pay half the cost of new capital expenditure on the schools by the missions. Most missionaries welcomed these proposals.

In the same year, the Colonial Office established a permanent Advisory Committee on Education whose first report to the Secretary of State drew heavily upon the Phelps-Stokes Reports. The official policy statement of the Advisory Committee, *The 1925 Memorandum* established 13 broad principles. Among them was that:

> **Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples conserving so far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas as an agent of natural growth and evolution.**

The element of cooperation was to be maintained by the grants-in-aid system of subsidising the approved mission schools.

With the development of grants-in-aid system, a reciprocal relationship emerged between the mission schools and the government. This was officially acknowledged by the Education Department in 1926. The relationship became increasingly formalised and the missions assumed a major responsibility for primary and secondary education, the government for higher education and technical subjects, a division which was confirmed at the Le Zoute Conference of Protestant Missions in 1926.

In the early 30s a more comprehensive education policy was evolved. The Kenya Education Ordinance of 1931 created separate advisory councils on European, Indian, Arab and and African education. The committees consisted of the Provincial Commissioner and three to six representatives from the Local Native Councils. The Ordinance also made rules regarding the issue of teachers' certificates.

The District Education Board's Ordinance of 1934, established District Education Boards to function in the various parts of the country. They handled the allocation of grants, fees and scholarships, salary scales, the leasing of plots for school development and maintaining a register of schools.

Aspects of the Education System

Before the implementation of some of the education policies discussed in the previous section, the school system consisted of *village* and *central schools*. Many of the village schools were mainly catechumenate where very little secular instruction was given. Gradually the tendency was towards the introduction of more and more general

instruction so that the catechumenate assumed the nature of schools. Most of the village schools had four classes.

Above the village schools were the central schools which aimed at the completion of the primary school course. These provided a general education leading to a course in teacher training, a general education leading to a secondary school, and a combined course of general and vocational instruction with an increasingly technical bias course leading to the two years course at the Native Industrial Training Depot at Kabete.

The development of secondary education was painfully slow. The Alliance High School was the first missionary and secondary school in the Colony and Protectorate. The Alliance Movement started as a movement for the federation of Protestant missions of the Protectorate. It consisted of the CMS, the African Inland Mission, the United Methodists and the Church of Scotland. Its primary objective was to work for a United African Church of the Colony. Among other things they had to work for a common code of education.

After World War I, the Alliance of Protestant Missionaries began to express a deep concern about the rising nationalist feeling among the Africans. Like the colonial administration, they were generally unhappy about the cooperation of early African nationalists and the Indians and that African agitation, particularly in Nyanza and Central Province, centred around the inadequacy of missionary education. It was generally felt that a higher level of education would ease the growing African demands for more education.

In the Conference of Mission Societies in Great Britain and Ireland of 1923, a general policy concerning native education in Africa was formulated. It was stated that, first, mission education should aim at improving the general material and moral life of the community. Second, it should give special attention to the training of leaders, *through an education that was not to separate them from the people but would fit them to be real leaders of the community and inspire them with a desire to work for the advancement of their people*. Finally it was to satisfy the needs of the urban community by training clerks, mechanics and technical workers as well as doctors, lawyers and clergymen.

Though Christian missionaries were generally in favour of beginning some form of high education as a means of appeasing African demands for better education, they did not have the funds, or few if any, were really prepared to undertake that kind of project. Surplus funds from the East Africa War Relief Fund were donated towards the project and the Alliance High School started in March,1926.

The Roman Catholics were rather slow in starting a high school. By the end of 1924 among the Catholic circles, when the idea of the Alliance School was being considered, it was felt that they did not have sufficiently qualified pupils to begin a secondary school. The view of the majority of Catholic clergymen was that a purely literary education was detrimental to the well-being of the Africans and they therefore preferred practical technical education of their adherents who advanced beyond the village school. For these reasons, the Catholic missionaries had to emphasise the training of teachers at their school at Kabaa with the aim of starting a secondary school as soon as the first qualified candidates of Kabaa could constitute a secondary school class. They projected that they would be able to achieve such a goal at the earliest in 1927, but this date was later revised to 1930 after failing to get the expected grant.

In a meeting of all Catholic Bishops held in November 1928 under the chairmanship of a visiting English Bishop, Mgr. Hinsley, the Catholics foresaw the danger of remaining behind because their entry into high education was limited. Mgr. Hinsley cautioned them on the effects of lacking native Catholic representation in a colonial government that was largely Protestant. The meeting unanimously resolved that a Catholic High School be started at the Holy Ghost School, Kabaa in January, 1930.

Following the recommendations of the De-La-Warr Commission on higher education in East Africa of 1937 and improved results in the primary school examination, Maseno and Yala opened as junior secondary schools in 1938 and 1939, respectively.

In 1939, Kenya had 4 secondary schools namely Alliance High School (enrolment 106), Kabaa High School (50 pupils), CMS Maseno (58 pupils) and Yala (17 pupils). Makerere, which was still offering a secondary education course, had 55 Kenyans.

The history of higher education for Africans in Kenya until the mid-fifties is a story about Makerere College in Uganda. Makerere started as a Technical College in 1922. In the Directors of Education Conference held in Dar-es-Salaam in March 1929, it was agreed that higher education for East Africa should be centred at Makerere, Kampala. The College taught Medicine, Agriculture, Elementary Engineering, Surveying and Teacher Education. It also had a general education programme leading to the Cambridge School Certificate.

The De-La-Warr Commission Report of 1937 recommended that the College should award its own diplomas and efforts be made to secure recognition of these diplomas by universities and professional bodies. Most of the education commissions that have already been referred to emphasised the importance of training teachers as a means of improving the quality of instruction in African schools.

By the beginning of the 20s, however, many of the teachers were trained on the job except for some training which was carried out at the Buxton High School. Kabaa and Alliance High School also carried out the training of teachers. Much of the training of teachers in the inter-war period was not undertaken at separate institutions. Teacher education existed as an appendage of secondary institutions or primary (central) schools.

From 1935, however, plans were made by the missionaries to establish teachers training centres separate from primary and secondary schools. This was prompted by the Pim Report which complained about the financial expenditure on primary education brought about by the high percentage of European teachers in the schools. To cut down this expenditure, there was a need to expand the training of native teachers. Protestant missionaries put forward plans which led to the opening of a Joint Normal School at Kahuhia and earmarking some primary schools for future teacher education. In view of the fact that Makerere was not supplying a sizeable number of highly qualified Kenya teachers, Kagumo College opened in 1944 to train primary school teachers of all denominations. The 1931 Education Ordinance categorised primary teachers into Elementary, Lower Primary and Primary Teachers.

As already discussed, technical training was an important aspect of the African School Curriculum since the Fraser Report of 1909. In 1924, in line with the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, the government opened the Native Industrial Training Depot (NITD) to train qualified African artisans to replace Indians and to cope with the country's increased building programme. The courses offered were in advance of those given by government and mission industrial schools, except for

Machakos and Maseno. Apprentices were indentured for five years, learning skills such as carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing and bricklaying.

Agricultural and veterinary training was given a considerable importance in the education system and agriculture was an important subject in African elementary and primary schools, both government and mission. In the inter-war period, a number of schools attempted to pioneer in agricultural experimentation. These included Kapenguria, Kagumo, the Maasai schools at Narok and Loitokitok, and Tumutumu.

By the early 30s, following the Great Depression and the emphasis placed on technical education, many artisans, were experiencing unemployment. Accordingly, the intake at the Depot was cut down and, in 1933, it was agreed that the missions drop their apprenticeship schemes so as to concentrate entirely on other types of education, while the government took responsibility for all industrial training. Primary schools were therefore relieved of technical education.

Adult education in the colonial period started mainly as an offshoot of the Jeanes School. The Carnegie Corporation of New York gave £7,500 to the government for this school, to be run on, 'Jeanes' lines. The aim was to take selected African teachers and their wives and give both teachers and wives an intensive course to widen their capabilities as leaders of the community as a whole. Not only were teaching methods for the usual elementary school curriculum polished up, but also new subjects of social significance relating to health, diet, clothing, shelter and crafts were taught. Jeanes teachers were intended to travel about, supervising and helping to teach in group village schools and transforming them into community centres, for the benefit of the entire neighbourhood.

In 1939, the Jeanes School programmes were suspended and the centre used for war purposes. It was reopened in 1948 and resumed its pre-war activities, farming.

African Educational Initiatives in Kenya

The Local Native Councils

In the inter-war period, Africans took an active part in providing education for themselves as a result of what they saw as a deliberate effort on the part of the administration to limit their educational opportunities. There was a strong feeling and rightly so, that the government expenditure in education discriminated in favour of European and Indian schools, although the bulk of the revenue came from taxes paid by Africans. After World War I, government expenditure on African education had been negligible and it was only in 1921, that the Colonial Office directed it to increase the expenditure. Despite that, the amount was much less than that spent on European and Indian education. The Phelps-Stokes Commission noted the inadequacy of the amount in proportion to the population. The sum in 1924 was, £37,000 for Africans, £24,000 for Europeans and £11,600 for Indians. This worked out to about 20 cents per head of African population and Shs.40 per head of Europeans. This meant that Africans were subsidising the education of the other races.

To meet African demands for education, the Local Native Councils, established in 1924 with powers to vote tax levies, set up new schools which were secular and divorced from mission influence. In 1927, the North and Central Nyanza districts raised £10,000 by levying Shs. 2 per head of taxable population for capital expenditure on buildings and current expenditure. The Nandi Local Native Council gave 40 acres of land to the

Government Industrial School, Kapsabet. At Tambach, they gave land and money and the Maasai Council supported the Narok School. Three Local Native Councils in Central Province combined to vote money to establish a Kikuyu government secondary school in 1930 with a view to making it a university and in 1934, the Local Native Council voted to support Kagumo School.

lndependent Schools

Western Kenya

A number of Independent schools had opened in Western Kenya before World War I. Little was done to control those schools until after the Phelps-Stokes Commission. In 1925, a Mr. Silvester was asked by the Department of Education to conduct a survey into village education in Kavirondo and to take special note of 'outlaw schools', that is, schools conducted by Africans without dependence on a recognised body. The report commented on the insufficiency to track down, supervise and register 'outlaw schools' that had been started in consequence. He quoted as an example the schools set up by the five hundred adherents of John Owalo in Nyakach who had broken away from the Independent Nilotic Mission.

The quality of these schools was generally low. Very often, they could do little more than prepare students for a particular sect's membership. Some, like the *Nomiya Luo* schools, continued their work despite the problems of teachers until 1958 when they were taken over by the District Education Boards.

Central Kenya

Although the origins of Kikuyu Independent schools can be traced back to community co-operative tradition, the reasons for their development were to do with issues of ownership, purpose and control of early mission sponsored schools. Although it is difficult to establish dates for the first schools, spontaneous reactions to missionary control and its approach to schools seem to have occurred in several areas of Kikuyuland during the early years of the 1920s. The first school was recorded in Murang'a. Parents are said to have been dissatisfied with the level and purpose of education being given. The subject was discussed at a general meeting of parents and elders in 1922 and after that, plans were made to provide education for their children on an independent co-operative basis. Meetings, classes and services were held in the open or temporary accommodation, until 1927 when a centre was built at Gakarara where both worship and schooling could take place independent of the mission. The first fulltime independent school was the one established at Gathieko in Kiambu. It ultimately became Githunguri Teachers' College.

The women circumcision issue in 1929 precipitated a serious political, religious and education crisis in Central Kenya. At a conference, Kikuyu elders, representing the Protestant Alliance in Central Province, resolved that women circumcision was an evil custom and should be abandoned by all Christians. The Progressive Kikuyu Party and the leading chiefs of the Kikuyu Association backed the resolution. Elders of the Church of Scotland were encouraged to prepare a petition to government asking that it should introduce the necessary legislation to ban the custom. The Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) wrote a circular challenging the ruling. It also argued that there was nothing in the Bible that prevented a custom of such a nature. This led to many followers defecting

from the churches. The Kikuyu Central Association increasingly saw missionaries as agents of the imperialists and very strongly questioned their role as educators. A move was therefore made to establish Independent schools outside the control of the church. Those who defected from the church and had initially offered land on which schools had been built reclaimed their land. They too demanded a return of the money they had contributed in putting up buildings.

The Independent schools continued to open as the crisis deepened. Committees were formed to organise programmes of self-help for the building of the schools. They made financial collections and provided labour. In the beginning there was little formal coordination between the different committees. An attempt at links was developed and reinforced with KCA. As schools became established, joint meetings were organised on district level and each committee had to send representatives. It was from these meetings that Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA) and the Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association (KKEA) were formed.

In 1935, there were 34 Independent schools with 2,158 pupils which increased to 44 with 3,948 pupils in 1936. The movement was firmly established and was beginning to extend to other areas outside Kikuyu district.

The government had been severaIly approached to open more schools outside missionary influence. It therefore appeared to welcome the efforts of the Independents, but insisted on better organisation and management of the Associations. Permission to open more schools was withheld until the constitutions were drawn up.

In August 1936, a joint conference with a representative of the government and Independent schools, was organised at the Jeanes School, Kabete to discuss the level to which English was to be given as a subject of instruction. The Independent schools expressed the desire that English should begin in Class Two but the authorities of the Department of Education felt that this could be too early and insisted on Standard Four. A compromise was reached in which English was to start from Class Three and from Class Four onwards to be a medium of instruction. This was a very revolutionary step; government schools hardly started the teaching of English at such an early stage.

With permission to open schools without hindrance, the Independents in turn agreed to follow a syllabus similar to the official one, to become members of the District Education Board and be subject to supervision by the Department of Education. In addition, it was agreed that their trained teachers were to be paid by the government. These schools were naturally faced with many practical problems of organisation and planning. With their expansion, there arose the problems of quality in buildings, teaching materials and the teaching staff. The problem of the supply of teachers was quite crucial.

Besides the Independent schools, there also emerged the African Teachers' College at Githunguri. In 1938, Dr. Ralph Bunche, a professor at Howard University visited Kenya and spent some time with Senior Chief Koinange and other Kikuyu leaders. To political leaders in Kiambu, Bunche's visit greatly reinforced their conviction of the justice and rightness of their grievance. Mbiyu Koinange, after his return from Columbia University, and probably having been influenced by Bunche, perceived an idea of an African University. He intended to turn the KISA School at Githunguri into a college of higher learning not just for the Kikuyus but for all Kenyans.

In 1938, Senior Chief Koinange brought together a number of age-groups to help raise funds for the new college. The representative group of elders who came from both

associations of Independent schools; the KISA and KKEA agreed to cooperate in the venture. Githunguri was chosen as the site and strenuous fund-raising campaigns were set in motion embracing the Kikuyu and other tribes. They took a variety of forms including traditional forms of cooperative effort. These were based on the age-group system. Sports meetings too were organised as was the case with the other Independent schools.

The College opened in January, 1939. Initially it was planned to train 25 selected students as teachers but pressures for other forms of education were so great that a fairly complex institution composed of an elementary school, a primary school, a teachers' college and eventually secondary and adult education sections began to develop. In its early years, the College faced many difficulties in getting sufficient funds and teachers, but early inspection reports noted that there was a lot of enthusiasm and orderliness in the project.

European and Asian Education

Government policy and practice after World War I continued to favour European and Asian education. The Commission Report of 1919, commenting on the importance of European education urged that:

> **"It must never be forgotten that the European community is a handful in the midst of a large African population and that if Europeans would retain the leadership of Kenya, a high standard of education must be demanded. Many parents will never be able to send their children to England or South Africa".**

In the period following World War I, not many settlers could afford to send their children away for secondary education. Therefore, the government encouraged the f such schools to attract more European settlements. In 1924, the Central Advisory Committee on Education recommended the building of a European boys boarding school on the British public school lines at Kabete near Nairobi (later named the Prince of Wales School) to educate boys in their future environment instead of educating them elsewhere.

