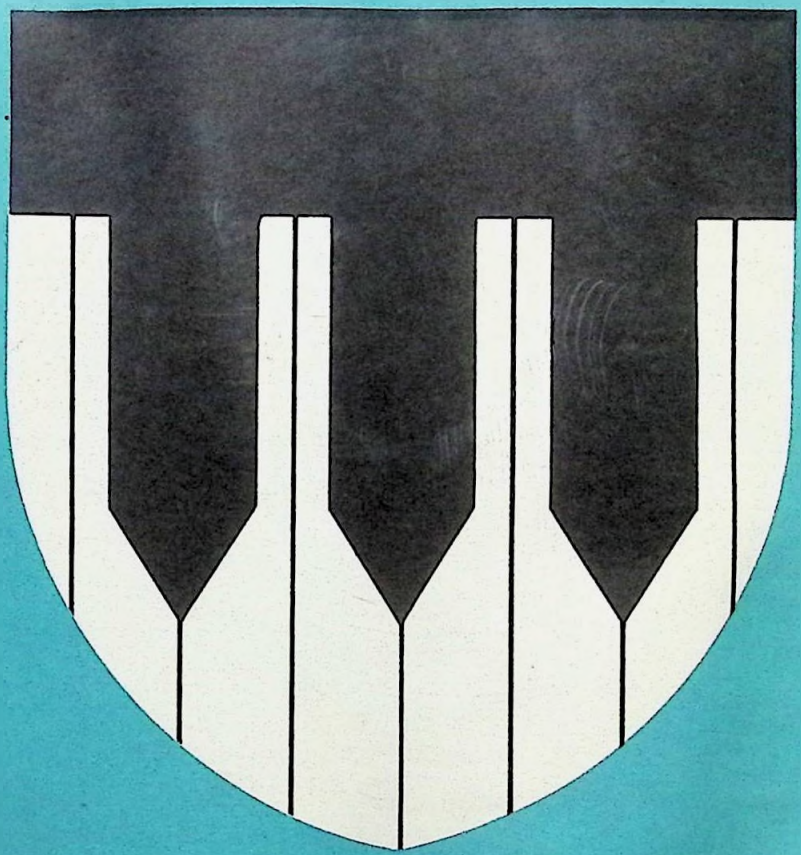

Ut Omnes Unum Sint

ACHIMOTA

The Early Years

C. Kingsley Williams

ACHIMOTA

The founding of Achimota College in the late twenties in what was then the Gold Coast, a British colony administered by the Colonial Office, marked the beginning of a revolution in British official thinking about African education. Leo Amery, then Colonial Secretary, and Ormsby-Gore, his Under-Secretary, were persuaded by Governor Guggisberg to try the experiment. The money for the enterprise was African money from reserves accumulated in a surprising growth of the cocoa industry. More than half a million pounds was spent on buildings and equipment alone.

The first intention was to establish a secondary school. The first principal, Fraser, insisted that the primary and the pre-primary stages were at least as important ; that girls, if they were to get the best, must be educated along with the boys ; that the Accra Training College, which had already made a good start training teachers, should form the nucleus of the secondary school ; and that when the matriculation hurdle had been passed, it might be possible for students, both boys and girls, to continue their studies, working for London B.A. and B.Sc. degrees.

The main lines were laid down during Fraser's principalship which ended in 1935. The story continues with the developments under the second principal, H. M. Grace (1935-39) and the third R. W. Stopford (1941-45), who is now Bishop of London.

The last few years of the period described were difficult and confused. There was much political unrest—the birth-pangs of the new Ghana, and of the University

(*continued on back flap*)

ACHIMOTA: THE EARLY YEARS
1924–1948

Also by C. Kingsley Williams

THE NEW TESTAMENT

A New Translation in Plain English

Achimota: the Early Years 1924–1948

C. KINGSLEY WILLIAMS
formerly Assistant Vice-Principal

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Preface

This work was undertaken at the invitation of the Headmaster of Achimota School, Mr. A. W. E. Winlaw, and the Achimota School Council, who very generously had my wife and me transferred by air to Ghana and back and entertained us for three months in the Headmaster's house; generosity which even at Achimota is notable.

Its publication at a price which in these days is surely very moderate has been made possible by two grants, one from the Ghana Government and the other from the Achimota School Council, to whom I am most grateful.

I think it proper to remark that neither the Government nor the Council nor any member of either, has seen the manuscript or suggested in any way the line I ought to take.

For the selection of material and for the opinions expressed I am alone responsible. That I should have decided to bring the story to an end in 1948 is in some way unjust to the School Council:[1] for that is the year in which they as a body began to exist. If they can pardon me for this, they will prove the more clearly that in what I have written I have not overstressed the loyalty that the 'old' College inspired in her children.

Some exaggerated claims have in the past been made by well-wishers. These are days in which modest estimates are more comely. After all it is always easy to say 'That good thing could have been better'. But as I have looked back over the years, lines written about the beginning of another revolution have come back to my mind.

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
> But to be young was very heaven.

[1] See page 116f.

I have found it difficult to decide whether to use styles and titles when writing of old colleagues and old pupils. In the end informality seemed more suitable. But I cannot hope that I have been consistent.

I owe and tender much gratitude to many who have helped me in Ghana and elsewhere: Mr. Winlaw, late Headmaster, and Mr. Daniel Chapman, present Headmaster; Sir Leslie M'Carthy, Chairman of the Achimota College Council for many years, Mr. A. L. Adu, Achimota Prefect, Scholarship holder, Master and Member of the Council; the 'Old Chief' who very kindly gave me permission to make use of his circular letters; Mr. E. W. Akufo Addo, Member of the College Council and later Chairman of the School Council; Mr. John Dei, most loyal of friends, and others too numerous to mention.

I owe a special debt to Mrs. R. L. Isaacs and Miss Elaine Austin, who have deciphered the undecipherable, and typed the script, and to my wife and my daughter Mary.

C.K.W.

Fowey,
October, 1960.

Terminological Exactitude

> 'When *I* use a word', Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less.'
>
> —Lewis Carroll: *Through the Looking Glass*

The Achimota of today is different from the Achimota of the first twenty-five years in many respects. A note on the terms used in this book may be useful.

In 1935—to take a date at random—the Prince of Wales College and School occupied two compounds, each within its own iron fence:

(1) The 'College Compound' to the east, sometimes called 'College Side' now occupied by Achimota School;
(2) The 'School Compound' to the west, sometimes called 'School Side', now occupied by other institutions.

The College Compound contained the Administration Block and the Dining-hall as they are today; the classrooms and laboratories; the boys' and men's 'houses' and the College staff bungalows. (The Gymnasiums, the Assembly Hall, the Staff-room and the Chapel are more recent.)

The College Compound, as it then was, is in this book called the Eastern Compound.

The School Compound in 1935 contained the girls' dining-hall and 'houses'; the kindergarten and lower primary 'houses', and the girls' school staff quarters. It is called in this book the Western Compound.

The Army, from 1940 onwards, and the University College, from 1948 onwards, completely transformed the girls' school or Western Compound which, further, is no longer part of the same institution.

The Eastern Compound remains essentially the same; though three houses are now occupied by girls, and important buildings have been added.

'College' in 1935, then, meant:

(*a*) geographically—the Eastern Compound, where Achimota School now is.

(*b*) academically—Forms and Classes above Standard III, including classes of students working for Inter. Arts, Inter. Science, Inter. Engineering, and (the one Degree Course) B.Sc. Engineering; which (because 'College' was used to mean School) came to be called 'University' classes.

For reasons which are obscure and probably insufficient, the word 'student', which in England implies, at the least, post-matriculation status, was generally used of all but the smallest children; the excellent word 'pupil' was not in common use.

1

Preparation

THE COUNTRY AND ITS SCHOOLS

The Gold Coast, which today is Ghana, lies on either side of the meridian of Greenwich, on the Gulf of Guinea, three hundred miles north of the equator.

In 1919 when Sir Gordon Guggisberg became Governor it was a British dependency, divided (like Caesar's Gaul) into three parts.

The coastal area, the 'Colony' proper, which in length varied from north to south between eighty and one hundred and thirty miles, had been for many years in contact with foreign influences—radiating from the forts along the coast. In 1482 the Portuguese (Columbus himself possibly among them) built Elmina Castle to guard the gold trade and later the slave trade, and though for three hundred years after that contact with Europe had been limited, it had been almost continuous and it had been fruitful.

Education in the modern sense of schooling began in 1752 when the Rev. Thomas Thompson, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who had been a missionary of the S.P.G. in America, was at his own request sent to Cape Coast Castle, where he worked not only as chaplain in the fort but as missionary and schoolmaster among the people.

In 1764 as a result of his work a West African, the first since the Reformation, Philip Quaque, was in England admitted to holy orders in the Church of England; and returning home to West Africa, for fifty years exercised a persevering ministry in Cape Coast Castle as 'missionary, schoolmaster and catechist to the negroes'.

In 1835 the first Methodist missionaries arrived by invitation of a group of negro Christians in the same place. The Basel missionaries were already established in the hills behind Accra at Akropong and the Bremen missionaries farther east; and their work prospered. The

Roman Catholics were later in the field; in 1919 they and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were only beginning their notable work. The Gold Coast Colony had in 1919 produced many lawyers, some few doctors, a number of devoted clergy, a handful of educated chiefs, and some thousands of men and women who spoke and read and thought in English as easily as in their own mother tongue.

Ashanti, farther away from the sea and the forts, was until the end of the nineteenth century much less influenced. The Northern Territories which had only recently become a Protectorate had been influenced very little indeed.

In 1900 there were Government boys' schools at Accra and Cape Coast and a Government girls' school at Cape Coast, all dating from about 1886; there was also a Government school at Oda, opened in 1896. All other school-education was in the hands of the Missions—chiefly the Basel and the Methodist (then called Wesleyan); these together had about 130 schools.

Between 1900 and 1919 Government schools were established at Accra (for girls) in 1907; also at Accra a Training College for Teachers (of which more will be said later)[1] in 1909; a Technical School in the same year. Within the next ten years twelve more Government schools were opened. The following table shows the rate at which new schools were opened during this period:

Date	*Government and assisted schools*	*Non-assisted schools (approximate)*	*Total schools*
1901	135	120	255
1913	154	230	384
1919	213	250	463

The schools of the Basel Mission (which in 1918 passed into the control of the Scottish Mission, under the United Free Church of Scotland) included a Catechists' Seminary with 55 students, a Teachers' Seminary with 80 students, a Girls' Seminary with 58 pupils in Standards IV to VII, seven boarding schools with 1,000 boys in Standards IV to VII, 180 assisted and unassisted schools with 7,500 boys and 3,000 girls in Standards I to III. Of these 180, 75 qualified for government 'assistance'.

[1] See page 31.

The Methodist schools at the same date included a secondary school at Cape Coast known then as Richmond, well known now as Mfantsipim, boarding schools for girls at Cape Coast and Accra, a Training Institution at Aburi and 44 'assisted' schools (8,000 pupils—1,000 of them girls), with a considerable number of smaller schools in outstations.

The Roman Catholic Mission reported six schools under European supervision with 455 pupils, 6 European and 10 African teachers; 11 intermediate schools with 1,725 pupils and 55 African teachers; and 65 smaller schools with 1,920 pupils and 130 African teachers. Of these, 32 were 'assisted' with 3,600 pupils, 410 of them girls.

Former Bremen Mission schools, all of them in the extreme east of the country, were in 1916 taken over by the Education Department—25 schools with 1,866 pupils, 320 of them girls.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Mission, an American society which began work in the Gold Coast about 1900, had in 1919 six 'assisted' schools with 938 pupils, 88 of them girls.

Church of England schools included a secondary school at Cape Coast with 75 pupils, five 'assisted' schools with 706 pupils, and three 'unassisted' schools with 420 pupils.

The Adventists maintained a small boarding school and five small bush schools with 100 pupils altogether.

There were also three private institutions.

In 1919, then, there were in the Gold Coast 216 Government and 'assisted' schools with 27,500 pupils on the books (it may be guessed), 250 'unassisted' schools with perhaps 7,500 pupils on the books. The total number of children of school age must have been not much less than 300,000. Children attending school, therefore, must have been not more than 12 per cent of the possible total.

And that was not the worst. Schools were not well distributed. Of the 216 schools no fewer than 186 were in the Colony; Ashanti had only 23, and the Northern Territories 4. And in the Colony the Eastern Province (from Accra to Keta) had 119 out of 186 and the other two provinces only 67 between them.

And there is worse still to tell. Only a small proportion of the pupils finished the course; and only a very small proportion of the girls. And the girls in any case were only one-fifth as many as the boys.

The amount spent by the Government on education in 1919 was £55,000, a little over 3 per cent of the total Government expenditure. Sir Hugh Clifford, the previous Governor, had called the amount

spent on education 'a pitifully small sum for a colony of the standing of the Gold Coast'. Sir Gordon Guggisberg was even more emphatic: 'The Government', he said, 'regards education as the most important item in its work. We shall not get a satisfactory system of education in this country without the expenditure of a very large sum.'

THE TRIUMVIRATE

Achimota came into being through the happy conjunction of three remarkable men, Guggisberg, Fraser and Aggrey. The Founder of Achimota was

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR FREDERICK GORDON GUGGISBERG, K.C.M.G., D.S.O.,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast.

Frederick Gordon Guggisberg was born in Toronto on 20 July 1869, the son of a merchant of German Swiss origin and an American mother. He was educated at Burney's in Portsmouth and entered the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, in 1887. Two years later he received a commission in the Royal Engineers. After service in Singapore, he was for three years on special survey work in the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti. In 1905 he was promoted Director of Surveys first in the Gold Coast and then in Southern Nigeria. Soon after he became Surveyor-General, Nigeria, and then Director of Public Works, Gold Coast.

In these years he acquired a quite unusual knowledge of the people of West Africa and particularly of the Gold Coast; and with knowledge both a deep affection and deep confidence in their ability.

Up-country officers often said of him that he was the first Governor to make a point of showing special respect to the Queen Mother, who in many 'states' was the power behind the throne.

'In every land,' said Nana Sir Ofori-Atta, Paramount Chief of Akim-Abuakwa, when Guggisberg died, 'a man who dies for his country is honoured. Sir Gordon died for Africa. But what is more important for us and harder for him, he lived altogether for it.'

At his memorial service the Chiefs of the Eastern Province prayed this prayer: 'We thank Thee for his love for the peoples of this land, for his untiring thought and services for us; for his courage and love of liberty; for his generosity, in that, making many rich, he remained poor.'

When war came in 1914 Guggisberg was lying unconscious in hospital, having fractured the base of his skull in a cycling accident. When

he came to and heard that the country was at war, he forced himself to sit up, and then in spite of severe pain, to stand. After a few days the authorities let him out of hospital, and he rejoined the army. In 1915–16 he commanded the 95th Field Company, Royal Engineers; in 1917 he was promoted brigadier-general and in 1918 he commanded the 100th Infantry brigade. He was five times mentioned in dispatches; in 1918 he received the D.S.O.

He was tall, athletic and handsome. In the Royal Engineers he had captained the cricket XI, and at rackets, polo and golf he could play a fine game.

There is an interesting story in the *Life* of Eleanor Glynn, the novelist, that it was by her efforts that Guggisberg was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast in 1919; it seems more likely that his war record and his previous service in the Colony, together with his affection for the people and his belief in their ability—and his own—are sufficient explanation.

The appointment was not universally popular. Guggisberg did not suffer fools or idlers gladly. Perhaps he sometimes forgot that his predecessors had not come to their task, as he did, on the top of a boom with large reserves to spend. Perhaps he was sometimes autocratic. But he had much to contend with. The head of one of his medical departments was once heard to say that the current yellow fever epidemic would pass 'as soon as we have a drop of rain'. And another that there was no typhoid in West Africa.

He very rapidly won the confidence of the African population, both those in the ancient traditional ways and the modern professional people in the towns.

His major memorials are three:

Takoradi, the first and, till the other day, the only deep-water harbour in the country; Korle Bu, at that time and for many years the finest hospital for Africans in Africa; and Achimota.

On Achimota he lavished so much care and affection and confidence that some found it impossible not to be jealous. Every detail was carefully scrutinized by the trained eye of a man who had been Director of Public Works. The size of the compound (three square miles); the length of the roads (six miles tarred, another six miles not); the numbers provided for (seven hundred and fifty); the wide range of classes planned (from Kindergarten to University degree)—he spent endless hours discussing them. As long as he was Governor he was the governing body of the College and the School.

When he left the country he knew that the way was open for the greatest gift of all, freedom from Government control, control by an independent Council.

He was interested in the staff as persons. The first outside visitor to call the day my wife and I arrived on the compound was His Excellency. And the first weekend we spent off the compound was as his guests at the lodge at Aburi, where he was writing his stupendous *Review of the Events of 1920–26*, a volume of 350 pages, his annual address to the Legislative Council.

It is important to remember that though it is only forty years ago doctrines like Hitler's concerning the abilities of the African were still common form, though perhaps the Fuehrer dotted the i's and crossed the t's, and certainly European public opinion was more advanced in West Africa than it was in East and Central and South. His words in *Mein Kampf* in all their brazen blasphemous brutality may be quoted:

> One hears from time to time that a negro has become a lawyer, teacher, tenor or the like. This is a sin against all reason; it is criminal lunacy to train a born semi-ape to become a lawyer. It is a sin against the Eternal Creator to train Hottentots and Kaffirs to an intellectual profession.

Contrast with that this profession of Guggisberg's faith:

> Government has definitely adopted the policy of employing Africans in appointments hitherto held by Europeans provided that the former are equally qualified in education, ability and character. . . . This, then, is our immediate task—the provision of well-trained teachers, instructors and professors from among the Africans. . . . In no other way shall we keep them permanently the loyal and worthy members of our Empire that they now are.

Guggisberg wrote those words when Achimota was beginning to take shape in his mind. Three years later, when it had recently been opened, he spoke these words—they were almost the last he uttered in the Legislative Council:

> I believe that every African who is worthy of the name is desirous of obtaining the highest education that his sphere of life will permit, and, at the same time, of retaining his nationality. I am convinced that the work which has been done in the past seven years by the whole-hearted co-operation of the Government, the Missions, and the people themselves has resulted in solid foundations being laid for an education that will be surpassed in quality by no other country in the world; and that it is by building on those foundations that the African will be given what he desires.
>
> But there is not the slightest use in building foundations if the edifice

erected thereon is not well designed and carefully constructed; nor is there the slightest use in creating opportunities if they are not taken.

My message therefore is: To those charged with education, build your house carefully and on the approved design, putting in maybe an additional window here or door there, if necessary, but adhering to the original design.

And to the people of the country I would say, support those who are building the house of education. Do not let the—often fictitious—urgency of your desires of the moment obscure the vision of what is best in the future for your children and your children's children. And when the house of education is complete enter into it and take to the full your opportunities for enjoying the benefits thereof.[1]

During these three years A. G. Fraser was as close to him as anyone. At the Memorial Service at Achimota on 27 April 1930 Fraser said this of him:

His disinterested love for Africa cannot be doubted. 'It seems to me', he said, 'that it is our duty to give the African races all the opportunities which we ourselves have had.' 'The African must have an equal right with us to develop the full and abundant life of man.' 'No race can achieve full and permanent success under alien leaders.' 'Girls must have an equal chance with boys.' 'In educating Africans we desire to develop their powers to the utmost, and to animate them with such a love of their land and people that all their powers may be used fully and freely in the forward march which is now only in its early stages.' The frank expression of his strong views naturally aroused opposition which he quite realized, but it never deflected him from his path. On being urged to go more slowly, he said, 'As for going slow: we are going too slow.' But his enemies did him harm officially. We all remember that when Mr. J. H. Thomas, the late Secretary of State for the Colonies, came out here to open Takoradi he did not in his opening speech refer to the man who had made Takoradi, and done it against much opposition. But Mr. Thomas admitted afterwards that whilst he had come here prejudiced against Sir Gordon by things he had heard, the Gold Coast had opened his eyes to see what great work he had done there, and he had found Sir Gordon's name writ large across all its prosperity. Had he made his opening speech at Takoradi at the end of his visit to the Gold Coast he would certainly have mentioned Takoradi's maker.

Two years before he left this Colony he was offered another Governorship, and he pled to be allowed to have an extension here, that he might remain in the Colony until Achimota was on its feet. Mr. Amery [Secretary of State for the Colonies] told him that it might mean there was no post for him at the end of the two years' extension, and that he would be out of

[1] *Review of the Events of* 1920–26: The Gold Coast (1927).

work and without pension. He said he was willing to face that, and face it he did, and, as you know, as a result he had some months of unemployment in England when he left this Colony—months in which he did not qualify for pension. And thus for pension he never qualified.

E. W. Akufo Addo, then a student reading for the Intermediate Examination, wrote as follows in the *Achimota Magazine* (1931):

When, in 1920, the Education Committeere commended the building of a Secondary School for the Gold Coast, no one was better pleased than Sir Gordon Guggisberg. He was a staunch believer in the development of the African, and was convinced that higher education, including the highest character-training, was the necessary precursor to this development. In his hands the Committee's scheme assumed the form of a College, beginning with a Kindergarten and going up to university standard. Many pessimists eyed Sir Gordon askance; he was pelted with bitter criticisms from Africans as well as Europeans. But criticisms served only to speed him on his course. His was the mind of the engineer, that knows no rest till a project begun is successfully concluded. He persevered, and as the Achimota scheme approached realization, much of the criticism turned into glowing appreciation.

