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A STUDY OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
IN WEST AFRICA

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

The problem of this thesis is to examine the history of the educational work of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in West Africa, seeking to find the underlying factors which have influenced mission policy and the trends which will shape the future development.

B. Importance of the Problem

The importance of this problem lies in the critical situation of the Mission's educational enterprise. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the Mission to shape the policies of its schools to meet the requirements of the government. This study is made in order to see more clearly the basic issues involved in any conflict between the policies of the Mission and those of the government. The importance of this study is further seen in the fact that the Mission is entering upon a new phase of the development of its educational work in the establishment of an institution of higher education. The plans for the establishment and direction of such an institution must be seen in the light of the total development of the school work.

The study is also important to the writer, who will be engaged in the work of an educationalist in some missionary enterprise. It is felt that such a study will contribute to an understanding of the basic problems and policies involved in the educational work of a mission.

C. Sources of Study

The sources of this study are annual reports from the stations and institutions in the West Africa Mission, filed in the headquarters of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; "An African Survey", by Lord Hailey; and books on Africa which deal with the history of the missionary enterprises of the past and present.

D. Method of Procedure

A survey of the historical background of the missionary enterprises in West Africa and the development of education under the various European powers will introduce this study. The second chapter will present an analysis of the educational work of the Presbyterian Mission in West Africa. The last chapter will deal with the outlook for the future in the light of the present trends in government policy and mission purpose. A summary and conclusion will follow.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE
AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION IN WEST AFRICA

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE
AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION IN WEST AFRICA

A. Introduction

In this chapter, the opening of the West African territory will be described. This territory, although rather indefinite, may be approximated to include the coastal lands from the Senegal River down, along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, and continuing down to the northern border of South Africa. Any definition of the extension of the territory inland is rather arbitrary or hypothetical as the penetration of the center of the continent is, in many places, still to be achieved. However, it may be said to extend to the limits of what is today contained in French West Africa.

The establishment of the first missions will be described, indicating the difficulty involved in such work because of the climate. The coming of the European governments will be noted also. Thus the origination of the basic situation to which the mission had to adjust will be seen: the problem of living and working in the physical environment of the tropics and the problem of cooperating with a government foreign to natives and missionaries alike. Mention will be made of the very first schools established by Americans and Europeans in Africa. It will be seen that the founding of the schools is closely connected with the beginning of the missionary endeavor, thus indicating the close connection of schools with the work of the mission.

The second section will deal with the educational policies of England, Belgium, and France with respect to their colonies in Africa. The description of these systems will indicate the conditions under which the mission worked. The comparison of these three will demonstrate the range of attitude of Europeans toward the native populations. Thus many of the policies of the mission will be seen to be an adjustment to these attitudes.

B. First Steps

1. Opening the Territory

The discovery of the territory of West Africa by Europeans antedated its opening by several centuries. Portuguese navigators in the 15th or 16th century discovered the large bay in the Gulf of Guinea, south of Nigeria and facing the island of Fernando-Po. The first missionary efforts, however, did not begin until 1736, when a converted mulatto was sent to Christianburg on the Gold Coast by the United Brethren. He was followed by ten others who all died, and by 1770 the work was abandoned. In 1795, two missionaries were sent to Sierra Leone by the English Baptist Missionary Society. This work was also abandoned later. In 1797, the Glasgow and London Missionary Societies united in the work in Sierra Leone. This also ended by the ill health and death of most of the missionaries. However, in 1804, a successful attempt at establishing a mission in Sierra Leone was made by the Church Missionary Society (Anglican). Between the years 1812 and 1830, the Church Missionary Society of London sent seventy-nine missionaries to Liberia. Forty-four died during the first year, the average length of life being two and a half years.

On the sixteenth of February in the year 1833, John B. Pinney arrived in Liberia as the first missionary under the Western Foreign Missionary Society. This was the first mission work of Americans in Africa.

Other early attempts included the Wesleyan and Baptist Missionary Societies who opened work in Fernando-Po in 1841. Five years later the United Presbyterian Synod of Scotland opened work on the old Calabar River.

During the nineteenth century several attempts at establishing stations in West Africa were made by the Presbyterians. J. Leighton Wilson opened work at Baraka on June 22, 1842, which led to the establishment of a Presbyterian Church at Baraka on August 19, 1871, the third church to be formed by the mission. In 1850, work was established at Corisco with the hope that the climate of this island would better suit the Europeans. Three stations were opened and part of the Bible was translated into Benga, the language of the natives. Their hopes concerning the climate proved to be unfounded and the missionaries moved back to the mainland. In 1875, the work was left to native leadership. The next station to be opened was that at Mbade, ten miles north of the Bentia River in Spanish Guinea. The station, located on a beautiful bluff overlooking the bay, was called Benito--"Beautiful". George Paull, who had arrived at Corisco in May, 1864, began the work, but lived only three months, returning to Corisco to die on May 14, 1865. That his short span of work was effective is seen in the fact that in the next year a church was established there, the second in the Corisco Presbytery.

The fourth station to be opened by the Presbyterians was that of Ogowe. Dr. Wheeler describes the opening as follows:

"In 1874, Dr. and Mrs. R. H. Nassau ascended the river, the first white people to explore the valley, and that year opened a station at Belambia, two hundred miles from its mouth. In 1876, the station was moved to Kangwe, thirty-five miles down the river."¹

In 1879, a church of six members was organized there.

The last of the areas to be opened was the Cameroon. When the first resident missionaries began the work in 1889, a church had already been established by natives who had come from Cameroon to attend schools at Corisco as early as 1875.

Following the occupation of the territory by the missionaries, the governments began to occupy the land. In Cameroon, the German occupation began on July 14, 1884. On May 7, 1885, the British and the Germans concluded an agreement by which British claims to Cameroon were traded for German claims to Forcados, which is located at the mouth of the Niger, and to St. Lucia. In the same year, Great Batanga was ceded by the French to the Germans. By this, the Germans had control of the territory.

2. First Schools

Early in the progress of the mission stations schools were established. The London Baptist Mission established the first schools in Cameroon in 1845. This work was turned over to the Mission Gesellschaft of Basel in 1885, the year in which the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States entered the field.

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1. W. Reginald Wheeler: The Words of God in an African Forest, p.33

Other schools were opened in these early years by the government at Duala, by the Apostolic Vicariat Kamerum of Limburg on the Lahan, and by the German Baptists of Steglitz.

C. Development of Education under the Various Systems

1. The British

Under the British system, each dependency has its own local department of education. There have been, however, in the past certain general policies set up for the guidance of the local governments. In 1925 the government made the first of these declarations in which the importance of developing what is good in the indigenous tradition was stressed. It also emphasized leadership, a higher standard of living, religious and moral teachings, and the education of women. On the question of the place of mission schools, the position assumed is summarized in the following statement made by Lord Hailey:

"The British Government announced that it welcomed and would encourage all voluntary educational effort which conformed to its general policy, but it reserved to itself the direction of educational policy and the supervision of all educational institutions, by inspection and other means. It was recommended that in all the dependencies advisory boards for education, both central and provincial, should include representatives of the Medical, Agricultural, and Public Works Departments, together with missionaries, traders, settlers, and representatives of native opinion." ¹

The next statement of policy concerned the question of language. The use of the vernacular was recognized as necessary in the primary grades, but the use of English was considered essential in the higher grades.

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1. Lord Hailey: An African Survey, p. 1230

Regarding higher education, no definite policy was made. However, the problem was considered and attention was directed to the need for some program.

The range in the interpretation of these general policies extended from a situation where the government worked almost entirely by assisting and guiding the missions to that in which the educational policy of the community became a school under the administration of natives. Although local situations have created great diversity, in recent years there has been, "...an increasing effort to relate education as closely as possible to the needs of African communities."¹

Because of the government's inclusion of the formula that native education must be "based on religion", the missions have readily cooperated with the policy of the government. The activity of the missions, however, has been largely limited to elementary education, while the government has regarded technical and higher education as its sphere of influence. Roman Catholic Missions have also been glad to receive aid, but have not regarded government or native administration schools as suitable for their people to attend.

2. The Belgian

The most striking feature of the Belgian system is the reliance of the state on the church for its educational program, and the favored position granted to the Catholic missions as against the Protestants. Financial grants are made to those inspected schools which are 'national' (the principle condition of this recognition is

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1. Lord Hailey: *op.cit.*, p. 1234, p. 1234

that two-thirds of the administering body must be Belgian). The result of this policy is described in the following statement:

"the 'foreign' schools, which in 1935, had 253,841 pupils against 213,463 in those of the 'national' missions, are maintained almost without assistance from the state. Again, even in the few state schools, the management is almost universally entrusted to religious bodies, which are without exception Catholic." ¹

The principal aim of the system is to develop the African within the scope of his own society, not to make, what M. Louis Franck calls, "copies of Europeans who will never be more than 'humans of a third category'". ²

Under the present system, the schools are divided into 'official' and 'subsidized free' schools, the former being those financed by the state, although the majority of them are controlled by the religious orders.

3. The French

The earliest educational efforts of the French government with regard to their colonial empire in Africa were, like most of the others, confined to assisting the missionary bodies. In 1816 the Colonial Ministry established a policy which involved the encouragement of Christianity for its moral basis, making for progress in civilization. This policy was continued for forty years. Thus it was not until near the end of the century that the first lay school was founded. By 1900 there were only seventy schools in French West Africa, due to the preoccupation of the government with the problem of the

.

1. Ibid., p. 1270

2. Ibid., p. 1271

pacification of Senegal and Sudan and also to the fact that the modern objective of education as a factor in producing French civilization was not yet stated.

The first definition of educational policy in West Africa was made in 1903. The revision of 1918 was followed by the circular of the Governor-General, dated May 1, 1924, which gave to the French educational policy for its colonies its present form. In this statement, the government assumes the major responsibility. The place of the mission school, secured by the Treaty of St. Germain in 1919, was defined and limited by a government decree made in February, 1922. In this the following conditions were fixed by which the mission schools must abide: no private school should open without authorization; those which are permitted to open must follow the prescribed courses; instruction must be given exclusively in French; European mission teachers must have the same certificates as the government teachers. The underlying policy behind these statements of practice is seen in the French conception that education forms an essential feature in the policy of 'association' in the colonies; the school, then, contributes to a policy of political and economic development. This policy has been described as one which "envisages the assimilation of people of different cultures into French civilization," for the colonies of France are, "...parts of greater France, and are not treated as separate units that may become self-governing and self-sufficient." ¹

Two features of these schools illustrate this policy. The

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1. W. J. Cavin: Survey of Educational Position and Needs in the Cameroun and French Equatorial Africa (Report of the West Central Africa Regional Conference) p. 144

first of these is the universal use of French as the medium of instruction. The basis of this practice is seen in the statement that, "...if mastery of a European language is the ultimate aim, it is better to start it as early as possible."¹ A second feature is the "clearly defined policy of limiting more advanced education to the demand which exists for its products, with a strong emphasis on vocational training as the form which such education should take."² This policy is described as follows:

"It is founded on the belief that the fuller association of the native population in the development of a territory can best be realized through the employment in the administrative service those whose intelligence qualifies them to share in spreading the work of civilization. The first object of advanced education is therefore, to train the specialized cadres needed for this purpose. Education accordingly assumed a dual function; this has been summed up in the well-known phrase of a former Governor-General, M. Cade, 'instruire la masse et dégager l'élite.'"³

In the working out of these principles, a parallel system of education has developed: the European and the African. The European is identical with that given in the schools of France, so that transfer from one to the other is quite possible, and entrance to a French University from an 'European' school in Africa is also quite possible. The 'African' school is designed as training for life in Africa. In clarifying the function of this two-fold system it may be said that

"The dual system....does not correspond to a color bar, nor to a classification of school children on a basis of colour."⁴

Africans and French attend these schools on equal terms. For the masses,

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1. Lord Hailey: op. cit., p. 1262
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 1263
4. Ibid., p. 1262

the elementary education of the 'African' schools is complete in itself. Education for the "elect" is limited by competition, and by the estimated need.