European pupils in Kenya took the Cambridge University Local Examinations. This was also the case with Indians in the higher forms. Facilities in Indian schools, however continued to be poor. The Indian School in Mombasa was on the verge of collapse until 1923 when the wealthy Ismaili Khoja merchant, Allidina Visram donated £50,000 to the government to erect new premises. The school was later renamed Allidina Visram High School. Every Indian school had its own committee for purposes of promoting self-help.

By the 1930s, Europeans had established boarding schools in urban centres of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret and Kitale, while the Indian schools were in their major trading centres of Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu. The Indian community however, demanded the same type of educational facilities in their schools as were organised for Europeans. Although their children took the same examinations and the Cambridge School Certificate, there was no parity in the provision of educational facilities. English gradually replaced Gujarati and Urdu as the medium of instruction especially in the upper classes. In 1931, the separation of boys and girls at secondary school level was effected for the two races. The government voted £60,000 for a boys' secondary school.

Secondary education for Europeans and Indians was provided largely by the government which ran five secondary schools in 1935, while the Goan community ran four aided secondary schools. Most of these schools taught up to Cambridge School

Certificate standard, and the Prince of Wales School went up to Higher School Certificate. By contrast, African secondary education was still limited to the mission schools at Alliance High School and the Holy Ghost Mission at Kabaa, which prepared boys for secondary education at Makerere College by training them up to the junior secondary schools examination.

In 1942, education for European children between the ages of 7 and 15 years was made compulsory and the government continued to subsidise primary and secondary education. The courses in the European schools were largely academic in content leading to Cambridge Ordinary and Advanced Level examinations. Britain and South Africa provided opportunities for higher education. The Asian community continued to criticise the inferior education offered to them. Although Asian children took the Cambridge Ordinary Level Examinations, they were not all allowed to take Advanced Courses at the Prince of Wales School. Their schools were day, with poor accommodation and they experienced a shortage of trained teachers.

Questions

1. What was the impact of the First World War in educational developments in the inter-war period in Africa?
2. Discuss educational developments in British and French colonies in West Africa in the inter-war period.
3. Suggest reasons as to why Africans in Kenya developed special interest in education in the inter-war period?
4. Discuss the contribution of the Local Native Councils to the development of education in Kenya during the inter-war period.
5. Analyse the development of the Independent school movement.

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POST-WORLD WAR II EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA

World War II was an important turning point in the history of modern Africa. Before it broke out, the pace of change in Africa since the establishment of colonial rule at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, had been steady but extremely slow. After the War, this gradual pace tremendously increased in momentum. There were a number of factors that contributed to this kind of development.

During the War, soldiers from all over Africa were recruited by Britain and France and fought in many other parts of the world. While in these areas, they learned to see their own countries from the outside perspective. On their return home, many of them were among the most militant members of the independence movement and all of them were an important source of new ideas.

World War II created an economic boom as local manufacturers began to supply goods which were no longer coming from Europe due to the disruption by the War. This development put more money in the pockets of producers. Consequently, people flocked into the towns from the countryside to take up new jobs. Many cities doubled in size and the already overcrowded slums grew bigger and more congested. The new jobs were however not as numerous as the people who came to look for them. This contributed to a serious problem of unemployment in the cities. With larger city populations and a far greater number of people able to read newspapers, there were increased demands for social, economic and political reforms.

More significant, especially in the subsequent spread of nationalism in Africa, was what could be termed as the psychological effect of the War. The mental attitudes of Europeans and Africans towards each other were greatly changed by the War. Previously, Europeans had dominated Africans, not only because of their alleged advanced military and economic power, but also because they believed that they were superior and invincible. World War II, even more than the First, destroyed the myth of white superiority. Several colonial powers were defeated and publicly humiliated. In military training as well in combat, African soldiers quickly noticed that the behaviour of white soldiers was not as arrogant as that of colonial officials, settlers and traders. This was an important element that worked to undermine the prestige of the colonial systems. Furthermore, some of the Allied soldiers were quite appalled by colonial conditions. They made African friends and some took part in secret political discussions which condemned British and French rule.

Once the War was over, the drive for change began and for the first time, Africans were for revolutionary change, *self-government now*. The economic and social conditions created by the War, however, led to impatience. This impatience was increased when, after the War, Europeans concentrated upon their own reconstruction to the neglect of the empires. Politically, although Britain and France were aware that changes must come, both underestimated the strength and urgency of African feelings, so that the first constitutional proposals were fiercely resented as being totally inadequate. This led to the establishment of new and more militant political parties that were ready to resort to the use of terror and force where they failed to get concessions by way of persuasion.

In education, colonial governments in the post-War period realised that one of the most serious limitations to development was the shortage of educated people. Because there had been so few secondary schools before the War, a large number of Europeans had to be employed to operate the new development plans. These expatriates proved quite expensive. They had to be induced to come to Africa by way of high salaries, subsidised housing and frequent home leave with free travel. Politically, their presence widened the gap between Africans and Europeans, creating the impression that the colonial grip on Africa was tightening, and intensifying political unrest and making all government activities suspect to the people. Education therefore soon became the cornerstone of every development plan.

By the end of the War most of the schools in French and British territories were Iargely primary, providing only four years of education. The first post-War priority therefore was to extend the four years to six years with an emphasis on the teaching of a European language. The main problem however was to train enough primary school teachers who had the necessary qualifications in English or French. The most significant educational development of the 1940s was the establishment throughout colonial Africa of Primary Teacher Training Centres. As we have already seen, at the secondary school level, many territories had very few secondary schools, most of them Junior Secondary Schools. Secondary schools had, therefore, to be increased. This could be done very gradually, by bringing in more teachers from Europe and by employing the few existing academically successful Africans. While the reform of primary education had only involved the addition of two years, six more years of education were required for secondary school. As a result, most schools took much longer to develop the six-year programme. Secondary education became a major bottleneck in the development of the education systems.

The secondary school output determined the possibilities for higher education. The British government in particular did not allow the secondary-school bottleneck to hold up the foundation of universities in its territories. In 1943, the Elliot Commission was set up to examine the organisation and facilities of higher education. The Commission reported that the development of universities was 'an inescapable corollary of any policy which aims at the achievement of colonial selfgovernment'. Within four years, following the end of World War II, four university colleges were opened at Ibadan in Nigeria, the Gordon Memorial College in the Sudan, Achimota in Ghana and Makerere in Uganda. Some of the money for these universities came from the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. The University College at Salisbury in Zimbabwe was added in 1953. Entrants to these colleges were relatively few, but they were the people who were destined to become senior civil servants, directors of public corporations, headmasters, doctors and others. The French also trained such people, although many were

exclusively trained in France. The idea perhaps was to provide them with education in more established European universities as opposed to the emerging young universities in the British sphere of influence. This policy had one serious problem since it left the French speaking African countries, more dependent on France in the period preceding independence.

British West Africa

In Sierra Leone, with the abolition of the Junior Cambridge Certificate in 1951 and the institution of the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate and Higher School Certificate, a number of schools, especially the Prince of Wales and Bo Schools offered these examinations in Sierra Leone. Fourah Bay College was expanded in 1950 to continue providing limited degree courses in Arts, Theology and postgraduate studies in Theology and Education at university level. It was also to develop its non-graduate teacher training courses and undertake technological training. It started offering science courses in 1954.

In Gambia, arrangements were made to open a science school in Bathurst in 1946. A Teacher Training Centre opened in Georgetown in 1949. Students were normally sent to Fourah Bay College and Achimota for higher education

In Ghana the number of assisted secondary schools increased by 3 between 1946 and 1950 bringing the total number, excluding Achimota, to 11, 7 for boys and 4 for girls. In addition to the assisted schools, there was a large number of non-assisted secondary schools and secondary departments in various parts of the territory. From all the secondary schools, 743 candidates were entered for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination in December, 1950. The number of secondary schools rose from 12 to 38 between 1951 and 1957. By early 1958 there were 10,423 students in secondary schools in Ghana. At the university level, the passing of an Ordinance in 1948 officially established the University College of the Gold Coast. This followed the recommendations of the Elliot and the Asquith Commission, 1945. The College was formally opened in October 1948 and housed temporarily in the Training College buildings at Achimota. Students were admitted into the Faculties of Arts, Science and Commerce. The College operated under the 'Special Relations' scheme sponsored by the University of London. It was later moved into the new buildings erected on Legon Hill, a few miles from Achimota.

In Nigeria, there was also a sharp rise in secondary school enrolment. By 1951, there were 93 secondary schools with a student enrolment of 31,425. At the university level, arrangements to establish a University College followed the reports of the Elliot and Asquith Commissions on Higher Education. The University College was established in 1947 and in 1948 the Higher College was transferred from Yaba to become its nucleus. By 1949 there were 210 students taking university courses in Science, Arts, Medicine and Agriculture. It also operated under the 'Special Relationship' scheme with the University of London.

French West Africa

In French West Africa, there were some important changes in secondary education following World War II. The former advanced Primary Schools became Classic Schools (Classic and Modern) or Modern Schools. The Classic Schools offered a complete secondary education in classics while the Modern Schools offered a complete secondary

modern education. There were 19 of these schools in 1949 unequally distributed in French West Africa.

The *écoles normales* also became establishments offering secondary education while continuing to train secondary school teachers who received the *Baccalaureat Certificate.* The *cours normaux* which trained assistant teachers were also schools offering secondary education.

Lycées were originally two, at Dakar and at St. Louis. Two more were added in Bamako and Abidjan in 1958. They offered all the years courses in secondary education.

Cours normaux numbered 9 in 1949 and gradually increased to meet the fast-rising demand for teachers. Like the *e'coles*, they gave general secondary education leading to the *brevet elementaire* and one year of vocational training.

Ecoles normales were 4 at Sebikotane, Katibougou, Gabon and Rasfique. After some reorganisation, they offered secondary education leading to the *Baccaleureat* Certificate in experimental sciences, followed by a year of vocational training.

The growth and expansion of higher education was originally connected with the desire to control the amount of higher education received by Africans and, more important, to keep African students away from the supposedly harmful influence exercised on them by progressive French groups in particular the working class and the Communist Party. For this reason, the *Institut des Hautes Etudes* was established in Dakar in 1950. It subsequently expanded to become the University of Dakar in 1958. *A Centre d' Engeignement Superieur* (Centre of Higher Education) was established in Abidjan in 1958 and gradually developed into a University.

Uganda, Tanzania and Mozambique

The East African region experienced a dramatic post-War expansion at secondary as well as university level. In Uganda, missionaries continued to manage junior and senior secondary schools except for the Muslim Secondary School in Kampala. Protestant and Catholic junior and senior secondary schools expanded rapidly during the post-War period. By 1945, however, only 6 senior secondary schools prepared students for the Cambridge School Certificate. The abolition of the Makerere Entrance Examination in favour of the School Certificate in 1948 increased their responsibilities. In the same year, the government opened a Teacher Training College at Mbarara in Ankole to train junior secondary school teachers. Between 1952 and 1957, the number of children in junior secondary schools increased considerably. This too applied to senior secondary school pupils who increased from 839 in 1952 to 3,153 in 1961. The number of Cambridge School Certificate holders rose correspondingly from 182 in 1952 to 693 in 1960. The post-War period also witnessed the opening of private secondary schools.

At university level, Makerere continued to make steady progress between 1939 and 1945. In 1944, higher courses in Science and Arts were started. In 1945 the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, the Asquith Commission recommended the upgrading of Makerere to a University College status. Degree programmes were offered from 1950 in 'Special Relations' with the University of London. Makerere became the University College of East Africa with professional schools of Agriculture, Medicine, Veterinary Science, Education; Faculties of Science, Arts and a School of Fine Art. In 1961, it became part of the Federal University of East Africa with other campuses at the Royal Technical College, Nairobi and University College, Dar-es-Salaam.

The development of secondary education in Tanzania was painfully slow. By the late 50s there were only two government secondary schools and two voluntary agency schools which provided Cambridge School Certificate courses. The government's two schools were at Tabora and the mission schools were St. Andrews, Minaki and St. Francis, Pugu. The total number of secondary schools was 10 government and 14 voluntary schools as the country approached self-government. In Zanzibar, there were limited secondary school opportunities. Africans who desired such an education studied in secondary schools in mainland Tanzania. Makerere being, a university college for East Africa provided Tanzanian students with higher education.

During the 1950s, Portugal began to introduce minor policy changes in response to growing criticism. It was, however, not until the 1960s, with mounting resistance to the nature of its colonial rule, that real changes were made in general development policies and education.

In education, despite the abolition of differences between government and mission school education, African education was practically organized in three stages, each of which was designed to eliminate most students and exclude them entirely from higher education. Pre-primary rudimentary schools (*ensino primario rudimentor*) and later adaptation schools (*ensino dfe adaptacao*) theoretically introduced African children to the Portuguese language and culture in order to bring them to the level of Portuguese children. The result was that many African children failed the Portuguese language examination (normally given after three years) and had to repeat the course at least more than once. Even for the small percentage who ultimately passed there was no certainty of advancing as the law barred Africans over 13 years from entering primary school. The few who did complete their four year primary school programme were supposedly entitled to go on to a fifth year stage that was expected to prepare them for either high school or technical training. But very few mission schools offered fifth-year courses. In this regard, Africans were effectively blocked from attending secondary education. Moreover, the maximum age for entrance into secondary school was 14 years and it was extremely rare for any but the most privileged Africans to have completed the four-year rudimentary programme and the five-year primary school by that age.

Consequently, the quality of education for Africans was vastly inferior to that offered in the state and private schools for the children of European settlers and *assimilados*. Under the direction of stern missionaries, most schooling was devoted to religious education, and schools also suffered from lack of qualified teachers and an acute shortage of books and other educational materials. By 1958, the colonial sate acknowledged that almost 98 percent of the population was still illiterate. At the time of independence, in 1975, the illiteracy rate was still around 95 per cent.

In 1962, the colonial government established the University of Lourenco Marques which was mainly for children of Portuguese settlers and administrators.

Developments in Kenya

World War II had several effects in Kenya. It not only disrupted African development, but also increased African sensitivity and aspirations. There was the return of African ex-servicemen who had a high economic and political awareness. It also brought political changes to Britain in general and to the Colonial Office in particular. There was the eventual talk of a 'wind of change', for the colonies, especially following the achievement of independence by India and Pakistan in 1947 and 1948, respectively. The

Socialist 'renaissance' of the 1945 election in Britain and related developments in the Colonial Office ushered in a new outlook at the colonies. These changes however, were not felt strongly in Kenya, giving an impression that the War affected colonial life much less than it affected life in the home country.

As a result of this, despite the Colonial Development and Welfare grants from 1944 onwards and increased awareness of the importance of education in Britain, African educational development in Kenya fell even further behind the needs of the country and the increasing hopes of the African society. In spite of the post-War concern for the underprivileged territories, the British Government's statements about Commonwealth development and the increasing obvious signs of the coming 'wind of change', the colonial government's efforts gained remarkably little momentum until a few years before independence.

Towards the end of World War II, Kenya witnessed a steadily growing expansion of secondary and higher education. At the same time, there was an increase in the number of Africans with both secondary and college education. In particular, output from higher educational institutions, mainly from outside increased to such an extent that, in the context of the framework of the socio-political changes of the period, the educated elite emerged at the national level. This led to a questioning of the structure and content of education that had produced them. Until 1956, all Africans received higher education at Makerere which was the apex of the educational structure for Africans in East Africa. The emerging elite's attitudes to Makerere were, however, ambivalent. On the one hand, they saw Makerere as the peak of their educational career, those who had the opportunity to study abroad in addition to Makerere questioned its racial exclusiveness. Africans were discouraged from seeking courses abroad unless these were not available in East Africa. It was not that Africans did not believe in Makerere but they were quite suspicious about the motives of the Kenya Government about Makerere. It was pointed out that if Makerere was as good an educational institution as any other, why did the European community not send their children to the College? Makerere trained Africans who were denied openings into the highest levels of Kenya's public service. At any rate the first outstanding nationalist leaders were to be graduates of Makerere.