On Jan. 28th 1927 Sir Gordon declared the College formally opened. 'Today', he said, 'represents the end of a seven-year task carried out by a handful of people, a notable example of good co-operation between European and African.'

Three months later 'Gorgie', as the Gold Coast people affectionately called him, left the country. On two previous occasions, sacrificing both health and position, he had refused a higher appointment, because he would not stir until he had seen Achimota brought to a stage that could not be tampered with. 'His departure', said a *Times* correspondent, 'was marked by extraordinary demonstrations of affection.'

In the years that followed, Sir Gordon by letters and cablegrams kept himself in touch with the institution of his dreams. On his sickbed he wore on his breast the Achimota badge of the piano-keys, Dr. Aggrey's emblem of co-operation between black and white.

If ever man erected his own monument, that man was Guggisberg. His name, standing as it does for sincere love of Africa and selfless readiness for all the sacrifice which that love implies, will be joyfully handed on from generation to generation as sacred. It is a name which posterity will have ever-increasing cause to bless.

THE REV. A. G. FRASER, C.B.E.

Alexander Garden Fraser was born on 6 October 1873, the eldest son of Sir A. H. L. Fraser, C.S., K.C.S.I., at one time Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He was educated at Merchiston Castle School, Edin-

burgh, and Trinity College, Oxford, where he read History. From 1900 to 1903 he was a missionary in Uganda with the Church Missionary Society. Two stories of those days seem in character. To secure the safe delivery of *Punch* (which otherwise found its way outside the mission) he caused it to be posted to him wrapped in *The Life of Faith*, which secured a safe arrival. Travelling in a boat on a crocodile-infested lake he overheard a lewd fellow of the baser sort smearing the characters of all missionaries. So he 'dared' the fellow to swim with him round the boat among the crocodiles. The fellow declined. 'So', said young Fraser, telling the tale, 'I had to do it all alone, just to show him.'

In Uganda he married and began a family life of great happiness which much ill-health has only cemented more closely as the years have gone by.

From 1904 to 1924 Fraser was Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, Ceylon, though his service in the school was broken by serious illness in 1907, by war service as a Chaplain in France 1916–18, and by work on the Indian Village Education Commission under the Indian National Christian Council, 1920–21.

Trinity College, when Fraser became Principal, was one of the less satisfactory Christian schools in Ceylon; it soon became one of the best known and most important in the sub-continent, sharing with Tyndale-Biscoe's school at Srinagar a fame as well publicized as it was deserved. Both in work and in play and (perhaps most important at that time) in social service, T. C. K. blazed a trail which too many schools were too slow to follow.

De vivis nil nisi bonum. Fraser is still with us and though frail in body still very acute in mind.[1] The time for the recording of his life is not yet. But something must be attempted if the story of Achimota is to be intelligible.

When he left Achimota an appreciation of his work appeared in the *Teachers' Journal.* Some quotations from it are printed here with the author's permission. They express better than anything I could now write some at least of the aspects of a many-sided man whom his staff followed through clear and cloudy weather sometimes with astonishment, always with admiration, nearly always with approval and always with gratitude and affection.

To 'the Chief', we all felt, Jesus Christ was a personal presence, not a theological notion or an historical influence. To some this made him the

[1] Fraser died on 27 January 1962, when these pages were already in the press.

more irritating—when they disagreed with him. The practical mystic is apt to seem to others to think himself infallible.

He was profoundly suspicious of Government-controlled education. It was by his inspiration that Guggisberg at the formal opening of the College in 1927 committed Government, so far as it was possible for him to do so, to the principle of independence and self-government, with a College Council which from the start might have an African majority.

Fraser has many times shown unusual moral courage. He refused the Principalship several times. In the end he accepted it—on terms.

The Colonial Office, as distinct from some of the all-too-many Secretaries of State who presided over it, did not always approve of this sort of courage.

Not long after his appointment was announced he preached a sermon in Westminster Abbey denouncing a policy of the British Government which he held to be sub-Christian.

He was utterly without false dignity. He could crawl round the Kindergarten on his hands and knees, making faces, and behave with equally appropriate imbecility—just like an ordinary human being at a family party—and never in the least weaken his position. Perhaps he was helped by something occasionally gorgonian in eyes which ordinarily were kind (but never gushing or sloppy).

He was as nearly 'colour-blind' as it is possible to be and that at a time (thirty-five momentous years ago) when for fifty years it had been taken for granted in the Western world that the stupidest white man was somehow better than the wisest black.

Some of the educational ideas lying behind his work (and he was a very hard worker indeed) may be put down here:

(1) A school out of England can be as good a school as a school in England.
(2) Africa happens to be a late starter in the human race. Only the very best is good enough for the latest.
(3) Religion—the contemplation of excellence—is not an optional subject, though conscience must be respected and attendance at public worship voluntary. But no one Church in a divided Christendom has a monopoly of grace.
(4) Education means neither pumping information into a receptacle nor 'educing' latent abilities, but 'leading forth' sheep to pasture. African arts, crafts, traditions, history are the proper subject-

matter of early education in Africa; and an African language its proper medium.

(5) There is no reason to suppose *a priori* in advance that the abilities of Africans are inferior to those of any people in the world. That is something we shall not know anything conclusive about for some time, if ever.

Towards the end of 1924 in his first annual report Fraser wrote:

> Character training is much the most important thing. It must come in the religious teaching, it is true, but still more in the spirit of the daily round, the thoroughness in work, the team play, the training in love of country and in practical service of the people of the country. It must come above all from the unity of the staff, and the common life of staff and boys living in close relationship in field, dormitory and classroom. It will be forwarded greatly by responsibility in self-government given to the boys in increasing measure, till captains and prefects have a large share in the ruling of the school and college. It will best be done when we have a strong body of African colleagues on the staff. At present we have only one African, Dr. Aggrey. We must have many more, but only when they are easily able to bear comparison in training and education with their European colleagues. We want Africans, but it is to raise the sense of personal dignity and responsibility amongst the boys that we first need them. Accordingly our first African members of the staff must be very carefully selected. Later we shall have ample opportunities of recruiting them from our best graduates.

Any success that Achimota has had is due to loyal adherence to these principles. Great demands were made on the staff, who received no special responsibility allowance for house-duties. But the other rewards were great.

DR. AGGREY

Emman Kwegyir Aggrey was born on 18 October 1875 at Anamabu in what was then the Gold Coast Colony, the seventeenth child of Kodwo Kwegyir, a gold-taker (assayer) and *Kyiame* (linguist or spokesman) to the Chief of Anomabu. When he was eight years old the family became Christian and he received in baptism the Bible name (in its English form) of James. Shortly afterwards he entered the Methodist School at Cape Coast where his father had been for some time in the service of a wealthy African merchant, whose name, Sarbah, was to be made famous in West Africa by his son J. M. Sarbah, the first Gold Coast man to be called to the English Bar. Aggrey seems to have been lucky in his teachers; and from the first he was an eager learner.

When he was thirteen he was selected by the Rev. Dennis Kemp (one of Mary Kingsley's few missionary friends) to live with a score of other boys in the large Cape Coast Mission House as part of the missionary family, teaching in the day-school by day and reading 'high school' subjects by night.

When he was fifteen he was appointed teacher in charge of a small school at Abura Dunkwa. He took with him two loaves of bread, three-pennyworth of sugar and a little money given him by friends. He had thirty or forty boys of all standards to teach. His starting salary was six shillings and eightpence a month, paid quarterly. Every Saturday evening his sister Abonyiwa, carrying news and cooked food from home, walked twenty miles from Cape Coast; helped in the Sunday School, and walked back to Cape Coast the following day.

A year later he was appointed assistant teacher at his old school, at Cape Coast, where with breathless energy and excitement he taught for the next seven years. 'Have you got it?' he would say. 'Get it now, quickly: I may never tell you this again.' His favourite Latin tag was *Veni, vidi, vici*; like Caesar he was in a hurry to conquer the world.

Much of his spare time went in study. But he had many other duties too. Drummer in the band; interpreter of the missionary's sermons; preacher of his own; assistant translator of the Fante Bible; amateur printer; secretary of the Band of Hope; secretary of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society which killed the hated Lands Bill; he filled every minute.

At twenty he became second master in the school. The Legislative Council voted him £15 worth of books as a prize for his work in the Teachers' Certificate examination in 1895. In the Christmas holidays of that year he volunteered for service as interpreter in the Telegraph Corps attached to the expeditionary force which occupied Kumasi on 17 January 1896 and received the submission of the Asantehene. It would have delighted him if he had known that the wires laid from tree to tree by the Telegraph Corps in which he served were taken for magic by some of the Ashanti and imitated by them with packing string.

Returning to Cape Coast Aggrey was promoted headmaster. He was trusted by the leaders of his Church and Mission. He was so popular that, as he said, 'if I wore my hat over my right brow all the young men wore theirs in the same way'. Yet suddenly he left home and friends and country and Africa. In July 1898 he sailed for the United States of America.

In October Aggrey was admitted to Livingstone College, Salisbury,

North Carolina, where for four years he worked hard at his books during term, and at all manner of chores during vacation, earning money for his fees. After taking his B.A. in 1902 he became Registrar of the College and later joined the teaching staff. He lived a hard and busy life, took great interest in his pupils and was much admired by them. In 1903 he was ordained Elder in the Zion Methodist Church to which his College belonged. His preaching duties brought him into close contact with the American Negro. Some of his stories, *The Eagle*[1] for example, were first told to American boys and girls. And he was as eager to see his people keeping chickens and raising hogs as he was to hear them singing hymns; his religion was a very practical religion.

From time to time he was able to attend vacation classes at Columbia University, one of the 'big four' universities of the U.S.A. When he was the only Negro in his class he neither lay down to be trodden on, nor pushed himself to the front. He was a good 'mixer'. In December 1923 he passed the examinations for his Ph.D. There remained only the thesis to be written. Before he could begin on that, many things had happened.

In 1920 Aggrey was made a member of a Commission set up by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, with the support of missionary societies and colonial governments, to inquire into the schools of West and South Africa; what they taught and how and to what end. He was delighted, though it meant leaving the wife he had married in 1904 and a growing family he greatly loved. 'This is a fateful moment for Africa,' he wrote to the Chairman of the Commission, 'and I believe you are to kiss the Sleeping Beauty back into life from centuries of sleep.'

The Commission found some good schools, but many not so good, and some bad beyond belief. They thought the education bookish, uninterested in African things, divorced from the vernacular, vocational and clerkly in the worst sense. And they were appalled to find so few girls at school, and those few almost all in the lowest standards.

Wherever Aggrey went in Africa he was treated by Africans as a hero. No one there had heard of an African who was the full equal of a group of educational experts and treated by them as such. The excitement he created was immense.

More important, Aggrey was a peacemaker. He had almost every reason not to be. He knew all about Jim Crow cars. He had suffered the indignity of being put at a table by himself on a British ship ('But I had a steward to myself instead of sharing one with five others').

[1] See page 151.

He was kicked off a tram in Cape Town ('So I had to take a taxi, and charge it to the white man's fund—this is where the joke comes in'). At Dar-es-Salaam his baggage was removed from his bedroom in an hotel because some white trash had threatened to break up the place. In Zanzibar the 'Africa Hotel' would not give an African a room (that tickled him enormously). In Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, even the Governor (or his clerks) forgot to include his name in the list of persons to be invited to an official garden party.

I myself about this time heard him addressing a great gathering of students at Swanwick. As he told us these and similar things, one could feel the rage and shame that heated that generous untempted assembly. And then he had us all laughing at the folly and stupidity of it all, as he showed how it was possible (and necessary) to transform our greatest tragedy and our most deadly danger into comedy and glory—and *fun*.

It is not quite clear whether Guggisberg invited Aggrey to join the Achimota staff before or after Fraser accepted his invitation to become first Principal. What is quite certain is that Aggrey hesitated until he heard that Fraser had accepted; and Fraser hesitated until Aggrey said 'Yes'. They arrived together, with four other members of the staff, on 15 October 1924. The story of attempted *apartheid* at Accra is told in another chapter, and some of Aggrey's sayings will be found at the end of this book.

2

Foundation

INCUBATION

There were fresh breezes blowing in the world when soon after the end of the 1914–18 War Guggisberg was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast. 'The idea of mandates raised the whole question of the purpose of the European nations in Africa and presented a writ of *quo warranto* to all of them.'[1]

The Gold Coast was in a better position to take advantage of these breezes than any other British Colony.

A revision of her educational system in 1909 under Governor Rodger had provided for the establishment of the Accra Training College, the first, and till 1920 the only, Government Teacher Training College in British West Africa. The course was only two years and the staff judged by later standards small,[2] yet the College had made it possible to place at least one trained teacher in almost every government and assisted school in the country.

The Accra Technical School had followed.

The desire for education especially in the south was widespread and growing. The ordinary people were enjoying a remarkable prosperity: almost half the total cocoa in the world was Gold Coast grown, and that, too, not in plantations but in small peasant farms.

The revenues of the Colony were rising fast. Guggisberg soon found himself with millions to spend. Takoradi, the only deep-water harbour in 2,000 miles, and Korle Bu, the best African hospital in the whole of Africa, became possible and soon actual.

From the start Guggisberg was determined to do all he could for education. In his first address to the Legislative Council he stated that

[1] A. Victor Murray, *The School in the Bush*, p. 259.

[2] Five: the 1920 Committee recommended fourteen.

it would take first place in his thoughts. One of his first major acts was to appoint on 5 March 1920 a Committee with terms of reference covering every aspect of education. It included the Director of Education (Mr. D. J. Oman) in the chair, the Venerable G. W. Morrison, Mr. J. Spio-Garbrah who was the first African Inspector of Schools, the Rev. S. J. Gibson, and the Rev. A. W. Wilkie, who had come from Calabar when the Scottish Mission at the request of the Government had taken over the Basel Mission.

The Committee worked very hard. They had forty-two sessions of an average of just under three hours each. And in just over eleven weeks they submitted a report. Their nineteenth recommendation was this:

> We recommend that the Government establish a Secondary Boarding School for Boys.

And their twenty-first recommendation was this:

> We unanimously recommend a site about one and a half miles due east of Achimota (village) as most suitable for the Secondary School provided that a water supply is laid on.

The name Achimota means 'Do not mention the name'—either because it was the last possible place of escape for slaves being brought down to the coast; or because the iron workings of which abundant traces have been found were a sort of magic, and unmentionable, therefore; or just because the local godling would have it so.

It was this same year (1920) that saw the return of Dr. Aggrey on an official visit to the Gold Coast, as a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission.

The most important result of his visit was this: he met and liked and was liked by the Governor of his native land, who was set upon establishing a secondary school and a new training college and was looking for an African to be the first member of staff.

A word should be said about a reform in the Colonial Office machinery which took place in 1923. So much of the education of Africa was and always had been in the hands of Christian bodies that when, as a result of the work of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910 and of the (standing) Conference of British Missionary Societies, these bodies began to discuss Colonial education *together*, it was soon felt that closer co-operation between missions and the Colonial Office was desirable. In 1923 accordingly, on the initiative of the British missionary societies, the Secretary of State for the Colonies set up a permanent Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, which with the

guidance first of Arthur Mayhew and Hanns Vischer and then of Sir Christopher Cox and Mr. W. E. F. Ward has done work in this co-operative field of the greatest value.

At its establishment in 1923 the Advisory Committee included the following: Dr. David, Bishop of Liverpool, formerly Headmaster of Rugby; Sir Frederick Lugard, pre-eminent among authorities on Africa; Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, Oxford, and formerly Professor of Education in the University of Manchester; and Dr. J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council.

Until the files are opened it will not be known how much Achimota owes to this Committee; what Arthur Mayhew, its first secretary, wrote enables one to guess that the debt was great.[1]

In May 1922 Guggisberg appointed another Committee to examine in detail the proposals made two years earlier for a secondary school and a training college; these the Governor thought ought to be combined, and also to include girls and women. He sent down to the Committee plans drawn by Major Skipper, a Cambridge architect, approving the lay-out and the general type of architecture proposed by him; and suggesting a programme for building, starting and expanding the school.

This Committee included four Africans as compared with one in the 1920 committee; they were a doctor (B. W. Papafio), a lawyer (T. Hutton-Mills), a chief (Nana Ofori-Atta), and an Inspector of Schools (J. Spio-Garbrah). The other members were Mr. D. J. Oman (Director), Dr. Wilkie (Scottish Mission), and the Rev. R. Fisher (Accra Training College); Captain Harrison (Education Department) was the secretary.

A most important recommendation of the Committee's report was the rejection of the demand made by some Church authorities (and approved in 1920) that pupils should be housed in denominational hostels under masters appointed by the denominations; and that students in training as teachers should be isolated from the rest, 'in order that their sense of vocation might be more studiously cultivated'. 'We are unanimous in our decision that teachers [i.e. students training to be teachers] should share in every way in the life of the school.'

The Committee recommended that though co-education is the ideal, girls should not be admitted to Achimota. In this they were certainly not flying in the face of the evidence submitted. Four chiefs, three church leaders, two lawyers, three women teachers, the principal of a missionary school, all were strongly against the admission of girls.

[1] *The Year Book of Education 1933*, ed. Lord Eustace Percy (Evans), p. 66. See also below, p. 148.

Two men and three women approved in principle and would have been glad to see the experiment tried—somewhere else. Several had no objection to mixed classes provided the boys and the girls entered by different doors. Only one used the argument that boys and girls had different attainments and dispositions and rates of development. Mrs. Cranston, the wife of the Acting Principal of the Training College, Mr. Gati, Headmaster of the Peki boarding school, which was co-educational, and two African women teachers who gave evidence were in favour of admitting girls.

The plans and elevations, as revised by the Government architect, W. F. Hedges, A.R.I.B.A., M.S.A., to eliminate flat roofs in accordance with a decision of Government, and to reduce the accommodation of each school-house from 120 to 60, were approved by the Committee and printed as an appendix to their report.

Meanwhile Guggisberg had invited both Fraser and Aggrey to join him in his task of building the best school in Africa. Neither at first felt free. Fraser was still unwilling to leave Ceylon. Aggrey had had several attractive invitations, one from Fort Hare (South Africa), another from the Nigerian Government.

But in January 1924 the two men met in England. Aggrey grew excited as Fraser talked about what Achimota might be and could be, and pressed him to go. In the end Fraser promised to give his answer in a month, and named his terms: that the school should begin with young children; that the Principal should have a free hand in regard to religious teaching and practice; that African members of staff should have an equal position with Europeans of similar qualifications, and that the Principal should choose his own staff instead of having them appointed for him by the Colonial Office. These hard terms were accepted and Aggrey was named as the first member of his staff and Vice-Principal.[1] On 12 March 1924 his 'Yes' was received; on 18 July the formal letter of appointment was addressed to him. In October Fraser and he arrived at Accra with the other members of the advance party, C. S. Deakin, A. G. Fraser, Jnr., F. R. Irvine and W. E. F. Ward.

BEGINNINGS

The first period to be described is from the arrival of Fraser and Aggrey and the advance party of four in October 1924 to the formal opening of Achimota in its new buildings in January 1927.

[1] He was gazetted Assistant Vice-Principal on the ground that the Vice-Principal would frequently have to act for the Principal in administration.

'It's a good thing to begin as you mean to go on.' An opportunity to test the value of the proverb occurred before the newcomers left the ship—in topees and a surf boat, of course—at Accra. In the official note that was brought on board they were informed that all the Europeans in the party were to live in the segregation quarter reserved for Europeans and their servants; but Aggrey not. Fraser disobeyed the order, and carried Aggrey off with him to Liver House, where for some time they shared a room. The mistake was not the Governor's; he had intended them all to be together. The news spread, and their welcome, where it was most wanted, was assured.

Fraser's first impressions were mixed:

> My very first day, the Governor took me out in his car to see the site chosen for Achimota, our future place of work. It's a perfectly wonderful site. It lies six miles back from the sea, but being on a rising ground of 250 feet, it gets all the sea breezes and commands a fine view of the sea on the one hand, and of the hills on the other.
>
> It consists of four[1] square miles of land, with a good slope for drainage; and beautiful playing fields are being planned; one cricket field in area and shape might well rouse the envy of the Surrey XI who only have the Oval.
>
> Already I can see some of the difficulties we are up against. We will be able to get very few or no skilled African colleagues at first. The system of education here has begun with English as the medium of instruction so early that the class work is almost always severely handicapped by the foreign medium. Too much energy has been put into getting children to know the English word, and little has been left over for getting them to understand the subject. I found, for instance, in a good school, the infant class talking of 'oblique' lines, and in a third standard the teacher saying 'the denominators bear only this relation to each other when the nominators refer to similar divisions'. I don't know what he meant, neither did the class, but they, like me, can repeat it.'

The Governor and the Secretary of State had agreed that the greater part of the Achimota staff should be brought to the Colony some time before the full course of teaching could be started, in order that they might be prepared for their work by the study of the languages and customs and history of the people. Much stress was laid on language study. And before long the staff was itself running language courses for other government officers. But meanwhile they were quickly immersed in definite duties of their own.