The first section of the 'popular' schools contains three grades: the 'initiation' or preparatory grade, the elementary, and the lower primary. There is a preparatory school in most villages "of any importance and teachers even accompany groups of nomad herdsmen."¹ The length of the course is two years and the field of concentration is spoken French. The next grade, the elementary, is found in every town and nearly every government station. The emphasis in these schools is on improvement in the condition of the village or town. The subjects treated are agriculture, animal husbandry, and specialities of the locality. The primary schools are regional in character, the majority having European headmasters. The curriculum of the two year course contains history, geography, hygiene, advanced arithmetic, farming, and carpentry. Urban primary schools have a literary course which leads to clerical work.

Besides these schools, which are under the category of popular education, there are also the craft schools, which are designed "to improve the technique of indigenous crafts", and trade schools. The latter are open to anyone with an elementary education and to trained workers. The courses are concerned mainly with agriculture and hygiene, and are given in the vernacular.

Post primary education is carried on with the end in view

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1. Ibid., p. 1263

of the specialists needed in the vocational employ. There is one year of general literary education, which is the preparation for high school. The course in the high schools is designed as preparation for lower grades of government employment, some sort of clerical work, or for entrance into the grandes écoles, that is, the medical, teaching, or veterinary schools. There are also two secondary schools on the European model. In the Cameroon, there are: one advanced, three technical, two domestic training, and two mission technical schools.

D. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, the first missionary efforts in West Africa have been described. The problem of mission work in such a climate has been indicated. The coming of the European powers and their possession of the territory has been noted, as well as the founding of the first schools.

A survey was then made of the general educational policies of three European countries with respect to their colonies in Africa. These were seen to vary in relation to the underlying viewpoint of the country concerning its relation to its African Colony. Under the British system the general policy, based on colonial development, is to allow each dependency to work out its educational system according to local conditions, in accord with general standards set by the government. The Belgian system, relying almost entirely upon the schools of various religious bodies in the territory, aims at the development of the African in his own situation. The French policy, being based on the policy of the assimilation of the African into French culture, involves a highly developed system with both the African and the French

aspects of the work considered.

Thus the educational work of the American Presbyterian Mission in West Africa is to be seen in the light of the twofold problem facing the missionaries: the difficulty of living in such a climate and the need for cooperation with a government, having come into the land from some other country, and having definite underlying policies concerning the population.

The development of the schools is to be studied with the realization that the early founding of schools demonstrates their integral relation to the whole of the work.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION IN WEST AFRICA

CHAPTER II
DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN
MISSION IN WEST AFRICA

A. Introduction

The development of the educational work of the American Presbyterian Mission in West Africa will be considered in this chapter. The study will be made from the annual reports sent to the Board of Foreign Missions from each station in West Africa and also from other specific reports from institutions, persons or bodies involved in the work.

The study must be seen in the light of the problem outlined in the previous chapter of the adjustment of the missionaries to the effect of the climate on them and on the natives. The range of viewpoints with respect to the place of the natives in colonial development will clarify the basic issues of the problem of the relationship of the Mission with the governments. The theory of assimilation, held by the French, will be especially pertinent in this section.

The divisions of the material will be as follows: first period, to 1899, in which year certain policies were crystallized, marking the end of the first stage of development; second period, to 1916, when the French Government took over the territory evacuated by the Germans in the War; third period, to 1925, when the Normal School was established, bringing a great advancement in the quality of the school work; fourth period, to the present. In each of these periods the general phases and then the specific phases of the work will be considered. The problems and policies of each period, also, will be described so as to indicate significant trends.

As was noted in the previous section, the establishment of schools was one of the first policies of any mission. Since these early schools

centered around the personalities of the missionaries and grew rather slowly, no study of the founding of the schools will be made. The material in the study of the first period of the development will center around the last ten years of the period, since the school work, by that time, had been well started.

B. Beginning to 1899

1. Problems

a. Relationship with Governments

In this first period of the educational work of the mission, one of the most important factors in the work was the relationship of the mission with the governments of the various territories in which the mission worked. One of the first regulations made by each of these governments was that the particular language spoken by that country in Europe be taught in the schools in Africa. This, in many cases, kept the mission from opening its schools or from carrying on effective work. Thus, because of the lack of a French teacher, Angom Station could not open its school until 1899, when one was sent.¹

During this early period, when the government itself had few or no schools, it established the policy of subsidizing schools maintained by the mission. However, the missionaries felt a certain hesitancy about accepting this money since they did not in any way wish to obligate themselves to the government.² In some cases, the granting of the subsidies was looked upon as a sign of approval by the government, and the failure to receive them, an indication that the schools were not doing satisfactory work.

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1. Angom Station: Written Report, 1899

2. Benito Station: Written Report, 1892

b. Miscellaneous

Related to the whole question of the language was the problem of securing teachers, for in many cases the need or the call for a teacher was made in terms of the specific language teachers. The problem of irregularity of attendance created the need for boarding schools.¹ The scarcity of native food oftentimes made the maintenance of boarding pupils expensive.² The competition of the Catholics became a problem in many areas.³ Needs for more books, benches, buildings, and a system in the educational program were all mentioned. The changes in missionary personnel created many problems. Unfriendly tribal relations made school attendance hazardous. In fact, in 1899 there was a general Bulu invasion which definitely hindered the progress of the schools. The lack of realization of the value of sending their children to school on the part of the parents is seen in the following:

"Parents place no value whatever on the teaching given their children, and feel that a child should be fed and clothed if permitted to attend school."⁴

2. Policies

a. Inclusion of Schools in work

Although the educational work of the mission was still in its infancy in this period, certain policies are seen in the reports. The very fact that the mission incorporated in its program a school system indicates a very definite policy on the part of the mission. The place of education, as a part of the plan for the mission work, is seen in the

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1. Batanga Station: Written Report, 1891
2. Baraka Station: Written Report, 1891
3. Kangwee Station: Written Report, 1892
4. Angom Station: Written Report, 1898

following statements in the reports: Angom Station in 1892 states that school work is "an indispensable element in a work which is to have any depth and permanence, for the dense ignorance of the people constitutes one chief obstacle to the progress of Christianity";¹ and six years later from the same station, "We recognize the principle (we do not put it forth as at all new) that along with the preaching of the Word, there should be a system of education."²

b. Language

The general problem of the language to be used as the language of instruction in the schools, as well as what, if any European language should be taught in the school arose out of the conflicting policies of the government and the mission. The attitude of the government has already been described. That of the mission is seen in the following:

"...the mother tongue of a people is that in which the truths of God's Word should be taught to them."³ "...an order was handed us prohibiting the teaching of any other language than the French in our schools. This is entirely against our principles ...which placed the vernacular in the foreground."⁴

On the other side of the question, is the following:

"One of the chief means of civilizing a native is by teaching him a foreign language and indeed any native who knows only his own mother tongue will be at a serious disadvantage if he purposes to be anything above the level of his people. A foreign language opens up a vast field of Christian literature and the possibility of communicating at once with a newly arrived missionary or government inspector."⁵

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1. Angom Station: Written Report, 1892.
2. Angom Station: Written Report, 1895.
3. Angom Station: Written Report, 1891.
4. Benito Station: Written Report, 1894.
5. Kangwee Station: Written Report, 1892.

Arriving at a policy which would satisfy the government and be in accord with Mission principles required years of labor and planning. In some cases a sort of compromise was attempted, as at Baraka in 1894. Dr. Nassau reports,

"The requisition of the teaching of French and the prohibition of the teaching of English being loyally complied with, the fact of our teaching also the vernacular is not interfered with or objected to."¹

The language question involved not only the government's attitude but also that of the pupils themselves. Batanga, in 1895, had quite a problem with boys who, infected with the desire to learn German (probably for its commercial value), once deserted the school and also refused to recite Benga verses; as a result, they were expelled.

The Mission was then faced with the need of arriving at some distinct policy regarding this question. In 1899, a report entitled "Foreign Languages in Mission Schools", was made. This report states the problem as follows: the limited scope of the native languages, and the limited area of any single language. Further, the law prohibits the teaching of any European language but French in the French colonies. (Until 1833, English had been taught freely in the mission.) It has already been shown how this law requiring that nothing but French be taught in the schools created a great problem in the securing of teachers and resulted in the decline of the educational project of the mission.

Implied but not directly stated in this report on foreign languages in the school and others also is the feeling on the part of

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1. Baraka Station: Written Report, 1894.

the mission of complying grudgingly with the government requirements, as if they were interferences or infringements upon what was rightfully the territory of the mission. The writer of the report made in 1899 made a strong case not only for cooperation but for a better spirit of cooperation. He stated that it is important for the missionaries to remember that the government would be less favorable if the schools were closed, indicating that the schools of the mission in themselves constituted an element which the government favored a great deal. He then went on to describe the relation of the mission to the government in terms of legal and moral obligations. He said, "The government, as such, cares nothing for religion, what it looks for in schools is that the children be trained as French subjects, speaking the French language, and becoming by reason of their training more useful both to the government and to the colony."¹

Thus, on the basis of the legal obligations, he pointed out that opening a school in a territory where the law required that half of the curriculum must be in French obligated the mission to accept these conditions and to follow them. A legal obligation then led to a moral obligation. He mentioned the subsidies, which in his thinking further obligated the mission to follow the laws of the land. (Refusal to accept the money would not annul the obligation.) He said, "I imagine that we are morally bound to keep the spirit of the law and teach our scholars French."²

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1. Edward A. Ford: Foreign Languages in Mission Schools (Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the West Africa Mission, December, 1899), p.7
2. Ibid., p. 8

c. Inducements

At the very beginning of the mission work in Africa, because the idea of a school was foreign to the native mind, a policy of offering various inducements was employed in order to keep the children coming to school. One of the things "given" was cloth. The practice is described in the report of Batanga station for 1895, "In order to encourage a more regular attendance, I offered rewards to those who should attend school for five consecutive days or one week of school."¹ Angom Station reported the same procedure of encouraging the pupils with "small gifts".² However, in the same year also, Gaboon station reported that the day pupils had come to school,

"...without the attraction of food, clothing and with only a small monthly reward for regular attendance. And this in the face of the existence of the large Roman Catholic School, manned by an ample corps of teachers, and with inducements of food, clothing, and gifts to parents."³

d. Work

One policy of the mission developed during this period was that of requiring work of some sort on the part of all the boarding pupils. The work generally consisted in two or three hours per day and was usually of the nature of maintaining the property of the station in order and constructing new additions to the buildings.

e. Girls' Work

Special mention should be made of the attempts at work with the girls. This must be viewed in the light of the fact that the position of women was extremely low: they had no rights in society. The

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1. Batanga Station: Written Report, 1895.
2. Angom Station: Written Report, 1895.
3. Gaboon Station: Written Report, 1895.

custom of giving a sum of money to the father of a girl when she was given in marriage could be termed "selling", so that women were objects of wealth and not personalities. In this situation, then, the missionaries felt it advisable to attempt to work with the girls. Corisco, an outstation in 1895, sent, in its report, the statement of one of the natives on her view on the question:

"I would rather see more done for the women or for the girls than for the boys and men, if I was to choose. My reason is that the education of the girls and of the women has benefited society more than that of the boys. Educated women are exerting a good influence in that country."¹

The policy of giving these girls rewards for coming regularly was carried on for quite some time, after it was abandoned in the boys' schools. This was due partly to the fact that the parents of the girls did not help the missionaries in this problem of irregular attendance.²

The curriculum of these schools, although not definite, usually centered about the "Three R's" and teaching the girls various home-making arts, such as laundry work and sewing.³

f. Curriculum

At the beginning of the school work the curriculum was quite simple. For instance, the school taught by Mr. Marling at Angom in 1891 had instruction in religious knowledge, singing, reading, and writing, with a little French.

The general pattern was: the 3 R's with a speaking knowledge of the vernacular and the language of the government of the territory.