The emerging elites were to provide a new strategy to political leadership. With their educational background, they were clearly aware of the socio-economic injustices of the established administration towards the Africans, particularly the educated Africans. Whether in the reserves or towns the elites could not escape the knowledge of the racial stratification of society. The highest educated Africans lived with the lowest educated in the African quarters. In schools, they lived in quarters designed for Africans which were generally of low quality.

With emergence of this frustrated elite, the nationalist movements took a completely different turn. Their aim was not just to rectify socio-political injustices that the Black people were experiencing but to overthrow the colonial system. With their educational background unlike the local nationalist movements which relied on Asians or even on European missionaries to draw up their memoranda for submission to the colonial authorities, they approached issues directly. Dependence on Asians became a thing of the past because of the new educated leadership. Literacy and linguistic qualifications made the new leadership different. Because of language and education, it became easy for tribal societies to communicate in the colonial context. The elite became the spokesmen of their tribal societies through a process of nationalism whose main unifying force was the presence of a colonial power. These elites were often to be

approached by the elders to stand for election in local administration. They believed that their representation at the national centre was almost a right and they saw their assignment as an ordained duty.

World War II, therefore, heralded a new period of militant political nationalism in Kenya replacing the major concern of earlier associations with obtaining redress of grievances. The return of the ex-servicemen increased the already serious problems of urban unemployment and overcrowding in the reserves. These factors contributed to the formation of nationalist political organisations. The most prominent organisation was the Kenya African Union (KAU) which tried to articulate some of the national issues facing Africans.

Among the African nationalists, the most important political question of the post-War years was whether independence would be won by constitutional means or whether, as many Africans believed, violence could be necessary. Between 1944 and 1952, the number of African representatives in the Legislative Council increased from one to six, but these members continued to be nominated by the Governor rather than being elected. Between 1945 and the beginning of the Emergency in 1952, KAU failed to achieve the expected economic and political reforms by peaceful means, and hence more violent methods for self-determination were adopted through the Mau Mau struggle. Although the Kikuyu were the vanguard of this political protest, it became clear during the Emergency that their objectives had strong support among leaders of many other ethnic groups.

At the international level, the achievement of independence by India and other countries in Asia, and the international forum provided after 1945 by the United Nations had a profound effect on world opinion. No longer could the fortunes of Africans in Kenya depend merely upon bilateral discussion between the settlers and the British government. During the l950s, the growth of nationalism in West Africa and the increasing commitment of African nationalists to Pan-Africanism gave further support to the 'wind of change' in Kenya. These and other forces contributed to the reorganisation of the political and economic system, leading to the achievement of independence in 1963.

Education Policies

Education in the post-War period operated under the nature of the political situation discussed in the previous section. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945 marked a significant shift from the traditional policy of colonial self-sufficiency to a policy of giving increased amounts of aid to the colonies. The *war* years not only marked a shift in economic policy, but also revealed a desire on the part of the British government to create a more 'progressive' political situation in the colonies in preparation for eventual self-government. The most important contribution to educational policy under this shift was the *1948 Memorandum of Education for Citizens*. This document went beyond previous statements by stating that literacy and technical skills were not enough in a rapidly changing world. It stated that education must develop a sense of public responsibility and democracy was to be lived and not just taught in a classroom.

Following the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, there was the Ten-Year Development Programme in Kenya. The Programme called for providing 50 per cent of the school age population with a six-year primary course at the end of a ten-year period.

In order to achieve this expansion, local expenditure would increase from £100,000 to £343,000 while the Central Government would contribute £800,000 for capital costs, mostly buildings. The Ten-year Development Programme seems to have been sparked by the government's alarm with the rapid expansion of schools and a decline in quality due to the lack of control and supervision. The grants-in-aid rules of 1945 had attempted to control expansion by stopping additions to the lists of aided schools. The new regulations also placed the financial responsibility for primary schools upon the Local Native Councils. Despite these regulations, expansion of schools continued almost unchecked.

In the light of the problem of uncontrolled expansion, a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Archdeacon L.J. Beecher to examine and report on the scope, content and methods of the African educational system in 1949. The most serious problem identified by the Committee was that expansion at the primary level had been done without adequate financial provision or control. In order to change the trend, strict supervision was necessary to control primary school expansion and also expand teacher training. To ease financial burden on local authorities, the Committee recommended that responsibility for primary and intermediate schools be placed under the reconstituted District Education Boards.

The Report also stressed the importance of maintaining cooperation between the government and voluntary agencies as a basis for teaching 'Christian principles'. It also stressed the importance of practical education for Africans. The report restructured the education system by introducing a 4:4:4 system of primary, intermediate and secondary schools to replace the 6:2:4 organisation. Primary education was to be restricted to four years with a minimum entry at seven years of age, and with much closer government supervision. The aim of the new structure was to present each stage of education as a complete course in itself, to fit those who might leave at any one stage with competent and active roles in society.

In the estimation of the report, only 29 per cent of African children were to go beyond Standard Four and less than 5 per cent to secondary. There were to be only 16 secondary schools by 1957. The report was approved by the government in August 1950 and the task of reorganising the school system was started. Africans however, objected to some aspects of the report that it's emphasis on quality rather than quantity meant that enrolment could grow too slowly, thus frustrating African hopes for universal literacy. The second criticism was directed to the new 4:4:4; that it would be too short to achieve permanent literacy and that too few pupils could get beyond the fourth grade to make the intermediate level worthwhile.

The Binns Report of 1952, which visited East Africa, was in general agreement with the Beecher Report on matters pertaining to supervisory and inspectorial system and government missionary cooperation. The report recommended the preservation of selected tribal vernaculars, while advocating the general elimination of *Kiswahili* except where it was the local vernacular. It reasoned that its use as a *lingua franca* impeded the learning of both vernacular and English. It also advocated the teaching of agriculture at the primary school level especially for those who could not continue learning. This was a significant departure from Beecher. However, it recommended the expansion of teacher training as a way of improving the quality of education.

Throughout the l950s, the Beecher Report remained the basis for government policy on African education. During the Mau Mau Emergency and the period of political uncertainty which followed, there was no serious attempt to formulate an educational

policy. There was also the problem of lack of funds and the ambivalence of the European controlled Legislative Council towards African development. The Sessional Paper of 1957, for example, stated that the purpose of the development programme of 1957-1960 was to maintain European standards, raise Asian standards, and to create African standards as a way of reducing the imbalances. This declaration was, however, not translated into action for the allocation of funds revealed that the European community, (1 per cent of the population) would receive 19 per cent of the budget, the Asian community, (3 per cent of the population) would receive 28 per cent, and the African community would receive only 53 per cent of the funds available for education. In spite of these severe financial limitations, African demand for more educational opportunities intensified so much that by 1960, the number of African primary schools had doubled Beecher's forecast, while there were three times as many intermediate and secondary schools.

Before the achievement of independence, attempts were made to encourage multiracialism and a general expansion of the education system. There were important education policy documents like the Addis Ababa Conference of May 1961 which had a considerable impact on the post-independence educational developments, but these will be treated in the next chapter.

Elements of the Education System

Primary education was an important segment of the school since it provided more education opportunities for the African children. As it has been pointed out its expansion was generally uncontrolled. It was generally of low quality especially at the lower levels. An interesting feature of it was the prevalence of vernacular or village schools conducted by catechists or untrained teachers of most of the missionary bodies. In this type of school which was generally established in remote villages from a regular school centre, instruction was given in vernacular with a view to furthering the spread of religious education among those who were unable to attend ordinary primary schools, either because of distance or for lack of funds necessary to pay school fees.

Before the introduction of the 4:4:4 system by the Beecher Report, primary education lasted six years, and then followed by two years of junior secondary at which students sat for the Kenya African Primary Examination (KAPE) primary education performed two important functions; it aimed at providing a satisfying and worthwhile course for the majority of the children whose formal schooling ended at or before the end of the primary stage; and also provided a satisfactory course for the few who continued to secondary school.

An emphasis was placed on the importance of relating education to the child's needs at the primary age. It was to include, for example, opportunities for physical development and recreation, for learning manual skills and acquiring some facilities in simple creative arts. It was also to provide training in the basic skills of reading, writing and number work.

In the 4-4-4 education system, primary children took the Competitive Entrance Examination (CEE) in the Fourth Grade and proceeded to intermediate schools, which were three hundred in number, where there was a strong emphasis on agriculture and handicrafts. In the Eighth Grade, the Kenya African Preliminary Examination (KAPE) was offered.

The medium of instruction in the first four grades of the primary school was vernacular. English was used in the upper classes. In the mid-50s following poor performance by African and Asian children in the examinations in 1957, the Ministry of Education created a Special Centre as an offshoot of the Inspectorate to investigate and experiment. This led to the introduction of the English Medium in Asian schools from 1957 and later extended to African schools in 1961. In the English medium schools instructions were given in the English language right from Standard One.

Secondary education covered Forms Three to Six in 1948. The Kenya African Secondary Examination was taken in Form Four while the Cambridge School Certificate was offered in Form Six. This examination was first offered in African secondary schools in 1940. In 1947, there were 51 junior secondary schools and only 2 government and 4 missionary senior secondary schools of which only 2, Alliance High School and the Holy Ghost College, Mangu taught up to the school certificate level.

The development of secondary education was painfully slow, as a result of some of the factors already discussed. Secondary school development in the 50s was generally poor followed so suddenly by the period of near panic just prior to independence. Generally, the academic standards were low. This was due to the low quality of some of the teaching staff, frequent transfers and inconsistent leadership of the schools. Some of the senior secondary schools began courses for the Higher School Certificate Examination in 1961.

Makerere continued to be the main centre for higher education for all the East African territories including Kenya. The first Kenyan based institute to provide Higher Education was the Royal Technical College of East Africa situated in Nairobi. Its establishment followed the recommendation of a committee chaired by G.P. Willoughby in 1949 that the Kenya Government sets up a technical and commercial institute in Nairobi to:

(i) provide full-time and part-time instruction for courses leading to the Higher National Certificate offered in Britain.

(ii) prepare matriculated students through full-time study for university degrees in engineering and allied subjects not provided by Makerere.

The East African High Commission assented to an Act establishing the College in 1954 after obtaining a Royal Charter for its establishment. The funds for its construction came from the Colonial Development and Welfare funds. The Asian community had meanwhile started an institution of higher learning in memory of the late Mahatma Gandhi (Gandhi Memorial Academy). The two institutions were merged into one College in March, 1957 and established departments of Arts, Commerce, Science, Engineering, Domestic Science, Architecture and Survey. The three-year course led to special certificates and not degrees.

The two working parties on higher education in East Africa, one by Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders in 1955 and another by John F. Lockwood in 1958, recommended that each East African territory, should establish a university college. Following this recommendation, the Royal Technical College began to conduct courses in 1961. Like Makerere, it enjoyed a special relation with the University of London. Its name was changed to the Royal College, Nairobi. In 1963, it became the University College, Nairobi. With the establishment of University College, Dar-es-Salaam and the already existing Makerere University College, the Federal University of East Africa was created.

By the early l950s, the number of students who studied abroad increased rapidly although the number remained relatively small. In 1947, there were 13 Africans in Britain and by 1950, there were 350 abroad either in Britain, America, India or Pakistan. In addition, an increasing number of Asians studied abroad on private funds. The airlift of students will be discussed later in this chapter.

Teacher Education

Since 1945, the development of teacher education reflected the rapid expansion of the school system especially at the primary school level. The Ten-Year Plan envisaging a full primary course under qualified teachers for approximately 50 per cent of the children of school age, recommended the establishment of 24 Elementary Teacher Training Centres, and 16 Lower Primary Teacher Training Centres. These recommendations were adopted by the Beecher Report.

In 1948, rules for the issue of Teacher Certificates in schools for Arabs and Africans, teachers' grades and certificates were restructured. A teachers' certificate (T4) replaced the Elementary Teachers' Certificate and qualified the holder to teach up to Standard Four; a teachers' certificate (T3) replaced the Lower Primary Teachers Certificate and qualified the holder to teach up to Standard Six. A teachers certificate (T2) replaced the Primary Teachers' Certificate and qualified the holder to teach up to Form Two. A teachers' certificate (Tl) (Makerere teacher) qualified the holder to teach up to Form Four. The bulk of the teachers in the system were untrained or of low grades, a thing that tended to have an adverse effect on the quality of education at the primary school level.

The adoption of the Ten-Year Plan and the Beecher Report to establish a high number of primary teachers' colleges resulted in the creation of a large number of relatively isolated small teacher training centres. The governing factors in such a development were the availability of mission sites to be developed, the demand of local patriotism for local training centres, and the use of vernacular languages' policy which made it necessary to limit practice facilities to the area where a particular language was spoken. The result was that in many small centres, four or so members of staff had to try and cover 14 curricular subjects between them and teaching facilities were generally inadequate.

The Binns Education Commission, in 1952, expressed concern about a lack of dignity in the teaching profession caused by the structure of teacher institutions. It argued that for as long as teacher education continued to be carried out at a very large number of small scattered training centres; sometimes little more than annexes to schools, the profession cannot achieve the dignity it requires. The Commission therefore expressed an urgent need for setting up large institutions and institutes of education to coordinate their activities. This note was taken up in 1956. Mrs. E.M. Williams, Principal of Whitelands Training College was invited by the Christian Council of Kenya to study and advise on the re-organisation of teacher training by the Protestant Churches.

The Conference, which was held in Nairobi after her survey, strongly recommended that Delagacies be established to coordinate the work of teacher training centres and take up the responsibilities of setting teacher-examinations. Following these recommendations, two teacher training organisations were set up at Kagumo and Siriba to coordinate teacher training activities and explore possibilities of consolidating

training centres. This heralded the setting up of the Kenya Institute of Education which was established in 1964 to carry out the organisations' functions. By then, over 9 colleges had voluntarily run down, and following the recommendations of the Kenya Education Commission of 1964, the government embarked on a policy of consolidating the present teacher education centres to 18 with a capacity of 600 students in each. These colleges were geared towards having adequate teaching staff to man all the different disciplines, have large libraries, have special facilities for child development, teaching methods, and school organisation.

Technical Education

In technical education, the Native Industrial Training Depot ceased to be used for military purposes in 1948. On its return to the Education Department, it was opened as a Technical and Trade School for African artisans in a variety of trades, ranging from carpentry to general garage work, with the Kenya African Preliminary Examination as the required standard of entry. Between 1949 and 1963, Kabete building apprentices erected similar schools at Thika, Sigalagala, Kwale, Machakos and Eldoret to cover most areas of the country. Mombasa Technical School, was established in 1949 mainly for Arabs, Waswahili, Asians and Africans. Its financial support came from the Muslim communities and the British government. Muslim students were recruited from all over East Africa. Building and engineering were the main subjects, but initially, the syllabus included the carving of Arab doors, an art that had been virtually neglected.

The opening of the Kenya Polytechnic in 1961 further expanded opportunities for technical education in the country. It offered courses in civil, mechanical and electrical engineering, telecommunications, science, commerce and technical teacher training, for the examinations of the City and Guilds, the Royal Society of Arts and the London Chamber of Commerce.

Agricultural Education

Considerable efforts were made in the development of agriculture in the post-War period and especially in line with the recommendations of the Beecher Report. Attempts were made to coordinate the activities of school teachers and agricultural officers. The agricultural officers advised and taught practical scientific agriculture in schools and in adult classes. After the War, at Kabete Centre 'C', each ex-serviceman in the rehabilitation course had his own plot of land to cultivate. Following the Beecher Report and stress on agriculture in the intermediate schools, a year's course at Thogoto Rural Training Centre was introduced to expose teachers to agricultural practices. They learned such skills as the effectiveness of manuring and compost preparation, fodder growing, bench terracing and crop rotation. Among the pastoral peoples, pupils received instruction in animal husbandry. Kabianga and Baringo pioneered in this area, following a syllabus of the Maasai School at Narok, founded soon after World War I, to combine academic and veterinary subjects.