At the beginning of 1926 the Accra Training College was taken over from the Education Department; the course was extended from two

[1] Later found to be three.

years to three; and the College year divided into three terms instead of two. Psychology and algebra were dropped from the curriculum in order that more time might be given to English, especially spoken English, and arithmetic. The study of the vernaculars and teaching in the vernaculars were introduced—it was no longer an offence to use them in a classroom. Aggrey started teaching Akan[1] history. The number of hobbies was increased.

In 1926 eleven members of staff were doing whole-time or part-time duty in these classes. Four more were at the disposal of the Public Works Department. Two agriculturists and the two Bursars were fully occupied. One master was lent to the Methodist Mission to relieve the Principal of the school, now known as Mfantsipim, at Cape Coast.

In January 1926 also a small class of six little Twi-speaking boys was started in a staff bungalow at Achimota, to be the nucleus and 'prefects' (!) of the Kindergarten that was to open the following year.

Their names must be recorded: James Kwansa, Kwami Hagan, Attakorah Mensah, Agyaman Prempeh, Charles Acquaah, Kofi Ashante.

One was the grandson of Nana Prempeh, the Asantehene; another the son of the Queen Mother of Mampong; a third the great-nephew of Nana (afterwards Sir) Ofori-Atta; a fourth the son of the Reverend Gaddiel Acquaah (afterwards General Superintendent of the Gold Coast District of the Methodist Church).

On 5 March 1924 before any of the staff had arrived the Governor had laid the foundation stone of the new buildings at Achimota in the presence of the largest and most representative gathering that, he said, he had ever seen in the country.

In April 1925 His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was present at a ceremony at which he graciously authorized the College and School to be called by his name and unveiled the brass plate in the main entrance. Five thousand schoolchildren from Accra were drawn up in front of the main building (which was then about twelve feet high). When the Prince and the Governor drove up the children sang a verse of 'God Save the King'. The Principal led them in a collect which has since become familiar to generations of pupils.

> O God, Who art the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and the Father of this people, we thank Thee for the College here begun in Thee. Bless Thou this place, and may Thy glory dwell herein. May its sons and daughters come to know the Life that is life indeed, and go forth from it as living waters to a thirsty land.

[1] Akan, Gã and Ewe are the major languages of the country.

In September 1925 the original contractors resigned. The task was taken over by the Public Works Department, and the rate of progress rapidly increased. In March 1926 a large number of staff quarters were completed and occupied.

By November work had so far advanced that it was decided that the Kindergarten could open in January 1927 with sixty children, in the expectation (which was justified) that a second 'house' of sixty could open in the following April.

In December 1926 the first of a series of annual conferences was held in Accra; the purpose was to explain what Achimota was attempting and to receive criticism from the leaders of public opinion. Invitations were sent out by Dr. Aggrey on behalf of the Principal and the staff; The Conference filled two sessions of two and a half hours each on each of two days; it was attended by some seventy Africans and thirty Europeans including the Governor, who spoke. The first session, on Fante language and literature, was introduced by the Rev. J. B. Anaman, a scholar of the old school, and J. P. Brown ('Father Brown'), for many years a leader in the Aborigines Rights Protection Society. Another session on 'How to reach the minds of African pupils' was introduced by Mr. Kobina Sekyi, a leader at the local Bar. The Principal for the first time spoke publicly of his hopes that Achimota would cease to be a Government Department and pass under the control of a Council with a Constitution of its own.

The dining-hall was used for the first time on this occasion, when tea was served in it for the members of the Conference.

This Conference and those that followed during the next few years did much to remove suspicion and explain intentions and educate staff.

But after a few years money was put to an even better use, the publication of large illustrated annual reports.

THE FORMAL OPENING

On 27 January 1927, the day before the great event, a tremendous storm broke over the site. A number of workmen were struck by lightning, and two were instantaneously killed. It was feared that this unhappy event might be popularly considered a mark of the disapproval of unseen powers. It was with great relief therefore that it was learnt that another view was taken; the spirit on the hill, it was said by the local people, had accepted the sacrifice and was satisfied.

Early in the morning of the 28th, a long line of students numbering 120, a certain Nkrumah among them, could be seen approaching from Accra, every man with a bundle on his head—the best clothes he was to wear, when the hard work was done in preparation for the meeting. The students of the Training College were coming to Achimota for the first time.

Visitors began to arrive at ten o'clock for the meeting at four; at two they were coming in a continuous stream: some in lorries carrying chiefs with their elders and their regalia, horns blowing and drums beating. 'The largest gathering under one roof', the *Gold Coast Leader* called it, 'that has ever taken place in the Gold Coast, perhaps in West Africa.'

All the lawyers of Sekondi were there, and many others as well; from Cape Coast there were great numbers; from Ashanti over 200 persons, including the Kumasihene[1] (as he then was) Nana Prempeh I, who was for this purpose visiting Accra for the first time. It added to the excitement that in the crowd his regalia was for some time lost, and only found a few minutes before the Governor arrived.

Seats had been provided for 1,000 persons, and space for the chiefs to accommodate 1,000 more. But many were unable to find a place; one estimate was that there were 4,000 in all. For all their disappointment the crowds outside, like the crowds inside, were wonderfully quiet and orderly.

In the gallery at the back of the hall were the sixty boys and girls of the Kindergarten (average age $6\frac{1}{4}$), among them a girl of seven, now the gracious lady who is the present Headmaster's wife, Mrs. Daniel Chapman.

Below them, on the floor of the hall, room was left for the students of the Training College; their duty now was to lead the singing of the College hymn,[2] sung today for the first time. This they did so successfully that the vast congregation was kept in time from the third line.

The Governor was received by the Principal, the Director of Public Works, Mr. Nicholls, and the Engineer, Mr. E. Hall, who was responsible for the buildings. The Governor opened the door with a gold key.

After the hymn and a prayer, the Governor raised the excitement still further by making what he called himself a revolutionary suggestion. He had made it his own, though both it and some of the language in which he explained it came from the Principal:

> And here I am going to touch upon a somewhat delicate subject. It is my firm belief that Achimota will not attain complete success, will not become

[1] Afterwards reinstated Asantehene. [2] See Appendix 5.

of the greatest value to ourselves and to Africa, if it does not become free to work under its own constitution, and on a certain known income. In other words, it should not be a Department of the Government. If it remains a Government Department it must become in time merely an administrative machine, like all other Government Colleges are to a very great extent. Thus it will work in an atmosphere of popular suspicion, largely cut off from the enthusiastic co-operation of the people. Educational institutions do not live well under a system of rules and regulations.

I am fully aware that in uttering these views I am adopting a revolutionary attitude that would terrify the majority of Governments, but nevertheless it is my firm conviction that, *if* Achimota is to be a complete success here, *if* its influence is to extend throughout Africa, *if* it is to fulfil the expectations it has aroused in many thoughtful minds, *if* it is to be a pride to the African, it must develop a free, inspired, and natural life. This will be its greatest possible contribution to the education of the Empire. I do *not* believe that the ideal of divorcing Achimota from Government control is in the least bit difficult to carry out, though the details will require very careful consideration.

The Hon. Nana (later Sir) Ofori-Atta followed. He reminded the Governor how for years past the people's representatives in the Legislative Council had urged the Government to take a more active part in the education of the youth of the country.

This great gathering [he added] is a ceremony which must be a landmark in the history of the Gold Coast. . . . Your name will be immortalized in the history of Achimota and of the Gold Coast. . . . The hearts and souls of the people are with Achimota. . . . The staff have taken the chiefs and people of this country into their confidence . . . it will be a school which we shall support most heartily.

The Hon. J. Casely Hayford said:

I think this is the greatest day in the history of the Gold Coast, because education is the greatest word of the age. . . . Here we have a triumph of co-operation—co-operation between the Government and the governed, between European and African and all classes of the community.

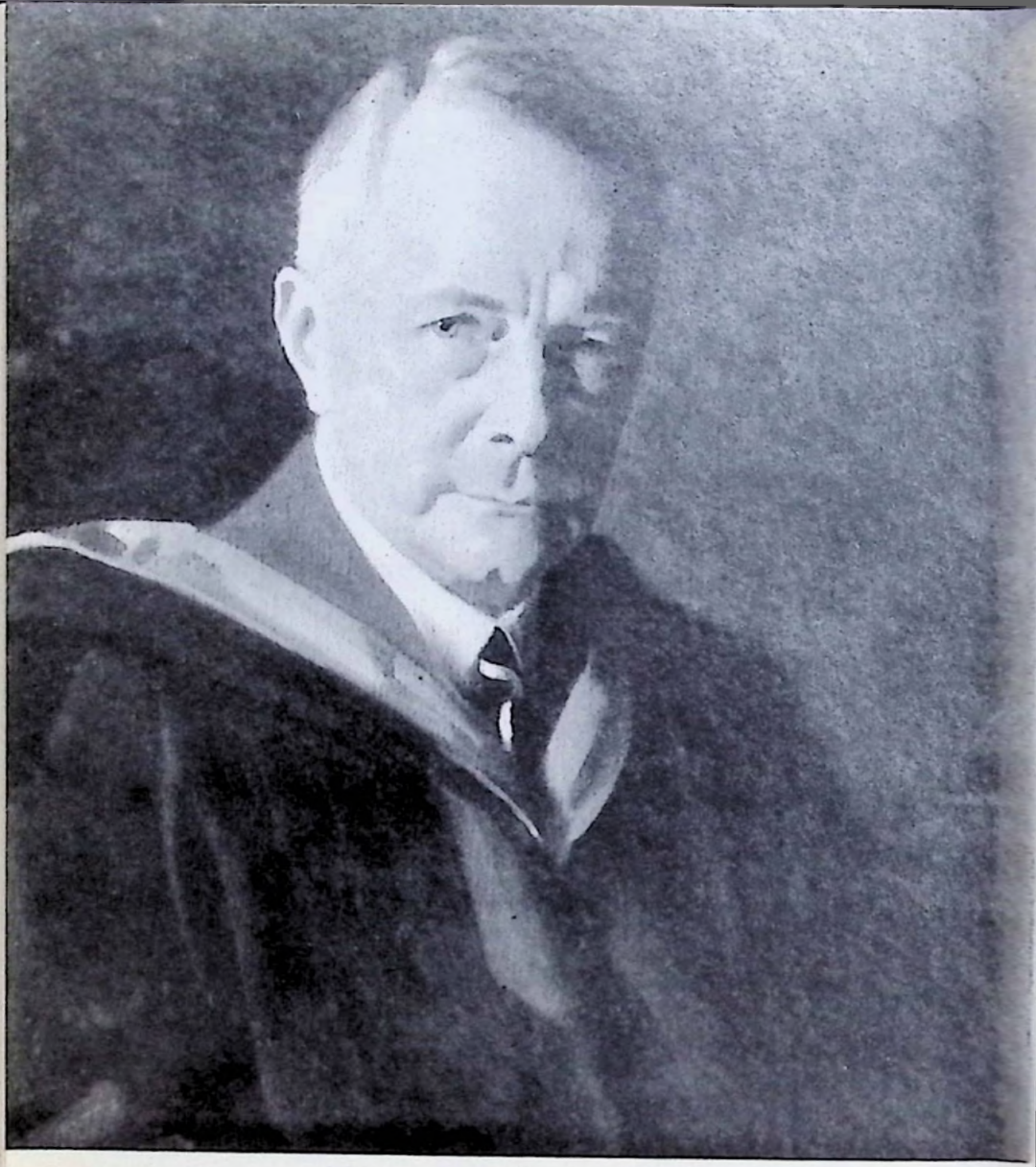
The Principal brought the meeting to an end with a characteristic utterance:

Scotland had free education in 1689 and England hastened to follow her example in 1890. . . . All the pupils here today have had their fees paid for six months in advance and that without any trouble to the College. . . . I am sure Africans do not desire to become Europeans or to become like them. But . . . whatever difference may remain it must not be a difference

Above left,
Sir Gordon Guggisburg,
K.C.M.G., D.S.O.

Above right, Dr. Aggrey

Opposite,
The Reverend H. M. Grace,
Second Principal O.A.



The Reverend A. G. Fraser, C.B.E.

Achimota Staff 1926

Achimota Staff with Sir Gordon Guggisburg 1927

The Administration block

name picked up from a text-book story, inconsiderable freshers; most living of all, Kuziunik, a supernatural being whose hideous image was carved to be the embodiment of the old college in preparation for the new; or, as others would have it, to be a kind of whipping boy, a concentration of the mischief of the mischievous and the folly of the foolish.

The College Yell is still very much alive. It is a war cry of Ashanti origin used by most tribes in Ghana; used at Achimota as a traditional ceremony on important occasions, especially in greeting important visitors. I am indebted to Philip Gbeho for the transcription and musical setting, to be found in Appendix 8. But it must be heard to be believed.

The College Song was perhaps no worse than most; it was certainly as good as many; and it is remembered still. In 1959 it was sung at a great gathering of old boys which included many notable persons in church and state from the Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, downwards: the Jubilee celebrations of the Accra Training College.

From Kumasi or Accra, from the Volta or the Prah
We are brothers and our mother is the school.
She will guide us all and each,
So to learn that we may teach,
So to subjugate ourselves that we may rule.
Play the game,
Shout her name,
Spread her name afar.
She's ahead of all the host,
She's the school of whom we boast,
She's the glory of the Coast,
ACCRA-A-A.

It was found possible to sing 'Achimota' in place of 'Accra-a-a.'

THE STAFF

One of the most surprising things about Achimota in the twenties and the thirties was the wide variety of the staff. In 1927, for example, two were Australian, the Vice-Principal and the Senior Housemaster, both from the staff of Fraser's old school in Ceylon; two were Canadian, one in charge of the farm, the other in charge of history in the Training College and the father of the first baby born on the compound; two were Tamils, one from Ceylon, the games master, the other from

Madras—P.T. and printing; two were Africans of the Gold Coast, one a host in himself, Dr. Aggrey, to be lost to us too soon; the other a useful teacher of drawing and design and of the vernaculars; one Irish, an expert in Fante and phonetics, destined to become the last Acting Principal and the first Headmaster. There were seven from Scotland, including the Principal's two sons, the senior Matron, the Housemaster of the Training College, the Chaplain and the biologist. The rest, we were told by our Scottish Principal, 'belong to the country which Scotland rules'. They included ten graduates of Oxford, two of Cambridge, and one of Manchester; and an Army man who was an expert P.T. instructor, scouter and printer, and was also lay-chaplain of the Roman Catholic students.

Six of these have gone from us: Capt. F. Maxwell-Lawford, who was killed in a railway accident soon after he retired in 1939; Captain Rignell, Scots Guards, who will be remembered as vividly as any for his power to smarten up a sleepy squad at six o'clock in the morning and to scold the slacker in good set terms but without malice; Major Norman Young, who was killed on the tragic beach of Dieppe in 1942; and A. H. R. Joseph, 'Pa Joe', cricketer, coach, Ceylonese, gentleman, who still in the service of Ghana in 1958, was killed in a car accident. Douglas Benzies after a distinguished career at Akropong where he was Principal of the Presbyterian College and later in Nyasaland, died in 1948.

James Brown, Maintenance Officer, who died in 1947 soon after he had retired, left a more solid monument than most: he built the swimming-bath (it is difficult to believe that it and the cleansing plant together cost less than £1,000), the music school (which was used also as a Roman Catholic chapel), the boys' gymnasium, the art school, and the 'practice-houses' on the western compound.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that a very large proportion of the Senior Staff had had teaching experience in India or Ceylon or Burma—not only the Principal himself and Mrs. Fraser, but the Vice-Principal (R. C. Blumer), one of the Assistant Vice-Principals (C. K. Williams) and his wife, the Senior Housemaster (S. T. Dunstan), the Headmistress (Miss Colbatch Clark), the Mistress of the Kindergarten (Miss M. Witten) and two of the Matrons (Miss M. Williams and Miss M. Armstrong), Captain Maxwell-Lawford, Captain Rignell and A. H. R. Joseph, himself a Ceylon Tamil. Others had been born and had lived in the East. That meant that instead of coming direct from the cosy industrial comforts of Streatham, or Sutton Coldfield, a large number

had actually been in close contact with a high non-European civilization, and a culture which was ancient when the culture of Britain was more like the culture of West Africa than the modern white man likes to remember.

They had also been in touch with an insurgent nationalism and all the stresses and tensions that that brings with it. It would perhaps have been better in many ways if West Africa had been nursed into the modern world not by Britain but by India and Ceylon. But that not being possible, it was a good thing that so many on the staff had learnt some of the things that India and Ceylon could teach.

Before many years had passed many of the masters and not a few of the mistresses had married; and presently there began to arrive the babies that were in some ways the most distinguishing feature of life on the compound. During the thirties there were very few other white children in the country. To see half a dozen or more playing with their black friends together was a sight that in those days was unique. And it added greatly to the wholesomeness of corporate life.

We entertained one another a good deal; but in a style not much more lavish than when we were alone; and when the time came for old boys to go to the university in Britain, they would come quite naturally for instruction in the strangely different customs of the queer foreigners they were to live among.

It would be wrong to say that there was no tension at all. When Aggrey died there was only one African master on the teaching staff, and he was on the Junior staff; and the Junior staff in those days was paid a very small salary. So there was always a danger that Senior-Junior tension would be bedevilled by white-black misunderstanding. But taking it all together the evidence is overwhelming that there was no colour bar and that the tension was less than in any part of the continent that has made a claim.

BUILDINGS AND THE COMPOUND

The first Inspectors in 1932 reported an imposing list of the buildings that had been provided to house the varied activities of the College and the School:

On the College Compound:

> Administration Block (1), with library and museum on the first floor, and a small lecture-hall (fitted with a fireproof projector-room), which was used as the weekday College Chapel, on the second.

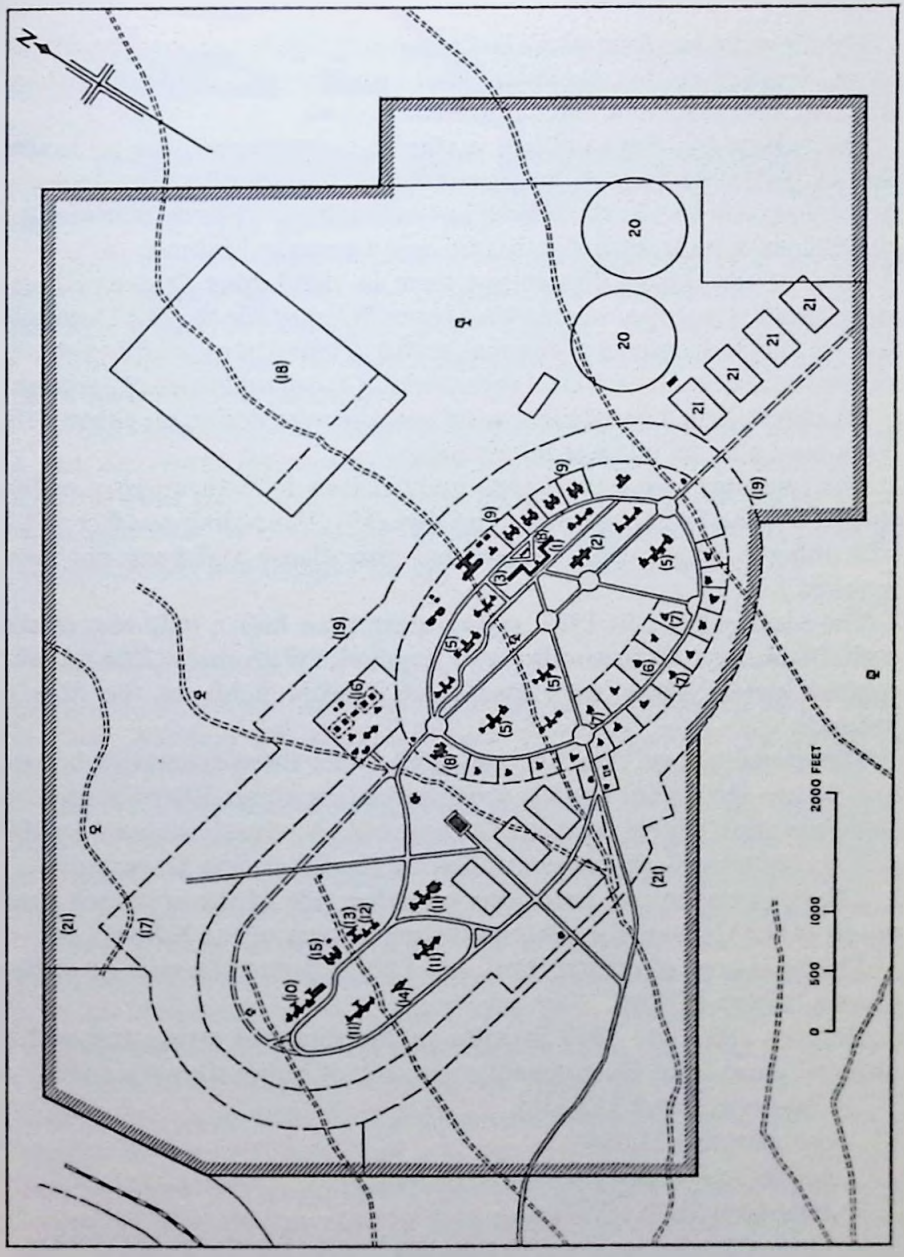
Laboratory and Art Block (2)
Two Classroom Blocks (3)
Dining-hall with kitchens and offices (4)
Nine Dormitory Blocks, or 'Houses' (5)
Music School (with ten practising rooms), used also as the Roman Catholic Chapel
Principal's Quarters (6)
16 Masters' Quarters (7)
Guest House and Staff Club (8)
Junior Staff Quarters (9)
Quarters for visiting teachers
Printing Press
Power House and Pumping Station
Workshop and Petrol Store.