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1. Corisco Outstation: Written Report, 1895
2. Bongahele Girls' School: Written Report, 1895
3. Kangwe Station: Written Report, 1891

The texts were the Bible or religious books based on the Bible, and the French catechism.

g. Aims

The basic policy or aim of the whole mission work was that of working toward the establishment of Christianity and Christian institutions which would be supported by the natives themselves. By 1891 reports were stating clearly that an educated native ministry was essential to the successful continuation of the work of the mission and its establishment as a self-propagating organization. At the end of the period the following was stated as the aim of missions,

"...to preach the gospel...not as superficial announcers but with a view to the salvation of souls, the establishment of the church and the evangelization of the world."¹

In this the school was seen as one of the contributing elements. The aim of the school program was, therefore, to educate and elevate the people for their own benefit.²

3. Results and Evaluations

As is only natural, certain results and evaluations were noted in the reports. Evaluations ranged from "as good progress as could be expected in view of the peculiar difficulties of such work"³, to "good progress".⁴

By 1894, the Corisco report noted that people were showing an interest in the work of the mission.

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1. Robert Speer: Written Report, 1898, p. 44
2. Ford, op. cit., p. 12
3. Angom Station: Written Report, 1889
4. Baraka Station: Written Report, 1893

The results were also noted in that pupils from the schools united with the church, thus making the school the feeding ground of the future church.¹ Results were seen in the lives of the pupils. As one missionary wrote, "It is a great deal gained to get a boy or girl to labor regularly, each day who has never before done more than play at work."²

C. 1899 - 1916

1. General phases of the work

a. Needs and problems

1. Lack of personnel

Following the year 1899, the needs and the problems of this period are clearly seen in the annual reports of the Mission to the Board. The range is wide, but certain elements are seen throughout. The first and most glaring need revealed by these reports was that of missionary teachers. For example, the report for 1910 called for teachers because 6,000 pupils, seven station schools, and several score village schools, were to be supplied by only two men. Many requests were specific, such as calling for a teacher to teach a certain European language. Thus, in 1902, the work was "greatly hampered" by the want of a white male French speaking teacher. Later "strikes" were used to clamour for German instruction, and threats were made that there would be no school unless there was instruction in German. Calls for a Spanish teacher, needed to keep the work open in accordance with

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1. Benito Station: Written Report, 1895.
2. Benito Station: Written Report, 1898.

government requirements, also came in.¹ Such needs were often unfilled for years. The Baraka report of 1907 points out the weakness of the educational work, a weakness which could be remedied only by the coming of a male French speaking teacher, a "luxury" which they had not had for eleven years.

The need for teachers extended beyond the personnel of the missionary staff to the native teachers themselves. The relationship of the two problems is seen in the station reports as they present the need of one to train teachers for future work.² With regard to the village schools, in the report of the MacLean Memorial Station for the year 1906, the limited supply of teachers is listed as a hindering feature in the growth and development of the village schools. This need for more teachers is reported by the same station in the following year, in that three new localities were asking for teachers. The Angom Station Report for 1908 sounds the same note of requests for teachers in the towns and the inadequate supply to meet the demands. The summary report of the Educational Work in West Africa of 1910 stressed the need for teachers as well as evangelists and Bible women.

2. Irregularity of attendance

Probably the most baffling of the problems to the missionary were those inherent in the nature and customs of the people themselves. Each had to be met and solved in its own way. By 1902 the missionaries had learned that the only kind of schools that had any regularity of

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1. Baraka Station: Written Report, 1902; Lolodorf Station: Written Report, 1902; Efulen Station: Written Report, 1903; Benito Station: Written Report, 1904
2. Batanga Station: Written Report, 1906

attendance were the boarding schools.¹ This problem of irregular attendance was partially solved one year by the Elat Station, by placing restraints on absence and making the payday for the boarders at the end of the term!² Dr. Halsey, in making his report on the work in West Africa, summed up the problem in saying, "The African boy so quickly 'desires' to go back to his town and sit down that nothing short of compulsion will keep him at school."³

One of the attempts at the solution of this was the form of 'compulsion' of signing contracts. Thus, when the MacLean Memorial Station organized its normal class, those who enrolled signed contracts for three years of class work and three years of teaching after graduation.⁴

3. Relationship with the Roman Catholic Church

A third problem which was very evident in these years was that of the relationship of the mission with the Catholic Church. Various references to the situation as, "...encroachments of the Catholic element"⁵ or "opposition detracting from...the schools."⁶ illustrate the fact that relations between the two groups were in many cases not very cordial.

4. Relations with the governments

In all of the development of the school work the relations with the various governments were quite important. The policies of

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1. Benito Station: Written Report, 1902
2. Elat Station: Written Report, 1902
3. Halsey, W. A.: Written Report, 1904
4. MacLean Memorial Station: Written Report, 1908
5. MacLean Memorial Station: Written Report, 1907
6. West Africa Mission: Written Report on Self-Support, 1910

the various governments have been already described. In the working out of these in relation to the specific situations various problems arose.

The most important question in the relation of the mission with the European powers is that of language, which hinges upon the basic policy of each governing country as well as the vigor with which it is willing to pursue this policy. On the basis of this question, Benito Station School was opened and closed by the government several times during its history. In 1912 the village schools in the Benito area were closed by the government because of the failure of the mission to man each school with a white teacher, as the government required.

Relations with the governments were always rather tenuous and dependent upon the various officials. Sometimes the officials were very cordial and sometimes rather hostile. The Station at Baraka reported in 1907 that the government had organized secular schools with normal and primary departments, taught by white teachers. Although missionaries felt that the school was "evidently intended to supplant the mission schools",¹ they felt that they could not only welcome such a school, but even send their own native teachers. The visits of government officials often brought commendation to the work of the mission, especially with respect to the industrial work at Elat.

5. Miscellaneous factors

Many other detrimental factors, such as death and illness among the students and missionaries, and a general lack of understanding, harmony, and appreciation on the part of the natives, were also present. In one case, a 'fish famine' contributed to the failure of a year's work;

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1. Baraka Station: Written Report, 1907

in another, an epidemic of small pox closed the school for four weeks and contributed to the decreased enrollment of the second term.¹ The comings and goings of the missionary personnel also added to the problems of the schools in those years.²

b. Policies

1. Self-support

A thread running through these reports is that of the policies of the mission. Each of these policies is generally seen in relation to the problems involved in the progress of the work of the mission and can be seen to bear directly upon many of these problems. Many of the policies are presupposed or implied by the missionaries writing the reports and are not so evident in some cases as in others. Many of the policies relate to the general and underlying policy of "self-help", which involves "...the desire to train and stimulate the natives to help themselves to develop men and women to spread and establish the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ on a normal basis..."³

This stress on self-support runs throughout the work. In 1902 the Benito Station tried a "new plan" of making and selling palm oil, which, although not very lucrative, indicates the trend. At Efulen Station, also in 1902, the school-boys added to the usual two hours a day of work in the yard and garden to pay for their food by giving money toward the teacher's salary. Batanga and Benito stations

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1. Bongehele Girls' School: Written Report, 1903; Batanga Station: Written Report, 1904; Baraka Station: Written Report, 1906; Elat Station: Written Report, 1906; Efulen Station: Written Report, 1907
2. Baraka Station: Written Report, 1907; Batanga Station: Written Report, 1907; MacLean Memorial Station: Written Report, 1907
3. Melvin Fraser: Written Report, 1910

followed with similar policies in the next year or so,¹ with the idea that "...the people of a village did not want a school unless they were willing to give something toward its support."²

Here and there attempts were made in the direction of making the village schools self-supporting, so that by 1908 Elat Station could report that its village schools were all self-supporting. By 1910 the report on self-support could state that the village schools were entirely independent with respect to financial ties, with the stronger helping the weaker. The writer of the report felt that the underlying interpretation of the situation in that year had in it a "cause for profound gratitude and lively hope in the divine task of helping these impotent folk to rise up and walk."³

2. Strictness

Beyond this policy of working toward the establishment of a "self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing Church",⁴ a policy of growing "strictness" is easily seen in the reports. In 1906 Batanga Station laid down a set of "rules", which included: nothing to be furnished to the pupils gratis; no boarder taken who lived within two miles of the school; no advance allowed until the pupil had "learned all his lessons"; and advancement according to individual accomplishment and not by classes. Efulen Station adopted a policy of closing the registration after three days and requiring that the tuition be paid in advance.

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1. Batanga Station: Written Report, 1903; Benito Station: Written Report, 1903
2. Batanga Station, loc. cit.
3. Melvin Fraser, loc. cit.
4. W. A. Halsey, op. cit., p. 44

The policy of signing a contract, referred to previously, was introduced into one station after another.¹ The report of Efulen Station for 1907 noted along this line that pupils were beginning to realize "...that coming to school is entering into a contract for a few years of hard work..."²

3. Establishment and Function of Village Schools

The development of the village schools also followed a pattern containing a well-defined policy. Their function was to instruct the pupils by means of the charts and the primer, preparing them to come to the station schools for the more advanced training. They were natural feeders to the station school and thus should be extended over a wide area of territory.³

The general policy regarding the establishment of new village schools, referred to in the discussion on self-support, is illustrated by the following statement from the Elat Station Report for 1909: "The village school policy is to put in a school only at the request of the headman of the village and also after a missionary has visited the place to see that it will not encroach on the territory of another school."⁴

4. Curriculum

During this twelve year period the curriculum did not follow a very definite pattern. As a result, Dr. Halsey, summarizing his

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1. Efulen Station: Written Report, 1906; MacLean Memorial Station: Written Report, 1906
2. Efulen Station: Written Report, 1907
3. MacLean Memorial Station; loc. cit.; Efulen Station, loc. cit.
4. Elat Station: Written Report, 1909

visit to the field in 1903 and stating his recommendations, suggested that there was no curriculum or settled educational policy in the Mission, and he referred to a committee to be appointed to study this problem.

In the Baraka Station Report for 1904, the general procedure of the school is described in detail and is an example of the general method. The school was carried on by a missionary, who taught the two higher classes, and a native assistant, who taught the two lower classes. The opening half-hour of the day was given to prayers and a Bible lesson by another of the missionaries on the station. Classes started at 9 A.M. and continued throughout the morning, under the missionary and the native assistant. In the afternoon, the native assistant heard the recitations of the older class, while the missionary in charge worked with the girls, teaching them to sew. The work of the pupils included exercises in the catechism, also the memorizing of hymns and Psalms. Arithmetic and writing were likewise taught. For the teaching of reading the texts used were parts of the Bible and, for the advanced class, the Benga "Pilgrim's Progress". Short exercises in German phrases and the Lord's Prayer were added to the curriculum to prepare the pupils for their next step, the German School.¹

A second example which may be given is the Schedule of School Work included in the report of the Baraka Station for the year 1906. It reads as follows:

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1. Bongehele Girls' School: Written Report, 1905

"First Class: Arithmetic: addition, subtraction, multiplication
division, Rule of Three
Grammar: LECCLAIR et ROUZE, the whole book
French History: JEAN BEDEL, elementary
Geography: " " the whole book
Reading: anywhere in the French Testament
Dictation, Recitation and Writing

Second Class: Arithmetic: addition, subtraction, multiplication,
and division
Grammar: Same as First Class
Reading: anywhere in the French New Testament
Dictation, Recitation and Writing

Third Class: Arithmetic: addition, subtraction, multiplication
Reading: anywhere in the French New Testament
Dictation, Recitation and Writing

Fourth Class: Arithmetic: simple addition and subtraction
Writing, Reading and Spelling the advanced charts

Fifth Class: Writing simple copies, and reading and spelling the
simple charts"¹

The report goes on to add that, besides the regular school work, the girls, under the supervision of the missionaries, learned sewing, mending, and laundry work, as well as how to make gardens.

Throughout the reports is the general pattern of the "Three R's" as the important feature of the curriculum, with various additions. Thus at Benito in 1908, to the general pattern of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, classes in practical trading were added and proved to be quite popular.