In an attempt to encourage more white settlements after the War, the government provided agricultural courses for the new immigrants at Egerton College, near Njoro. It grew into a centre for instructing European youths at the post-secondary level until the change to the multi-racial education as the country moved towards independence, and it became a centre for research in farming.

Adult Education

When the Jeanes School was reopened after the War in 1948, it started a course for small-scale traders in 1956. Participants were recruited through District Commissioners or local government councils. Participants were required to have basic primary education and a working knowledge of Kiswahili. The curriculum consisted of simple accounts, shop management, business methods and arithmetic.

The School took a lead in emphasising the education of women in the country. Men who were admitted to a course at the School were required to live on the school campus with their wives. While the husbands did their specialised course, women learnt domestic science, civics and agriculture. The wives were expected to help their husbands in the field to develop a model home and to perform their work effectively. A wife had to have some idea of the professional specialisation of her husband.

In 1950, the first course for women was mounted. Participants were selected by the District Commissioners and were expected, after the course, to start women clubs in their home areas. Teaching was done in Kiswahili and the main topics covered were cooking, types of food, child care, scientific farming and mending studies. The women also learnt some civics and other liberal studies.

It was realised that the Jeanes School work in community development needed expansion. In 1953, the School proposed to start a similar one in Western Kenya at Maseno. The buildings were completed in 1955 with funds from the local authority and in 1956, the school started working. The main participants were expected to be farmers, traders, local leaders and government extension agents. The Jeanes School programme wound up in 1961 and the facilities became training institutions for the government.

The Jeanes School teachers included literacy in practically all their programmes. Illiteracy was seen as one of the main obstacles to community development. Jeanes School trainees and all community development staff were expected to establish literacy centres in their areas of work. A number of literacy classes emerged in isolated rural areas after the War.

Apart from the Jeanes School, adult education programmes were evolving under different government departments. The Agricultural Department initiated a training programme for agricultural extension workers in the mid 20s. On completion of the programme, the trainees were expected to get employment under local government authorities to work for their communities and educating farmers.

Under the Education Department, a voluntary organisation mounted evening continuing classes for the Asian and European communities in Nairobi. The main courses offered were bookkeeping, surveying, electrical and mechanical engineering and languages like Latin, French and Kiswahili. Elementary courses in English and literacy were mounted in 1941.

Continuing education classes were run by a voluntary committee with representatives from Nairobi Municipal Council, the Asian Community, the Kenya Society, the Education Department and major employment agencies in Nairobi notably the Office of the Postmaster General, the Mines Department and the Kenya Uganda Railways.

In 1953, a Department of Trade was established and in 1954, the government introduced loan schemes for African traders. It was found that the loanees had problems with the keeping of accounts, accounting of personal expenses out of their business,

displaying goods and generally controlling their businesses. The Jeanes School therefore launched a course for traders. As government field administrators and extension agents increased in the countryside, they attempted to give their own short courses lasting several days.

Producer co-operatives also emerged as African farmers started to produce for the colonial market. Initially, members were said not to have an understanding of co-operative's principles. Officials elected in the cooperatives were ignorant and inefficient. The three East African countries agreed in 1951 to establish a school of cooperative education near the Jeanes School. The two schools were separate and ran courses for government cooperative officers and short courses for society secretaries, shopkeepers and other officials. The core curriculum was bookkeeping, accounts and committee management.

Women graduating from the Jeanes School formed women clubs and in 1951, they met and formed a countrywide organisation, *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* (Women Progress Association). In 1955, the Association became a member of Country Women of the World. Women clubs also increased in number with its functions including, income generating, community service and cultural activities. Women club leaders were normally trained at Homecraft Training Centres (HTC), which had emerged under the influence of the Jeanes School to provide courses for women clubs in the field. By 1957, the country had 10 HTCs built jointly by the local government authorities and the central government. Running expenses came from local government authorities and the fees were paid by trainees. The language of instruction was Swahili and the main courses offered were homecare, cooking, childcare, nutrition, needlework, hygiene, agriculture and civics. In 1957, Homecraft Training Centres were renamed Community Development Training Centres (CDTC) and their functions expanded to cover the training of both men and women. The two-year training course became a course for Community Development Assistants (CDA) while the shorter courses were retained to serve women clubs.

The strongest literacy programmes was developed in Meru under a Methodist missionary. The missionary intended to use literacy education as a tool for developing social leaders and making members of the church more self-reliant. The missionary came up against growing apathy, lack of reading materials and government indifference. However, as the nationalist movement gathered momentum in the early 50s, the government started to take an interest in literacy as a possible channel for influencing public opinion and attempting to counteract the mounting opposition to the colonial rule. The Education Department was given the responsibility to register literacy classes as legal organisations in order to function freely during the armed conflict between nationalist freedom fighters and the colonial government.

African Educational Initiatives in Kenya

African initiatives in education after World War II were in Independent schools that were discussed in the previous chapter, the expansion of education, and airlift for students.

Independent Schools

At the end of World War II an official report praised the Independent schools as an example of independent effort deserving guidance and financial support. Little was however done to reopen and build the pre-War government's Independent school movement links. The settlers were generally hostile to the Independent school movement. The Department's Plan for Educational Development in 1948 did not even mention Independent schools. Although a number of the senior officials of the Independent Schools Association negotiated patiently with the Beecher Commission, they were already being undermined by a new move; a politically oriented approach to the educational problems making much greater demands for African educational development and advocating a policy of non-cooperation.

In 1952, the Independent movements were banned by the government for allegedly being involved in the Mau Mau disturbances. The Corfield Report claimed that from the very beginning, KISA and the Independent churches were with KCA and later the Kenya African Union (KAU). There were obviously close connections between KISA and KCA. The background factors underlying KISA and Karing'a Schools lay in the cultural controversy of 1929 in which KCA was directly involved and these connections were later established with KAU. Whether the Independents had political connections or not does not underplay their educational contributions.

After the Emergency, there was a gradual process of reopening Independent schools under missionary or District Education Boards. The old spirit of Independence reasserted itself in the country through the opening of Harambee schools.

The African Teachers' College continued after the end of World War II. Its major aim was to produce students who though able to handle European skills, were at the same time strongly linked with the African heritage. Kenyatta, on his return from London, joined the staff, though recruitment and continuity of staff became a serious problem. Various attempts were made to solve the problem by appealing to teachers in missionary and government schools to join the staff. Some of the College's own good students were sent abroad and offered financial support to receive training that would enable them to return as lecturers. However, their schemes did not materialise much because of the closure of the College.

It is estimated that by 1947, there were over 562 boys and 11 girls but the number rose to over 1,000, with the recruitment of students from Nyanza, the Rift Valley and Tanganyika. Education included practical skills, spinning, weaving, typing, agriculture and animal husbandry. Students dug trenches and laid pipes to provide the College with its own water supply. Other subjects included anthropology, economics and current affairs, which had some political aims. This aroused much suspicion from the government and led to the closure of the College together with other Independent schools.

A number of Independent schools spread to other parts of Kenya during and after World War II in Pokomo, Kericho and Kisii. The internment of the German missionaries in Pokomoland left the field open for an African enterprise.

Airlift of Students

The airlift of students seems to have been a result of limited opportunities offered to Africans by the colonial administration. It involved a number of African politicians after

their election to the Legislative Council in 1957. These included Tom Mboya, Dr Gikonyo Kiano and Oginga Odinga.

Mboya had cultivated a close relationship with organisations and members of the American Government. He found out that many Kenyans could not take up scholarships he had secured for them in American institutions because they could not afford air tickets. Much of the money for these students was raised privately in the United States. A smaller, though significant proportion of the money, was however raised by Kenyans themselves through a variety of methods, e.g. 'going away tea party'. The Kenya African National Union (KANU) also channelled some of its funds into the project .

While these efforts were underway, increasing opposition was being mounted by the Kenya Government. In the Legislative Council, the Minister for Education criticised the programme saying it was amateurish, nepotisitic and politically inspired. It was also said to be diverting some good students away from the more relevant education available in Kenya and Britain. It was further said to do students more educational harm than good and would likely have a disastrously high wastage rate. In reply, Mboya acknowledged that some mistakes had been made, but pointed out that without this airlift exercise in education, there would be an educational vacuum, because the number of places available in Kenya and Britain would not meet African needs. There was therefore the need for more professional bodies to involve themselves in the exercise.

The government, however, proceeded by rejecting the Kenya Education Trust's application for a solicitation permit. The Education Trust had been set up by the organisers of the airlift project. A British official in Washington also reported that many in the first airlift group were already indigent and doing poorly in courses run by inferior colleges. The State Department, conscious of the diplomatic impropriety of intervening in the affairs of a British Colony, informed the African American Students Foundation (AASF), which was working out the U.S. Government assistance, of its decision not to help the airlift in any way. This decision precipitated a crisis in the project. The crisis was averted by Mboya's personal intervention with some organisations in the U.S.

A second group of students to study in foreign countries went to socialist countries. This programme was directly organised by Oginga Odinga, who was conscious of Kenya's retarded education facilities. Many scholarships were made available especially in the Soviet Union, North Korea, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and the Germany Democratic Republic. Kenya was denied direct contact with these countries because it was under British rule. Kenya offices in Cairo and London became the centres from which Kenyan students were routed to the socialist countries. These countries made air tickets available in either Cairo or London. Whereas in the Mboya Airlift students could easily be flown out, it was not particularly easy in this particular programme because the authorities were not in favour of socialist countries. Thus, they impounded passports and arrested students concerned. This being the case, surreptitious journeys out of the country had to be organised.

The main charge against these schemes was the haphazard selection of the students and the failure to match ability with suitable courses. The main argument advanced by the organisers was that something had to be done quickly to avoid an existing vacuum. Undoubtedly, these schemes could have been better handled if it were not for the political enthusiasm of the organisers who were in a hurry to make an impact, and who neither planned the initial phases of their educational schemes nor selected their students carefully enough. A sense of competition also developed between rival camps of donors and organisers, plus an element of patronage by which political support was rewarded

with scholarships. The major problem of this sudden ill-prepared rush for university degrees was the obstacle created in African higher education by the colonial administration through its gradualist policies.

It is, however, appreciated that many of the airlift graduates have been able to fill important positions in both the private and public sectors and have made a positive contribution to the development of the country. Tensions however arose, as competition for senior positions have heightened between those who stayed and gained experience, and those who went and returned often with unrealistic impression of their own country, based on memories of the colonial era, and a belief that high status positions had been kept open for them purely because of their superior qualifications. Unfortunately, in some cases, it is now clear that because of the speed at which selection had to be carried out, people without sufficient ability or basic education were caught up in the scheme and eventually gained qualifications, usually in the poorer American colleges or in special courses designed in East European countries that either lacked academic depth or were unrelated to Kenya's real needs. Another unfortunate aspect of the programme were the dropouts, who for either emotional or intellectual reasons, found difficulties in readjusting their aspirations to the realities of life in Kenya today. Some opted to remain overseas, fearing to return home without the qualifications which they went for.

European and Asian Education

The question of unequal distribution of educational opportunities and facilities between the European and Asian communities remained a major issue in the post-War period. The Report on Asian Education in East Africa, and the Report of the Select Committee on Indian Education in 1948, sought to remedy weakness in Asian education especially lack of technical education, the few opportunities for higher studies, the poor teaching of the English language, unsuitable textbooks and poor inspection of schools. Developments in the 1950s however increased Asian opportunities in technical and higher education.

In both European and Asian education, few attempts were made to teach African studies. The Cambridge syllabus dominated the curriculum although Swahili was eventually accepted as a subject of study. The Asians were however still dissatisfied with priorities given to European children in education. They were unhappy with post-primary selections and the secondary modern course introduced in 1957 which they believed de-emphasised academic courses leading to school certificate education and the professions. In spite of a government building programme in 1958 to cope with the increasing numbers of Asian schools, the old problems of overcrowding and the lack of trained teachers persisted. The use of English as the medium of instruction from Standard One, however, proved popular.

Towards independence, figures for European pupil enrolment showed some decline, as more parents left Kenya on account of the constitutional changes giving Africans more political powers. As from 1957, attempts were however being made to provide multi-racial education at different educational levels. The first of this venture, at Hospital Hill Primary School in Nairobi, was financed partly by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund from London. The Outward Bound School at Loitokitok provided strenuous physical courses for young men of all races from schools and industry. One of their aims was to climb Mount Kilimanjaro. Just before independence, other institutions followed the multi-racial trend. Most European and Asian schools

started admitting African children who could afford or were granted government bursaries since they fell in the category of 'high cost schools'.

Questions

1. What was the impact of World War II on the development of education in Africa?
2. Discuss the development of higher education in Africa after 1945.
3. Outline the educational policies in Kenya between 1945 and 1963 and discuss how they affected the development of education.
4. Write brief notes on the development of the following aspects of education in Kenya between 1945 and 1963: primary, teacher, technical, higher and adult education.
5. Assess the African contribution to the development of education in Kenya before 1963.

Suggested Readings

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20

EDUCATION POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA AFTER INDEPENDENCE

African countries, like many of the developing countries, placed considerable importance in the role of education in promoting economic and social development after the achievement of independence. The education system was expected to fulfil two main objectives: the technical objective of furnishing future manpower with requisite skills and knowledge; and, the social objective of inculcating values which contribute to the enrichment of peoples' lives which were essential to the maintenance of cohesive productivity. This particular approach treated economic growth as the principal goal of development and therefore stressed the potential of education in fostering the knowledge, skills and values necessary for productive activity.

Implicit in this, is the concept of education and development which approximates the institutional forms and underpinning values of Western industrial nations with a belief that the movement towards this desirable condition can be accelerated by using schools to develop the types of knowledge, skills and values which have proved useful in those nations. In line with this perspective, the African countries devoted the early years of independence to the rapid expansion of educational facilities and the provision of qualified persons to man their burgeoning economic and administrative institutions and educational reforms aimed at promoting the efficiency of the school system in relation to production. This meant heavy government investment in education which is now estimated to be over a third of their national budgets.

External Factors

There were external factors which partly contributed to the expansion of education, especially at the higher levels. Among the important ones was the *Report of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa* which met in Addis Ababa in May 1961 under the joint sponsorship of UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. The goal of the Addis Ababa Conference was to provide a forum for African states to decide on their priority educational needs, to promote economic and social development on the continent and embodying the priorities they had decided upon for the economic growth of the region.

The Conference Report stressed Africa's need for more and better educational opportunities and suggested, as a general goal that the substance of education be adapted to fit the era of independence. Although mention was made of the need for agricultural

training and community development, the Report emphasised more academic reform, such as the inclusion of African history and culture in the curriculum and the importance of meeting the high level manpower requirements of emerging nations. In determining priorities, the Conference assigned greatest urgency to secondary and post-secondary education, stating that this must be put before the goal for universal primary education if, for financial reasons, the two were not compatible. Primary and adult education were to be developed at the same time with the goal of universal education by 1980.

The Report pointed out the need for massive financial commitment. It estimated that in order to meet their needs, African nations would have to allocate an increasing percentage of their national income to education. Massive amounts of external aid would be required to supplement African efforts and the Conference called on UNESCO as well as developed countries and all non-governmental organisations which had taken part in the Conference to support and share in the implementation of the proposed plans.

In line with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the Economic Commission for Africa, African Ministers of Education met in Paris in March 1962 to discuss the implementation of the Addis Ababa Plan. The ministers agreed that machinery for educational planning was necessary in each country and recommended that UNESCO help by arranging study grants and seminars on educational planning. The Paris meeting reaffirmed the high priority placed on teacher education and the entire range of secondary education, but high priority was also assigned to rural schools. It also resolved that special attention should be devoted to adult education because of the relatively cheaper and faster returns in increased productivity.