On the Girls' School, i.e. Western Compound:
Kindergarten House (10)
Dormitory Blocks (11)
Mistresses' Quarters (12)
Dining-hall with kitchen and offices (13)
Two Classroom Blocks (14)
Domestic Science Block (15).

Outside both compounds lay the Hospital (16), the Sewage Farm (17) and the Model Village (18) for College servants and servants of the staff. (*The figures in brackets refer to the plan on facing page.*)

The buildings occupy over a mile in length and nearly half a mile across. The Laboratory and Art Block is 150 yards south of the main building and the College dining-hall the same distance to the north. The nine College Dormitory Blocks—ordinarily called 'Houses' as distinct from the staff quarters ordinarily called 'Bungalows'—are 100 to 450 yards away and the Bungalows within 500 yards and the Assistant Masters' quarters within 300 yards.

The College Dormitories were and remain all of the same type. On each floor there is a dormitory accommodating 30 students, i.e. 60 altogether in each House. At one end there are quarters for one housemaster and at the other the House Common-room and quarters for an assistant housemaster. The dining-hall was built to accommodate 540 persons at table; it was also used for entertainments, but for this purpose the acoustics were unsuitable.



Achimota College, Land and Buildings handed over to the College Council, 1929

The Hospital has four wards each with eight beds, surgery, examining room, dressing room, dispensary and laundry with fumigating room attached, and male and female nurses' quarters.

The School buildings (which, it will be remembered, are no longer part of Achimota School) are about three-quarters of a mile from the Administration Block; the Kindergarten contained four dormitories for 60 children, a hall, three classrooms and a teachers' room.

Most of the School classrooms were in the Lower Primary Classroom Block; two more were in the Upper Primary Block. The Domestic Science Block contained a kitchen, scullery, iron-room, washing room, needlework room, art room, clay-modelling room and three classrooms.

Six miles of road twenty feet wide had concrete drains on either side; there were also six miles of minor roads.

The two areas were each separately fenced in with an iron paling six feet high and a barbed-wire extension (19); this paling was five and a half miles in length. (Both fences fell into disuse and have not been renewed.)

The playing-fields in 1932, rather more than half a mile east of the main Block, were six in number, two large cricket grounds (20) and four football fields. There were also three hockey fields in the School grounds.

The model village, Anumle, consisted of six three-apartment houses and 90 two-apartment houses, accommodating about 300 persons. The buildings were of *pisé* on stone foundations. A school attended by 100 children of the village was controlled by the Education Department.

The farm was in two parts, one on either side of the approach road south of the College, the other to the north-west of the School (21).

The total cost of construction was £564,000 and the cost of equipment a further £53,000.

Between 1932 and 1938 in spite of the financial stringency and a reduced grant from Government a number of buildings were added:

Classroom Block (£2,838)
Gymnasium (£1,034)
Art School (£2,838)
Swimming Bath (£971)
Three dormitories and two practice houses for the girls (£3,332)
School Staff Kitchens
Staff Quarters (1)
Junior Staff Quarters (4)
Printing Press extensions.

The total cost amounted to £13,777; it was met from reserves. A further sum met out of revenue was spent on an annexe to the Engineering School.

The Inspectors in 1938 emphasized as major deficiencies the absence of Chapel and Assembly Hall. For these Achimota had to wait a long time.

For the first few years of its life the compound was bare, gaunt and unlovely. Almost all the bushes, hedges and trees that today make so pleasant a park were planted by the College. Two trees only survive from pre-history, one near the Headmaster's Bungalow and one near the Administration Building.

At the beginning and for thirty years the buildings were indeed grey as the Achimota Hymn says—grey walls and grey roofs, and no contrast between them. The darkening of the roofs, the whitening of the walls, and most of all perhaps the splendid growth and flowering of the trees: these are the things that make the place beautiful today.

TEACHER TRAINING

(In this section I am indebted especially to an article by Mr. Dennis Herbert, Method Master, now Lord Hemingford, in the *Achimota Review 1927–1937*.)

The first work that the Achimota staff took up was the training of teachers for primary schools. Many years before Achimota was built or thought of the Government Training College had been founded at Accra in 1909. It was the first and for many years the only Government Training College in West Africa. For some years it shared with the Basel (later Scottish) Mission College at Akropong all the training of teachers attempted in the Gold Coast. With a small staff and poor equipment a real corporate life had been built up and many of the ideas that Achimota cherished were to be found in the Accra Training College, which in 1926 by the direction of the Governor became the nucleus of the new Achimota and the first members of her teacher-training department. Into this corporate life the first Upper Primary and Secondary departments were in 1929 easily introduced. The Secondary department indeed owed a great deal to the experience and discipline, the vitality and adventurousness of the teachers in training, who did not carry the burden of external examinations and could see to the end of their course and the beginning of the work for which they were being trained.

Between 1925, when their course was extended to four years, and 1937, 270 students obtained their certificates.

For the first two years the student's work was a continuation of his general education. He studied Scripture, his African language (and usually a second African language), much English, especially spoken English, mathematics, nature study, geography, history, citizenship, hygiene, elementary science, music (European and African), art and physical training. He did handwork with clay, paper, cardboard, raffia, leather, metal and wood. He had a course in agriculture spread over two years. Possible hobbies, for which time on the time-table and instruction were given, were first-aid, cobbling, tailoring, bookbinding, carving. There were concerts and an orchestra, dramatic performances and debates, and not least, there was social service, of which more is written on page 67. He played the ordinary school games, did his share in sweeping and scrubbing his house, and helped to look after his house-garden. In the early days on the new site his department provided all the monitors and prefects and to the end provided some of the best.

In his third year three periods a week were given to teaching-theory and method, and six weeks to practical teaching and observation. In his fourth year this amount of time was doubled. After 1930 every student in his fourth year wrote a thesis either in English or his vernacular.

Achimota trained teachers for the Director of Education, who therefore inspected the classes every year and awarded certificates on the recommendation of the Principal.

Women teachers-in-training in the early days had a two-year course, quite separate from the men's. From 1933 onwards they had the same four-year course as the men, doing domestic science, however, instead of craftwork. The department thus became co-educational as all the other departments had been.[1]

Every year during the Christmas vacation about eighty teachers from all over the country met for a ten-days refresher course.

Victor Murray in *The School in the Bush*[2] has this to say about an early refresher course at which he was present in January 1928. 'There were about sixty men and a few women. There were many different types among them; some were wearing European clothes and were apparently quite familiar with European ideas and habits. . . . They listened to lectures and had discussions and arranged a concert or two

[1] But there were no women engineers!

[2] See p. 146.

and had European dances, and it was clear that the whole thing inspired as well as edified.'

THE HOSPITAL

Four wards, each with an ante-room, a bungalow for the sister, houses for two nurses, kitchen, stores, laundry and fumigating room, with a central administration block—so the hospital was planned, built and maintained.

During the first year or so supervision was given by a visiting medical officer, and nursing needs were met by Miss Armstrong and Miss Williams. Thereafter it was found possible to keep a doctor, and sometimes two doctors and a nursing sister busy. During the war for a time the duties were undertaken by army doctors.

These duties were: (1) a morning clinic, mostly for slight troubles, chiefly of malarial origin. There was one serious epidemic from food poisoning in 1934. Infectious diseases were isolated; measles, chicken-pox and whooping cough appeared most terms—to be scotched at once.

(2) Every pupil arriving at the beginning of term was examined—600 examinations in 30 hours. New students were examined very thoroughly—and treated when necessary for worms. Long-distance runners and the like were closely watched.

(3) Sanitation needed careful attention, though all sewage was water-borne. The biggest job was the valley drainage system undertaken by Mr. Deakin in Dr. Griffith's time. The marsh surrounding the site was reclaimed and became fertile.

The hospital was used as a centre of medical light and healing not only for inhabitants of college and school but for a number of villages round about which were served through the social work of the Red Cross.

It is perhaps an indication of the great improvement in the health of the school and the college that the subject is hardly mentioned in the Report, 1937–1947.

DEATH OF DR. AGGREY

1927

In May Aggrey returned to America on leave to complete his thesis for a doctorate at Columbia University. In July he fell ill, and at the

beginning of August his friends in the Gold Coast were stunned to hear that he was dead. Death was due to pneumococcus meningitis.

On August 3rd an Extraordinary Gazette was issued by the Governor, Sir Ransford Slater:

> During the three years of his service under the Gold Coast Government Dr. Aggrey did work of enduring value for the people of his native country. Not only did he take the utmost pains to explain to his countrymen Government's educational policy, especially as exemplified at Achimota, but he never failed to promote with striking ability and eloquence, both in the Gold Coast and elsewhere, that harmonious co-operation between the African and European races which is so essential to progress. The death at the very beginning of a new administration of one whom the late Governor rightly described as a Patriot and an Enthusiast is a severe blow to both Government and people, and His Excellency appeals to all those who shared Dr. Aggrey's hopes for the future of his race not to forget his high ideals and wise counsels.

Parts of two other tributes must be quoted, from the pens of the other members of the triumvirate. Fraser wrote:

> I knew Aggrey better than most men probably. For in the first year of our work in the Gold Coast the staff were all located in one house, and some of us had to sleep two in a room. Aggrey and myself shared a room for a considerable time. He was a delightful man to live with, full of humour, never taking offence, always looking on the bright side of things. He was devoted to his people and country and was unsparing of himself. He was equally ready to spend his time and labour over the poorest as over the most powerful, and was as accessible to them. Men sometimes said he was conceited. He had his conceit, but it was never offensive, it was never at the expense of others. There was no egotism in Aggrey. When he enjoyed himself he brought all others into his enjoyment. He shared himself. . . . He was one of the purest men I have ever met. And he was a great human being. He was a friend to men and interested in all of them, and always kindly.
>
> He it was who persuaded me to go out to Achimota. But for him I would not have gone, for he knew the people and could help me to know them, and no one else could have done that. So I made his coming with me one of my conditions for acceptance of that work. . . .
>
> He promised to come and help. . . . He did so at what was at first a pecuniary sacrifice. Never had a man a more loyal fellow-worker, and he was invaluable in the special work he had to do. I have had many good things in life, but one of the best is being allowed to know Aggrey intimately and well.

And this was written by Guggisberg:

In the passing-over of Aggrey, Africa has lost one of her greatest sons. Many there are, both White and Black, who will mourn personally for a loyal friend: but those who knew the ideals of the man, and his practical way of carrying them out, will realize—as the vast majority may not—what a blow has been dealt to the progress of the African races.

For the essence of Aggrey was that he was an African imbued with the ancient customs and traditions of his people, his knowledge of the way in which they thought, undisturbed by his Western education or his long sojourn and brilliant scholastic career in the United States of America. But his deep affection for his people and their customs never blinded him for a moment to the fact which he so clearly saw, that changes must come, conditions and manner of life and thought must alter, if his beloved Africans were to keep pace with modern civilization, to keep their place in a continually advancing world.

At the same time, equally and very keenly, he felt that any changes that came to his people must not alter their personality, their spirit, their character as *Africans*. That was his constant anxiety—how to give them the opportunities for acquiring all the learning, all the knowledge of arts and crafts, all the mental poise and character, that centuries of slow progress have given to the civilized nations of the world, and yet how to ensure that they retained the spirit of their ancestors and remained African.

That was a gigantic task for any man to set himself. But he had two incalculably valuable assets—faith in God and faith in his people—and though his fertile imagination conceived many ideals, his learning, strong character and varied experience supplied him with practical ideas for carrying them out.

His task was in his mind night and day. No trouble was too great for him, no help that he could give was ever refused. Constant travelling, constant public speaking, long and interminable arguments with those whom he believed to be on the wrong path, long letters to those whom he could not reach, hours of teaching the young Africans in the schools, such were Aggrey's days in the Gold Coast. Only a real faith that lifted him above himself could have sustained him through the last three years; and he had that faith—the real faith of a real Christian.

On Sunday afternoon, 7th August, a Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving was held at Achimota in the only room large enough to hold the congregation of 800—the dining-hall. The Governor read the lesson and among those present were Lady Slater, the Colonial Secretary, and many other officials, Nana Sir Ofori-Atta, the Omanhene of Anomabu and a great crowd of African notables. It fell to me, in the absence on leave of both Fraser and Blumer, to deliver the address;

some of those who remember it have asked that an extract should be quoted here:

> We have been his pupils; we have learnt from his flashing smile and almost superhuman energy of speech and action; and we know we shall never again learn from a teacher of such infectious enthusiasm, such splendid vivacity.
>
> Or we have been his colleagues, proud of his friendship, relying on his loyalty, relying never in vain, inspired by his counsel; and we know that there is no one who can so help us to understand our task, so forgive and repair and explain our blunders and our follies.
>
> Or we have been fellow-servants with him of this Colony and its peoples, and we know, as we have been reminded, what a patriot, what an enthusiast has been taken from us.
>
> What the loss of him will mean for Achimota is a thing we dare not think of yet. 'Irreparable', 'irreplaceable', are the words on everybody's lips; and to all human seeming no other words suffice.
>
> And all around us far away in remote bush villages there are simple folk, puzzled, anxious, living between two worlds '*one dead, the other powerless to be born*', who feel that a light is quenched, a wall breached, a staff broken.
>
> And far from Africa, in Europe and America, there are thousands of quiet men and women who, knowing him only by rumour and the repute of books, yet sorrow with us this evening, because he is dead who for them was a symbol of a new hope in the new Africa that is being born. . . . I bid you, therefore, thank God with me for the virtues and graces of our friend.
>
> His soul goes marching on, flaming on, loving on—laughing on; and heaven itself seems to some of us a friendlier, kindlier place because he is there, more home-like, with more happiness and laughter in it, because he is there; filled with a fresh hope even—who knows?—that the good purposes of God for his Africa and his world shall not always be frustrated, that some day—soon, please God—Twi and Fante and Gã, white and brown and black, all tribes and races and nations, shall be (in the image he never wearied of repeating) as the fingers of a man's hand playing eternal music to the glory of God the Father.

The materials which Norman Young collected were embodied by E. W. Smith in three early chapters of *Aggrey of Africa* (London, S.C.M. Press, 1929).

The Challenge Shield which he suggested for the Inter-Collegiate Sports Meeting was presented by a group of African gentlemen as an Aggrey Memorial Shield.

Aggrey's favourite parable of the piano keys is emblazoned on the Achimota shield. The eagle which refused to be a chicken[1] appears on Ghana stamps.

The chapel which was completed in 1959 is dedicated to his memory. The royalties on the sale of this book are to be paid to the Chapel fund.

[1] See p. 152.

3

Expansion

THREE YEARS' WORK IN THE KINDERGARTEN

At the end of 1927 Fraser wrote for friends outside the Gold Coast an unofficial interim report of work done in the lower school.

There were 108 children—all of them nominally under ten—boarding in the eastern (College) compound, the children's school being not yet built. These children were being taught in their own vernaculars; that meant four divisions for every grade. A child who had learnt to read fluently in his vernacular began to learn to read English; spoken English was taught from the beginning. It was found that most of those over six years of age did in eight months all that was contained in the three years' syllabus laid down for infant classes. All classes gave a good deal of time to gymnastics, singing and folk dancing (African and other). An hour and a half every afternoon was given to gardening, woodwork or needlework. Games and walks took up the late afternoon; each House supporting its own team with the greatest friendliness.

A few young women were being trained as teachers partly to interpret the foreigners, partly to help with the washing and dressing of the smaller children, some of whom were very young. In each House there were both boys and girls, and in every dormitory (three or four to a House) Twi, Fante, Gã and Ewe children were put together.

The Housemaster/mistress had a heavy time-table:

6 a.m. Bell; children assemble; prayers.

6.5–6.50 a.m. Supervising bathing, bed-making, cleaning of dormitories, passages, etc. (no servants for this).

6.50 a.m. Children to dining-hall, breakfast.

7.45 a.m. Dormitory inspection. School.

11.30 a.m. Lunch.

12.30–1.45 p.m. Children rest in dormitories; occasional visits by H.M.

1.50 p.m. Afternoon school, till 3.30 p.m.

4.20 p.m. Children assemble for games, football, gym.

5.30–6.15 p.m. Baths. Dining-hall, supper.

6.45–7 p.m. Dormitory prayers and lights out.

Saturday morning, school ended at 9.30 a.m.; till 11 a.m. Staff on duty supervised scrubbing of bed-boards and floors.

Sunday morning one hour later; Sunday school 10 a.m.

From 11 a.m. to noon staff were relieved by volunteers, wives and such.

(It should perhaps be added that Housemasters and Mistresses received no special responsibility allowance. There were always more applicants for these posts than posts for applicants.)

The diet consisted entirely of African food, and included food from all districts so that every child had some of his or her own food.

The elder children washed their own and the smaller children's wearing-cloths every week. For other washing a woman came in once a week.

The physical training was based on the playing of games chosen to develop each group of muscles in turn, with special remedial exercises for those (and these were many) found to be suffering from lateral curvature, round shoulders or hollow loin. Parade-ground discipline was eschewed. Statistics were carefully kept.

For a little lighter relief this may be added from a private letter dated 26 May 1927:

> We had a very good time with the Kindergarten kiddies on Empire Day. At ten they all lined up in a hollow square, and as the clock boomed out the hour, the Union Jack (a little larger than a hankey) was broken, the Headmistress called out 'School salute', a hundred brown hands went up to a hundred brown heads and they sang the National Anthem. Then they all marched to the Chief's (Fraser's) bungalow, repeated the Anthem and swarmed over his drawing-room, turned on his electric light (which is just the same as their own in the Kindergarten), watched his ceiling fan working (no fan in the Kindergarten) and toddled off back to the School for dinner. At three they were taken, yelling madly, in detachments and the College lorries to the farthest cricket field, a very considerable distance. They wore the comical hats they had made the previous days in school. And in them they played about and later had buns and biscuits and oranges and plantains. Then Irvine and Bunner on their hands and knees, dressed in old sheepskin rugs and wearing hideous masks, came along and made them squeal, till they found out who they were; and then they jeered at

the monsters and smote them on the hinder parts and put them to a perpetual shame. And then they crawled all over the Chief's Fiat car and another Fiat and left a lot of sticky finger marks on many places, and were very happy until it was time to go back across the compound in the lorries again. A very good day. Not much 'Empire' about it. But a very good day.

RAPID GROWTH

On 22 January 1929 the Administration Building looked like a London railway terminus before a bank-holiday weekend. Seventy new boys and girls had been expected; a further large number turned up quite unannounced and unprepared for. Some of them were very small. One mite of four arrived with his father between 6 and 7 a.m. at the Principal's bungalow from a small village in Togoland, having never once been near a white man, nor seen a building bigger than a village church in his short life. One of the smallest boys who had come for his second year was sent over to the Girls' School (western compound) where the small boys were now to live. He twice marched back to the College side protesting he was a boy; and it was some days before he was reconciled to his lot.

The prefects and monitors (house-prefects without general responsibilities outside their houses)—that is to say almost all the senior class in the Training Department—had to cope with this human flood; they showed great ability, combining patience and firmness in admirable proportions. One of them, in charge of the moving of fifty boys and their kit, gave them the order to pick up their loads. 'I have never carried a load in my life,' said a large youth, quite truthfully. 'Good,' said the monitor with a smile, 'you must be quite fresh! Carry two.' Fraser, reporting this, added the note: 'The monitors appear to me to have more natural governing ability than any I have seen in other lands, including my own.' Even if some of his swans were geese, the confidence he felt bred in others a like confidence, and this brought out of his pupils qualities they did not know they possessed.

By the end of March 1929 the figures were these—and increasing:

Kindergarten	45
Lower Primary	115
Upper Primary	41
Secondary	50
Training Department	147
Post Secondary	2
Total	400

Of these 49 were girls, one in the Secondary School, ten in the Upper Primary, the rest in the Lower Primary and the Kindergarten.

All the girls and the smallest boys lived in the Girls' School (western compound).

The older girls tramped twice a day from the west to the east (from three-quarters of a mile to a mile) and back, and by doing so greatly improved their appearance.

Of the older boys, some twenty who lived in the small boys' house on the College (eastern) compound, similarly but in the opposite direction, tramped to the Lower Primary Classes for their lessons. Of their appearance and its improvement no record seems to survive.

All this meant that between December 1928 and January 1929 an addition of no fewer than fifteen classes had been made.

The organization of the Girls' School now fell to Miss Colbatch Clark who had had many years of experience as a teacher and a headmistress in England and Burma. The school started with less confusion and more pleasure to all concerned than anyone could have expected. It was a great responsibility to have charge of so many small African children with comparatively little experienced African assistance.