In 1906 the Batanga Station reported a new feature in its program: the teachers' normal class. The method of conducting this was to keep all of the native teachers in the station school for two terms for special training. This training included: practical teaching under direct supervision of the supervising missionary, arithmetic,

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1. Baraka Station: Written Report, 1906

including addition, subtraction, multiplication of simple fractions, and some percentage, geography, history, and grammar, with stress on syntax.

This was one of many attempts to meet the problem of the lack of instruction of teachers. Elat Station, in 1908, had the teachers assemble half an hour each morning before the regular school began for a half-hour's instruction in the art of teaching.

The inclusion of foreign languages in the school curriculum is important during these years. German, French, and Spanish, each used in the part of the mission work which was under that particular European power, came into the classes first as added subjects and then as separate departments, finally leading to separate schools. As the educational policies of the European countries developed, they had their effects on the work of the mission schools. By 1912 the Station at Elat could report that the German School incorporated the curriculum prescribed by the German government: German readers, arithmetic, geography, grammar, penmanship, Bible stories, and dictation, besides "some elements" of botany, zoology, and physics.

The general report on the education of West/Africa made in the year 1913 describes the system as it had emerged at that time. First in the school life of the African came the Bulu school (or the vernacular used in each particular area), which had to be completed before the student would be granted admission to the German School. In this school he learned the "Three R's", a few geographical and physiological facts, and singing. He learned to read a set of charts containing the alphabet, a primer of seventy pages, Genesis, Exodus,

Leviticus, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; he learned to spell very well; he finished the multiplication tables through twelves; he learned short division, and memorized Bible verses and some German words. The German school followed the curriculum prescribed by the government.

2. Specific Phases of the Work

a. Girls' Work

One of the specific developments which occurred during this period was the work with the girls. This work has been seen in the previous section in the light of the attitude of the natives regarding women and their place in society. The difficulties of beginning such a work have also been described in the beginnings of the work. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Elat Station reported with some surprise that six girls attended the school, or that the station at Batanga makes careful note of its own Bongehele Girls' School which had, in 1903, completed its tenth year. How far behind the general development of school work that of reaching the girls was, is seen in the fact that even as late as 1903 stations were reporting the founding of their girls' work.¹ The interrelation of the development of this work and the problem of the place of women in the society was such that no solution could be easily found. Three years after the girls' school was established at Efulan, the missionaries were still facing problems, for the report notes that there were eleven girls in the school and this in spite of the fact that the men of the community

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1. Efulen Station: Written Report, 1903

were in opposition to the school, since it interfered with marriages.¹

In 1907 the Elat Station faced a high point in this problem when the government announced that girls should be at liberty to attend school and that little girls should not be given in marriage. The missionaries were asked to help enforce this ruling. The result is described as follows:

"Interesting times followed and a sort of campaign in the interest of emancipation and education especially of girls was on."²

This was a "new day" for the girls of the country. The partial result was that girls appeared at all of the schools, both station and village, and further,

"Some lived better lives knowing that doing so was a condition of their remaining in school."³

b. Industrial Work

The second specific development which occurred during these years was the industrial work. The policy of having work done by the boarding students as payment for their board has already been described in the section describing the first years of the work. The other phase of the industrial training is planned curriculum of classes of 'industrial work'. In connection with this phase the Frank James Industrial School will now be considered.

The school itself grew and centered about the person of Dr. Frederick H. Hope, who was sent to the mission in response to a

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1. Benito Station: Written Report, 1904
2. Elat Station: Written Report, 1907
3. Ibid.

request for a man to do industrial work. The name of the school was derived from the initial gift which started it: \$1,000 given by the sister of Frank James, who was killed on a hunting trip in Africa. The gift was made as a memorial to him. With this money some equipment was bought and the school begun.

The 1907 report of the Elat Station mentions a self-supporting industrial department in which carpentry was taught by a Douala native. Doors, windows, tables, chairs, beds, and other furnishings were made and sold. The next year's report contains notes of advancement: two men put their entire time to it; gardens were set out; houses for a tailor class, a palavar house for the church, a hospital for the Elat school boys, a new dormitory for the girls, and a new store house were all built. In 1909 the report came that "...throughout the entire year the class has never been able to catch up with the orders," and that the bush rope chairs which had been 'invented' by the school, were now copied by the natives and ordered by the government.

Three years later the station was able to report with great excitement as well as relief that the "new machinery" had arrived and the sawmill and printing press were working.

3. Results and Evaluations

The results of a program of such long duration as an educational venture in a country in which there has never before been any system of formal education can not be easily seen or measured. The large overall outcomes will not be considered here, but some mention may be made of the more evident ones.

The first and most important of these is the fact that the schools served as a feeding ground for the church. In report after report the number of school children who joined the inquirer's class or became full members of the church is listed.

The geographical outreach of these schools is seen in such references as the following: in 1902, the Baraka Station report mentioned that the boys of the Fang School came from fifteen different towns, some at a distance of a hundred and twenty miles from the coast; the Efulan station report for the next year states that eleven different clans were represented in their boarding school. What was done in the boarding schools was done in the reverse in the village schools, for here, instead of bringing these various peoples into the range of the Gospel, the Word was taken to them in their own towns. Hence it is significant that the MacLean Memorial Station reported over two hundred and fifty pupils at four different towns. Later, Elat Station reported twenty-nine village schools, one at a distance of ninety-five miles from the station.

That the Christian message took hold upon the lives of the people is seen not only by their profession of faith but in the change in their lives. When fifty-seven of the pupils at the Elat Station professed their faith in Christ in one year, the result was that stealing and lying were practically unknown and that friendly relations among the tribes were maintained.¹ As to the outreach of this, in the lives of the boys in the community, Mr. Fraser said,

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1. Elat Station: Written Report, 1902

"Many of the school boys have been doing good work in their own towns by telling what they know and believe and teaching their friends to read and write."¹

The Benito report for the next year contained a statement of the same nature and general tone. Frank Hickman, reporting for the station said,

"The children of different tribes are brought together and learn to live in peace with each other. They must be regular and systematic to an extent, and obedient and at least outwardly reverent. They must overcome their inclination to laziness and do some work each day. As a result some through preference continue to live in their villages the kind of life that they learn to live with us. From this advanced position some of them turn from their old lives of heathenism or superstition to Christianity. Their grasp of what Christianity requires is not what we should like, yet it is a reaching forth in the right direction."²

The lives of the natives were thus being effected for Christ. This happened, however, not only in ethical principles but also in the everyday things of life. The report of the Frank James Industrial School in 1913 concludes as follows:

"Although the school is conducted along business lines and is a financial success, that is not the best work the school is doing. It is impossible to estimate the good the school is doing in the lives of the natives about here. It is changing their ideas of life and their mode of living. Their old way was a low house without any windows and only a small hole to crawl through in place of a door. Now many of them are being built higher. You walk in at a door, a window lets in light and you see instead of a bed of poles a real bed and in some cases a table and chairs. Instead of doing cooking in the house where there is no outlet for the smoke, you find them doing it in an open kitchen, keeping their houses clean."³

As the schools grew and expanded and entrenched themselves

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1. Ibid.
2. Benito Station: Written Report, 1903
3. Frank James Industrial School: Written Report, 1913

in the community, the missionaries who founded them and worked in their behalf evaluated them. Very often these evaluations were made in the light of some specific difficulty, as that of missionaries at Baraka Station who considered that "...the schools have done splendid work" in the light of the need of a white French teacher wanted in the French territory. The Girls' School at Benito, even in those early days of the first years of the century, received not only the commendation of the missionary but of the government.

The missionaries evaluated certain developments as significant in terms of the growth of the value of education in the minds of the indigenes. In 1906, when Batanga Station decided to charge tuition and to require that the pupils sign a contract, it still had a large number of children sent to the schools, and consequently the missionaries felt that this indicated interest on the part of the parents. Three years later at Efulan Station, when the government levied a tax on the natives which made tuition even harder to raise, the missionaries felt that the fact that the natives still had some money to pay testified to their "perseverance and appreciation of the opportunity to get an education."¹

In 1907 the Baraka Station, asking for a male French teacher, in order to develop a "strong educational work", said,

"This is of paramount importance, for without it there can be but little hope for the future of the church work, since there will continue to be, as at present, no young men with a religious training to whom the church can look for the elders and and preachers that are indispensable to a self-governing church."²

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1. Efulan Station: Written Report, 1909
2. Baraka Station: Written Report, 1907

In general, the main emphasis seemed to be upon a tremendous development which occurred during these years which was good on the whole, but which left much to be desired.

D. 1916-1925

1. General Phases of the Work

a. Problems

1. Results of the War

The problems which faced the stations remained to a large extent the same. However, certain new features came into the picture with the growth of the work and the changing world conditions.

The Great War which upset Europe, America and Asia, had its effects in Africa. In the schools of the mission it had immediate repercussions in the upheaval of the work. It also had deep consequences in the change of government in some sections in which the mission was working, bringing with this change problems with regard to language.

A supplementary report for Batanga Station in November 1914, states, "The war has most seriously affected our work."² And in substantiation of this the report goes on to say that because of the unsettled conditions, the village schools were broken up and the closing of the boarding schools was considered. Elat Station became a Red Cross Station, and its industrial school was closed for lack of work.

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1. Efulan Station: Written Report, 1909
22. Efulan Station: Written Report, 1923

Following the closing of the industrial school, the German government took over the buildings of the school and converted it into a munitions plant. In all of this, however, some schools were carried on, as the Germans withdrew and the English and French came in.¹ One interesting result of this was the acquiring of considerable material for the industrial school. When the Germans evacuated, they wrecked all their bicycles, motorcycles, autos, and auto trucks with sledges and dynamite. The French pronounced the remains scrap and allowed the school to take them over. Out of this wreckage, the school very proudly reported the construction of an automobile, an auto truck, and a steam engine (constructed out of an old auto engine), which was connected with the saw mill and various other machines in the plant.²

Not only was the war itself felt in Africa, but also the great upheaval following it, as is stated by one missionary, "The great unrest that has swept the world in these after-the-war days has not passed by even the native of Equatorial Africa."³

As was noted above, the war brought a change in the governments under which the Mission worked. At the time of the beginning of the war, the relations of the mission with the various governments were good. Both Benito and Elat stations made it a point to mention this in their reports for that year. In the Elat report for 1916 the first steps in the change of relations are noted: "Early in the school term a demand came from the French Government in Duala that we make some

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1. Elat Station: Written Report, 1916
2. Frank James Industrial School: Written Report (n.d.)
3. Elat Station: Written Report, 1916

attempt at teaching French."¹ The same change was made at MacLean Memorial Station in response to the government order. By 1919, the "request" had become a requirement, as the Efulen Station reported, "All the schools in the West Africa Mission are now required by the government to teach French."²

2. Relations with the Government

During this period, the interest and interference of the government in education began to be felt to a greater degree by the mission. Further, certain policies which the government instituted had certain definite effects on the mission schools. In 1917 a government regulation forbade adults in schools, the maximum age being thirteen or fourteen. The regulation, however, having been put into effect only temporarily, was consequently overlooked; for six or seven years later both Efulen and MacLean Memorial reported the fourteen years age limit as something, if not new in principle, at least new in practice.

The government then began to take notice of what was being taught as well as the fact that schools were being carried on. The interference of the government in the schools moved slowly from one thing to another, finally reaching the area of the curriculum. Up to this time, the European powers had been satisfied to require that the particular language which they wanted their "subjects" to learn was being taught in the schools. At this point, however, the government began to work directly with the curricula. In 1917, MacLean Memorial Station reported that the length of the school year and the curriculum were

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1. Elat Station: Written Report, 1916
2. Efulen Station: Written Report, 1919

prescribed by the French government. Two years later, the Minutes of the Annual Meeting of West Africa Mission record the decision that all French schools at the stations use the curriculum required by the government. There was a genuine effort to incorporate this curriculum into the schools even to the extent of a "reorganization" at Batanga in 1921, so as to follow it more closely.

By 1922 the government's program of education had so grown that mission schools sought to be officially "recognized", as was the school at Foulassi in 1922.