The next meeting of the implementation of the Addis Ababa Plan was held in Kinshasa in February and March 1963 under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa. The meeting reaffirmed the resolutions of the Paris Conference and also called for more aid from UNESCO and other sources to help African nations meet their budgetary deficits resulting from increasing educational expenditures.

The Tananarive Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa of September 1962 under the auspices of UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa played a complimentary role on the Addis Ababa Conference in so far as higher education was concerned. It dealt with the role that higher education was to play in the development of African countries in the cultural, social and economic fields. It adopted the Addis Ababa Conference approach in estimating the qualitative and quantitative educational changes necessary to meet the manpower requirements of developing nations.

The Conference established targets in higher education and made recommendations for the overall planning, financing, curriculum and staffing of higher institutions in Africa for the next twenty years. It also indicated responsibility of higher educational institutions, apart from their teaching and research functions, for assisting towards the building up of African nations and the unification of Africa. It pointed to the need for African universities to be made part of the network of higher institutions in the world, and at the same time, to fulfil the task of creating inter-African cooperation through the best possible use of existing higher education facilities in Middle Africa to minimise the dependence of Africa on higher institutions abroad for the training of its students.

In keeping with the goals of supplying sufficient manpower, the Tananarive Report distinguished between degree and non-degree students and recommended that the percentage of students enrolled in science and technology together with agriculture be

increased substantially. In order to get the best educational value for the investment of manpower funds, the Report argued that the ratio of students to staff must rise considerably and 5000 students was agreed upon as the minimum size of a University institution in Africa. To avoid duplication and dissipation of scarce resources, the Conference noted that the needs of Middle Africa could best be met by linking the number of higher institutions in the region.

An important point stressed throughout the Conference was the need for cooperation among the African countries and aid from outside agencies as being basic to the future development of the continent. The Report stressed that in order to accomplish these tasks, African institutions of higher learning should not become 'ivory towers' detached from the society in which they are situated but must contribute to national unity within the states they served. The Report however, acknowledged the difficulty of developing institutions which would be uniquely applicable to local needs without losing international status or academic freedom.

The Abidjan Regional Conference on the Planning and Organization of Literacy Programmes in Africa held in March 1964, also reviewed the question of regional targets set at the Addis Ababa Conference. It indicated the need for accepting them as a form of guidance for each country within the region to work out and establish its own rate for expansion in the light of the resources available to it. It placed emphasis on the part that education could play in the economic and social progress of communities particularly those in rural areas. It therefore gave due attention to the problems of wastage and primary school leaver unemployment. It also took note of the establishment of three new universities in Zaire, Rwanda and Zambia since the Tananarive Conference and endorsed their existence on the grounds that the number and establishment of such institutions should be decided in the light of existing national requirements.

The Abidjan Conference also re-examined the question of scientific research and adult literacy and emphasised the need for their inclusion in all educational plans. With literacy, it accepted its essential and vital relationship with vocational training and its being a basic requirement for adult education. The Conference, therefore, made literacy as a functional concept contributing to the development and use of resources. This brought into focus a new meaning of the programme of adult literacy which gained full recognition and support at the Teheran Conference in September 1965. It was at this Conference that the necessary cooperation between the Organization of African Unity, formed in May 1963, and UNESCO was recognised and emphasised.

The Lagos Conference on the Organization of Research and Training in Africa in relation to study, Conservation and Utilisation of Natural Resources in July 1964 addressed itself to the organisation and financing of scientific research and technical training in Africa in order to enable the African states to make the best use of their natural resources and endeavour to improve their economy through industrialisation. In this regard, the Conference gave attention to such educational matters as the teaching of science and the introduction into general education of subjects related to natural resources. The conference also dealt with the need and means of producing, in the community general awareness of problems relating to natural resources.

National Education Strategies

The various conferences discussed set a stage for educational development strategies in most of the independent African countries. In line with the main education focus of the

Addis Ababa Conference, the orientation of education shifted towards training Africans to fill high-level positions in the public and private sectors, although other aspects of education were considered in a lesser degree than education for manpower development.

Changes in Educational Systems

In most African countries, the new governments were, at Indepedence aware of the shortcomings as well as the advantages of the colonial educational systems. Their most critical problem was that of manpower development. In the eyes of the African nationalists, the colonial governments had deliberately suppressed the expansion of higher educational institutions in order to limit the number of Africans taking important jobs in administration or the private sector. There was also popular pressure for the immediate expansion of the educational structures.

To meet public demand, and in line with the recommendations of the Addis Ababa Conference, the new governments began to devote large portions of their incomes to education. Priority was put on the expansion of secondary and higher education. In Ghana under the Second Development Plan (1959-1964), for example projected capital investment in education was £27.8 million, 11.4 per cent of the total expenditure and second only to the outlays for communication, health and water. The objective was to raise secondary school intake to 10 per cent of the potentially eligible candidates compared with the previous one of 4 to 6 per cent. From 1961 to 1962, recurrent expenditure on education stood at £17.3 million being 13.4 per cent of the national budget. In Nigeria, a six-year educational plan for development was devised, following the Ashby Commission Report in which £32.8 million was to be spent during the period. Three-fifths of the federal expenditure on education was earmarked for higher education, including assistance to the University of Ibadan and the establishment of a new university at Lagos. In Tanzania (Mainland) the Three-Year Plan proposed that a high proportion of central government funds available for education be devoted to secondary school expansion. Between the years 1961 and 1962 about £30.5 million was spent on education, being 16.5 per cent of the national budget. Similar plans were made in the French speaking countries, several of which allocated education expenditures in line with manpower requirements. There were no significant differences between the Anglophone and the Francophone countries in the problem of manpower development.

In curriculum reform, a start was made in a number of the English-speaking countries on curriculum revision that was to place emphasis on local needs. At the lower levels, the curriculum was adapted to African needs and background through the adoption of textbooks and subject matter specifically designed for the needs of children growing up in an African society. New teaching methods were eagerly sought though little or no reform was made in the structure of the school systems. In the structural organisation, surprisingly, a few of the Anglophone countries sought ways of modifying their systems to resemble those of England and Wales. The case in point is particularly Nigeria where the Banjo Commission, in 1961, proposed that the existing secondary modern schools be merged or expanded to form a kind of comprehensive middle school which would be open without any kind of selection examination to all pupils who had passed the primary school leaving examination and were able to pay fees. The comprehensive school system was at the time a major experiment in England and Wales. The idea was discussed in Kenya and Uganda. Despite changes in curriculum content the

examination structure at primary and secondary, even university, remained British in outlook.

An important departure from the British styles at high levels was an attempt to break away from the British university structure with some adaptations at new universities. The University of Nigeria at Nsukka adapted a flexible course system. As a way of countering the ignorance of the African studies all students at the University of Ghana, for example, attended lectures on African studies, and institutions during their first year. This was the case with the Universities of Lagos and Dar-es-Salaam.University of Dar-es-SalaamIn addition, a number of universities developed departments with a special responsibility for African studies so that such studies were encouraged within the general framework of university studies.

Another important departure was the organisation of courses. They have had to offer a comprehensive range of professional training adapted to local conditions, whether or not these courses were currently accepted within the European pattern of university studies or not. As an example, most accountants, banking company secretaries, insurance managers and transport executives in Britain are trained 'on the job'. Their employers give them a variety of experiences in the office and they work for professional qualifications by private or part-time study at college. A number of Anglophone universities are awarding degrees in these fields. Manpower needs further led to the creation of new degree structures, like B.A., B.Sc. with Education and the B.Ed. Related measures were changes in the length of some degree and changes in university entry requirements.

In comparison with the English-speaking countries, it was more difficult to make changes in the educational system at all levels in the French-speaking countries. A larger percentage of the teaching staff at the secondary and university levels in French Africa remained French. The metropolitan teachers bitterly resented the introduction of teaching methods or subject matter that in any way differentiated the African secondary schools from those of metropolitan France. Universities in French-speaking Africa did not only continue to adhere to French curricula, but were in fact entirely managed by the Ministry of Education in France, which contributed substantially to their salaries. The University of Dakar, which started as a medical school in 1918, for example, included most of the normal faculties to be found in a French university.

It is not being suggested that French-speaking countries did nothing to change the school system. In Ivory Coast, for example, there were attempts to Africanise courses in geography and history, but French remained the medium of instruction at all levels. New and very effective textbooks making use of illustrations from African life were written, largely by expatriates and for use at primary level. Deviation from the French curriculum was however, more difficult in secondary and higher education since, as earlier pointed out, a large majority of secondary school teachers were from metropolitan France. Only the Republic of Guinea undertook major educational changes that drastically departed from the French school system. Indeed, the Guinean reforms were not only outstanding to the rest of the French-speaking countries but to the rest of Africa. In September 1958, Guinea rejected the Franco-African Community proposed by the French Government and opted for total independence.

In education, the first steps taken by the newly independent state was a full re-examination of the premises on which the education system of the country had been organised while it was still a French territory. Shortly thereafter, it was decided to undertake extensive revision of the school system to bring its objectives into closer

harmony with the social and political goals of the new country as defined by the national political party, the *Parti Democratique de Guinée* (PDG). The government introduced a philosophy of education that is radically different from that which underlay the French-oriented education system. It was named "association of education with life" (*école liee a la vié*); it meant there was to be a strong relationship between the country's educational system and the political economic social and cultural life of the nation.

The state took over control of the school system. From 1961, all secondary school pupils were made to undergo a compulsory course in political education during which they learnt the history of the PDG and its struggle for independence, a subject which was later known as ideology. The emphasis in the curriculum was vocational.

Mozambique deserves some special mention with regard to its post-independence developments. The struggle for political independence which started in 1962, resulted in the establishment of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). FRELIMO began education for exiles who lived in the neighbouring countries. A leading champion of this type of education was its early leader Eduardo Mondlane. Starting with Mozambican exiles in Tanzania, Mondlane and his wife developed an African education programme to prepare educated leaders for an eventual return to their homeland.

The school for Mozambican exiles was established in Dar-es-Salaam with three main functions: to offer remedial instruction in primary schools; to prepare a maximum number of students for secondary schooling at a general education level; and, to provide an opportunity for qualifying students to enter college. Through experimentation, FRELIMO supporters, in conjunction with the local population, created an embryonic educational infrastructure in rural areas where few schools had previously existed. Within the liberated areas (*zonas libertadas)* those with even minimum reading and writing skills taught others who had none. Many children, as well as adults, previously denied access to learning because of race and economic positions, received some formal education as well as the experience of national unity.

At all levels, FRELIMO-rooted schools and the basic skills gained there helped to create a new set of values. In the liberated areas, and subsequently throughout Mozambique after independence in 1975, Africans began to learn about Mozambique's heritage, the unique traditions of different ethnic groups and the possibility for national unity, thereby gaining a new cultural identity.

In April 1974, the education system virtually ground to a halt all over Mozambique. Many teachers at the higher levels abandoned the country as did thousands of colonists' children. It was only with the assumption of power by FRELIMO in 1975 and the nationalization of education in July of the same year that made it possible to begin to recuperate the situation. Colonial textbooks and curricula were abolished. In 1976, the University of Lourenço Maques in Maputo was renamed Eduardo Mondlane University in honour of the national hero who fought for the country's independence. In 1980, work began on the restructuring of the education system with a view to creating the basis for the total reform of the system.

To underscore the achievements of the independent government in Mozambique, by 1978, within only three years of independence, literacy had more than doubled. Between 1974 and 1977, the number of children enrolled in primary and secondary schools increased from 700,000 to 1.3 million and the number of secondary schools grew from 43 to 103.

Policies and Developments in Kenya

Kenya, like other African countries, placed considerable importance in the role of education in promoting economic and social development after the achievement of independence. This resulted in the rapid expansion of the education system especially to provide qualified persons to man its growing economic and administrative institutions and to undertake some reforms to reflect the aspirations of an independent state.

The expansion and reform in the education system were also motivated by political pressures. Almost every politician and election manifesto leading to the independence elections had called for more educational opportunities of all types, for cheaper or free education, for universal primary education (UPE.) for Africanisation of syllabuses and of teaching staff and for a change in the atmosphere in which the African personality and culture could flourish. Attempts by the Ministry of Education to restrict the mushrooming of *harambee* secondary schools (self-help schools) were attacked as 'acting in an imperialist manner'. Adopting the Kiswahili phrase, *harambee* meaning "let us pull together" from the ruling party, Kenya African National Union (KANU) motto *harambee*, self-help schools became a vital addition to Kenya's secondary school system. Ministers and Members of Parliament joined in the movement to establish them in their own districts.

There were external factors which also partly contributed to the expansion of education especially at the higher levels. Among the important ones was the *Report of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa*, which met in Addis Ababa in May 1961.

In addition to interest in the Addis Ababa Conference developments, the Kenya Government and the United Kingdom requested the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to undertake a survey of the economic development of Kenya in 1961. A ten-member mission studied all aspects of Kenya's economic development and education was treated as one among many sectors of the economy that required funds. In its view, the mission, like several others of the time, pointed to the bottleneck at the secondary school level as the most critical education need, requiring large numbers of expatriate teachers as well as qualitative improvements in teacher training. These reports had an important bearing on the government's formulation of its educational policies. There was rapid expansion at all levels of the education system. This expansion is reflected especially in the increase in the number of students enrolled in schools. At the primary level, for instance, the enrolment increased from 891,533 in 1963 to over 4.3 million in 1983. The number of teachers at this level increased from 22,665 to 119,709 while schools increased from 6,198 to 11,856. In 1982, Standard One enrolment of school age children all over Kenya was estimated 83.9 per cent, 84.7 per cent for boys and 83.2 per cent for girls. The net enrolment ratio has increased from 37 per cent of the age group to 93 per cent in 1989. Projections gave a total primary enrolment of 7.9 million by 1990, which entailed a virtual doubling of the primary school population by the end of the decade.

In 1963, enrolment in all secondary schools was approximately 30,000 pupils, taught by 1,600 teachers. The majority of the teachers were either expatriates or foreign trained. In 1969, the enrolment in all secondary schools was over 115,000. In 1983, the number totalled to about 2,000 secondary schools with an enrolment of over half a million, with the majority of teachers being Kenyans. University enrolment rose from 452 undergraduates in 1963 to 5,454 undergraduates and 1,381 postgraduates in 1983.

The university population in the four government universities now stands at 40,000 students while in 1982, it was estimated that about 6,844 students were studying overseas.

Educational Developments: 1963-1970

Immediately after independence in December 1963, the Ministry of Education appointed an Education Commission (the Ominde Commission) to survey the existing educational resources in Kenya and to advise the government in the formulation of national policies for education. The Commission noted that the conditions created by independence were totally different from those under which similar colonial committees on education had operated. Under the latter, there was the assumption that different racial groups would remain separate although, or at least for a long time to come. Independence, in the view of the Commission signified the birth of the nation and education had the task of uniting the different racial and ethnic groups making up the nation.

On education and manpower development, the Commission was influenced by the current international opinion as well as internal political and socio-economic forces. A number of existing publications also had a considerable impact on the Commission's approach to this problem. These included the reports of *High Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Kenya 1964 -1970*, the *Development Plan 1964 -1970,* and the *1965 Sessional Paper No. 10: African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*. These publications had evolved a principle which identified a direct relationship between education and economic growth. It was noted that if education could produce the high and middle level manpower so desperately needed by a developing country, then the pace of economic development in Kenya could be accelerated.

The Commission, however, endorsed as a valid educational policy objective, the provision of free primary education. Its contribution to economic progress both by providing a resevoir of candidates for secondary and higher education and fulfilling the minimum basic education requirement for participation in the modern sector of the economy was recognised, though it was not so important in this respect as secondary, commercial, technical and higher education. Consequently, too great an emphasis on primary education was not to be allowed to hinder economic growth in these other sectors. The independent government, therefore, chose to place the main emphasis on the expansion of higher levels of education and trying to gear them to the manpower needs of the modern sector of economic life while at the same time providing facilities for a slower but steady increase in primary school enrolment.