The other area of expansion was the Secondary Department. Four special considerations determined its curriculum. The first of these was the requirements of the School Certificate examination, necessary as the gateway to all higher education, and in our view much superior to the London Matriculation Examination. Certain choices were already possible—biology, for instance, rather than physics, in a tropical country mainly agricultural; in this we had the backing of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee. Some elementary physics was taken in the lower forms. It was confidently hoped—and the hope was soon justified—that greater adaptation would be possible. Before many years had passed syllabuses suitable to local conditions were approved by the Cambridge examining authorities in botany, and agriculture and geography. Another important matter was the local language. Here there was a twofold aim: to see that every pupil completing the course should be the master of his own vernacular and one other, and to produce books and booklets that would be useful at least for school-reading and teaching. Of these almost nothing existed beyond the Bible, the hymn book, the prayer book and (in Twi) some theological works. As between Twi and Fante the whole problem was bedevilled by the difference of script and orthography, which made it difficult if not impossible for a Twi schoolboy to read Fante and vice versa. One

of the most urgent reforms that Fraser helped to bring about was a unified orthography. Two visits of Dr. Westermann, the renowned Berlin scholar, set the country on the way to a solution.

From the start it was decided that hygiene, agriculture, art, woodwork and music should in varying proportions be compulsory for all students at some point in their course. The study of local history was encouraged by special essay prizes, as was also correct English speech and reading aloud. For this last there was an annual prize presented by the Governor, Sir Ransford Slater. It was not very long before Dr. Ida Ward, lecturer in phonetics at the London School of Oriental and African Studies, after a fortnight's stay in the College, was able to report:[1]

> It has often been said that no African can learn to speak English as an Englishman, and no Englishman can learn to speak an African language as an African; and the reason given is a physical one—the organs of speech of the two races are differently shaped and therefore it is impossible for the one to imitate accurately the other's speech actions. While it is extremely difficult for a standard of perfection to be reached on either side, what I have seen and heard at Achimota disproves the above statement as far as the English of the African is concerned.
>
> As a phonetician I have to maintain a high absolute standard of what I consider good spoken English, and not be content with a relative 'good for a foreigner'. Measured by this standard, I can unhesitatingly say that the English I have heard at Achimota comes very near the peak of excellence. This seems to be due mainly to three factors: many of the pupils begin their English language work young, with English men and women as teachers; several of these teachers are trained phoneticians; and finally the pupils themselves evidently think it worth while to try to speak well.

Few things in this field could be sadder than that speakers of English in different parts of the Commonwealth and beyond should come to be unable to understand one another with ease and pleasure.

CO-EDUCATION

Guggisberg's 1920 Committee recommended separate secondary schools for boys and girls. The 1922 Committee, being warned that money would not be available for two schools, plumped for one: for boys. When Fraser was invited to become Principal he made it a condition that the school should be co-educational. He was not a theoretical

[1] *Report on Achimota College for the Year 1933*, p. 2.

co-educationist. He had no experience of teaching girls, much less of running a boarding school for boys and girls together. But he saw that there was no other way of avoiding the indefinite postponement of girls' education; he had been much impressed by what he had seen at Hampton and Tuskegee, and he was supported by Aggrey.

He was confirmed in his decision by the experience of Mr. Gati of Peki who for many years had successfully run a co-educational boarding school under the Bremen (later Scottish) Mission and the Presbyterian Church.

Public opinion in the country was certainly not ready for anything of the sort. It was openly asserted that a clock tower could be dispensed with, but a crèche would be absolutely necessary. Misunderstanding continued right into the forties. In Ashanti it was widely believed—though not by the parents of the pupils—that grave improprieties were condoned.

But the fact seems to be that there was less trouble than in more cloistered institutions. It is quite certain that the health of the students improved.

The measured language of the Inspectors of 1932 represents the opinion of those best qualified to judge:

> There is no over-anxiety, no ostentatious watchfulness, though no doubt much wise care. So far as we can judge the relations between boys and girls are quite healthy and natural . . . opportunities for mutual understanding and the quite normal give and take of life sweeten human relations and relieve the stress of sex. . . . Nothing that we have seen has made us anxious.

The best detailed account of how it worked that is known to me is in the Report of 1927–37. It is the work of the Headmistress (Miss Cooke) and the Senior Housemaster (Mr. Dunstan):

> After about eight years' experience we can challenge the most pessimistic to find in Achimota a confirmation of his fears. . . . Out of classes a good deal of freedom is encouraged and boys and girls have frequent opportunities of enjoying each others' society.

In debating societies, in the orchestra, in social service, they took an equal share. On holidays such as Founder's Day they might take a picnic into the country in parties of four or more. Girls or boys might occasionally invite their friends to tea either in the common room or on the lawn outside. They might walk together with the permission of housemaster and housemistress not fewer than four together. Seniors had the use of two tennis courts and mixed tennis was popular.

On the Saturday night nearest the full moon there was dancing and drumming, the discipline being under the head of the tribe. From time to time especially to entertain distinguished guests, a display would be given in the dining-hall. In concerts and plays girls took part in a most natural way. At regular intervals the prefects, boys and girls, met the Principal and the Headmistress to discuss problems connected with the whole life of Achimota.

Fraser frequently insisted that the best prefect he ever had anywhere in the world was one of the girls at Achimota.

The 1938 Inspectors found girls so firmly established as an integral part of the institution that they only added footnotes. There was, they thought, no longer any need to charge them lower fees than boys. They made, of course, an extra call on staffing power and helped to explain the generous proportion of staff to pupils. The only classes that had no girls in them were the 'University' classes. Achimota was training more than 43 per cent of the women teachers in the Gold Coast, and was the only college offering them a four-year course.

The loss of the western (Girls' School) compound to the Army (and others) during and after the War made it necessary to find room for the girls on the eastern (College) compound. This story must be told on a later page. But it may be mentioned here that though the change brought some strains, the difficulties were all overcome.

THE HOUSE SYSTEM

The Report for 1930 contains an account of the organization and discipline of the boarding houses, which shows that the system was well established and in good working order.

Its aim was to foster and develop a sense of responsibility, and the claim is made that African boys and girls had proved beyond a peradventure that they could be trusted to wield it with equity.

Each House was divided into four dormitories, each to accommodate fifteen, under a monitor who was responsible for discipline and for all the housework of the dormitory. Over these was the Prefect, who was also a School Prefect; and over the monitors and the Prefect two Housemasters. In this year 1930 for the first time an African master, a member of the Junior Staff, was senior in the House to his European colleague.

'The head of the House', as the Principal wrote, 'has never passed an examination higher than the Gold Coast seventh standard; his subordinate in the house is a Cambridge graduate. But here they meet on

a different plane, a knowledge of Gold Coast boys and how to live with them.'

Each House was from the start responsible for the cleaning of all buildings in its area and for the cultivation of the surrounding garden. This work was so divided that each dormitory was responsible for one quarter, and each member of the dormitory had his allotted task. Marks were awarded and at regular intervals a totem pole presented to the most efficient dormitory.

In addition to work in the House the students were responsible for the scrubbing and cleaning of the classrooms and also for the laying and cleaning of the tables in the dining-hall and for the washing-up.

The dormitory monitor was responsible for the discipline of the dormitory. He had the power to administer certain punishments, which must be recorded in a book and shown at the weekly meeting of housemasters, prefects and monitors. Wider authority was given to prefects, but they also must record any punishments given, and present the record to the senior housemaster at a weekly meeting. Every boy knew that an appeal lay from the monitor to the prefect, to the housemaster, to the senior housemaster, and finally to the Principal.

Each week one of the prefects was appointed for school duty, his task being to supervise the cleaning of the classrooms and the general conduct during class hours. Another prefect was responsible for all matters connected with the discipline of the dining-hall. A committee met with the matron once a month to discuss all questions connected with food: more especially the difficult problem of properly balancing local variations; there must be, let us say, using an English analogy, enough Yorkshire pudding and Devonshire cream and not too much Lancashire hot-pot or too many Cornish pasties; Welsh rarebit for every meal could become an abomination very soon.

The prefects and monitors were responsible, under the masters on duty, for the discipline in the classrooms during evening 'prep'.

The report concludes: 'With experience of several countries behind us we have no hesitation in saying that the African is as capable of accepting responsibility, and is as efficient and trustworthy a prefect as any we have ever known.'

The daily routine, Monday to Friday, was as follows:

Morning

5.30	Rising bell.
6–6.20	Physical training.

6.20–6.50	Cleaning dormitories.
6.50–7.0	Quiet.
7.15	Breakfast.
8.0	Assembly and prayers.
8.15–12.0	Classes.

Afternoon

12.15	Lunch.
2.0–3.30	Classes. (On Tuesday half have hobbies and half private reading.)
4.0–6.0	Exercise—no one to be in the dormitory.
	Monday: House games.
	Tuesday: School games.
	Wednesday: Gardening.
	Thursday: House games.
	Friday: Social service and free time.
6.15	Dinner.
7.0–8.45	Preparation, supervised.
9.0	House prayers and House business.
9.30	Lights out.

Saturday.
Morning

5.30	Cleaning of houses and gardens for inspection.
6.15	Meeting of two Housemasters, prefect and monitors.
8.15	Inspection.
9.0	Hobbies.

Afternoon: Washing clothes; games.

6.0	Roll-call.
7.0	Entertainments (concerts, lectures, social parties, tribal drumming and dancing and debates).
9.0	House prayers.
9.30	Lights out.

When Guggisberg died the Council arranged for an Inter-House trophy in his memory to be competed for each year: an elephant tusk with a silver chain consisting of small inscribed shields, each one bearing the date and the name of the winning House. The silversmith work was done by H. A. Barker, who had recently retired from the staff.

YAW GYAMFI

The following is taken from the *College Review of 1929*:

> Nana Prempeh, the Kumasihene, sent his nephew, Yaw to Achimota, as soon as the Lower Primary Division was opened to receive entrants. Yaw was tall and strong for his age (11 years) and soon proved himself a leader not only in athletics but in class work, in which he showed promise far above the average. His first two years at Achimota might well have been lonely. Through no will of his own he was set on a pedestal by the other children, as one to be respected and copied but too high for intimacy. Instead of accepting the distinction he ignored it and won the love of his house by the whole-hearted way in which he entered into all their activities. He was accessible even to the youngest, and it was due to his rare modesty and eagerness to accept advice from his fellows, in his duties as captain of games, and head monitor in the children's boarding house, that he was saved from the isolation common to school heroes. In 1929 the Upper Primary and Secondary Divisions were opened, and Yaw entered into the junior boarding house for those between the ages of twelve and sixteen. Though one of the young members of the house he was unanimously elected a dormitory monitor. His last year was one of purest joy. He made many close friends; his early promise as a scholar in the school was more than maintained in the College; he was the best boxer in the college; he was captain of house hockey and in all the other house teams, in the inter-house athletic meeting he was the strongest competitor from his house and won places in the junior events; he joined the Junior Orchestra and made a very encouraging start as a violinist. It seemed that he could turn his hand to anything and do well. Appreciation of his rare gifts was not confined to Achimota; Ashanti had high hopes for him. Yet he was struck down with septicaemia and died after a short but painful illness borne with extraordinary fortitude. None of those who had the privilege of knowing Yaw will ever forget him. The example of his bravery, humility and purity has done much already. It will do more in the years to come.

One of the College Houses was named Yaw Gyamfi House. The others named at the same time, 1929, were in memory of Aggrey, Guggisberg and Livingstone.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

A quotation from the Elliot Commission's *Report on Higher Education in West Africa* (1945) may provide a background to this section:

> Missionary societies in West Africa, as in many parts of the British Empire, have been the pioneers of educational institutions, and we are

> assured that West Africans will always have a deep sense of gratitude for the sacrifices which the hundreds of missionaries have made, and for their devotion to the cause of humanity. The work of education was begun, and for many years carried forward, almost entirely by missionary effort (p. 1).

And again:

> When one looks for the root from which West African education sprang, one comes back, everywhere and always, to the missionaries. It was the Christian missions who first came out to the Gold Coast without desire for fee or reward. It was the congregations in Britain and America who provided the first development funds, the pennies of poor people, expended without reckoning of capital or interest. It was the Churches in both their African and European membership who first made Africanization a working creed, and produced the first, and still by far the greatest, large-scale African organization on the Western model. Finally, it was, and still is, the Churches who have made it possible to talk of West African education, higher, middle or lower, as a fact and not merely as an ideal (p. 16).

In 1924 the vast majority of the leaders of the new Africa had in the Gold Coast for long been baptized Christians. The first and several later Government Inspectors and several of the staff of the old Training College had been Anglican clergymen. Guggisberg was quite clear from the start—if he had any doubts the Phelps-Stokes Commission blew them away—that Achimota must be a Christian foundation. There were no countervailing arguments, as there were thought to be in India and Northern Nigeria. So it was taken for granted.

But what sort of Christians?

Denominational? Then what denomination?

The Anglican mission community in the Gold Coast was small. It would have been quite silly and unrealistic to make Achimota Anglican in the sense in which the older public schools in England are Anglican. But it would not have been easy to attach a Government institution to any other denomination.

But if neither secular nor denominational, then what?

Undenominational, perhaps? But the effect of that would be to detach pupils and students from their denominational loyalties; and that would mean either a weakening of churches which needed strengthening, or perhaps the emergence of a new denomination in an area where there were already too many.

The solution was found in what for half a century, since about the time of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference 1910, has been known as

the *inter*denominational position. What this was will (perhaps) appear when the actual life of the College is described.

But first a word must be said about another aspect: the voluntary. There were no compulsory chapels; and students could be withdrawn from instruction and worship for reasons of conscience. But more: any student could read in the Library, under supervision, instead of attending chapel. Chapel services, it was held, could be made attractive and should rely on their attractiveness. Attendance varied, according to the best estimates, between 85 per cent and 95 per cent.

This principle, so far as College discipline went, applied to the Roman Catholics also. In other respects they received separate treatment. They had their own shepherd (a layman in the first instance) and their own chapel (in the Music School[1]); and their own ministrations and instructions. It was a particularly pleasant result of this arrangement that when in 1938 discussions began concerning plans for a chapel in memory of Dr. Aggrey, a request was made by them that if possible provision might be made under the one roof for their worship also.

No religious test was applied to staff, but only those were appointed who were in sympathy with a Christian foundation. Fraser himself was in Anglican orders; so was the Vice-Principal; so was the Chaplain; there was another priest, a West Indian, in full sympathy with the monochrome diocese of Accra; there was a Methodist minister who in time received semi-official permission to train Presbyterian (as well as Methodist) candidates for full church membership.

What, then, of the interdenominational principle (which a shrewd observer has called 'Pre-Barth Student Christian Movement')?

The day began with two quiet periods of ten minutes each; many students used Bible Reading Fellowship notes.

At 7.50 members of staff met with the Principal for informal prayers.

At 8.0 the College had prayers with a hymn and a short address (given by the Principal if he was on the compound); the Roman Catholics being separate; and the lower forms in a third group separate.

At night there were House prayers taken by a Housemaster.

On Sundays at 8.0 there was a Communion Service: two Sundays a

[1] Before the Music School was built, transport to Accra was provided; and later one room in a staff bungalow was set aside. Bishop Hinsley (afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster), then Vicar Apostolic from the Holy See, visited Achimota in 1929 and expressed himself as well pleased with all he saw.

During the War for a time permission was given to the priest to say Mass in the Common Chapel.

month according to an Anglican rite familiar to Anglicans in the diocese; one Sunday a simpler rite according to the Book of Common Prayer; and one Sunday a service acceptable to Methodists and Presbyterians.

Large numbers of staff and senior students attended regularly. No questions were asked, and College discipline was not used either to encourage or discourage.

Various classes were held during the day.

At night the College met in the Girls' School dining-hall[1] (there being no chapel) for a three-quarter-hour service of hymns, prayers, readings and address, attended by all but a handful of students and by a majority of the staff, and visitors from Accra.

In the School a similar routine adapted for younger persons was followed.

After some years there was enough understanding and trust to make possible a further movement towards a common centre. Classes in preparation for confirmation—Anglican, Presbyterian and (though called by another name) Methodist—were divided not according to denomination only, but for, say, three-quarters of the course, according to the age of the pupil; in this way methods could be adapted to psychological needs as well as to dogmatic beliefs.

The second Principal, H. M. Grace, wrote as follows at the close of his all-too-brief term of office:

> No College can ever be satisfied with the outward forms of its corporate worship of God, but it is certainly true to say that God is truly present in the glorious Sunday evening services at Achimota which most of the staff and students attend. Why is this? Because many of the staff and students seek God's grace and power for themselves and their fellows before the day begins in the silence of their own rooms or dormitories; because many of the staff and students meet for family prayers each morning before the day begins; because many of the staff each Thursday meet in the Friends' Meeting House[2] for prayers and meditation, and once a month on a Sunday in the Chapel for common worship and prayer; because on Saints' Days and Sundays many meet round our Lord's Table to receive His blessings: because the Housemasters and mistresses pray together with their houses before bedtime: because the religious dogmas and doctrines

[1] During the War when the Girls' School compound was lost to the Army and the Resident Minister the College Dining Hall was used.

[2] In 1934 members of the Society of Friends on the staff presented to the College a simple building on a site with a wide view of the hills for the use of staff and students as a quiet place. It is known as the Hill House.

expounded in the Scripture lesson and house prayers often come to life in the corporate worship of a large assembly.

The first Inspectors said this in 1932:

> The religious influences seemed most wholesome and the opportunities for ethical and religious teaching more numerous than those provided at most English public schools; and the resulting life seemed neither grim nor flabby (p. 33).

In conversation one of them said it was the most Christian place he had ever been in or ever expected to be in.

And the second inspection report had this to say:

> The students are brought up in a society in which Christian standards of living are always kept before them and the differences which separate Christians elsewhere appear to be felt as little as possible (p. 154).

Outside the College members of the staff pioneered for closer Christian co-operation. In 1929 a Christian Council representing the major Christian bodies was formed, with Bishop Aglionby of Accra as chairman. A few years later the first Conference of Clergy and Ministers was invited to Achimota in vacation time. This with varying fortunes became a regular event. Even during the War the chaplain (John Bardsley) was able to write home: 'It is delightful to see the pleasure of the Anglicans and Methodists and Presbyterians at discovering how well they get on together when they are brought together.'

The same year he reported another thing: 'Last Sunday Taylor[1] took the Communion Service in the Chapel and asked me to help him—which I did! I read the service as far as the Creed and administered the Cup.' Now that con-celebration is being seriously considered, that report is perhaps worth attention.

In the early days we all, staff and students alike, owed much to the quiet ministry of the Reverend C. E. Stuart, Chaplain, later Bishop of Uganda and now Assistant Bishop of Worcester. His friendly wit, his unexcited zeal, his deep understanding were of great value to a diversified society beginning a common life.

In December 1932 Captain Maxwell-Lawford received from the Pope the Cross of St. Sylvester and was made a Papal Knight 'in consideration of the good work done by him for the religious education' of the Roman Catholic pupils of the College.

During the thirties some members of the staff and senior students

[1] The Rev. M. B. Taylor, Chairman of the Methodist Mission.

came under the influence of Dr. Buchman's 'Oxford' Group Movement. There was some danger that sectarianism might lead to schism, but wiser counsels in the end prevailed. There was some increase in zeal as well as some loss of charity.

VISIT OF C. F. ANDREWS

An outstanding event in the religious life of the College was the visit in Fraser's last year of C. F. Andrews, the close friend of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore and many other Indian nationalists, the Christian missionary, mystic and saint, one of the most heroic and one of the most deeply hated men of his time. He spent six weeks as Fraser's guest, preaching, speaking, taking retreats, receiving confessions, helping scores, both staff, students and pupils, who met in him a kind of sanctity they had only read about.

A member of staff wrote a letter which was published in Andrews' biography.[1]

> Nothing that happened in the College during my time there compared in any degree, either in kind or intensity, with the excitement which his visit caused to staff and students, young and old alike. Holiness some of them had seen before; intelligence all of them (I hope) had met; energy and endurance they were not unfamiliar with; but holiness combined with intelligence and ripe experience of men and matters, with great pioneering adventures in practical (and often successful) quixotry and with a more than feminine tenderness and gentleness and courtesy, that was something that they had never met before.

'Many of us', wrote the Chaplain, Mr. Bardsley, 'owe to Mr. Andrews more than we can possibly say.'

The judgement of such a man on the College was worth something. He was not uncritical. He thought there was too little leisure; he would have liked to see more plain living, more 'hardness'. But he said this:

> Achimota, as I have seen it each day, while I have lived in it for nearly six weeks, appears to me to have the stamp and signature of a great man's genius engraved upon it. The Idea of Sir Gordon Guggisberg has been given shape in bricks and mortar; and the first Principal, the Rev. A. G. Fraser, along with his Staff, has filled these buildings with a living spirit.
>
> Not only the Idea itself, but the execution of it is on a generous scale. Britain seems to say in it: 'Many wrongs have been done to Africa in the

[1] *Charles Frere Andrews*, by B. Chaturvedi and M. Sykes (Allen and Unwin).

past: let us do at least one thing well, by way of reparation: let us do it with all our heart and give our very best.'