There were many other minor tangles with the officials. One of them concerned the Frank James Industrial School. In 1919, the government required that they purchase trade licenses to the extent of 500 francs. The school and the government compromised when the school closed its shop and sold only those articles which were made in the course of instruction.¹ Two years later, however, the officials finally did compel the school to take out three licenses.

3. Economic Conditions

A second problem in this period was that of a great financial crisis which made it impossible to get tuition from the students. It affected the schools in 1914 and came up several times during the whole period and in rather odd ways. In 1919 Elat village schools failed to be self-supporting for the year, because payment of the tuition was in produce and was converted into cash at a loss. Little incidents, however, enlivened the scene, as when "a cat was brought in to pay the

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1. West Africa Mission: Extracts from the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 1919

tuition of six boys."¹ In 1917, 1920, and 1924 a food shortage created an acute problem which was never very far removed from the work.

During this period the problem of wages began to appear, but it was not until the next period in the development of the schools that it came to its greatest height.

4. Personnel

The need for teachers came up again and again, as it had in previous years. At one place it kept the schools closed; at another school supervision was lacking. The need for training teachers was repeated over and over. In relation to the problem of the lack of personnel, the report of the Committee on General Educational Problems made in 1919 states:

"...our elementary school work has reached a great crisis and unless reenforcements for this work are sent us, we are confronted with the prospect of its utter demoralization and collapse in the near future. These village and station schools must lay the foundation upon which the future leaders of our people will be built."²

A similar view is presented in the station report for Efulen Station for the following year:

"...If we are ever to have native leaders among this people, they will without doubt be the result of the training in our schools and it is in this particular that our need of the most capable teachers possible is felt with the greatest keenness."³

b. Basic Policies.

1. Standardization of Policies

The basic policies of the mission never really changed: that

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1. Elat Station: Written Report, 1919
2. West Africa Mission: Extracts from the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 1919
3. Batanga Station: Written Report, 1920

the mission was there to spread the Gospel and that the method to be used was the gradual working toward the establishment of a self-supporting, indigenous church. However, the various policies by which this larger end was to be attained varied with the growth of the work. A policy not stated but seen as implicit in the proceedings of these years is that of deciding the procedure for conducting the schools on a general basis to be effective throughout the whole mission, instead of leaving each station to work out its problems alone. The Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the West Africa Mission of 1919 are a good example of this. At that meeting a committee of General Educational Problems reported and made recommendations to the whole mission council. These recommendations included such phases as prices of school supplies, length of terms of schools, tuition, classification of teachers, and curricula. The council as a whole then acted upon these recommendations.

2. Acceptance of Christians only

One of the innovations of this period developed, like many "policies", out of an existing problem: that of an overcrowded school system. When the Foulassi School was faced with 13,000 applicants for its second term in 1914, the station made a ruling that only professing Christians would be accepted. Four years later, the Frank James Industrial School adopted the same rule, in order to maintain a high degree of spiritual results from the work. The ruling specified that "no one will be accepted into the school who has not been a member of the church for at least a year."¹

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1. Frank James Industrial School: Written Report, 1918

3. Teacher-evangelist

During this period the position of teacher-evangelist was tried and adopted in some places and rejected in others. This was the policy of leaving the village school in charge of the evangelist in that town. As a general mission policy it filled a specific need: the problem of how to meet the economic crisis and keep the mission schools open. The plan succeeded for a time, for Foulassi Station reported in 1924, that the teacher-evangelist system was "in vogue".

4. Coeducation in primary class

In 1924, a new policy was adopted with respect to the small children in the schools. The "radical change" which was supposed to have dire consequences was that of uniting the classes for the small boys and girls into one primary class. The missionary in charge felt that the result was an improvement in the scholarship of the older girls.¹

5. Inducements

Early in the policies of the mission, as has been noted, the missionaries "rewarded" the pupils with calico as an inducement to go to school. Soon after the first schools were established an attempt was made to abandon this policy and to establish school work on the basis of its own value. The pupils were soon required to buy their books and slates. However, the policy of inducement was not so easily disposed of not only because the idea was an attractive one and the natives did not soon come to realize the value of education, but also

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1. Efulan Station: Written Report, 1924

because competing institutions (the Catholics) maintained this policy for a longer period. So that, as late as 1924, stations were still struggling against it. At Foullassi Station, the missionaries tried having a closing program in which "only the most worthy should participate." This served in place of the material rewards. The plan was greeted with enthusiasm and proved to be an "exciting innovation".

2. Specific Phases of the Work

a. Theological Education

This period witnessed the establishment of the Dager Memorial Theological and Bible Training School. Theological education up to this point had had no regular center. At first it had been under the care of the missionary of the station. But the need for such a school grew and classes were established. In 1919 MacLean Memorial Station reported that nine men had just completed a three year theological course given at that station. The school was referred to again in the next year's report as being taught by Mr. Fraser and as having in it students from all fields. But it was not until 1924 that the school could send in its first report as a separate institution under its own president and board of directors. It was divided into two departments: the theological school and the Bible training school. The course included the following: Old Testament history, Acts (historically and exegetically), the life of Christ, Matthew, Westminster Shorter Catechism, homiletics, sermon delivery, music, and pedagogy. The Bible Training Department taught: The Life of Christ, exegetical studies in I John, Romans, Homiletics, Protestant doctrine, Roman Catholic doctrine, a booklet on the native dialect, music, and French.

As a matter of interest, the Bible Training department had a public debate on Romanism vs. Protestantism, which created a great deal of enthusiastic interest.

b. Normal Institutes

The second of these developments during this period was that of the teachers' institutes. They arose out of the need for better trained teachers and were the beginning of the real solution of the problem. The first mention of these occurs in the Elat station report of 1915, when an institute was held for teachers during the month of July, in accord with the decision made at the Mission Meeting. The two hundred and twenty teachers present were assembled from all Cameroun. The curriculum of the institute contained methods in teaching the common branches used in the schools, music, hygiene, industrial work, Old Testament stories, and elementary lessons in French.¹ The second of these, again held at Elat, added to the studies, local African geography, arithmetic, the keeping of school records, and industrial work (the planning and building of model school houses and school plants).² In 1922, MacLean Memorial had three weeks of such an institute.

Besides these institutes, the old plan of instructing teachers while teaching was being carried on. Elat station in 1922 still employed the system whereby the teachers met for one hour each day before the regular session for training. This was done in the girls' division of the school. In the station school proper, the normal school, which

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1. Elat Station: Written Report, 1916
2. Normal Institute: Written Report, 1916

seemed to be evolving out of the institutes, was the fourth division of the school system there and used the lower school as its practical training.¹

By this time, however, the government had attempted to meet the need, and Efulen station in 1924 reported that two of "our" boys were attending the government normal school.

c. Industrial Work.

The industrial work during this period changed very little. The interruption in the work of the Frank James Industrial School work and its upheaval during and following the war have already been discussed. The addition to the program during these years was that of an agricultural department, in which agricultural experiments were attempted.² The department was the result of the action taken by the mission meeting in 1919, when certain recommendations were made. The aim of the agricultural work was to train native agriculturalists, who would be Christian farmers, to form a nucleus of the agricultural population. An effort was to be made to secure men of sound character who would not be lured by high wages to work on large plantations and thus defeat the purpose of the school by aiding exploitation instead of helping to stem the tide. The course was to be a three year course, to include such subjects as agronomy or tropical agriculture, horticulture and laying out of flower beds, harvesting and storing crops, the use of tropical products, animal husbandry, food management, and Bible

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1. Elat Station: Written Report, 1922

2. Elat Station: Written Report, 1921

training.¹

d. Girls' Work

The girls' work during this period faced many of the same problems and was carried on in much the same manner as in the previous one. In the fight against the degraded position of women, the pastor of the church at Efulen made the rule that all Christians must send their girls to school unless they had some very good excuse for not doing so.² Three years later, there appears the statement that the church reprimanded parents for not sending girls to school; thus the school work for girls had the support of the elders of the church and the most influential people of the Christian community.³

Gradually, too, the younger girls were allowed to come to the schools much to the delight of the missionaries, who saw in this a sign that the mothers were now recognizing the value of schools and trusting the missionaries to a greater extent.⁴

However, the problem of attendance still remained to the extent that MacLean Memorial Station found it advisable as late as 1920 to give prizes for perfect attendance and punctuality to the girls. (The same was true at Efulen in the same year.)

This readjustment of women in society caused many odd problems as at Efulen Station in 1922 when the school faced the situation of girls not trying to graduate, but rather deliberately

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1. West Africa Mission: Extracts from the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 1919
2. Efulen Station: Written Report, 1914
3. MacLean Memorial Station: Written Report, 1919
4. Foulissil Station: Written Report, 1919

staying on in school until they were claimed in marriage.

The girls' schools grew and improved in their equipment and methods. One of the developments of the period which throws light on the local problems involved in such an enterprise is an "innovation", namely the introduction of the dining room and regular meals into the dormitory life. One of the missionaries described how the old fashion of eating out of a common pot was "...relegated to the past ages." While at first the girls objected to this because, they said, "Have we ever done so before?" (the old Bulu excuse), they soon were happy, "...sitting down to their table having their blessing and eating like 'white folks'." ¹

The curriculum of the girls' schools seem to have followed that of the vernacular schools for the boys. In 1920, "new" lessons in hygiene and physiology were added, with the result that "the girls show that they have obtained valuable help from them." ²

The Elat Station report for 1922 has an excellent statement of the aims of these schools.

"Our aim first and last being to build Christian character, we have tried to hold up strong Christian ideals before the girls and to make much of the spiritual life in the dormitories and by individual and group conferences in our homes, endeavoring always to gain and hold their confidence and helping them to realize their relation to Jesus Christ as a real and cleansing force in their lives." ³

The work with the girls had results in their lives. The following quotations will illustrate this:

"We feel that it is gradually becoming a strong influence in

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1. Efulen Station: Written Report, 1919
2. Foulassi Station: Written Report, 1922
3. Elat Station: Written Report, 1922

the molding of the Christian life of the people"¹

"At the close of school every girl was a confessing Christian... eight had entered the church."²

"Worthy of mention is the fact that many a catechist and teacher has been glad to select his wife from our school girls and the marriages have thus far proved very happy ones."³

"The girls' school is a veritable nursery for the future motherhood of the country and the importance of it as a means of cultivating Christian character, mental discipline and habits of thrift is not likely to be overestimated."⁴

In many places the results of the schools could be seen in the improved appearance of the girls.

Of all that might be said concerning the results of the work with the girls, perhaps the most significant thing is in relation to the place of women in society during this period in contrast to the unhappy lot of the girls of the land before the coming of the Gospel. The Elat Station report for 1919 has a very important paragraph concerning this:

"A girl has become more than a mere thing to be exchanged for 'goods' at the earliest possible moment. A woman is becoming more than a personal servant who makes it possible for the husband to sit at ease in his palaver house or a mere bearer of children who by her child-bearing brings wealth and prestige to the house of her lord."⁵

E. 1925 to the Present

1. General Survey of Phases of the Work

a. Needs and Problems of the Work

The needs and problems of the period might be summed up in a

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1. Elat Station: Written Report, 1919.
2. Ibid.
3. Foullassi Station: Written Report, 1919.
4. MacLean Memorial Station: Written Report, 1919.
5. Elat Station: Written Report, 1919.

few words: greater training and higher standards.

1. Economic Condition

One problem which faced the school administrators was that of the acute economic conditions.¹ Besides the scarcity of money, the lack of mechanized transportation in the country created the need for manual labor. One of the much used sources of this labor were the small boys of the community. The problem of losing boys to the local chiefs as carriers became acute in this period. One missionary called it the "making of the school-house a recruiting station for child labor."²

2. Weakness of Village Schools

The village schools also presented a great problem for the missionaries. They had become the weak point instead of the strong point of the school system. They were "no longer the splendid evangelistic agency that they were some years ago."³ These schools required supervision in order to maintain high standards.