Politically, the independent government had pledged to Africanise the civil service and the economy. A number of arguments were advanced in support of this commitment. In the past, only Europeans and, to a lesser extent, Asians could occupy positions of power and wealth in the modern sector of national life. Their virtual monopoly was made possible because of the type and high standard of education Europeans and Asians received and because of the educational system during the colonial era which was so established as to deny Africans access to such education. These benefits, formerly restricted to the two groups constituting three per cent of the population, were to be made available to Africans. It was also noted that if the African was to exercise real power in his society, he had to acquire an education similar to that of the European; only

then could he be qualified to take over those positions in the government and in the modern sector of economic life formerly held exclusively by Europeans and Asians.

The Commission considered issues of racial and religious segregation in schools, localising the curriculum and the medium of instruction. Racial integration had started several years before independence when African pupils received bursaries to enable them to attend former European schools. The ex-European or Asian schools maintained their high level of fees, staff salaries, diet and amenities, and became known, for obvious reasons, as the 'high cost' schools. Very few African parents could afford these fees, and so a government bursary scheme was begun to help African pupils who were offered places. By 1966, the 'high cost' schools had an enrolment which was 30 per cent African, and some 1,500 African pupils were receiving a total of £ 55,000 in bursaries. The following year the government ruled that the intake into every aided secondary school must be at least 50 per cent African, even though this raised the cost of bursaries to those in 'high cost' schools to £ 110,000. During 1968/1969, 65 per cent of the new intake in these schools was African and bursary expenditure had risen to £177,000. Racial integration was seen as highly desirable, though certainly a costly operation. Religious integration and government control of education was effected by the *Education Act of 1968*.

In curriculum reform, English was preferred as a medium of instruction from the early years of primary education. The English medium programme started several years before independence, was transformed into the New Primary Approach (NPA) which aimed at involving the pupil in discovering general principles for himself and actively participating in group activities with the teacher as a guide. Each term a new 'centre of interest', such as a mock shop or a post office was erected in the classroom as a focus for such participation. The Ministry of Education termed the NPA 'one of the most promising ventures in the history of education in Kenya'. Attempts were also made through the Kenya Institute of Education to localise the teaching content especially in the social studies subjects.

The main thrust of government post-independence educational developments, however, were mainly geared towards manpower development. In primary education, for example, in accordance with the reasons already discussed, efforts were made to avoid its rapid expansion to meet general popular demand. Although enrolments did rise, the rate of increase over the period 1964 to 1969 was only 20 per cent: from 1,010,889 in 1964 to 1,209,670 in 1969. The Development Plan 1970-4, aimed at increasing enrolments to 1,833,000 thus trying to cover 75 per cent of the primary school age population in 1974. An important development in primary education was the abolition of the old four-year primary and intermediate courses in favour of a straight-through seven years course of primary education. The Competitive Entrance Examination which was originally taken in the fourth grade, was seen as the colonial device of blocking 80 per cent of primary school children at the Standard Four level from continuing with education and was scrapped off. With the removal of this examination, upper primary school numbers shot up. This ensured that a fairly high number of the primary pupils completed the seventh grade. While this had previously restricted over 90 per cent of the pupils from proceeding to the intermediate school, its removal opened gates to all pupils to continue to the upper primary stream. Within only a period of three years, the number had shot up to about half a million, when previously the number was barely 50,000 pupils. This large number obviously precipitated a primary school-leaver unemployment problem.

This factor partly contributed to the increased social demand for secondary school places. Allied with it was the youthfulness of the primary school leaver. The average primary school-leaving age was now thirteen years, an age unsuitable for placement in the labour force. The demand for further schooling became all the greater as everyone began to realise that the Kenya Preliminary Examination Certificate was no longer the key to personal advancement. The government in line with its manpower priorities responded to this problem by making a major expansion in secondary education. Over the period 1964 to 1968 Form One intake doubled from 1,956 to 15,169. The intention was to raise the intake to 21,530 by 1974. This represented an increase of 240 per cent in 1964.

The importance that was attached to secondary expansion is also reflected in the distribution of development expenditure on education during the first Development Plan period. The largest share of development expenditure went to secondary schools. From 1969 to 1970, out of a total of £8,841,000 earmarked for education, £5,127,000 or nearly 58 per cent was spent on secondary schooling. During the second Development Plan period, the percentage of expenditure on secondary education was 43 per cent as compared with 0.003 per cent for primary schooling. There was a major commitment to the expansion of the pre-University Form Five and Six. By 1974, there were 9,180 students, making an increase of nearly 68 per cent since 1964.

The old tradition of the Independent schools in Kenya was maintained in a new wave of voluntary self-help schemes to build *harambee* secondary schools. The first of such schools was Chavakali in Maragoli, Western Province. By the time the Ominde Commission surveyed the scene, these schools had sprung up in large numbers, 50 were opened in 1964, and 30 more in the first half of 1965. Nearly all these were unregistered and therefore were technically a breach of the Education Act. By 1965, they constituted an amazing one third of all the secondary schools in Kenya.

In line with the policy of concentrating on the production of high level manpower, there was also a major investment in university and tertiary education. The total undergraduate enrolment from 1964 to 1968 nearly trebled, from 602 to 1,173. By 1974, the Development Plan anticipated an enrolment of 3,433. Development expenditure for the university was second only to that for secondary education: K£3,700,000 out of K£ 16,576,000.

Vocational and technical secondary schools also developed mainly in response to manpower demands. By the end of 1970, there were ten vocational secondary schools offering programmes intended to provide students with skills basic to specific occupations. Enrolment at these schools rose from 1,043 to 2,426 in 1970. The enrolment target called for by the Development Plan of 1970 -1974 was 3,935. The Kenya Polytechnic which was the apex of the vocational technical education system, expanded greatly, partly with a USAID loan. It had 1,600 students in 1966 and the main trend was for a wider range of subjects to be available, in combination with industrial training arranged with some of Kenya's large farms on a 'sandwich' basis. UNESCO gave substantial aid including the services of ten foreign experts in engineering. A National Industrial Vocational Training Centre was planned for Nairobi.

In teacher education, there existed twenty-four primary teachers' colleges. In the years 1969 and 1970 the colleges' outputs of teachers were; 2400 and 2500 respectively. In order to achieve the required match of teachers, the *1970-1974 Development Plan* proposed first year enrolments at colleges for the years 1971 and 1974 as 3475 and 4050 respectively. According to the Plan, these first year enrolments would produce the

following outputs of teachers: 2900 and 3700. Three major institutions were engaged in the preparation of secondary school teachers in academic and nonacademic subjects: the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi; Kenyatta College and Kenya Science Teachers' College. Until 1969, the output of secondary school teachers was 380 resulting in a shortfall of 1449 teachers. The *1970-1974 Development Plan* hoped, through a programme expansion of teacher training institutions, to increase the output of teachers for the years 1970 and 1974 to 417 and 670 respectively.

Education for manpower development met its objectives within only few years after independence. The Africanisation of the civil service was virtually completed and, because of the limit imposed on the absorptive capacity of the modern urban sector, opportunities for employment began to decrease steadily from 1965. Since 1967, it has become increasingly difficult for those with only secondary school education and university graduates of the arts, humanities and social science faculties to find jobs in the modern urban sector. While the educational system cannot be held entirely responsible for producing a serious number of unemployable school leavers, it should be pointed out that the course of action chosen after independence both intensified and perpetuated the pre-independence values about education, making it more difficult for the products of the system to find employment that would enable them to contribute to the national reconstruction of society.

By the beginning of 1970 over 20,000 secondary school leavers began competing for a much smaller number of vacancies in higher education, training and employment. Over a quarter of this number could spend a year or more trying to find an opening. For several years, the output of secondary schools had been growing faster than the number of jobs customarily available to school leavers and the saturation point was reached in 1968. Before that, less than I per cent of a representative sample of secondary school leavers failed to find employment or training. But in 1968, the percentage shot up to 14.8 per cent. Between 1964 and 1968, the number of Fourth Form leavers rose from 6,455 to 12,835 per year, an increase of 98 per cent. Over the same period, Kenya's economy grew by 20 per cent, a rate comparing favourably with many developing countries, but much less than the expanding supply of school leavers.

Laying the major stress on the expansion of the secondary and tertiary levels of the educational system and on the development of the modern non-agricultural sector of the economy, meant that education, especially at the university level, came to be seen as preparation for entry into the prestigious white-collar jobs. But as the number of graduates at every educational level substantially increased and the absorptive capacity of the labour market became limited, the chances of employment for those with lower formal credentials drastically diminished. The consequence of this situation was the pressure for higher and higher levels of formal schooling. The more the market situation approached a point of saturation, the more the desire to reach the highest level of learning was intensified. And yet the pool of graduates at every educational level is far in excess of the number of places at the succeeding stage. This has meant vigorous selection, and indeed an onerous and highly competitive system of examinations at different educational stages has come to constitute the sole criteria of one's eligibility to climb the educational ladder. Since practically all school activities are directed at preparing the pupils for examinations, the main function of the primary school is to select entrants for the secondary school, and the latter has an identical function with regard to admission to university.

The government and organisations responded to the unemployment crisis by establishing non-formal institutions with a strong vocational bias. The first of these institutions was the National Youth Service (N.Y.S.). This was a two-year programme that linked general education with productive labour intensive vocational instruction in skills such as carpentry, masonry, motor vehicle mechanics, electrical, typing, shorthand, tailoring and related skills. Trainees are prepared in any of these skills for a government Grade Three Trade Test. Voluntary agencies particularly religious organisations like the National Christian Churches of Kenya, launched the village youth polytechnics. Unlike the N.Y.S. with its boarding accommodation, country-wide recruitment and formal provision of sources geared to employment, the architects of the village polytechnics were anxious to avoid formalisation. They wanted small flexible and localised institutions aimed at meeting community needs. The polytechnics were to provide general skills in response to local needs and combat students' temptations to wage employment in the urban areas. These institutions had therefore to avoid certification and be of low cost. Studies which have been carried out on village polytechnics have however expressed alarm at the formalisation tendencies of these institutions.

Other establishments operating along these lines include Industrial Training Centres, YMCA, YWCA Vocational and Craft Training Centres, Government Youth Centres, Rural Training Centres, and many others. A number of these institutions, albeit effective with those they enrol, have small groups of students passing through them that they cannot make any major impact on the massive body of primary school leavers who do not continue with further education. Although a number of these programmes are aimed at self-employment they communicate a desire for wage employment in the modern sector of the economy. This is an interesting paradox, and raises questions about the relationship between conventional academic school system and self-employment. Under this employment pressure, a conference on education, employment and rural development, funded by the Dulverston Trust and the Ford Foundation in 1966 held at Kericho stressed the need to introduce vocational subjects in the formal school system especially the teaching of agriculture.

Educational Developments: 1970-1980

In a broad context, Kenya's educational development in the 60s, was in conformity with the United Nations strategies for development in Third World countries. The so-called First Development Decade of the 60s stressed the importance in educational planning of concentrating resources and money in the production of highly skilled manpower. By the end of the First Development Decade, educational results though quantitatively impressive, were generally unsatisfactory. The unemployment problem was quite crucial in many of these countries and was by no means unique to Kenya. This prompted the United Nations resolution on the strategies of the Second Development Decade.

These varied from those of the First Development Decade in several respects. They placed greater emphasis on social factors in development, the reduction of social imbalances, structural change and stress on basic education. In education, universal or basic education was to assume much importance and general reform to be undertaken to democratise it. The UNESCO General Conference of 1970, which formulated a set of recommendations similar to those set out by U.N. shortly before, placed additional stress on the need for long-term educational reform and new types of strategy.

The U.N. established an International Commission on Educational Development whose report *Learning To Be* was tabled at the General Conference of UNESCO at its seventeenth session in 1972. Basic education was seen as an attempt to meet the needs of substantial portions of the population with no access to even minimum educational opportunities. It was to be a supplement not a rival, to the formal education system and was intended to provide a functional, flexible and low-cost education for those whom the formal system could not yet reach or had already passed by.

The employment problem was also taken up by the International Labour Organisation. The ILO World Employment Programme was launched at the 1969 session of its Conference. As part of the programme, pilot country missions were envisaged to study, with the help of other agencies of the United Nations system, the causes of unemployment in countries with particular types of problems, and to bring out what needed to be done internationally as well as nationally. The reports of the missions were intended to give the government concerned an analysis of its unemployment problems and a suggested programme of action, as well as to provide guidance for the aid and trade policies of international organisations and of donor agencies, and to indicate priorities in research. Kenya was one of the countries visited and a report of the mission was published in 1972.

The report emphasised the need for basic education in the country. The school curriculum was to be integrated in community activities and a greater emphasis placed on basic education for more people. The report recommended restructuring the school system to include one cycle of basic education of eight to nine years, covering primary and lower secondary education. This basic education cycle was to be universal and free. There was also to be a gradual increase in the proportion of the curriculum devoted to pre-vocational subjects; from a modest proportion in the last years of primary education to a heavy bias in the content of the last two years of the eight to-nine years' cycle. This would cater for the interests of the terminal pupils. Upper secondary education was to be comprehensive with a vocational bias.

In 1975, a commission appointed to examine Kenya's educational objectives and policies, (The National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies), endorsed the ILO report position on basic education and restructuring of the education system. The Commission stated that, in principle, the government accepted the reform proposed, but these were to be phased in as resources became available. It was generally regretted that the recommendations made by the ILO report in 1972 had not been implemented owing to financial constraints. Some progress was however made towards the implementation of the programme, when after the 1979 General Elections, a new Ministry of Basic Education was established to work towards a realisation of the proposed nine-year education programme. On the unemployment problem, the Commission urged the introduction of pre-vocational subjects in the formal school curriculum.

Education for manpower development however dominated educational strategies in the 70s as well. As already discussed, the Development Plan for 1970-1974 had envisaged massive educational expansion at all levels of the school system and this was endorsed in subsequent Plan documents. The University of Nairobi Act of 1970 established Kenyatta University College as a constituent college of the University of Nairobi. In 1972, the College enrolled the first students for the degree of Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.), which was already being offered by the Faculty of Education at Nairobi campus. Two private universities were also established; the Seventh Day

Adventist College at Baraton, Nandi District, which was supposed to serve Eastern Africa. By 1980, it was enrolling 90 students and a master plan for the next phase was expected to raise the intake to a minimum of 2,000 students. The United States International University located in Parklands, Nairobi, was established in 1970. The College enrols 300 students on a full or part-time basis. Courses are offered leading to Bachelors and Masters degrees mainly in business studies. The institution is affiliated to the United States International University of San Diego, Califonia.

The government also embarked on an ambitious programme to expand technical secondary schools. The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) responded with a plan involving new workshops, equipment, support services, laboratories and dormitories in all the 13 technical secondary schools in addition to setting up new ones at Mombasa and Kitale. The complete programme of technical and industrial education assistance undertaken by SIDA, had amounted to over Ksh.130 million by 1980. Earlier in 1975/76 SIDA, in co-operation with the International Development Agency (IDA) of the United Nations, gave a substantial amount of equipment to several technical secondary schools.

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) responded with a plan to include a building complex, scholarship scheme for Kenyanisation, a technical assistance package of educational programme amounting to about Ksh. 150 million and another grant-in-aid of Ksh. 115 million. The Kenya Technical Teachers College was occupied in 1977. There was also massive expansion at Egerton College for Agriculture through American aid and a Second Polytechnic was established at Mombasa. The Japanese government started the Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology (JKCAT), 30 kilometres from Nairobi which together with Egerton offered three-year diploma courses in agriculture and technology.