Thus Achimota has become much more than an Institution. It is now a living symbol. It represents a new racial fellowship in Africa. As such, it must keep its standard fixed at the highest point. Its flag must never be lowered. . . .

The positive impressions, which I have formed, can be stated as follows:

(*a*) There is a delightful absence of race feeling combined with a frankness of self-expression, among both teachers and students. This leads on to friendship in every direction and is an incalculably great asset.

(*b*) The intellectual advance, especially on the technical and scientific sides, of modern knowledge is very encouraging. Achimota has gone further in this direction than anything I have met elsewhere in Africa.

(*c*) It is easy to recognize, among both boys and girls, emotional and imaginative forces, which should provide the raw material for character building. A vast world of subconscious feeling is close at hand, into which boys and girls seem to be able to come and go at will.

These three things make the progress of Achimota assured, if only the present atmosphere of freedom is maintained untainted for future generations. The foundations of the College have been 'well and truly laid'.

THE LIBRARY

I am very glad to be able to leave this section to Mr. Daniel Chapman, C.B.E., Headmaster of Achimota School,[1] who in his *Changing Patterns of Reading*, a lecture delivered to the West African Library Association in 1959, described from his own experience the work that the Achimota Library set out to do both in the early years, and later.

The nineteen-thirties witnessed a marked change in the reading pattern of the country inspired by the work of the Achimota College Library. The main objectives of the Library were four. It sought to provide a collection of books which would be useful for teachers and later for any interested reader throughout the country; to provide books suitable for the students and children at Achimota; to make books available for the use of the Achimota staff for purposes of teaching and research; and finally to lay the foundations of a library that would be essential for a university training.

Under the administration of the first Librarian, the Rev. C. E. Stuart, later Bishop of Uganda, the sections of the Library most useful to teachers in training were naturally given the most attention, for at that time secondary education at Achimota was only just beginning. By 1930 the Training College classes were well supplied with books suitable for their course of

[1] Now (1961) once more 'Achimota College'.

study, and in addition to the Teaching sections, the English Language and Literature, History, Geography and Religion sections were gradually building up.

The number of teachers making use of the Library steadily increased, largely owing to the efforts of the Rev. Robert Fisher (well known to many generations of teachers in this country) who in his touring of the country, particularly during 1927 and 1928, brought the Library and its advantages to the notice of teachers. A similar work of publicizing the Library was done by the late W. D. Opare. The rapid increase in the teachers' circulating-membership caused a rush upon the theory-of-teaching section of the Library; and so a large number of duplicates were ordered. Books from the Africa section were also in great demand.

The marked increase in the number of books taken out from the Fiction section was an interesting and welcome development during 1929 and 1930 and so also was the great interest taken in periodicals. Teachers also began to show an increasing interest in books and subjects not primarily connected with teaching. The Library was crowded with students during out-of-school hours and especially on Saturdays and Sundays. Teachers who came to Achimota on refresher courses also showed great interest in the resources of the Library. . . .

Students in their last year at Achimota were allowed to join the teachers' section and as early as 1929 arrangements were being made to extend the same privilege to the Akropong and Kumasi Colleges. In addition plans were made with the Superintendent of Education, Northern Territories, for members of the circulating library living in that region to borrow essential books through him. The early thirties thus saw a great increase in the number of books issued. New novels put on the shelves were generally all taken out by the next day. The periodicals were read by most pupils from the lowest forms upwards, and the pictures from them were taken to the classrooms and social service. Among the students, books of travel and popular expositions of scientific subjects were in great demand; and books in the Africa section were also regularly taken out. Pupils in the lowest forms at Achimota, who had formerly not been allowed to take books out, were granted the privilege, and very soon they started using the library regularly, and as conscientiously as students in the upper classes. In 1931 for instance, the number of books taken out by students more than doubled. The students alone took out as many books as everyone using the library did the previous year.

Students reading for the Cambridge School Certificate or the London Intermediate examinations borrowed books most frequently from the English and History sections. Pupils in the Middle School classes preferred works of travel, stories of Greek and Roman mythology, and school and adventures stories. Frequently, the more serious-minded members of the

senior forms chose works of Thackeray or Kipling. Others preferred writers like Ballantyne, Henty, Marryat and Talbot Baines Reed. . . .

During the Second World War the Achimota Library was open to the members of His Majesty's Forces resident in the Gold Coast. At the end of the War members of the Circulating Library resident outside Achimota numbered over 1,000 and included Government officials, both Europeans and Africans, teachers and clerks.

In 1944–45 the Achimota Library provided a centre for the Library Training Course which was conducted by Miss E. S. Fegan, British Council Library Organizer, British West Africa. Students came from all the British West African Colonies. They studied library classification and cataloguing, library administration, including the study of building plans and fittings, book selection, bibliography; and also got some insight into printing and experience of book-binding at the Achimota Printing Press.

Immediately following the War, the subjects best represented in the main library, in order, were History, English Language and Literature, Religion, Education and Geography. By far the most popular reading, however, was fiction. The next most popular section of the Library was the Teaching section from which books were taken mainly by members of the Circulating Library. Following closely on the fiction and teaching sections were the Philosophy section and the Science section. Then came the English Literature section and the History section. Geography and Travel followed a long way behind, and then books on Africa.

At that time about twenty per cent of the book-stock of over 11,000 was out in circulation to outside borrowers. The average rate of borrowing per month was 85 for staff; 610 for secondary school pupils; and 200 for post-secondary students. The average rate of borrowing per month for members of the Circulating Library at the same time was nearly 190.

It may be mentioned that apart from the main library which had over 11,000 books there were also the Science School Library with 12,000 books, the Engineering School Library with 850 books and the Art School Library with 270.

TROUBLES

(1) FINANCE

At the end of 1929 the Governor wrote to the Principal to tell him that as a result of the slump in the price of cocoa, the Government was 'in desperate financial straits', that his 'already frustrated departments' were to be pruned still more ruthlessly and that 'the question arises, is Achimota going to maintain its expenditure intact while all Government Departments cut theirs?'

Fraser called an extraordinary meeting of the Council which unani-

mously resolved that the whole of the credit balance remaining after the year's working, with the exception of £1,000—that is to say, a sum of £9,000 which had been set aside for new buildings[1]—should be handed over to the Government. Fraser further suggested, with the approval of the staff, that there should be a levy on salaries estimated to produce £4,000 in the coming year. He insisted that to reduce staff would be to reduce quality, and make a change which would affect not only the Gold Coast but Africa. He reminded the Governor that none of his staff had ever drawn 'doubling-up' allowances to which under Government rules they were entitled; and none of his housemasters and mistresses received a penny for their very heavy responsibilities.

Government accepted the offer of the surplus, but gratefully declined the contribution from salaries, and did not ask for a reduction of staff.

In September 1931 it was found that numbers were not badly down, but that fees were 30 per cent below the previous year. Scholarships or remissions of fees previously granted by the Director of Education to the children of teachers doing meritorious work could no longer be paid. Specially hard cases were met from a staff fund, the 1931 Fund, which continues to this day.

The Treasurer, the Rev. W. Wild, wrote in 1960:

> In the first few years £3,000 was collected of which more than £2,000 was contributed by members of staff. A notable contributor from outside was Mr. W. A. Cadbury. With increasing prosperity demands on the fund decreased considerably, but cases continue to arise of parents who through no fault of their own cannot continue to pay all or even a part of their child's fees. Careful investigation is made by the Committee, and in deserving cases grants are made.

The scholarships in the gift of the Principal were doubled in number and halved in value. The girls' fees were reduced. In 1935 there was an all-round reduction: Kindergarten boys and girls, £9; Lower Primary boys £15, girls £12; Upper Primary boys £24, girls £21; Secondary boys £33, girls £30; Intermediate, £48; and B.Sc. Engineering, £72, the one class leading to a degree; with an additional 20 per cent for the few students who were not natives of the Gold Coast.

[1] Achimota had at this time no assembly hall, no chapel, no gym, no swimming bath.

(2) ANOPHELES AND STEGOMYIA

In May 1927 Accra was in quarantine for several weeks owing to yellow fever, then the most deadly of all the mosquito-borne diseases. A number of Syrian traders died; several Germans, including two women, were attacked and one of them died. All Europeans resident in the town of Accra were advised to find accommodation away from the infected area. Achimota found accommodation for over a score of French traders in a new dormitory block. The invitation, given at the request of the head of the Sanitary Department, a remarkable man, Dr. Selwyn-Clarke (afterwards Sir Selwyn Selwyn-Clarke, Governor of the Falkland Islands), led to nothing more serious than the destruction on the first Sunday morning of a number of our prettiest birds under the catapults of our guests.

The following year there was serious sorrow and loss. Dr. Noguchi, the famous Japanese researcher, who had come to West Africa to explore the causes of yellow fever when Dr. Adrian Stokes died of it in Lagos, himself died of the disease in Accra. The virus had not been isolated and no satisfactory means of immunization was known. The next day Dr. Young, Noguchi's assistant, who had carried out the post-mortem, himself went down with yellow fever and died two days later. It was truly said that they had died for us men and for our salvation. Neither of these men had any connection with Achimota, but we shared in the general anxiety and grief; and the general pride when, before many years had passed, an adequate inoculation had been discovered; in 1933 it became ordinary routine. More than one member of staff suffered mild forms of the disease, but all recovered.

The discovery that the water supply of a village one and a half miles upwind from Achimota was an almost solid mass of mosquito larvae and pupae brought our danger home indeed; until then it had been supposed that the main cause of our infestation was the very large numbers of empty tins left about by builder's workmen in the long grass.

At the beginning of 1932 a very thorough report by Dr. Howells, Senior Health Officer, definitely indicted the valley along which the railway runs, at that date full of water-holes, swamps and borrow-pits.

An appeal was made to the students to give up their ten-days' break half-way through the first long term. The engineering students made a contoured survey of the worst part of the swamp, only a quarter of a mile away from the kindergarten sleeping quarters. Then when the half-term break arrived, the students worked from 7 a.m. to 10.30 and from 3.30 p.m. to 5.30—exceedingly hard work in stiff clay, and with

such enthusiasm that the clerks, catching this new infection, asked permission to join them.

As a result a comprehensive scheme of drainage was approved by the Council and carried out at a cost of £1,430—fourteen miles of earth-drain three to ten feet wide.

The following year it was noticed that though the old swamps had ceased to exist the firewood plantation offered innumerable nicely sheltered breeding places. Hollows in trees were accordingly filled with a mixture of tar and sand at the rate of 200 a day; and a substantial reduction in the number of mosquitoes followed. Next year thousands of trees were treated. Real improvement was the result.

But it was not until the occupation by the Army during the War that the area was thoroughly cleaned up.

Why the railway engineers in the first place left borrow-pits for mosquitoes to breed in is a problem for future research.

(3) SUSPICION OF ADAPTATION

There cannot really be much doubt that both the content and the method of teaching in England, where the mother tongue is also the language of school, must be different from the content and method of teaching in countries where the language of the home and the language of the school are different. A Gold Coast schoolboy in 1920 spoke Gã or Twi or Fante or Ewe at home; but (after the lowest infant classes) he spoke English at school; all his books were in English (and often out-of-date 'Readers' at that). Inevitably, then, his mind was concentrated on words; he had too little time and energy for things; and in any case names of things, being in a foreign language, had none of the emotional overtones which in little children are associated only with the home language or one with which they are equally familiar. No doubt, genuine bilingualism is possible:[1] but it was not to be found in the Gold Coast schools in the twenties. And it can never be created by outlawing the vernacular.

Adaptation, then, must be attempted. But in those days the great majority even of the professional classes, who had been brought up in the old ways and survived them, were very suspicious of any attempt to adapt. 'If a method is right in England, why is it wrong in Accra?' they

[1] And as I found in Ghana in 1958 increasingly actual in families where the mother speaks English as well as the father.

asked. 'Do you think our children are less intelligent than yours? Is this another version of the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" theory, or even of the "softly softly" theory?'

Not all adaptation was equally suspect. Botany, it was easily admitted, might be founded in the Gold Coast on a study of Gold Coast rather than of British plants. History, it was easily admitted, should contain study of African, of Gold Coast affairs.

But it was a monstrous thing, we were told, to suggest that books which were suitable for English boys in Form IV were not suitable for Gold Coast boys in Form IV. The argument that the latter were four or five years older than the former was derided and rejected.

The result was as Mr. Daniel Chapman said in the lecture from which extracts appear on pages 53 ff:

> I do not remember deriving any very great pleasure from the English reading material presented to us (in the village school). It was all mainly a question of learning up the meaning of new words and acquiring some comprehension of the passages read. Every effort was made to discourage the translation of passages into the African language.

(4) OPPOSITION

The enthusiasm that accompanied the formal opening in 1927 was not shared by everyone. The greater part of the Press was for many years hostile. One paper spoke of 'every steamer vomiting forth peripatetic philanthropists and bug-hunters for the Achimota staff'. Only one paper, the Hon. J. Casely Hayford's *Cape Coast Leader*, gave continuous support; and only one editor, the same man, took the trouble to visit Achimota to find out the facts. It was the more gratifying therefore that in times of real trouble, as for example when a small boy was accidentally drowned while bathing, the Press was sympathetic.

Many missionaries, too, suffered from a divided mind. Some felt that they could do very nicely with some of the funds which they thought (and not always without reason) were extravagantly spent. Others, of a puritan type, were grieved that the staff were not all teetotallers, and that unorganized games were not forbidden on Sundays. Others deplored what they considered the ecclesiastical looseness which permitted unconfirmed persons to communicate at Anglican altars and confirmed persons to communicate at non-Anglican.

Government servants sometimes alleged (only half jokingly) that the

reason they could not get telephones in their bungalows was that every dormitory at Achimota had one: the fact being that none had.

The more far-seeing, however, gave the College their full support. H. S. Newlands, first as Secretary for Native Affairs and then as Chief Commissioner of Ashanti, brought to the Council a profounder knowledge of African life than anyone who was not a professional anthropologist could attain; and supported the Principal through thick and thin. His death in 1933 was a great loss to us and to the country. He not only gave his time, he gave his money too, paying the fees of several boys whom he had selected as likely to do him and us credit, and he chose well. He left to the College a very complete library of books about West Africa.

Achimota is eight miles from Accra: the staff were very busy people. Only the most energetic and the most sociable were able to give as much time to social activities as was normal among Accra Europeans at that time. Misunderstanding followed. Houses, it was said, were being deliberately kept empty; the staff didn't work hard enough; they oughtn't to work so hard, then they would have time for the Club. Any education beyond the primary was bad for Africans; they would get above themselves. And so on.

It was with criticisms such as these in mind that the staff, African and European, took a risk. They decided to invite their European friends to a dance; their European friends, and those only, because at that time Africans would have been unwelcome to many European guests. The most pleasant thing about a difficult decision was that African members of the staff insisted on paying their share of the cost. They were quite sure it did not mean the introduction of the colour bar to the compound. The dance was a great success, and the voice of criticism sank for a time at least from forte to piano.

4

College Activities

ENGINEERING, 1931

In 1931 the Engineering Course which the Government had invited the College to undertake was started: a four to four-and-a-half year course to be followed by a three-year practical course in the P.W.D., or a four-year practical course in the Railway Department, with a small salary attached.

Five students entered the course, and there were five others preparing for it in the School Certificate classes.

Two years later the London Intermediate B.Sc. Engineering Examination was passed for the first time in West Africa; the successful candidate was R. P. Baffour.

Scholarships without which the work of the School could not have continued were offered by mining companies and others. A list of these appears in the section 'Benefactors' in Appendix 1.

Almost as important as the scholarships were the various contrivances and economies made by the head of the Engineering School whom the Inspectors called 'its very capable supervisor', C. S. Deakin. A large testing machine exerting a force of more than thirty tons, which when new cost £1,000, was bought for £100. The steel framework of the heat engines and structures laboratory had been part of the sisal plantation machinery house: it was presented by Kojo Ababio IV, the James Town Manche (Chief).

In 1934 the number of students had risen to eight. Messrs. Elder Dempsters found a place in the engine-room of M.V. *Accra* for a 'student engineer', the first of his kind in West Africa, on a voyage to England.

It began to look as though a mining engineering course ought to be established.

In 1935 the first student completed the course and gained his London

B.Sc. (External) in Engineering and started his four-years' practical training with the Gold Coast Railways as Probationer Engineer-in-training.

In 1935 also the School was inspected on behalf of the University of London by Professor S. M. Dixon, who not only recommended that it should be recognized, but himself presented to it a large part of his own valuable consultant's library.

In this year all students took part in a survey of the Volta in the Senchi district and investigated a possible bridge site there.

In the section (277) on the B.Sc. Degree in Engineering—the only degree which the 'old' Achimota prepared for—the 1938 Inspectors, speaking of the practical work done by the Engineering students as part of their course, mention that 'opportunities have been taken to do survey work in connection with . . . a bridge site over the Volta.' It should be recorded that the bridge site referred to is precisely the site of the present much-admired Adomi Bridge. And it may not be without point that the Hon. K. A. Gbedemah, the present (1960) Minister of Finance, was a member, though an unprofessional member, of that survey party.

DRAMA AT ACHIMOTA

The College inherited from the Accra Training College a lively tradition of vernacular plays performed, with but little rehearsing, for entertainment on Saturday nights—plays with simple plots, some of them Ananse[1] stories, no parts written out in full, rich in local colour: village scenes, scenes on farm, chief's courts, 'fetish' ceremonies, humorously presented. There was pathos and tragedy, but the popular line was buffoonery. Perhaps it was for that reason that such plays were forbidden elsewhere.

As competition between Houses grew keener, more attention was given to detail and plays of school life began to appear which had the added value of helping the staff to see themselves as others saw them.

This series came to an end with the production in 1933 of *Caesaris Incursio in Oram Auream*, a play in Twi, Fante, Gã, Latin and French, written by H. C. Neill and J. R. Marshall, and performed by Guggisberg and Lugard Houses. In it, of course, Julius Caesar founded Achimota.

In the early thirties the staff, who had naturally kept out of vernacular drama, began to lend a hand with plays within their scope. The

[1] See note on p. 81.

first was an adaptation of *Pickwick Papers—Bardell v. Pickwick*; tickets of admission were distributed free in Accra. A special train was run to Achimota station halt, and packed houses greeted with tumultuous cheering *aliquid novi ex Africa*. It was a special joy to see Mrs. Fraser as Mrs. Bardell, in the reluctant arms of R. C. Blumer (the Vice-Principal) as Mr. Pickwick.

For the Inspectors in 1932 an adaptation of the story of Joseph and his Brethren was made. It was very nearly not played at all. A storm broke upon the audience who were seated just in front of the Administration Building and drove them on to the stage and the great staircase leading up from it, and the verandahs on either side of it, where they choked the exits and the entrances. The players had to improvise in all sorts of ways but they did it with complete command of the situation, as though nothing had happened.

The comment of the Inspectors was fully justified—'. . . in stagecraft, dignity of pose, sense of grouping, colour and rhythm young Africa is making a serious contribution to the Drama and is evolving what may play an important part in the evolution of village life.'

The following year the staff put on *The Mikado*, which was well appreciated, and brought in £60 for the Red Cross; it also helped to keep the staff together at a time of great strain. The students decided almost unanimously never to put on a vernacular play again. The Houses went to great trouble to find English plays some of which were acclaimed.

A critic[1] who wrote in 1937 introducing a list of the plays that were remembered had this to say:

> The difficult task is now being attempted of rearing the two birds side by side. A dramatic committee of staff and students is to organize College plays; these will be in English, and the proposal, an ambitious one, is to produce three plays a year, one a straight play, e.g. Shakespeare, one a musical comedy or similar entertainment, and one a religious play. House plays are to be in the vernacular, these being, if possible, written ones, but short, simple and easily produced. Will the fledgling, with this careful nursing, survive the competition of the voracious cuckoo, or does the egg of our hopes lie in another nest, waiting to be hatched?

Among the plays introduced by the critic the following are worthy of special mention:

[1] George Hood, whose all-too-early death in 1952 robbed the college of a talented and devoted teacher.

HOUSE IV.—*The Pirates of Prampram*, being Act I of Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Pirates of Penzance*. The spirit of Gilbert appeals strongly to Africans, and they made a great success of this play. The chorus work, both singing and movement, was good, and some of the principals acted excellently, but the solo singing was poor. The effectiveness of the costumes was enhanced by the simple decorative backcloth, the students' first serious attempt at scenery. 1934.

Chu Chin Chow. Played by House IV together with senior girls and some House VI boys. A spectacular play to which the students did full justice. The Arabian Nights background suited the actors, and there were many group scenes. There were many changes of scene, and some of the costumes were somewhat elaborate, but they cost practically nothing. The play was afterwards performed to the public.

GYAMFI HOUSE.—*King Philip*, a four-act play, 1932.

Charley's Aunt.—This farce, portraying the lighter side of University life, was greatly appreciated by actors and audience alike. The acting was very good, and the play was a roaring success. A repeat performance was given on the occasion of the Inter-Collegiate sports.

SLESSOR HOUSE (Girls).—*The Poetasters of Accra* (Ispahan). Another very suitable play. The girls, in their long flowing robes, showed great skill in their interpretation of the different male parts. The humour was much appreciated.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

It was Guggisberg's hope and intention that Achimota should be more than a school, more than a college; he looked forward to the day when it should be an educational research station, doing for the education of the country what a staff college should do for an army.