With the great increase of volume of the educational work the problem of lack of supervision became acute. By 1927, the supervision of village schools had become "appallingly inadequate".⁴

3. Weakness of French Schools

The competing streams of the needs of the people in their community, and the plans of the missionaries as to how these needs might

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1. West Africa Mission: Written Report, 1926

2. Metet Station: Written Report, 1926.

3. West Africa Mission, loc. cit.

4. West Africa Mission: Educational Survey of the West Africa Mission, 1927.

best be met and still fulfill the requirements of the government, created many problems in the curriculum. The MacLean Memorial Station report of 1927 called one phase of this question the "failure of French schools to do anything else but teach French".¹

The 1927 Educational Survey of the West Africa Mission summed up the situation. The problem of the French schools was stated as follows:

"In view of these facts it would seem as if our present French school does not meet the very deep needs of the country. It appears as if it met rather the needs of trade and administration."²

The contributing factors in this failure were listed as the stress on preparing pupils for the government exams, following the government school curriculum (not that which the missionaries saw as needful), and the loss of men attracted to the shop and office rather than to the sacrificial life of the missionary. All of this contributed to the lack of time left in the school curriculum to be spent on such things as ethics, manual training, and real intellectual development. The school system was condemned as "weak through lack of workers and supervision and Normal training on the lower rung of the educational ladder."³

4. Relation to Governments

The old question of the policy with regard to the age of the school boys suddenly appeared again in 1930 when the government visited the schools of the mission and swept them of all boys over fourteen.⁴

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1. MacLean Memorial Station: Written Report, 1927

2. West Africa Mission: Educational Survey, 1927

3. Ibid.

4. Superintendent of Schools: Written Report, 1930

The government gave the following reason for the action: the Mission was keeping too many unqualified pupils too long in all schools and small classes limited the work of qualified teachers.¹

In the schools of the Mission this caused considerable upset, almost forcing some of them to close. The result, however, was generally considered to be good and not much damage of a permanent nature was done.

The elimination of the older pupils, however, created the problem of cutting off the supply of teachers. The Mission was, therefore, allowed to organize "future employee" classes for those who wished to continue studying with the prospect of becoming teachers in the school system of the Mission.²

Another problem raised was the fear of the government that as a result of the Mission's having so many pupils in their French schools they were "turning out too many with certificates and diplomas who, if unable to find employment, will increase the number of discontented ones".³

The government schools themselves created a problem. In some places they were felt to be in competition with those of the Mission. The feeling of the missionaries was that the government school teachers, having a lower moral standard, would undermine the influence of the mission teachers, who were required to live exemplary lives.⁴

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1. Superintendent of Schools: Written Report, 1932
2. Metet Station: Written Report, 1930
3. Superintendent of Schools: op. cit.
4. Ibid.

The problem of the choice of language of instruction during the whole course of the educational work of the Mission definitely relates to the government. The policy of the government was, as has been seen before, that all instruction should be in the language of the European power holding that territory. However, in 1932, there was a noticeable change in attitude when the existing French government spoke in favor of the vernacular schools and even indicated that there was a possibility that they might be recognized.¹

In the relations with the government a change occurred in 1937 when a new governor was appointed to the Cameroun who had been a teacher himself. He instituted many reforms and did much that was constructive with regard to the schools.

In a circular put out by the government about this time, the position of the government was stated thus:

"The rural school must influence the native mind, train and improve the life of the people by practical adult courses, cooperative societies, field demonstrations and rural work shops. We must form peasant teachers to educate the peasant community."²

In line with this, therefore, the government added the requirement of practical tests to the academic ones for its certificate. Thus the requirements for the government examination added, "Each candidate shall present the day of the examination a piece of work of his own making."³

In March 1943, a further step was made when the government

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1. Field Secretary: Written Report, 1932
2. West Africa Mission: Report for General Assembly, 1938
3. Superintendent of Schools: Written Report, 1938

held a conference for all educative bodies at Douala and the general problems and policies were discussed.

The position then at the end of this period was one in which the government was in no way competing but was cooperating with the mission schools.

5. Subsidies

The question of subsidies was reopened in this period. In the 1934 economic crisis, the question of subsidies was viewed in a new light. From the former attitude of indifference or even questioning the advisability of accepting the money, the mission policy changed to the opposite position because of the need for the government subsidy to carry on the school work. In the problem of the demand for higher wages, the government entered to increase the subsidies in order to raise the wage scale.¹

By 1941, the government subsidies had become quite high. The government suggested that it might increase the mission subsidies to the point of making the mission school teachers' salaries on the level with those of the government. The Mission felt that they could not accept this. The missionaries feared that the government would then shape the policies of the mission entirely, and further that high wages given to their native teachers would "lower if not kill their spirituality."²

B. Policies

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1. Superintendent of Schools: Written Report, 1936.
2. Superintendent of Schools: Written Report, 1941

1. Self-Support

The key note of this period is change. In every phase of the work and especially in the schools gradual changes are noted.

The policies of the educational program of this period, although still based on that one central policy of the trend toward self-support, changed considerably. The change, in general, was in the direction of greater amounts of participation by the natives in the work.

In 1928, the Elat French school reported an interesting and significant innovation with respect to self-support: the creation of a student council to judge "palavers" (problems among the students). The year 1937 brought a new policy which was a great step forward in the same direction and which effected the whole mission. This was the first joint conference with native delegates to discuss the problems of the school.¹

The 1938 report of the Normal school states that, for the first time, one of the best native teachers was placed on the faculty of the school. The attempt was successful in that "he was able to get closer to the boys and help them in their Christian living."²

2. Regional Schools

An attempt to solve the problem of the acute economic crisis in 1926 was made by establishing regional schools at considerable distances from the stations to relieve the congestion at the stations. They were placed at strong church centers. The courses offered in

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1. Superintendent of Schools: Written Report, 1937
2. Field Secretary: Written Report, 1938

these schools were identical with the lowest grade in the station schools. The teachers in these regional schools were graduates from the higher schools at Elat and MacLean.¹

3. Village Schools

Various attempts were made to meet the problems of the village schools. Thus to help solve the problem of supervision of the village schools the normal school graduates were used as supervisors in the system. Teacher conferences were used to stir interest and improve the methods and techniques.²

To meet the lack of uniformity in the schools, uniform exams were made up. In 1933 these were made by the missionaries for all four classes in the two lower courses.³

In 1933 the vernacular schools put all classes on a yearly basis, instead of half-yearly as before. They began to take note of absences so that 15 absences would require repetition of the year. They gave the teachers charge of the school supplies to be sold, instead of the Mba'ale (a native specially in charge of supplies).⁴

Efulen station in 1933 established the policy of an entrance examination which increased the enrollment, due to the psychology of the "hard to get" being the thing sought after.⁵

The policy of co-education in the primary department of the schools was continued, and established, so that by 1936 Elat had the

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1. West Africa Mission: Written Report, 1926
2. Vernacular Schools: Written Report, 1933
3. Superintendent of Schools: Written Report, 1933
4. Vernacular Schools, loc. cit.
5. Efulen Station: Written Report, 1933

only girls' school in the mission.¹

4. Standards

During the period, the mission continued its policy of raising the standards within its educational program. The trend during these years was in the direction of increased severity, making the schools "better".

For example, in 1928, the policy of requiring that the boys going for the government Fin d'Etudes examination should first pass an examination given by the mission was established. The examination was based on the government examinations for the five years preceding.

Another example is seen in the 1930 report of the Superintendent of Schools, who described the policy of requiring that candidates entering the normal school should teach for a year under observation.²

Various attempts were made to meet the problem of the lack of Christian standards in the schools. In 1932, the policy was established that a pupil had to be a professing Christian to remain in the station school and that he must make progress in his Christian life.³

Along this same line, the policy with respect to the future employees' class placed the selection of pupils on the basis of Christian character, Christian interest, leadership, ability to work with others, and grades.⁴

2. Specific Phases of the Work.

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1. Efulen Station: Written Report, 1925
2. Superintendent of Schools: Written Report, 1930
3. Field Secretary: Written Report, 1932
4. "Report of the Vernacular Schools", 1933

a. Normal School

The distinctive feature of the period of the development of the schools from 1925 to the present is the development of the Normal School. The foundation upon which this school was built, the institutes held at various stations and at various times, has already been noted in the last section. The MacLean Memorial Station report for the year 1925 reports that the Normal School, established by the action of the Council, was held during that year. Thirty boys came that first year and the term finished "peacefully".¹ The next year, the report heralded it as the "new era" in education. The school moved to Foulassi Station in 1926: "long hoped for and eagerly awaited". The school was to have a three year curriculum leading to a government examination. The students would do their practice teaching in the Lower French School of the station and observe some "model teaching"; there would be religious instruction in Bulu. A library of 250 books was bought for the school.²

A full day's schedule included the following:

6 - 8 A.M. manual or garden work
 8:30 morning devotions
 8:45 - 12; 2 -5 classes
 games
 supper
 7-9 supervised study.

In 1927 the school sent its own report for the first time. In this, the aims of the school are stated as the highest character and the best scholarship. The morning of the student's day included

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1. MacLean Memorial Station: Written Report, 1925
2. Foulassi Station: Written Report, 1926

the following: prayers, manual work, cleaning up, devotions, practice teaching, arithmetic, recess. The afternoon was taken up with classes which included the following: grammar (vocabulary and parsing), pedagogy, dictation, religious instruction, reading, recess, geography, penmanship, ethics, hygiene, government, science, composition, drawing, agriculture, and singing. In the evening a period of supervised study was held from 7-8:45. During the course of the year each boy had a personal interview with the principal.¹ The contribution of the school to the educational program is summarized in the statement made by the Superintendent of Schools in 1928: "graduates from the Normal School have a totally different spirit for their work...a Christian service attitude..."²

The Normal School, as it was founded, had only a course for teachers in the French schools. A need was felt for a similar training for the Bulu teachers since the vernacular schools were the foundation of the school system. Consequently, in 1930 a Bulu department was added to the Normal School. The first year was pronounced a decided success.³ The graduates of this school were often used as supervisors as well as teachers.⁴

b. Normal Institutes.

Although the normal school had begun and was graduating teachers who were very effective in the school system, there was still, during this period, the need for Normal Institutes. The character of

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1. Normal School: Written Report, 1927.
2. Superintendent of Schools: Written Report, 1928.
3. Bulu Normal School: Written Report, 1930.
4. Vernacular School: Written Report, 1934.

these enterprises is seen in the curriculum of the one held at Foulassi in 1933. It is as follows: school management, Catholic doctrine, arithmetic, primary methods, music, and handwork. There was a half-hour service each day in which the building of true Christian character was stressed.¹ The institute brought about a new attitude on the part of the teachers toward the work and a new unity among them.

In 1934 the Watsons were sent by the Mission Meeting around to the various stations to hold similar institutes. The importance of increased Bible reading and the practical application of truths were stressed. A new course in writing was used and practical arithmetic was encouraged. Procedure, methods, discipline, and common mistakes in teaching were discussed in the class on pedagogy, programs for the year were planned, model daily lessons were drawn up, and time schedules were made. There was a regular question period each day, during which the problems of the teachers and the points which were not clear in the lessons were brought out. Bible courses were taught by the pastor of each station.² These institutes contributed a great deal to the improvement of the quality of the teaching, especially in the vernacular schools.

c. Industrial Work.

During these years the work of the Frank James Industrial School grew considerably but changed little. The evaluation of its place in the life of the people is seen in the following quotation

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1. Vernacular Schools: Written Report, 1933.

2. Report on Institutes, 1934.

from its report for the year 1928:

"This school has not been the creator of the commercial spirit and unrest in Cameroun or even in and about Ebolowa, but is one of the instruments of the mission which is used to meet this great unrest and give a few right principles of behavior and practice as they take their place in the new economic order that is shaping up in this country at this time and foreseen by some."¹

The results of the school as seen by the mission are summed up in the report for 1938 as follows:

"A great change is taking place now. Wealthy natives are building fine houses and many furnishing their homes with beautiful mahogany furniture instead of investing their wealth in women."²

d. Girls' Work.