In the early 1970s, the country was locked up in a fund-raising campaign to launch *harambee* self-help institutes of technology. These institutes were a direct response to the alarming problem of unemployment among secondary school leavers. There was a great concern over the failure of secondary education to equip those leaving school with the necessary skills required in the labour market particularly in the area of technology. Political leaders therefore went ahead to organise fund-raising meetings to solicit money from the community to start institutes of technology that would offer similar courses to government technical institutions. A number of them are already in operation, but unlike most of the non-formal educational institutes, institutes of technology are expensive architect-designed boarding institutes whose products enter wage employment. If they turned to self-employment, it would be more as small contractors and artisans.

Questions

1. What do you consider to be the role of education in the development of African countries?
2. Outline and discuss factors that influenced education policies in African countries after their achievement of independence.
3. What major changes were effected in education in the English and French speaking countries in the 1960s?
4. Discuss the major recommendations of the Education Commission Report of 1964 in Kenya.
5. Outline and discuss the major educational reforms undertaken in Kenya between 1963 and 1970.
6. Outline and discuss the major educational reforms undertaken in Kenya between 1970 and 1980.

Suggested Readings

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21

NEW TRENDS IN EDUCATION IN AFRICA

As already discussed, the demand for education on the part of the community and governments developed rapidly during the 1960s in Africa. Governments responded to these demands to the point where expenditures on education were growing far more rapidly than national budgets. As a result, the development of formal schools and the output of students grew at many times the rate of growth in wage employment. In the first years after independence, African governments could legitimately claim that the need for high level manpower justified the rapid expansion of secondary and high level educational institutions. This manpower was urgently needed to Africanise the public service and staff management positions in the private sector. That education provided the key to progress became an article of faith. This belief was reinforced by the enormous difference between the salaries one expected in urban wage employment and average per capita income in most African states.

Generally, the rate of expansion of school outstrips the possibilities for employment that once existed for school leavers. New job creation has proved a difficult, slow and expensive business. Nevertheless, the kind of employment which school leavers and particularly their parents, expect has remained constant. The desire remains for wage-earning; for employment preferably white-collar employment. The quest for modern employment of this nature has led to considerable migration of young people from rural to urban areas.

In the late 1960s, however, African governments began seriously to question the wisdom of continued rapid expansion of formal educational systems. In addition to severe economic constraints, virtually all the African nations were faced with a serious problem posed by school leavers who had completed some education but were unemployed. The small modern sector of the economy had been Africanised much more rapidly than most observers had forecast and jobs had already become much more scarce. The consequent frustration among youths who had expected that more years of formal secondary education would provide automatic access to wage employment therefore, led to serious doubts among African leaders about the direction of educational systems inherited from the colonial powers. The systems imported from Europe have been said to be too academic and primarily geared to foreign examination systems rather than the needs of predominantly rural African societies. It is, however evident that attempts by colonial governments to localise curricula were rejected as efforts to offer Africans an inferior education. In many African countries the introduction of vocational or agricultural subjects was resisted by parents who saw it as a deliberate means of

denying their children access to the top positions in the modern urban society. Some of the programmes were rejected due to their racial overtones.

Although the school system is often blamed for school-leaver unemployment, it is however, not solely responsible for this situation. One of the commonest cliches is that school children are unwilling to work with their hands. Such cliches are a gross exaggeration of the real situation. The incentive structure makes it highly undesirable for children to return to the unreformed peasant agriculture of their forefathers when other opportunities seem to be available. In many parts of Africa, numerous school leavers at various levels are likely to engage in manual labour or in farming when these occupations are profitable. It is, however, unrealistic to expect them to return to unprofitable peasant farming when they have worked hard through schooling to advance beyond it.

The critical dimensions of the unemployment problem in Africa have brought a number of concerns to the front. In recent years, various experimental programmes have been set up in many countries designed to complement the formal school by providing programmes of out-of-school education and training for young people. Various objectives are catered for by these programmes, including education for national consciousness, skills training, social provision and many others. Many of the programmes also try to ensure the application of the skills taught in working situations by concerning themselves directly with development work which can absorb those trained in some measure.

Non-formal Education

Some of the programmes have fallen under the general umbrella of non-formal education. Non-formal education is a problematic concept to define. Attempts have been made to define it as a form of administrative and programme provision (by government and non-governmental bodies) which takes place outside the formal education system. It could also be seen as a process which adopts a rigid set of relationships of traditional schooling with regimented curricula, classroom teacher or facilitator, discipline and syllabi. But unlike formal education, it is more flexible and diverse, being adapted to the particular needs of its clients or learners and their unique circumstances.

Non-formal education can be negatively defined as all education that does not take place in schools, that is, the out-of-school education. This covers such variants of out-of-school learning as adult education, literacy programmes, correspondence education, distance teaching, community programmes, continuing education, extension and extra-mural studies, extension work and services and others. This definition, like the one offered above should be regarded as a contextual or functional issue by looking at the characteristics that distinguish formal and non-formal education.

Non-formal education should not just be thought of as adult or out-of-school education confined to literacy or university extra-mural studies. It should embrace programmes in farmer training, all educative services to rural adult and school-age dropouts of the formal system, illiterates and all those in need of second chance education. Whatever concept of non-formal education, it is possible to identify three possible modes of non-formal education programmes:

(a) Education provided to youths and adults outside the formal system which does not lead to any value added paper qualification but provides the client with functional knowledge and skills for productive work.

(b) Education for the youths and adults outside the formal system leading to qualifications. This being deliberately provided as an alternative for them as a form of *second chance education* intended to have the same results in both paper qualifications and the attendant remunerations as formal education.

(c) Deliberate provision of education for both the youth and adults within the formal system to enhance their educational attainment.

Non-formal education programmes in Africa can conveniently be sorted out into the following four categories according to their principal purpose and subject matter.

(a) *Agricultural*. Examples: young farmers' clubs, youth land settlement schemes, cooperatives' farm learning centres, schools and institutes.

(b) *Artisan and craft vocational and pre-vocational preparation*. Examples: rural training centres, apprenticeship schemes, youth polytechnics and others.

(c) *Leadership and civic services*. Examples: national youth services (brigades, corps, pioneers etc), community development service.

(d) *General education*, multipurpose and miscellaneous. Examples: literacy training and school equivalency programmes, youth clubs and centres, sports recreational cultural programmes, guidance and constructive activities for delinquents, multipurpose training for women and girls.

Non-formal education has been considered as an alternative because it is more responsive, tailor-made and relevant to the needs of developing societies in rural areas. It focuses on teaching people to improve their basic level of subsistence and their standards of health and nutrition. In this way, it is more immediately productive and application-oriented as learners acquire knowledge and skills for their immediate use, thereby avoiding a long gestation period which often exists between formal education and productive employment.

Since non-formal education usually requires the participation of its recipients in determining the nature and content of the educational programmes by focusing on their needs and priorities, it therefore tends to be part of life, integrated with life and inseparable from it. This is not so because it deals with the execution of agricultural health, nutrition, literacy or mechanical skills, but because it tends to relate all these to total human life. It is more of a force designed to change society and make it self-reliant and self-sustaining, be able to control and induce change and contend with the momentum generated thereby. It should be emphasised that non-formal education can do this so far as it answers to the aspirations and needs of its clients and is relevant to national goals.

Non-formal education is therefore, an important development component due to the following factors:

(a) The low costs involved in its development: the low perception or per instructional unit costs.

(b) The limited time duration with frequent terminal points at which students may terminate their studies and training. Non-formal education has a short gestation period for an educational programme but with effective results at low costs.

(c) Non-formal education has a clear and definite base in immediate human needs be they economic, political, social, health, nutritional or educational. The focus

for non-formal education is to give primary objectives which have a clear and immediate relationship to the existing human needs.

(d) Non-formal education seems to cater for the provision and accommodation of the aspirations of its clients and participants: it recognises and accommodates the aspirations of adults (literate or illiterate), unemployed youth, youths outside the school system, men and women out of work or at work, whether in urban or rural areas. In emphasising accessibility to educational opportunities through non-formal processes, we can direct our attention to these cases that make the greatest provision for allowing the aspirations of the participants to function as powerful formative elements in programme planning and design.

(e) Non-formal education has a solid linkage to real employment opportunities especially in labour intensive sectors such as agriculture and industry. As employment is a major imperative in any development effort, it does therefore provide an important focus for enquiry and planning in non-formal education with the main objective of equipping the participants with relevant knowledge and skills for immediate use.

(f) Non-formal education allows for decentralised planning without the built-in inflexibility which often arises from centralised planning. Non-formal education provides a good conceptual rubric for educational approaches which tend to maximise decentralisation of design and planning. In fact non-formal education tends to break conservatism which often views education as a time and place bound process with the emphasis on conventional academic skills and subject matter, on the use of conventional institutional structures and on education being conducted at a certain time of one's life. Non-formal education allows for learning to be conducted in the home, in the street, in the field, through the press and other distance teaching and mass media facilities.

(g) Non-formal education has a high potential for the distribution of whatever commodities are associated with it such as better education, economic gains, improved health, better nutrition and acquisition of skills for self-employment.

(h) It provides an opportunity for people to learn while they work and raise their families and vice versa.

Curriculum Diversification

A second major innovation has been the diversification of the school curriculum. It is reasoned that since a diversified curriculum concept weds academic with some degree of vocational education, it allows students' exposure to vocational skills of their choice in addition to acquiring the traditional cognitive skills learned in university preparatory classes. Diversification is said to free students from being locked into one curriculum over another and by doing so provide a wide set of future career options than could otherwise be if a more uniform curriculum were followed. It is assumed that there exists a fundamental mismatch between types of education and training typically offered in conventional schools, and the skills and other characteristics required of graduates in the world of work. Diversified schooling, it is claimed, will be more closely attached to the manpower requirements of industrialisation and growth in the developing world. In this respect, the number of trained persons selecting middle-level jobs will be increased and the one way from secondary to university is narrowed.

By providing unavailable combinations of academic education and pre-vocational training, it is anticipated that students will attain more useful and accurate assessments of non-prestige jobs available in the developing economies, and develop more receptive and realistic attitudes and aspirations towards the world of work. In short, it is expected that diversified curricula will promote a clear understanding of the modernising world of work and this will facilitate the development of enhanced values and aspirations with the requirements of the labour market.

Among the first African countries to transform its education system to respond to unemployment problems was **Tanzania.** The transformation which was mainly aimed at curriculum change was initiated alongside efforts geared towards revolutionising the Tanzanian society. The *Arusha Declaration* was promulgated in February 1967. It has an intent of building an egalitarian society in which everyone works and there is no exploitation. *Education for Self-Reliance* published after the *Arusha Declaration* provided a guideline on the implementation of the declaration. *Education for Self-Reliance* spelt out the role of education in nation building. If socialism was to be successful in getting the active participation of the population to abolish poverty and achieve higher national economic integration and self-reliance, then it was thought that education policy had to accomplish two important things. First, the educational system had to improve the quality of labour by imparting useful knowledge and skills. Second, the school system had to give a practical orientation to learning. The school curriculum was therefore to be geared to the rural environment with practical subjects being introduced to teach manual skills suitable for rural employment, foster attitudes favourable for manual work, and help to provide extra income for the school through planting cash crops, raising chicken, gardening and *shamba* activities.

Education for Self-Reliance was a big challenge to the Ministry of Education personnel, teachers, pupils and the community. All schools, primary, secondary and teachers' colleges started projects advocated by the new policy. Some projects were of an agricultural or technical nature. They included canteens, co-operative shops, poultry, dairy cattle, piggeries and others depending on the environment in which the institution was located. Self-reliance activities were expected to meet 25 per cent of the recurrent costs of each school.

In **Zambia,** in July 1975, President Kaunda issued a directive that henceforth all educational institutions were to incorporate production units in their activities. This directive was prompted by the prevailing socio-economic conditions in Zambia at the time and the international climate about the future trends in education in Africa. During the mid-1970s, Zambia began to experience the adverse effects of a rapid population growth, deteriorating terms of trade and mounting inflation. These trends produced a backwash effect by reducing public expenditure of many social services and increasing public concern over rising costs in the provision of free education by the central government. The most threatening aspect that motivated the President's action was the swelling number of primary school leavers who could neither obtain places in the nation's secondary schools nor be absorbed in the country's labour market.

A policy document issued following the Presidential directive specified the following objectives for production units:

(a) link theory with practical application in order to give pupils all-round education;

(b) close the existing gap between manual and mental work by showing that they are complimentary;

(c) help in forming socially desirable attitudes in pupils towards manual work;

(d) facilitate the development in pupils of self-reliance, self-discipline and leadership qualities;

(e) enable pupils to learn about planning, management, marketing and related aspects of production;

(f) enable pupils to learn useful occupational skills for application in later life;

(g) reduce the cost of educational provision through self-help by the institutions themselves, by meeting some of their food needs;

(h) produce a cash surplus which could be used to improve and expand educational facilities.

A UNESCO report discusses a number of educational innovations that were launched in Africa in the late 70s. In **Benin**, within the context of fundamental changes initiated by the military government, a national commission was set up to work out reforms in education. The aim was to overhaul the structures, methods, education and teaching programmes inherited from France.

The new school envisaged would stress preparation for life, and the integration of the child within the society as a productive and disciplined member. The reformed primary school curriculum, covering five years, was organised around industrial disciplines, practical activities and an introduction to political, civil, military and sports education. Each school was organised as a cooperative with its own production unit. The main thrust was the establishment of a production unit in each school, for which five hectares of land were allocated to each rural school. In the urban areas, other types of productive activities such as crafts, industries and animal husbandry were introduced.

In Nigeria**,** attempts were made to overhaul the structure of the school system in 1982. The curriculum of the previous system followed since independence was said to be basically academic and of a non-vocational nature. Due to the various problems associated with that type of education, particularly the alarming rate of school-leaver unemployment, a new system of education was introduced whose curriculum incorporated work experiences designed to boost job opportunities and self-reliance.

Kenya – The 8:4:4 Education System

The new 8-4-4 education system has to be interpreted in the context of previous government efforts to emphasise non-formal education. A conference on education, employment and rural development held at Kericho in 1966 which stressed the need for integrating education and rural development; the International Labour Organisation mission report on *Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment* of 1972, and the recommendations of the *National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies* of 1975. The objectives of these important documents have already been adequately analysed. The main concern for this chapter is to examine the 8-4-4 education system and reflect on its prospects and problems.

In 1979, a new Ministry of Basic Education was established to steer the implementation of the nine-year basic education programme. Primary school boards were urged to collect funds through self-help (*harambee*) to construct new classrooms to

implement the proposed basic education system. Developments in this direction were stopped in 1981 following a pronouncement that the country was to begin preparations to move from the 7-4-2-3 nomenclature to an 8-4-4 school system. The Ministry of Basic Education was abolished after the 1983 General Elections.

The pronouncement seems to have been prompted by the proposal made by the 1981 Report of the Presidential Working Party on the Second University in Kenya. The Working Party, whose terms of reference were to examine the feasibility of setting up a second university, addressed itself to the need to restructure the whole school system. The Working Party appreciated the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies reasoning that primary school leavers should acquire some basic education in addition to numeracy and literacy skills. It was considered necessary that the primary school segment should be longer so as to achieve such objectives. The Working Party therefore recommended that, in order to streamline the education system of the country as a whole, the present primary education system be extended from seven to eight-years. The eight-year primary education was to be restructured to offer:

(a) Numeracy and literacy skills in the first six years;

(b) Basic education with practical orientation in the last two years.

The new school structure, which became fully operational in 1989, has an eight-year segment of primary education, four years of secondary education and another four years at university. The Forms Five and Six segment was abolished by the report of the Working Party.