In preparation for the Inspection of 1932 Fraser compiled a list of beginnings that had been made in this direction.

As soon as the staff arrived—indeed before they arrived—they began with Aggrey's help the study of local languages. Soon, some had been set to the study of Twi, others of Fante and so on.

It soon became plain that Twi and Fante were dialects of a common tongue which appeared farther apart than in fact they were, because they had been reduced to writing on different principles by missionaries from different nations. The need for a common script was obvious. The Governor was approached with the suggestion that an expert should be invited to unify the script. With the help of the Institute of African Languages and Cultures, the services of a very distinguished linguist, Dr. Westermann of Berlin, were secured. An important begin-

After the formal opening 1927

West classroom block

The Orchestra 1930

Social Service

ning was soon made in a task which however proved more difficult than was at first hoped. Real progress was made. But not even the forces of nationalism have yet made a full solution possible.

A common script made the production of vernacular books and pamphlets much easier. Reading books and cards began to appear from the College press. Fante folk tales, Gã folk tales, tales of the Seashore followed.

The most ambitious work of the early days was the illustrating by teachers-in-training under G. A. Stevens' inspiration for publication by the Oxford Press of Rattray's *Ashanti Folk Tales*. Of these illustrations Sir William Rothenstein had this to say:[1]

> The results of Mr. Stevens' short stay at Achimota show a vitality, a happy enjoyment of nature which survive in the young African. . . . The African has preserved his strong sense of pattern; do not let us weaken it by putting before the young the dreary outline of chairs, jugs and candlesticks which are still (1935) to be found as examples to be copied in Indian elementary schools.

Fraser claimed that it had been proved that the vernacular can be successfully used in teaching the primary classes. Their *study*, as distinct from their use as medium, was a part of the curriculum for all teachers in training, some of whom did valuable research in the subject. The Cambridge School Certificate authorities had approved vernacular syllabuses submitted to them and admitted all four of them as languages to be taken by African pupils in the place of European languages. Folk tales, songs, proverbs, medical lore and historical traditions were collected, and put into forms suitable for use in other schools. The College Staff ran a six-weeks' school in all four languages for Government officers, missionaries and merchants.

The College sent out about thirty trained teachers a year into the primary schools of the country. There were short courses in special subjects open also to students from other parts of West Africa.

In the Christmas holidays a refresher course for teachers was held—so popular that many more applied each year than could be admitted. (At one of these a travelling professor who had come up from South Africa by way of Central Africa found to his amazement that Africans were dancing with the ladies of the European staff.)

From time to time whole classes or a whole infant school would pay a day's visit—sometimes from as far away as fifty miles—sharing with

[1] In *Arts of West Africa*, edited by Michael E. Sadler (O.U.P., 1935), p. x.

their opposite numbers class hours and rest hours and play hours and meals.

Modern methods of drill used in the College were spread by the teachers into the schools, and remedial drill for physical defects. The College library was the best in the country. Any teacher, any member of a literary society anywhere in the country, could join it and receive books by post. A deposit of five shillings was paid, but no subscription. Before the slump even postage was franked; even during it, teachers received and returned books postage free. The Teachers' Association started from the College had made a beginning, and a very good beginning, while Robert Fisher was secretary; his departure left a gap not easily filled.

Some account of the social service undertaken by staff and students together is given on page 67.

EXHIBITIONS, 1932

An exhibition of work had for some years been recognized as an annual event. But a rather special effort was made during the inspection in April 1932.

It was necessarily limited in scope. It is possible to exhibit work in art and in handicrafts, farm products and cookery and laundry work, school apparatus made by teachers in training, and special experiments in science. Spoken English and mathematics on the other hand cannot so easily be displayed. House gardening can be seen only in the house gardens; music heard only at a concert; social service observed only by going round with the patrols. Important academic and unexciting exercises cannot be observed at all.

An impressive number of exhibits, nevertheless, were on view. There were paintings and wood carvings from the College, drawings and clay models from the School; specimens from the carpenter's shop, beaten copper and tin-plate work; weaving, cobbling, tailoring and bookbinding from the College; paper and cardboard modelling, raffia and basket-work, toys of wood and a model of a village house and compound. In the domestic science rooms cooking and laundry work could be seen; together with cakes and cooked meals, jams, local foods and needlework and laundered garments. From the farm came grain and tubers, fruit and vegetables and eggs; poultry and sheep, pigs and goats in their pens. There were scientific experiments illustrating the elementary principles of plant physiology, side by side with mosquito larvae and an advanced zoological dissection.

Kindergarten and Lower School teaching apparatus made for use in class by teachers and by teachers-in-training, was to be seen side by side with a modest show of work by members of staff and their wives—painting, beaten brass, needlework, carpentry, jewellery, which proved that the variety of interest encouraged in pupils was the result not of theory only but also of the versatility of the adult resident community.

The Inspectors called it 'a lively and stimulating display of the aims and methods of the many kinds of work, including but by no means confined to the arts and crafts, that are being carried on in the many departments'. (Inspection Report 1932, p. 40.)

SOCIAL SERVICE

One of the greatest temptations of a large institution is to enjoy the full life that it provides and forget the needs of those outside, or to remember them only as statistical items or objects of merely intellectual interest: not persons at all.

The old Training College at Accra set a good example by running a successful boys' club. And Achimota very early went further.

In 1927 Douglas Benzies was sent to India to see the social service work done by the boys of the High School at Srinigar in Kashmir, and at Trinity College, Kandy, in Ceylon, and other places. He came back full of ideas. And in January 1928 a few days after the transfer of the Training College students from Accra to their new home, a society which included staff and some thirty students was formed. As a result the Accra Boys' Club was continued and reinforced. Five of the neighbouring villages were visited every Friday afternoon, when tins and other rubbish were collected, minor ailments treated, sick persons taken to hospital, trees and shrubs planted, and some cotton too—the main object in the first year being exploration and personal contact.

A weekly meeting every Saturday morning was held to discuss the work and make fresh plans.

In 1929 there was some expansion: a dispensary in Achimota village was opened three afternoons a week (seven afternoons the following year). A children's club was planned. A new group visited fresh villages and cleared away rubbish and built latrines. Four groups visited Accra every week. Another prepared bandages, ointments, picture books and reading cards. A reading class for domestic servants and others was started. A 'magic' lantern was brought into use and slides made of an African version of the Good Samaritan.

Next year the society took the name Legon from the tumbledown village on the hill which is now the splendid site of the University College. The name was in use until the society became affiliated to the Red Cross in 1932.

Perhaps these examples of early activity are enough for the present purpose: to claim for Achimota some place at least in the beginning of the very remarkable social development which has followed in more recent years.

The first Inspectors reported in 1932: 'The work of this society is calculated to produce a lively sense of responsibility and a spirit that may in the future exercise a strong beneficial influence on village life in the Gold Coast.'

The lead after Douglas Benzies left was taken first by Dennis Herbert and then by Eric Colbatch Clark, and then by F. E. Joselin.

The 1938 Inspectors reported a membership of 'Ninety boys and thirty girls, a very high proportion of those eligible, engaged . . . in about twenty-five different kinds of social work in Accra and the villages around the College.' 'We were much impressed', they added, 'by the earnestness of the students and by the evidence of the general usefulness of the Society. . . . They (the students) have developed a real interest in the welfare of those around them, who are less happily situated than themselves.' (Inspection Report, 1939, pp. 238 f.)

AGRICULTURE

As early as December 1924 Fraser had decided that in a country whose main industry was agriculture, this must be an important subject of instruction.

As soon as the Training College was transferred from Accra to the new site this policy was put into effect. The most important new departure indeed was said to be the starting of classes in this subject—both instruction in class and practical work in the gardens; every student both worked his own plot of ground and studied the work done on the College farm (which is described on pp. 70–71).

When the secondary school classes were opened the same practice was followed, but not in quite the same way. The training department had a two-year course, in their second and third years; in their second year it consisted of one whole day a week (from 6.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. with a two and a half hour break), on the farm or in the lab. The secondary students had a compulsory one-year course in their second year. The

Cambridge Examination Syndicate restored agriculture as a subject in the examination and adopted a syllabus prepared by Dr. Irvine, to whom in this and all allied matters Achimota owes much indeed.

The next year preparations went ahead for the provision of post-secondary classes in agriculture; specimens were collected and classified; ideal conditions and methods studied; and text-books drafted.

The girl student-teachers did practical gardening on their house plots and poultry work with the girls in secondary Forms II and III.

But it was in the School Certificate course that the greatest advance was made. After much discussion nine students finally chose this subject, while six chose botany. At Easter a ten-days' agricultural camp was run for both groups at Assuantsi; and in October a shorter one, mainly concerned with cocoa. The students showed much keenness. But it was already plain that more laboratory accommodation was needed.

The 1932 Inspectors welcomed the teaching of the subject in the second year of the secondary course as 'a specially interesting departure from the normal science course', and hoped that it might be continued.

They recommended, however, 'a syllabus in general science to contain some biology with possibly an agricultural bias and the elements of physics and chemistry'.

This recommendation was not approved by the Principal or the Academic Committee. The Gold Coast, it was argued, was an agricultural country. It was a sound maxim in education to start from the known. The students, it was believed, were interested in the subject. For those for whom the School Certificate examination would be the end of their formal education agriculture was a good 'finishing' science. 'We are not prepared to let it go.'

And further, when in 1934 a commercial course was under consideration, some agriculture was included in the syllabus.

In the same year it was reported that agriculture had been recognized by London University as an 'exemption' subject for matriculation; and hopes were cherished that with the increase in the number of students studying for the Inter. B.Sc. it should be possible before long to develop a degree course in tropical agriculture.

This began to seem much more probable as the scheme matured for the acquisition by the College of a farm in the forest-country; this would make it possible to abandon the attempt to produce forest-country crops on the dry-zone farm, which had been built up over the years within the College compound.

In 1937 the new College plantation at Bunsu was taken over from the United Africa Company and the Gold Coast Government. The intention was to organize technical and theoretical courses in tropical agriculture, leading to a diploma. But the scheme which promised great things and received the cordial blessing of the 1938 Inspectors was destined to be a War casualty. That sad story must be told on a later page.[1]

THE FARM

During the first few years after 1925 tree crops were planted, farm buildings erected, livestock and poultry brought in and a wide variety of annual crops collected.

In the second period which lasted till 1935 the farm was used by students taking agriculture as a subject in secondary and training college classes; by the staff for the testing of crops and methods; and by working pupils in a two-year practical course.

In the third period which began about 1937 the aim was to provide for a one-year certificate course and a three-year diploma, as well as for the general school and college classes; and to investigate the economic side of various types of holding.

The general policy remained the same from 1929 to 1935: to teach the main principles to all post-primary pupils, with special attention to vegetables and poultry, by methods available to the society they lived in. Improved types of livestock and poultry and new varieties of plants were made available; fowls, eggs, grade pigs, vegetable seed such as Indian spinach, tomatoes, garden eggs and sweet peppers.

The fruit section included about two acres of irrigated citrus, coconuts, guavas and imported varieties of mango.

Field crops were grown on the 'dry farm' (south of the main entrance gates) illustrating various methods of maintaining soil-fertility and different rotations—to supersede 'shifting cultivation'.

In 1933 industries were started as a means of utilizing surplus fruit. Jams, jellies, marmalade, fruit-syrups were made with inexpensive equipment.

Between 1925 and 1934 the herd of West African shorthorn cattle increased naturally from a dozen to a hundred. The importation of a Kerry bull was a failure. He put his horns through the wire screening of the train that brought him via Kumasi from Takoradi, and the tsetse

[1] See p. 102.

fly got him. A Zebu successor was no luckier. Milk up to the standard of cleanliness required for Grade A in England was produced without special equipment. In spite of some heavy losses the cattle section of the farm was financially profitable.

Neither sheep nor goats prospered: anthrax and pleuro-pneumonia and skin diseases were too much for them. But pigs did well.

Insecticides are required wherever poultry is kept. In 1932 a plant of *derris eleptica* was obtained from Kew for trial. It was grown successfully and made into an insect powder which proved useful and was distributed widely.

In 1936 those branches of the farm which seemed capable of profitable development were converted into separate smallholdings run by economic methods; and the working pupils' course was closed down. Students, therefore, had more demonstration lessons and less practical work than before.

The expansion made necessary by shortages during the War made a change of policy inevitable. By 1943 it was clear that the farm must be managed as a single whole to meet the needs of the Achimota community; to provide materials for class work of all kinds, the training of farm pupils and the production of food.

Vegetable production was increased to the maximum. In 1940 five thousand bottles of fruit juice and almost a ton of marmalade were sold. In the early years of the War Achimota was one of the few places where poultry stock and pig stock could be obtained. Much of the early stock of the new pig farms that were founded came from the College herd.

In 1947 the farm had nearly thirty acres under the plough, bullocks being used for the heavy work. Cattle were kept on the fields at night by means of an electric fence. The flock of fowls was about 600.

The farm was still used by many classes, but with the change over from Agricultural Science to General Science the use of it grew less.

The Inspectors appointed in 1951 found no sufficient reason for the continuance of a department on which a good deal of money and a very great deal of devoted thought and energy had been expended, and the farm was closed down.

In 1960 it was reopened.

MUSIC

European music had been taught in the Accra Training College before it was transferred to the care of Achimota: singing by the whole College

together for two half-hours a week; some musical theory; and tribal drumming introduced by Robert Fisher. The College also possessed six violins.

These activities were continued: the singing and musical theory in separate sets under W. E. F. Ward.

Drumming was further encouraged by the purchase of drums and the general interest of the staff. Its special festival was on Saturday night near the full moon. In this the College was consciously opposing traditional educational theory, which at that time was inclined to frown on things unfamiliar to the European. Some attempts were made to get the help of local drumming experts, but these were not successful; and E. Amu when he arrived on the staff was critical of the standard and set to work to raise it. Till then reliance was placed on those students who seemed to know more than their fellows; and sometimes they were blind guides.

The orchestra was enlarged into a self-governing society by W. E. F. Ward and assisted by members of staff and wives who gave up Friday evenings and Saturday mornings to coaching.

The programme of a concert given in December 1934 may be of interest:

Orchestra	'Gavotte'	*Bach*
Violin Solo	'Largo'	*Handel*
Orchestra	(a) 'Spinning Chorus' from 'The Flying Dutchman'	*Wagner*
	(*b*) Selection from 'Cavalleria Rusticana'	*Mascagni*
Piano Solo	'Serenade'	*Schubert*
Trio	Rondo from a String Quartet	*Mozart*
Orchestra	'Wedding March'	*Mendelssohn*

The Trio received special applause: it was performed by C. F. Martinson, C. Graves and R. Kwami.

Voluntary choirs were added to the formal classes. Chapel singing was improved by congregational practice—though in those days there was no choir; that and its processionalism is a modern innovation.

In the school—Kindergarten and Lower Primary—music lessons were begun in 1927.

Concerts of European music were given on Sunday afternoons by the staff enthusiasts with the help of friends from Accra.

In 1930 Miss Parnell took charge, with the assistance of A. K. Okine, D. A. Chapman and R. Kwami. More drumming was attempted for

the benefit of the Inspectors and the drumming improved. But it was E. Amu's arrival that really gave it status and that also spread a knowledge and love of the African music which like so many of the arts was beginning to disappear.

The strengthening of the music staff led to a real improvement in the music of the Lower School. Higher up there were difficulties: the economic depression for one thing, and the appearance of fresh activities tended to reduce the number of those who could and would give of their spare time to it.

The death of Robert Kwami in 1957 was a grievous loss in the field of music. Much indeed had been hoped of his work in the future and no little enjoyed while he was on the staff after his distinguished career as a student of music at the Royal College of Music.

More recently Philip Gbeho has become more than a teacher of music, a national figure, almost a national institution.

THE PRINTING PRESS

When Achimota in 1926 took charge of the Government Training College in Accra, printing on a small scale was already a popular hobby.

In 1927 Captain Maxwell-Lawford brought to it great enthusiasm, and knowledge and skill little less than professional.

The following year three numbers of the College magazine were printed under his supervision. By the end of 1929 the press had quite outgrown its accommodation. Next year it was moved to new quarters behind the book store. Here with new machinery a big job was completed—the Annual Report for 1930, 56 pages folio with many illustrations.

A beginning was also made with vernacular literature.

A Rotaprint machine was added in 1931. And not long after a new wing was built, which made an efficient bindery possible, and so saved the library much time and money.

In 1937 three compositors and two machinists were employed. A few youths were given a three-year training.

The work done was of three main kinds:

(1) Routine jobs for the College and School—forms of every kind, and magazines and reports.
(2) Jobbing work for Accra firms, clubs and societies.
(3) Vernacular and other educational literature, for the College, for the Education Department and for the Missions.

The Inspectors in 1938 were surprised at the quantity of work carried out, in view of the small amount of space occupied and the small size of the staff—a part-time supervisor (J. R. Marshall) busy both with teaching and with the library, a manager (J. R. Grant), and some ten apprentices. They commented on the variety of work produced, not only routine printing and commercial jobs for all the activities of the College and School, but many pamphlets and small school books, which had a wide sale outside. The vernacular publications were specially commended. On ten months' work they reported a profit of £525, a very considerable sum before the War.

The year 1939 was a difficult one owing to delays over Gã script. But when war broke out the Press was well equipped, and 1940 was a good year.

The good work continued for a number of years. But it was not found easy to justify the continuance of the Press after the war, when local presses greatly improved. There is no mention of it in the next Inspection Report. Nor in the *Achimota Review, 1937–1947*, published in 1947. With the enlargement of the Vernacular Bureau under K. C. Whittaker, much of the equipment found a new home.

GAMES

In the report *Achimota 1927–1937* there is a general survey of the athletics of the College written by the games master, A. H. R. Joseph, a Ceylon Tamil, who came with Fraser from Trinity College, Kandy, where he had been head prefect and master and a distinguished cricketer, who served the Gold Coast and Ghana longer than any other member of the staff, and who won in no ordinary manner the affection and respect of many generations of Achimotans.

This article is reprinted as it appeared:

GAMES FOR BOYS

Grounds

At the beginning of 1927 the College had two large cricket ovals and four football fields. There were also three tennis courts for the members of staff and one tennis court attached to the Principal's bungalow. On the School side one hockey field was ready and two were under construction.

During the last ten years we have gone on adding to or improving these playing fields. First, the cricket ovals had to be re-levelled and surfaced at considerable cost. Then the scrub and bush between the football fields were cleared and the surface levelled, so as to make one continuous stretch of

playing fields. As hockey began to grow in popularity, two new laterite and 'swish' fields were prepared. Three new tennis courts were made for the staff, and the original tennis courts became the students' tennis courts. Since then three other tennis courts have been made for the College students and three more are being made this year for the girls in the School compound. We have also made two more fields on the School side, and have encroached on several lawns to provide for the many games of rounders and netball that go on during the year.

As the playing fields are so far away from the houses, cricket nets were made close to houses; there are nine of them now, and Guggisberg and Cadbury (then named Park) House made a fair-sized hockey field near their own houses. The College spends about £250 a year on looking after these various fields.

We also have endeavoured to provide swings, sand pits and other forms of amusement for the small children.

Games

In 1927 there were only 60 Kindergarten and Lower Primary children, and it was quite a simple matter to provide games for them. But when the Training College came here from Accra then we began to organize games on a house basis. Each student plays games with his house twice a week. College games take place as a rule on Saturdays. We also decided in 1928 to play cricket in the dry season, January–April, and football in the wet weather, April–June. In the second term of the year we had the inter-house and inter-college sports and towards the end of the year we played hockey. These were the chief college games. Tennis was played throughout the year. Volley ball and teni-koit had varying periods of popularity. Boxing has also had a fair number of followers, especially when Captain Maxwell-Lawford and T. Anthony were in charge. We attempted to introduce Rugby football into the college, but though the students showed great aptitude and keenness for the game, the climate and the hard grounds were all against it, and we dropped the game after a season.

House matches have been played in all games. When the number of houses was as large as eight, the competitions took up a great deal of time, but as we are now down to five senior houses which take part in these competitions, we have been able to devote a little more time to College and 'Set' games. One of our major difficulties has been to arrange a fixture card for college matches. This is because there are hardly any organized clubs in the country. We have been able to get regular fixtures with the training colleges and the secondary schools, and the late Mr. Martin Holm brought up strong African cricket teams to play the staff and students. In the last two years the Accra Cricket Club have had a series of friendly and exciting cricket matches with us. We have at times

been more fortunate in the matter of hockey fixtures with outside teams, but as the boys play a fast game on the swish grounds, visiting teams find it difficult to adapt themselves to our grounds.

Football suffered greatly in comparison with cricket and hockey for two reasons. We have very few experienced Soccer players on the staff; this means that the boys continue to play the game in the old style, spectacular high kicks being a common failing in this country, while control of the ball and the quick, accurate passes which are features of good football have yet to be mastered. Nor do our visiting teams help us to eradicate these faults.

The progress in hockey is very noticeable. Messrs. Bolton, Neill, Woodhouse and Jaipal Singh have contributed greatly to the present standard of play. In the last few years hockey has become the most popular game in the college and our Old Boys are spreading the game in the country. Very enjoyable games of mixed hockey also form a happy feature of our college life.