The trend seen in the girls' work during these years also indicates change. In 1926 the Elat station (one of the few still having a separate girls' school) reported an attempt to make the work practical. The school took in a victim of infantile paralysis and native superstition and took care of her. The girls were given weekly turns at bathing and massaging her, and taking her to the hospital for her weekly visits. The child showed great improvement and the girls received valuable training in child care.³

The reports from Africa for that same year record the establishment of a new school, "The Higher School for Girls". This school was an effort to meet the lack seen in the education of girls when it was left to the general school system, and also to meet the demand for girls above that of the primary schools. The school included an

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1. Frank James Industrial School: Written Report, 1928
2. Frank James Industrial School: Written Report, 1938
3. Elat Station: Written Report, 1926

attempt to teach home economics by having the girls live in the home of the missionary for periods of time. There was also a weekly sewing class.¹ The school became self-governing, a thing of wonder to the missionary in charge.²

In two years the school reported the graduation of its first class. The curriculum of the school included: Bible study, catechism, child psychology, the training of small children, practical experience through teaching under supervision in the beginners' classes of the station girls' school, gardening, and sewing. During the vacation all of the girls went to Batanga station for a conference during which the time was divided between recreational activities and devotional meetings. The emphasis of the program was on homemaking and Christian work in the communities.³

The school, however, did not succeed and the project was dropped. But the problem did not cease with the closing of the school, for the girls were in some places receiving the same education as the boys, which was rather inadequate. The next attempt was the establishment of the Ecole Menagere (1939). This was opened at Efulen in 1940, and was somewhat of a revived higher school for girls. The aims of the school involved knowledge, skills, and attitudes. The School was requested by the Mission to teach housekeeping, tailoring, laundry, cooking, child care, hygiene, gardening, music, French, etiquette, Bible study, etc. An orphan was loaned from the Mission Orphanage for

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1. Higher School for Girls: Written Report, 1926
2. West Africa Mission: Written Report, 1926.
3. Advanced School for Girls: Written Report, 1927

child care.¹

Although the position of women had changed to the extent that, in 1941, two girls were admitted to the normal school, the problem of the girls' work still remained. Child and polygamous marriages were still to be coped with.² But the problem took on a new aspect when it was seen that educating girls became a thing of commercial value since their fathers sought to raise the price of their dowries because they were educated. To combat this a rule was made that the schools would accept only those girls who could present credentials concerning their good character from the native catechist of their villages. Thus many of the girls who came were daughters of Christian parents. In spite of their problems, the girls' schools did have positive results. The 1928 Educational Survey report states that schools for girls had had the following results: the creation of the desire for higher learning, a more enthusiastic Christian outlook, the development of character and self-control, the improved condition of girls, and the cooperation of the parents in villages.³

F. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter the development of the educational work of the American Presbyterian Mission in West Africa was studied. The work was divided into four periods: the first, ending at the beginning of the century, following the Mission Meeting of 1899, in which some of the basic policies of the Mission were decided; the second, ending in

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1. Ecole Menagere: Written Report, 1940
2. Matet Station: Written Report, 1930
3. Educational Survey of the West Africa Mission, 1927

1916, when the French Government took over the Cameroons and the change in governments created a problem for the schools; the third ending in 1925, when the Normal school came into being; and the fourth, beginning at that point and continuing to the present.

1. Beginning to 1899

During this first period the work of the mission was considered in the light of the problems, policies and results of the work. The basic problems were seen to be connected with the relationship of the Mission with the governments and the subsequent problem of the language of instruction. This difficulty arose from the conflicting policies of the Mission and the government: the former being to teach the Bible and religious truths in the mother tongue, the latter to instruct only in the particular language spoken by the governing nation. In this period the basic pattern of the schools was set; an African adaptation of the American or European school. The contribution of the schools in building up the work of the Mission was noted.

2. 1899-1916

During this phase of the development of the schools the first problems of growth became acute: the need for personnel with adequate training, and the lack of clearly-defined policies which would meet all of the situations in the work. The main policy stressed in these years was the policy of self-support, so that by the end of this period much of the school work was not supported by mission funds. The description of the curriculum is illustrative of the competing elements in the school work: the traditional "subjects", the religious instruction stemming from the purpose of the Mission in maintaining the schools,

and the elements put there in accord with the requirements of the European governments. In this period, also, the Frank James Industrial School was begun. By the establishment of this School, the Mission hoped to provide the means by which the natives could learn Western industrial methods in a Christian atmosphere. By the end of this period, the results of the schools were becoming evident, not only in the growth of the church but also in the lives of the people, as changes in the living habits of the Christians were brought about.

3. 1916-1925

The basic problems of this period centered around the results of the War, both in terms of the change of government and by the confused economic conditions in the world as a result of the war. The policies centered generally about a growing "strictness" in the management of the schools. In this period the Dager Memorial Theological and Bible Training School was established. Teachers' institutes, leading toward the raising of the standards of the schools, were also begun.

4. 1925 to the Present

In this period, the keynote is "change". The need for the adaptation of the schools to the needs of the people, as well as to the purpose of the mission (the spread of the Gospel, not Western culture) is evident both in the problems as well as the policies of these years. The feature of the period is the development of the Normal Schools, which did much to solve the great problem of the need for adequately trained native workers to carry on the educational work of the Mission.

CHAPTER III

SURVEY OF THE PRESENT SITUATION AND TRENDS OF THE EDUCATIONAL
WORK OF THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION IN WEST AFRICA

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A. Introduction

In this chapter, the general phases of the present situation will be surveyed. The basic need and hence the most important problem of the period will be seen to be in relation to the lack of a distinctly Christian emphasis in the schools of the Mission. In the specific developments of the period, the Cameroun Christian College will be seen to be the most important development of the period and it will be examined in detail. This material will be included here so that it may be seen as the culmination of the educational work of the Mission up to this point, as well as the basis upon which future plans are laid.

The basic trends of the day will be examined. The growth of the tendency toward Westernization will be seen to be the influencing factor in most of the problems of the Mission.

The division of the material was made on the basis of the source material. The Board reports were available up to and including 1943. From that point on, only printed materials, correspondence, and the most recent reports, that is, those of 1947, were available. An exception was made with respect to the Cameroun Christian College, the beginning of which came in an earlier period, but which belongs to this period because of its position as the enterprise of the future.

B. Survey of the Present

1. General Phases of the Work

a. Needs and Problems

1. Personnel

The needs and problems of the present period resemble those of the past periods in a striking way. The need for educators, seen not only by the Mission but also by the natives, is expressed by one native teacher as follows:

"The little knowledge of many African youth is proving a dangerous thing, for they are reading literature on Atheism and other isms that is creating doubts in their minds. We need teachers who by their lives and works can dispel these doubts. With an inadequate teaching force, the quality of work of our pupils is inferior, so that our schools no longer lead the colony."¹

2. Distinctly Christian Emphasis

The greatest lack in the schools of the Mission in the present period is the lack of a distinctly Christian emphasis coupled with a school program of a high calibre of scholarship. This was indicated in the quotation above and is seen also in the following:

"It is obvious that we must do some serious thinking regarding the teaching of the Bible in our French Schools. This most important part of our curriculum has assumed a secondary place. Every attempt must be made to make our Bible study a more vital means of a Christian education and evangelism. We must be ready to combat the forces of atheism and communism. Our contribution to the education of the youth of Cameroun must be in terms of deep spiritual concern, high moral standards, and superior intellectual quality."²

b. Policies

1. Office of Christian Education

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1. "Some More looking Forward!", The Drum Call, 25; 18-20, July, 1946
2. Ibid.

In direct relation to the main problems of the schools in the present era are the policies of the Mission Work. These are not so clearly defined, due to lack of source materials and the very fact of being so close to the whole situation that the form of the whole is indistinct. However, the emphasis on the effort to reach the school children for Christ in a positive way is easily traceable. In January, 1947, the Office of Christian Education of the French Schools of the West Africa Mission was created. This office was for the purpose of aiding missionaries, teachers, and pupils to make the school system more Christian in life and teaching.

2. Parent-Teachers' Meeting

Another policy of this period, present in the school work of previous years, but approached in a new way here, is that of interesting the parents of the school children in the schools. The 1948 approach to this problem is a Parent-Teachers' Meeting. This was felt to be one way to solve the very difficult problem of the lack of concern on the part of the parents for education of their children.¹

3. Relations with the Government

In some areas, the relations with the government are quite satisfactory, as is evidenced in the securing of the land for the Cameroun Christian College. In other situations, the relationship is not so satisfactory. With respect to the vernacular schools, the prospect is not so favorable and it is believed that the government will soon take steps to close them, since they are not in accord with

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1. Rev. and Mrs. R. N. Peirce: Missionary Letter, February 9, 1948

the fundamental policy of the French Government regarding its colonies.¹

c. Evaluation

Little can be added to the evaluations given in the previous sections on the school systems. One evaluation has been seen in the need for greater spiritual emphasis throughout the system. The place of the school, however, in the total program of the mission still holds, as is seen in the following quotation: "The schools are the fruit of the Gospel spread in our villages. They are at the same time the foundation of our work."²

2. Specific Phases of the Work

a. The Frank James Industrial School

During the years of the development of the industrial school, one of the criticisms of the work which has been made was that the school resembled a large industrial plant instead of an educational institution. Tentative plans were made in 1943 to develop the school along a more academic pattern, but at the time little was done in this direction. The report for 1947, however, records the opening of the school year with the unprecedented number of three missionaries assigned to the station and a new curriculum. This innovation was made to include classes in algebra, geometry, engineering drawing, physics, and electricity. All of the present student body were taken into these classes and a selection was made of those who were able to proceed to further training on such highly technical

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1. L. K. Anderson: Personal Interview, March 17, 1948

2. Rev. and Mrs. R. N. Peirce: Missionary Letter, February 9, 1948

lines.¹

b. Audio-Visual Programme

Because of the great success of this work in other fields, a missionary couple was assigned to Africa to begin a programme of visual aids.

c. Girls' Work

The present situation of the work and the situation of the girls in the school system is very interesting in the light of the past from which the women of Africa have emerged. That girls are now permitted in all of the Mission schools, that they have attended the French Normal School and some are now attending the new Institute witness to a great change in African society regarding them.²

This advance however revolutionary it might be, is not complete. As was indicated in the previous section, education has brought a recurrence of the old problem in a new way. For in the eyes of many education has merely served to increase the value of the girls so that their fathers ask a higher price for them. Because of the moral factors involved, as well as the highly practical ones, such as the fact that the mission is training the girls to be the wives of its evangelists and pastors, who cannot pay high dowries, the mission has gone on record as opposed to the giving of large and recurring gifts to the parents.³

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1. Frank James Industrial School: Written Report, 1947
2. Esther Bartlett: "The School Girl", The Drum Call, 26; 7-11, July, 1947
3. "We Look Inward", The Drum Call, 25; 11-13, July, 1946

d. Cameroun Christian College

In the Mission Meeting of 1919, plans were discussed for the founding of a college in West Africa. Nothing, however, was done of a definite nature, until twenty years later, when, in 1942, the Mission Meeting accepted a report on plans for the College and took action. In this meeting the purpose of the college was stated as follows: "...to give the African an advanced general education with definite Christian emphasis."¹ They planned that it should offer a four year course and be coeducational in its organization. Entrance requirements, accommodations, staff, tuition, and curriculum were discussed. The opening of the school to students coming from other missions was recommended. Further recommendations were: that the first class be begun in 1944; that appropriate additions be made to the staff and to the appropriations of the mission; and that a site be chosen for the school.

The February Board Meeting of that year approved the plans of the mission and took action to authorize the Department of Special Gifts and Annuities to make a special appeal for \$1,000 for equipment and buildings for the college, and \$5,000 for running expenses for five years, and, as a special item to be listed with the property appeals of the West Africa Mission for the year 1943-1944 \$50,000 as an endowment.