The Launching of the Programme

Although the announcement was made early in 1981 that the country was to adopt an 8-4-4 education system, there was little or no activity in the succeeding two years (1982 and 1983). In early 1984 the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) examination (a national examination taken in the 7th Grade of the primary school) was officially abolished and replaced with the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) (taken by the first batch of Standard Eight pupils at the end of 1985) and frantic efforts to raise funds, through self-help (*harambee*) began all over the country.

This step seems to have made the new system a reality. The mobilisation of funds to build extra classrooms to accommodate Standard Eight in all primary schools became more and more aggressive. Fund-raising committees were formed in all parts of the country, ranging from those operating in aid of individual schools, to those at locational and even district levels. As the exercise continued, many political leaders began to view the progress toward the completion of the classrooms as amounting to a yardstick of their leadership abilities. Headteachers were concerned with the future of their schools, while parents feared for their children. Given the constant reminders by the government about the need to beat the deadline, the exercise became a major national pre-occupation.

At the primary school level, parents were required to donate specific amounts of money. Fund-raising meetings were held periodically at all levels; locational, divisional, and district. In most districts, leaders arranged for systematic collections of donations from farmers, co-operative societies, land-buying companies and other organisations. In a number of cases the donors were left with no choice but to donate.

The aggressive nature of the fund-raising exercise seems to have helped mobilise the kind of funds that were necessary to enable the launching of the programme. The

exercise has remained in progress with different districts recording varying degrees of success. Less productive districts, in particular those in semi-arid and arid areas, have lagged behind in fund-raising. In many districts, the exercise did not operate smoothly. There were general feelings that the manner in which the funds were collected caused an unjustifiable strain on the family finances. The stiff requirement for specific amounts of donations from parents did not take into account their different incomes. Hence, some parents had considerable difficulties in finding the required amounts of money.

The situation is not likely to change since the construction of classrooms is only one of the basic facilities and not many schools have been able to go further to provide additional facilities such as workshops and tools. According to the Ministry of Education, such facilities have to be obtained through fundraising campaigns. In a recent debate in Parliament, the issue of providing workshops and related facilities was hotly discussed. The question of how the Standard Eight pupils take the examination in the vocational subjects when they have no practical experience in these subjects was raised. Apparently, a solution to this problem is likely to take some time because there are no ready funds to establish vocational subjects firmly in the primary schools by building workshops and equipping them.

It is estimated that the Ministry of Education provided Ksh. 3,000 million to introduce the programme, about Ksh. 40 per child per year, (a sum of money that is very inadequate). It has urged parents to supplement this sum by supplying such things as stationery and teaching aids. The Ministry also recruited about 12,000 untrained teachers throughout the country who tried to familiarise themselves with the Standard Seven and Eight syllabi. This group has considerably increased the percentage of untrained teachers in the primary school system which constituted one-third of the teaching force before the launching of the new education system.

Rationale of the 8-4-4 Education System

Towards the close of 1984, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology circulated a booklet, *8-4-4 System of Education*,which outlined the rationale and examinations. The following points explain the rationale for the programme:

- *Challenge for national development:* The concept of the 8-4-4 system is aimed at responding to the challenge of national development and the participation of youth in development. Previous reports on education indicated that the education system did not respond adequately to the needs of the country and its people. The new system of education is aimed at redressing this shortcoming.
- *Need for a more relevant curriculum*: The education system hitherto followed by the country did not cater for the greater number of pupils enrolled. There is the need therefore to provide practical oriented curriculum that will offer a wide-range of employment opportunities.
- *Equitable distribution of education resources*: The 8-4-4 system will ensure that there are equal opportunities for all students regardless of their place of origin, creed or race by providing equitable distribution of educational resources.
- *Technical and vocational training*: The 8-4-4 system, with its emphasis on technical and vocational education, will ensure that the students graduating at every level have some scientific and practical knowledge that can be utilised for either self-employment, salaried employment or further training.

The objectives of the primary school curriculum include learning opportunities which will enable pupils to "acquire a suitable basic foundation for the world of work in the context of economic and manpower needs of the nation", and to "appreciate and respect the dignity of labour".

Vocational Subjects

Primary Education

To achieve the stated objectives, three subjects are emphasised as being of special importance, Art and Crafts, Agriculture and Home Science. In Art and Crafts, education areas to be covered include drawing, painting, graphic design, collage and mosaic; weaving; ornament making, clay and pottery; leatherwork; modelling and carving; fabric design, puppetry; woodwork; and metalwork. Pupils in these courses are supposed to produce functional and aesthetically appealing articles. Ideally, they will be able to use the acquired knowledge and skills in order to design, implement and control small-scale projects that will provide opportunities for both the learners and other members of the community by:

(a) employment and income,
(b) sharing knowledge and skills (setting up and maintaining simple workshops for leatherwork, ceramics, woodwork, metalwork and weaving).

Through practical activities and mastery of skills, pupils will produce useful and functional articles like posters, greeting cards, baskets, table-mats, ropes, earrings, combs, stools, cane chairs, coat hangers and bricks.

The teaching of agriculture should demonstrate through practical experience, that agriculture is a profitable and honourable occupation; create awareness of the importance of agriculture in the daily life of the various communities in Kenya; enable pupils to acquire agricultural knowledge and skills which are relevant and useful to their lives; stimulate genuine interest and positive attitudes towards active participation in agriculture and develop self-reliance, resourcefulness; and, problem-solving ability and career outlook in agriculture. Practical activities in the teaching of agriculture cover the growing of crops such as vegetables and flowers for use and sale; learning about domestic animals; poultry and beekeeping; making farm tools; and caring for the soil and environment.

Home science, which the syllabus defines as the study of the home and family living within the environment, is designed to develop and apply knowledge, skills, principles and attitudes which help the learner to relate better to the social and economic realities of the community and country. Its specific objectives are to give pupils basic knowledge useful in promoting the welfare of the home and family and setting standards for community living; to prepare pupils to achieve and maintain better standards of living and to create awareness and appreciation of the expected standards; to help pupils acquire skills to adapt themselves to new situations and changes related to home and family living in a developing country such as Kenya; to train pupils to appreciate their own culture in relation to other cultures; and to lay a foundation for further learning and vocational training. The subject comprises three areas of learning namely Home Management, Clothing and Textiles, and Food and Nutrition. In the learning activities pupils are expected to make articles such as pyjamas, tablecloths, blouses, shirts, children's garments and food.

Secondary Education

The objectives of secondary education are, among other things; to prepare the learner to make positive contribution to the development of society and to choose with confidence and cope with vocational education after school, and the acquisition of attitudes of national patriotism, self-respect, self-reliance, cooperation, adaptability, and sense of purpose, integrity and self-discipline.

The secondary school curriculum is to cover pre-vocational subjects apart from the usual academic subjects. These include:

Industrial Agriculture Education under which falls subjects such as:

Wood Technology,

Metal Technology,

Power Technology; and

Electrical Technology;

Business Education which includes:

Accounts,

Commerce,

Typing and Office Practice;

Home Science which embraces:

Clothing and Textiles,

Food and Nutrition.

Kenya had earlier on attempted curriculum diversification in technical secondary schools and the introduction of industrial education in a number of academic secondary schools. Due to the failure of technical education in secondary schools, under the 8-4-4-system of education, these schools were relabelled *technical training institutes* and have a dual post, primary and post-secondary role. They have been named technical training institutes, rather than colleges. This is in keeping with the decision that the institutes should have a dual post-primary and post-secondary function, and that, initially the institutes should concentrate on two types of post primary courses namely artisan and craft courses.

University Education

The main objective of the Presidential Working Party appointed in January 1981, was to make general recommendations on the implementation of the government's decision on the establishment of a second university before the end of the 1979-83 Development Plan period.

As a rationale for establishing a second university, the Working Party reasoned that with a population growth of 4 per cent annually and with 1.2 million children starting Standard One in 1981, it was apparent that the rapid development of all levels must not only be continued but even intensified at the middle and upper levels of the educational spectrum, if the youth is to be properly prepared to play a meaningful role in an expanding economy. It was further reasoned that the provision of more higher educational opportunities will bridge the imbalance between regions especially the semi-arid regions, and the other. It was also argued that since the economy is growing rapidly,

the demand for manpower in all sectors of the economy will continue to grow. A second university should therefore not only complement the University of Nairobi in the task of providing the nation with trained personnel, but in addition should be able to provide manpower to fill existing and new gaps in the economy. The demand for more education was reflected in the fact that there were then over 7,000 Kenyans studying abroad.

On the basis of the report of the Working Party, the government decided to go ahead with the establishment of a second university in Eldoret. The site was identified in Eldoret on land donated by the Lohnro Group while UNESCO assisted with the development. The Working Party was not asked to determine whether a second university should be established, but how it should be done and what shape it should take. It simply confirmed the social demand for university education and repeated statements about the shortage of highly skilled manpower that is hampering Kenya's development efforts. The Working Party was not asked to and did not examine the effective demand for university level skills in the economy even though this could be considered essential information for the execution of its terms of reference, for example, determining areas in which the university should specialise. There is now mounting evidence that the country is faced with a potential oversupply of university trained people in agriculture. Recent manpower studies indicate that, while there are some specialisation within each of these broad fields that remain in short supply, the existing institutional capacity of the country at the undergraduate level would not only meet realistically assessed economic demand in the near future, but will supply more graduates than what the economy can absorb. This too appears to be the case with some of the engineering fields and B. Ed (Arts).

The social demand for university education is high in Kenya and the government's decision to establish a second university had a wide public support. The enrolment ratio for the 18-23 age group in Kenya at the tertiary level is still around 1 per cent and the majority of these enrolments are not at university. So there can be no argument that university education in particular should not be expanded in Kenya. But the question might be posed whether this should be a priority for the allocation of scarce public revenue at the time when it is clear that social demand is not backed by economic demand.

In the 8-4-4 system, universities will design and develop basic degree courses to cover four years.

Prospects and Problems

It is generally considered that since more than 90 per cent of primary school pupils in Africa never have a post-secondary experience, some vocational emphasis is an absolute necessity. It is reckoned that the problem of primary school-leaver unemployment is a product of the school system in which children start school at the ages of 5 to 7 years. Hence, they finish primary school when they are still too young to become responsible workers and farmers. Further, the type of education they receive leads them to expect 'white collar' jobs. This type of education is not well-adapted to the needs and tasks children are supposed to perform in society. The solution to the problem is the lengthening of the primary school stage so that pupils complete school when they are mature enough to work as productive members of the society.

Parallel with increasing the number of years at the primary school level, it is suggested that instead of gearing primary school activities to the competitive primary

education certificate, which selects only a few to go to secondary school, they should serve as a preparation for the life which the majority of the children will lead. Children should be well-prepared for agricultural activities and the simple requirements of modern industry through such subjects as metalwork, leatherwork, woodwork and home science.

As discussed earlier, colonial education in Africa bears many examples which show that vocational training was at the centre of the primary school curriculum well before the famous Phelps-Stokes Commission which visited Africa in the early 1920s. This continued up to the achievement of independence in the 60s. The colonial administrations strenuously emphasised a vocational curriculum despite African opposition. This opposition was largely motivated by the view that such a curriculum was designed to provide a special kind of inferior education for Africans to hamper their political advancement. The colonial administrations, as it was often asserted, had devised in curriculum to condemits primary school leavers to be forever hewers of wood and drawes of water. These kinds of arguments were supported by the fact that European children were not taught agriculture and carpentry.

It is easy to dismiss these reactions as having been typical to colonial situation, but they are likely to be prevalent even today, though motivated not by racial sentiments but by the social class structure. The elites, in particular, would tend to oppose vocational reforms so far as their children are concerned. They would admit the necessity of improving agriculture, limiting unemployment and yet they are likely to object to having their children oriented towards becoming farmers or petty traders. Elites would argue that vocational education is appropriate for rural peasant farmers children, but would be against the use of their children in such national experiments. This point became quite clear in the opinion columns in the daily newspapers before a government directive stopped debates on the 8-4-4 education system.

Non-elites might not in general be aware of what is taught in schools but they are certainly aware of what they want the school to accomplish for their children. Despite the most forceful government efforts, they react very suspiciously to the idea of their children learning practical and agricultural skills which may not lead to a salary. The vast majority of the non-elite are peasant farmers. To send their children to school, they feel is an investment of major proportions. If they wished their children to learn agricultural skills and other practical skills, they probably could have saved their investment and taught the children themselves. Non-elites are therefore most likely to be suspicious of educational reforms geared towards vocational training. Their hostility will normally be latent but at times may be expressed openly.

What can be deduced from this is pupils' attitudes are influenced not only be the curriculum but also by other factors. Children are motivated by social forces outside the school, and will continue to be influenced by those same forces while in attendance. In other words, the impact of the classroom will depend upon how consistent it is with the attitudes of the general society and the attitudes of the school children as to why they are in school. If, for example, parents send their children to school to learn the ways of the modern world well enough to attain white collar employment, it will take considerably more than a curriculum change to convince the child of the value of a practical and agricultural education.

The most critical constraint that is likely to militate against the success of such programmes is cost. The cost implications of the additional classes are not clearly determined let alone the cost of constructing workshops and purchasing tools.

Alongside cost considerations, which cast serious doubts on the effectiveness of these programmes, it is open to question on purely pedagogical grounds. The assumption that pre-vocational skills taught at school level would improve the employability of school leavers has never been tested. If the experience in technical secondary schools in the country is anything to go by, it can be concluded that investment in the new programmes is likely to turn out to be unproductive. There is considerable evidence and recognition that technical schools have not served the purpose for which they were created. Experience has shown that four years of technical training at secondary school does not improve one's employability on completion of school and these schools are now generally seen as an unwise investment.

On the basis of what has happened to vocational subjects at the secondary school level, it is highly unlikely that the amount of skills in woodwork, leatherwork and related subjects that can be acquired at primary level will improve the chances of a school leaver finding employment or making a living on their own using these skills.

More seriously, the amount of education in basic cognitive skills of which the school leaver will be deprived as a result of time spent on practical subjects might well result in serious deficiencies in the functional literacy and numeracy of the vast majority who do not continue their education to secondary school level. Before the introduction of vocational subjects, concern had been long expressed about the falling standards of primary education due to a large proportion of untrained teachers in the system and lack of suitable instructional materials. The quality of education is likely to suffer as a result of loading the curriculum with extra subjects geared towards vocational training.

In these circumstances, seven years of education devoted to basic cognitive, communication and social skills would seem to be a minimum preparation for full participation in society. The infusion of training objectives into the educational system at the school level is likely to be counter-productive: it will not improve employability as we have already variously indicated, while it will certainly reduce the quality of basic education.

Equally important is that the new programmes are likely to have an adverse effect on the attainment of universal free primary education. This is likely to be the case since they demand an enormous amount of resources.*

* Following political developments in Kenya, the 8-4-4 system of education has faced numerous criticisms from a cross-section of the public in respect of financing, performance and workload. In response the government has reduced the workload, albeit marginally, and is planning further reforms.

Questions

1. What do you consider to be the major causes of school leavers unemployment in Africa?
2. Define what is meant by non-formal education and assess its contribution to development.
3. Discuss attempts at curriculum diversification in Africa.
4. What factors contributed to the introduction of the 8-4-4 education system in Kenya?

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An Introductory History of Education

Revised Edition

History of education, which is an evaluation of past educational developments in the context of social, cultural, economic and political changes in human history, comprises the historical survey of educational theory and practice. It is based on the desire to trace past educational developments in a bid to improve present practice, a desire that has established it as a discipline in teacher education. Consequently, it has gained prominence in many African countries as a tool for strengthening both the personal and the professional competence of the teacher.

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D.N. Sifuna is Professor of History of Education in the Department of Educational Foundations, Kenyatta University, Kenya. He has lectured for many years and has published a number of books.

J.E. Otiende is Associate Professor, History of Education in the Department of Educational Foundations, Kenyatta University, Kenya. He has authored several education books.

ISBN 9966 846 30 1

University of Nairobi Press

ISBN 978-9966-846-30-3
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