The idea of the college had, by the summer of 1943, taken shape. A statement of Dr. Anderson, Board Secretary for Africa, indicates the nature of the enterprise as well as the need which created it. He said:

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1. Minutes of Meeting of West Africa Mission, Dec. 2-8, 1942

"There is no secondary education possible for a young man or woman in French Equatorial Africa, unless the African finds a way to get to France. This is practically impossible because of the expenses involved, and very few have been able to afford it. Realizing this. . .we have determined to start a college in Cameroun. The Presbyterian Church will have to take the initiative, but it is hoped that other denominations working in French Equatorial Africa will cooperate. . .The College will have to begin in a very small way. . . Commercial, agricultural and industrial faculties will have to be provided, but we also hope to stress a liberal arts course. The greatest difficulty we have to face at the present time is that of providing an adequate teaching staff. . .we are convinced of the necessity of providing future leadership for French West Africa which may be thoroughly Christian!"¹

The lack of secular institutions, leaving the field of higher education open to the mission, presented the opportunity of creating in that country a thoroughly Christian leadership. Although the secularization of such a school in the course of its development was seen as a possibility, the enterprise was considered worthy of the concern of the mission for the effect which it could have in the present period.

The Mission Meeting of 1943 received and accepted a report by the committee, which had been set up for the purpose of furthering the plans. In this report several significant statements were made and some important steps were taken.

The aim of the school was stated thus:

" . . .to make our institution one especially adapted to the needs of the African and avoid any American or European methods that might be unsuitable to the people and this country."²

Although the institution is referred to as the Cameroun

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1. L. K. Anderson: Written Report, June 24, 1943
2. West Africa Mission: Minutes, December, 1943

Christian College, its official title is the "Institute des Missions Evangeliques." The Governor expressed his interest in the project and approved the site chosen.

Various recommendations were also drawn up at this time, which had to do with the constitution of the college and will be discussed later. However, since there were insufficient missionary personnel, buildings, and books, the Institute was to open with a preparatory course to be called "Cours Primaire Supérieur", which would equal the course in the superior schools of the government. It was to open at Ilanga, having Eugene Tjebi and David Libuga as instructors, under the supervision of the missionary at Ilanga.

The next step came in 1944 and is described in a letter from Rev. and Mrs. R. N. Peirce as follows:

"The opening class of the much-anticipated Institute of Evangelical Missions (otherwise known as Cameroun Christian College) started successfully at Ilanga on March 15. Forty boys from all over the Bulu and Basa fields, plus a dozen from the French Mission, are being taken care of under native teachers and my so-called supervision. The only direct part I have is teaching music a half-hour a week when I'm around."¹

As the preparatory classes were being held, the site for the Institute was chosen and a request was about to go to the governor for approval.

Two years later, when the permission of the government had been secured, work was started on the buildings on the site chosen. This site is located between Yaounde and Douala on the railroad, in Libamba. Most of the work on these buildings was being done by

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1. R. N. Peirce: Missionary Letter, June 20, 1944

natives volunteering their services.¹

The constitution or set of decisions and recommendations upon which the college was built grew and developed as well as its actual classes and buildings. As it stands today, with its latest revision, it includes the following: (1) the reaffirmation of the principle of cooperation with other Missions, with the American Presbyterian Mission taking the lead in the first five years of the school; (2) the curriculum planned for four years of higher education as well as classes of a preparatory nature which would lead to the certificate Brevet Elementaire; (3) the endorsement by a sponsoring Mission or church as the requirement for entrance; (4) a board of directors to be established with representatives of the American Mission, the Societe des Missions Evangeliques de Paris au Cameroun, the Societe de Missions Evangeliques de Paris au Gaboon, the Synod of Cameroun, and by each of Synods of the Mission Evangeliques de Paris au Cameroun et au Gabon; (5) a director to be elected by the Board of Directors, ratified by the Mission, and nominated by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions for appointment as a special term missionary; (6) government subsidy to be accepted only on the condition that it carries with it no obligation; and (7) tuition to be charged.²

The most important factor, however, in the planning of the school is the fact of its definite and unconditional Christian emphasis. This emphasis on a Christian approach to the school work is seen in

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1. Njekk Bot: "Institut", The Drum Call, 26; 10-12, April, 1947
2. Memorandum of Agreement of the Cameroun Christian College, Approved February 3, 1948

the following excerpts from a letter of Rev. Peirce, in 1944:

"The problems are many...Yet we recall the promises of God and believe that we are in His will...we trust the Lord for the future ...we believe the Lord's seal is upon this project. But we are only in the High School Department as yet, while our thoughts sore toward the day when hundreds of students well gather around a really Christian College to be prepared for life lived for Christ in Cameroun. Need we add that we trust that all who read this join in earnest prayer that our plans may be His plans, that the Holy Spirit may lead our Mission."¹

C. Trends Which Will Influence Future Policies

In order to set out the trends which are present in the work of the Mission in West Africa, a simple comparison can be made between the situation which faced the first missionaries and that of today, in many of the significant areas of the life of the people of West Africa.

When the first missionaries worked in the territory, most of it was under some European government; however, the governments exercised little authority "...beyond the sight of their custom-house or the presence of their gun-boats."² At the present time, these governments are intensely interested in developing their African territories, so that the Mission must proceed in its planning in accord with government plans. The interest of the governments is illustrated in the present situation in the tendency of the French government "...to introduce in the French Overseas territories the school

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1. R.N. Peirce: Missionary Letter, June 20, 1944
2. Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church (Publishers): Historical Sketch of the Missions under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, p.105

system of the Metropolis,"¹ a procedure which neglects the development of the African as such in his local situation.

The first missionaries found no roads, no currency or no written language. The missionaries traveled by schooner or by chair; today motor roads are penetrating the country so that the missionary occupying a new station could bring a car within twelve miles of the station. The first missionaries had to barter for produce; today's missionaries must contend with the demand for higher wages. The first missionaries went about the task of reducing the language to writing and translating the Bible and various books into the native languages; in 1945, the Halsey Memorial Press printed almost five million pages. When the missionaries entered the territory, formal education as was known in Europe and America was a completely new idea to the natives. 'Presents' of cloth were given to the children to induce them to come to school. In the present school system, tuition is paid by the scholars at the French school.

The comparison of the interest of the European governments in their African Territories in the first days of the Mission and in the present indicates in a graphic way the trend toward a closer connection between the African territories and the European powers in possession of these territories. In relation to the work of the Mission, this growing bond becomes important when the means of developing the governmental policy conflicts with that of the Mission in developing the natives in their natural surroundings and culture. The emphasis of the Mission is the Gospel, in which schools play a secondary part: the emphasis of the government is

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1. Normal School: Written Report, 1947

education in which religion is secondary. Harmony between these two is often difficult to achieve.

In this relation of the Mission with the government, the question of language of instruction is important, since the two basic policies are seen to be in conflict. The trend on the part of the governments and the natives themselves toward the neglect of the native culture and language places before the mission the question of whether to proceed with the policies followed in the past or change with the changing times. The increase of commercialism in the land faces the Mission with the choice of meeting this tendency with Christian instruction in these areas or completely abandoning such areas of work. The development of the country industrially, with respect to roads and production, further contributes to the basic policy of Westernization.

In all of these, the basic trend is seen to be that which leads toward Westernization. How much the Mission can contribute to this and how much this conflicts with the message of the Mission is the problem which faces the Mission today. With the establishment of the Cameroun Christian College, the Mission is attempting to meet this tendency with a distinctly Christian emphasis in higher education, the field which is not yet developed by the government. In the light of these trends, the Mission must face the decision as to whether it will maintain educational work or whether it will seek to reach the youth of the country in some other way, leaving the mechanics of the class room to the secular agencies. The decision must be made by a choice between leaving the children to the influence of secular

organizations in their impressionable years, an undesirable thing to do, or on the other hand, an equally undesirable choice, of investing a great deal of money and energy in an educational enterprise which must compete with that of the government.

D. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, a summary of the present situation was made. The basic problem of the situation was seen to be the lack of a distinctly Christian emphasis in the schools. In the specific developments, the Cameroun Christian College was seen to be the important development of the present. Its distinctly Christian emphasis was noted.

In the second section of the chapter, the trends of the present situation were observed to stem from the basic trend of the day: the development of Africa toward a culture similar to that of Europe or America. In this the government was seen to be a strong factor. Thus the place of the educational work of the Mission, whose aim is to preach Christ and not to bring Western Culture, was seen to be difficult to maintain. With respect to the schools, the choice was seen to lie between the abandoning of the field of education to the secular agencies or of investing in it a great deal of resources without being certain of the result. The establishment of the Cameroun Christian College, as the first institution of its kind in the territory, was seen to be the attempt of the Mission to meet this problem, by the creation in the country of a leadership which would be distinctly Christian in its emphasis and outlook.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the first chapter, the coming of the first missionaries into West Africa and the problems connected with the establishment of the work were described. The most important of these problems were seen to be the difficulty of survival in the climate of that territory and cooperation with the various European governments which came into the territory. In the second section of the chapter, the educational systems of the various countries holding lands in Africa were studied: the English policy of developing the territory on its own individual merits and pattern, the Belgian theory of limited development, and the French policy of converting the people of their colonies into Frenchmen.

In the light of these initial difficulties and the varying policies of the several governments under which the Mission worked, the development of the schools under the American Presbyterian Mission was studied. The first period of the schools, from the beginning to the year 1899, was somewhat of a trial period in which the missionaries tested their ability to cope with some of the problems. For example, the language policy of the Mission, which laid stress on the vernacular, as the language in which the native should first learn to read, had to be adjusted to the policy of the government which generally laid stress on the language spoken by that country in Europe. In these years, policies such as the giving of rewards to those who attended school as inducements for regular attendance, the requirement of daily work on the part of the boarders to pay for their food, and work among girls, whose position in society was extremely low, were established.

The second period of the development of the schools, from 1899 to 1916, was seen to be a period of growth and establishment. In these years, one of the most important problems was the lack of teachers and the poor training of those who did teach in the mission schools. The principal policies were the steps taken toward self-support, as the requirement of tuition, and the development of the existing institutions into a better and more extensive system. In this period the Frank James Industrial School was opened. The result at the end of this period indicated that the school work was beginning to have a great influence on the growth of the Mission and in the lives of the people.

The third period, from the coming of the French government into the territory in 1916 to the establishment of the Normal School in 1925, was a period of readjustment. The problems of this period revolve mostly about the war, and particularly about the change of government brought about by the war. The most important adjustment to be made was the change from German to French in the schools. In this period, the Dager Theological and Bible Training Institute was founded, as well as the Institutes for teachers.

In the fourth period, from 1925 to 1943, the important feature of the school work was the Normal School and its contribution to the partial solution of the problem of an insufficient and poorly trained staff.

In the third chapter, a general survey was made of the present situation, that is the educational work of the Mission in the years 1944-1948. In this section, the Cameroun Christian College was

seen to be the culmination of the work of the Mission, which had been the pioneer agency in all fields of education and in education itself in the territory.

In a short comparison of the situation which the first missionaries faced and that of today, various trends were seen. Thus, in relation to the industrial development of the country, the work of the industrial school of the Mission is seen to be an attempt to meet this need with a distinctly Christian approach. In the growing freedom of women, as compared with their debased position when the first missionaries entered the territory, the Mission is receiving the girls into its schools and in some instances attempting to create special schools to meet their needs. And as the culminating effort of the work of the Mission, the Cameroun Christian College is seeking to meet the demand for higher education (and hence equality with the rest of the world) with a distinctly Christian institution. All of these developments were seen to be summed up in the trend toward Westernization. This trend, being the basic policy of the government, is fostered by the educational policy of the government. In order to meet the standards of the government, the Mission was seen to be in a position between its own basic policy and a secularizing tendency which would delete all that is distinctly Christian from the schools.

In conclusion, then it can be said that the educational policies of the Mission must be such that, with a distinctly Christian approach, they will contribute to the on-going development of the people in their society. By this study, it can be seen that the task of the missionary is not to develop the best educational system possible, a job about to

be taken over by the government, but to find the needs of the people and meet them with the power of Jesus Christ, whether as in the past, in village schools so that people may read the Bible for themselves, or, as in the present, in higher education so that they may find the Christian way of leading their people.

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