The progress made in cricket has been satisfactory. The boys seldom or never see a good, closely contested match; the result is they have not yet learnt to use the tactics employed by a clever captain to get a strong side out cheaply. We are better than we were, but we have a long way to go. The style of our batsmen has improved; our bowlers have all some knowledge of spin bowling and the fielding is keen. Our wicket-keeping is also improving steadily. We are also training student umpires, much needed officials at local cricket matches.

We have done well in athletics. Our inter-house sports have been of great value, for with senior and junior teams taking part in the competitions, practically every boy gets his chance of doing something. Long-distance running has been our forte. Our cross-country teams owe much to Mr. Neill's enthusiastic and careful coaching.

There have been 11 inter-college athletic competitions, and we have won the Aggrey Trophy on seven occasions, and been second at the four remaining competitions. Messrs. Young and Benzies were responsible for organizing the first competition; and the College has organized it on seven different occasions. We have always helped to entertain visiting teams and on six occasions we have held the sports on our own grounds. These sports have proved extremely valuable, and there are signs of awakening keenness in athletic sports throughout the Colony. The Gold Coast student has great athletic gifts, but he needs systematic and thorough training before he can be a first-rate performer.

The college has a tennis club for students. We are trying to train the students to run their own club under the guidance of the games master. At present there are nearly 60 members and the club is growing in popularity, while the students under the care of Mr. Hulede are beginning to play a much-improved game. There are threats of a challenge to the staff.

In all our inter-house competitions there are house trophies: after the death of Sir Gordon Guggisberg the College Council provided a trophy called after him, which is won by the house gaining the most points at inter-house competitions. This trophy has been won twice each by Gyamfi and Aggrey and once by Lugard.

We are endeavouring to give all our students every opportunity of building up healthy bodies for the work they have to do in life. This work goes on throughout the whole college. At no stage is it more important than in House VI (the junior house), where the boys have been especially fortunate in their housemaster.

ELISON DOGBATSE, 1934

At the inter-college sports of 1934 in the cross-country race Elison Dogbatse, the prefect of Gyamfi House, when only twenty yards from the finish, was seen to fall. He made two attempts to rise, but when asked 'Can you finish?' answered, 'I can't—isn't it sad—isn't it a disgrace—what will happen to my college?' His head fell forward and he died feeling disgraced. His name is not forgotten.

The race was won by Wesley College, Kumasi, who very generously returned the cup to Achimota to be held as their tribute to his devotion.

The lamps on either side of the entrance to the Administration Building were designed by Mr. Gabriel Pippet, art master, executed by Mr. Aikens, and presented by staff and students. They were dedicated to the glory of God in the presence of the whole College in memory of a very gallant gentleman.

PHYSICAL TRAINING AND GAMES

GIRLS' SCHOOL, LOWER PRIMARY AND KINDERGARTEN

During the first seven years marching, team-games, easy apparatus, and boxing were the main items in the P.T., the girls joining in the less energetic part. Netball and other games were taken by the House Staff. Girls in the teacher-training course had physical exercise classes together with netball, hockey and tennis. The first Lower Primary sports were held in April 1928; the girls in the teacher-training course had their first sports in 1930, some of the events being taken quite seriously.

The physical work on the School (i.e. western) side was reorganized in 1935 when a trained Physical Training specialist joined the staff. Under her supervision African teachers taught the (English) Board of Education course in the Kindergarten and Lower Primary; she herself

taught modern Swedish gym. methods to the girls, using the Lower Primary hall.

For games the girls in the Senior and Middle Schools were divided into four tribes—Asompona, Yiapom, Petepre and Titriku. Only those that reached a certain grade in netball and rounders were allowed to play hockey and tennis.

In 1935 for the first time every girl took part in the sports, either as competitor or as steward.

Each form had a games captain; these together with tribe captains and the School games captain and secretary met every fortnight. Girls in the teacher-training course had one lecture and one practical class a week, which included some anatomy and physiology, the Board of Education syllabus, and some knowledge of muscle work.

In 1937 there were five tennis courts. Stoolball and teni-koit were being introduced.

5

Freedom under a Constitution

A CONSTITUTION

From very early days Guggisberg intended Achimota to enjoy a large measure of independence. 'From the beginning,' he wrote in *The Keystone* (p. 32), 'Achimota should be entirely independent and should be organised and administered in such a way that it can, when the time comes, be transferred to the control of whatever board or authority may then be considered the most suitable to take charge of the University into which it will blossom.' At this time he was thinking of a secondary school with a teacher-training department. By 'independent from the very beginning' he seems to have meant independent of the control of the Education Department, as in fact it was even before it passed to the control of a Council.

It is proper to remark that the Education Department loyally co-operated in an arrangement which cannot have been altogether pleasant to them. At one time Achimota had a larger senior staff than the whole of the Education Department, and the transfer of the Training College to the upstart institution must have been a strain.

In December 1926 at the first conference (see page 21), Fraser, with the Governor's permission, put forward the new suggestion.

> At the present moment Achimota is directly controlled by Government; and I, as the head of a Government Department, am practically independent of local opinion or of the fees of parents. I do not believe that this is good, and I think it is most essential that direct Government control should end, and that the people of this Colony should have a direct responsibility and voice in the government of this, its greatest educational institution.
>
> If political feelings were to run high in this Colony, it would be impossible to guard Achimota from being attacked as a representative of Government. Many educational questions raised would not be discussed in an educational, but in a political, atmosphere.

He pleaded for an *ad hoc* governing body. Government, he insisted, cannot adequately educate; it can endow: it can inspect. Education demands a closer intimacy.

The suggestion was warmly welcomed by Casely Hayford in the *Gold Coast Leader*, 'The spirit of freedom', he wrote, 'must be precious to us as a people. It means the establishment of the true foundations of our nationhood.'

Guggisberg committed himself whole-heartedly to the idea when he formally opened the College the next month, January 1927. Extracts from his speech are printed on page 22.

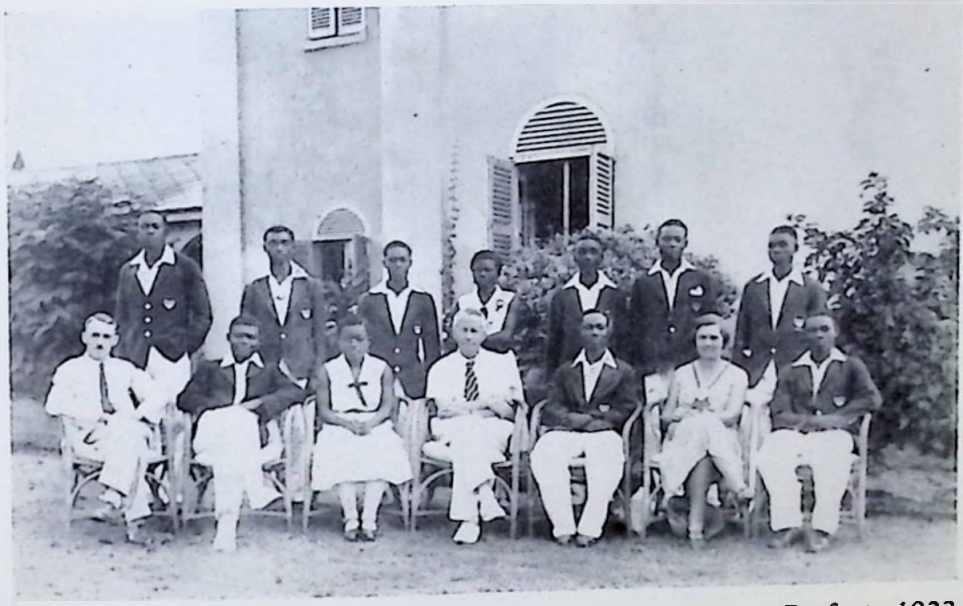
Fraser presently found a new and very urgent argument in the loss the College had suffered in the death of Dr. Aggrey. No one was found to succeed him, and there was real danger that the Press would on political and racial grounds destroy the confidence that he by his labours had built up. Besides, there could not yet be the fullest co-operation on the staff. There were some excellent African men and women on the Junior Staff and to them much was owed. But the full co-operation of equals, he felt, must be found elsewhere. For that a college council was essential.

In March 1928, therefore, Fraser submitted to Government a long memorandum setting out the scheme and the reasons for it; a draft constitution and rules and regulations for the conduct of its business; together with the suggestion that the cost of the Senior Staff and of scholarships should be borne by Government and that all other charges should be met from fee income.

He also proposed, as safeguards, triennial inspection by an outside body, a revision of the constitution at fixed intervals, and the appointment of four members of the Council by the Governor.

The Acting Governor forwarded the proposals to the Secretary of State with a covering letter briefly summarizing them: Achimota should be handed over to the control of a council, composed of official and unofficial Europeans and Africans, which should have the entire management and superintendence over the affairs of the College, save that it might not alter the constitution.

The memorandum was considered at a meeting of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa at which the Governor (Sir Ransford Slater) and Fraser himself were present, and in October the Secretary of State (L. S. Amery) approved the principle. Only one serious change was made. Fraser had suggested that when a vacancy occurred the Principal should be appointed by the



Prefects 1933

First dinner of the Old Achimotan Association

The Swimming Pool

Council subject to the approval of the Governor. Mr. Amery, on the advice of the Advisory Committee, ruled that the Principal should be appointed by the Secretary of State, 'who would of course take into consideration any recommendations made by the Council'.

Fraser wrote:

> It is the first time such freedom has been given to any educational institution in our Colonies. Of course it is common in our universities at home. But here, for the first time, Government is content, in the Colonies, to be a patron and not a directing force. A Council composed of Africans, Europeans and members of staff will govern. The Gold Coast Government will give a grant fixed for a period of years—three in the first instance, longer later—and will not supervise the expenditure of that grant. The budget will not be submitted to Government, though the audit will. The initial income for the first three years is at the rate of £68,000 per annum. We have a free hand in selection of staff, in religious teaching, in policy and in every way. It is a proud day for Sir Gordon Guggisberg who first launched the scheme.

The Achimota Ordinance came into force on 1 April 1930. On the 8th there was a holiday. 'The prefects marshalled the school to greet the Council as they arrived at the Club house. At ten to nine the Governor arrived and addressed the Council and the College and School from the top of the Club steps. At nine sharp the Council set to work. . . . It has been said that no useless remark was made.'[1]

At night the Council gave a dinner party which was followed by a reception and a dance.

On the 12th April the staff gave a dinner to Mr. and Mrs. Fraser and the College and the School in honour of the event. The Senior Prefect, E. W. Akufo Addo, summed up our feelings:

> Any history of Africa which omits this singular event from its pages as one of the greatest educational steps Africa has yet taken is like a West African folk-story without Ananse.'[2]

The Council consisted of fifteen members—three appointed by the Governor; six Africans (one a woman) elected by the Council; four members of the staff (one a woman) elected by their colleagues; the Director of Education, and the Principal.

In 1937 Mr. (now Sir Leslie) M'Carthy, who had served on the Council continuously from the first meeting, wrote:[3]

[1] *Report on Achimota College for the Year 1930*, p. 5.

[2] The hero, sometimes spider, sometimes man, of Akan folklore. See Rattray, *Akan-Ashanti Folk Tales*, O.U.P.

[3] *Achimota 1927-37*, p. 109.

> The preservation of the proper balance between the functions of the Council and the Principal and the settlement of issues which Africans and Europeans are inclined to approach from different angles are matters of some delicacy. But they have never caused the least anxiety and no body could work with greater harmony or cordiality.

On the same authority it may be stated that when at a later date there was serious political tension in the country, the Council was never once divided on purely racial lines.

Three weeks after the Achimota Ordinance came into force Guggisberg was dead. It was known that he was dangerously ill, and that in his illness he had worn the Achimota blazer with the Achimota crest. When the news was announced in Chapel an audible groan passed through the College. He had taken a personal interest in small boys and girls and students. What touched them deeply was that he died poor, having preferred to finish his course in Africa and lose his pension, when he might have gone to another post and earned it.

His hold on the imagination and affection of the people was proved by an unparalleled series of memorial 'customs'.

That the freedom won by the College through its Constitution was not a delusion was proved by an incident which occurred in August. A member of staff wrote to the Press criticizing an ordinance which seemed to imply that witchcraft not only was believed to be, but indeed was, an occult power. His action was challenged by Government; the matter was submitted to the Attorney-General, and the right of members of staff to express their opinions was acknowledged. They were no longer in that sense Government servants.

THE ACHIMOTA ORDINANCE OF 1930

The Achimota College and School Ordinance 1930 came into force on 1 April 1930.

It provided for the establishment of a Council to control and superintend the policy and property of the College, constituted as follows:

Three persons appointed by the Governor by name;

Six Africans (one of them a woman) elected by the Council on the nomination of the African members;

Four members of staff (one of them a woman) elected by those members of the staff who had been confirmed in their appointment: both senior and junior, both African and European, both teachers and clerks and all;

The Principal of Achimota and
The Director of Education.

The Ordinance provided that the Council, which must meet not less than twice a year, should elect a President; that any future Principal should be appointed by the Governor with the approval of the Secretary of State, after the Council had been given the opportunity to make recommendations; that the staff should be appointed by the Governor on the nomination of the Principal; that the number of pensionable officers should be determined by the Governor in Council with the sanction of the Secretary of State; that the Pensions Ordinance in force should apply to the staff as though they were still Government servants; that no member of the staff should have his appointment terminated by the Principal without the sanction of the Governor unless he was still on probation or had reached retiring age.

The Council was made responsible for the area and its buildings, its apparatus and furniture.

An endowment of £68,000 a year was made; and it was laid down that not less than 10 per cent of the fee income should be reserved for the creation of a Building Fund.

The Ordinance established an Academic Committee consisting of the Principal, the Vice-Principal, the Headmistress, the Senior Housemaster, the Bursar and three other members of the staff elected by those members of the staff whose appointments had been confirmed. (This was interpreted to mean not the teaching staff only, but the whole staff, teaching, administrative, agricultural and sanitary.)

The Academic Committee was empowered, with the approval of the Council, to make rules dealing with admissions, courses, examinations and scholarships.

The Ordinance provided that the College should be inspected by four Inspectors during 1932, and then every five years. The inspectors were to be appointed by the Governor; not less than two of them should be educational experts from outside the country; they were to inquire into all the affairs of the College and forward a report to the Governor. All expenses connected with the inspection were to be paid not by the College but by the Government.

The first Schedule described the area for which the Council became responsible; the second was a table of pensionable appointments, which may be summarized as follows:

Senior:	Administrative	7	
	Masters	28	
	Mistresses	10	
	Medical Officer	1	
	Works	1	
	Matron	2	
			49
Junior	.. ..		17

It should be remembered that most of the staff here called Administrative taught as well; indeed some had a full time-table of teaching.

The Ordinance was revised in 1934. The main changes were these:

The Governor nominated four members instead of three; of the six African members two were now elected by the Old Achimotan Association; three members were elected by the staff instead of four; one was elected by the Council to represent missionary education.

The Academic Committee did not appear in this Ordinance; the view had prevailed that that was a matter of internal organization. The Council in December 1934 approved the constitution of the Academic Committee as possessing the duty of advising the Principal 'in regard to any internal affairs of the College that may be referred to it by him'.

The endowment was reduced from £68,000 to £48,000 a year.

The conditions of appointment to the staff were varied so that members did not qualify for a permanent and pensionable post until after seven years' service.

Various revisions and amendments took place in the following years. The endowment was increased to £54,000 in 1943. The number of pensionable appointments was declared in 1946 to be forty-seven Senior Appointments and thirty-seven Junior Appointments.

THE ACADEMIC COMMITTEE

The Ordinance 'To make provision for . . . the Prince of Wales College and School Achimota', 1930, contained a section (No. 34) establishing an Academic Committee as part of the Constitution. Its first meeting under the Constitution was held on 10 May 1930. The Committee met fortnightly during term. It was given wide powers. With the approval of the Council it might make rules dealing with admissions, courses, examinations, College scholarships.

When the Constitution was revised in 1934 this section was omitted; but the Academic Committee continued, under by-laws passed by the

Council, to meet regularly for the transaction of business of every kind —with one important exception: House-discipline was always the business of the Housemasters' meeting, presided over by the Senior Housemaster (who for many years was S. T. Dunstan).

During the rule of the second Principal, Mr. Grace (1935–40), a change was made. The Council in 1939 constituted an Advisory Committee to take the place of the Academic Committee. This Committee continued for some years. But business was transacted more and more by *ad hoc* committees.

FINANCE

When the College and School were handed over to the Council in 1930 the buildings on the two compounds—the Eastern, generally called in those days the College side, and the Western, generally called the School side—had cost the Government £564,000, and their equipment £53,000. There is reason to believe that the lavish scale of the building (the equipment was adequate but not lavish) and great extent of the compound which many friendly observers criticized, were part of a deliberate plan to make it impossible for the Founder's successors to sacrifice the institution, if hard times came.

From the first Achimota depended to a great extent on the annual Government grant provided in the Ordinance, as the following figures show:

	Receipts 1930–31	*Receipts 1931–32*
Government Grant	£68,000	£68,000
Fees	9,839	7,276
Training and Teachers	5,369	6,575
Scholarships	1,300	1,389
Other sources	1,878	2,113
	£86,386	£85,353

In these years the expenditure was as follows:

	1930–31	*1931–32*
Senior Staff	£29,939	£31,019
Junior Staff	4,403	5,652
Other Charges	32,482	31,019
	£66,824	£67,690

The College, in response to an appeal from Government at a time of great depression, returned to Government a large sum set aside for new buildings, viz.: in 1930–31, £15,500, and in 1931–32, £11,680.

The Inspectors in 1932 examining these figures recommended that if further pruning were necessary, it should be at the top and not at the bottom. Their view was that restriction of the primary and secondary classes' activities and opportunities would weaken the foundation of the institution. Restriction of post-secondary activities, on the other hand, would loosen no stones in the structure and would cause comparatively little disappointment.

The Inspectors in 1938 had to report that the financial position had deteriorated; that this was due in the main to the reduction of the Government grant from £68,000 to £48,000 from 1934 onwards, a severe blow, the more damaging because in the first two years of the slump about £30,000 had been paid back to the Government. They recommended that all possible assistance should be given. They did not share the fear of their predecessors in 1932 that a large annual grant might entail Government interference; experience of English Universities, they said, does not support the view that the receipt of Government grants imperils independence.

There was not another general inspection until after the war, and after the establishment of the new Achimota on a new basis. But in the interval the Government continued, and even increased, the grant without which College and School must have ceased at once to exist. It must be insisted that at a time when many things which are obvious today were visible only to the eye of faith, the Gold Coast Government showed uncommon foresight, generosity, yes, and faith too.

THE FIRST INSPECTION, 1932

Section 35 of the Achimota College and School Ordinance, 1930—the Ordinance which transferred control from the Government to the Achimota Council—provided that the College should be inspected during the year 1932 by four Inspectors appointed by the Governor with power to inquire into all matters relating to the system of education obtaining at the College and generally into the affairs of the College. When the names were published, Fraser thought the authorities were to be congratulated on their choice.

The chairman was H. S. Newlands, C.M.G., Chief Commissioner of Ashanti, who knew the country and the College, too, being one of the most assiduous members of its Council.

E. R. J. Hussey was not familiar with the College, but as Director of Education in Nigeria, with experience in the Sudan and Uganda, he knew much of education in other parts of Africa.

Arthur Mayhew, C.I.E., one of the most experienced educationists then living, brought to the task a wide knowledge gained in England, Germany and India as teacher, administrator and author. He was at that time and for many years the Secretary of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education.

W. W. Vaughan, M.V.O., came with a longer experience of headmastering in the big public schools of England than any other man then alive. He had been head of three of them, the last being Rugby. He had not before been outside Europe.

The pace at which they worked, the length of their hours and the thoroughness of their inquiries satisfied even the Principal's high standards.

The document they produced will remain for long one of the most valuable tributes to the work of an institution then not yet five years old. A high authority said of it that it was the most complimentary report ever received by the Colonial Office on one of their educational institutions. It contained a number of criticisms, but none of them were vital and almost all of them were small.

We quote extensively from two chapters of the report, chapter III on General Aims, and chapter XV on Final Impressions. They contain the best and most authoritative account available of Achimota as it was thirty years ago.

INSPECTORS' REPORT, 1932

Chapter III

GENERAL AIMS

Though the activities of Achimota are bewildering in their variety and number, no careful observer can fail to form a definite impression of certain aims and ideals which permeate its life. It is difficult to express these in words, and to avoid misrepresenting them by faulty emphasis or failure to find the right phrase. Moreover, these aims, though substantially established, are constantly being modified in form and expression. This is natural and desirable in a growing institution which serves a progressive and sensitive community. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with setting forth those features of the College which seem to us vital and fundamental, and with explaining their significance so far as possible in words that have been used or approved by those who have up to now taken the lead in its affairs.

They would be the first to admit that words employed yesterday may be unsuitable today, and what is now written may require change tomorrow.

The order in which we state these characteristics does not indicate any degree of comparative importance. It is in fact impossible to compare the value of essential things. Comments on both aims and achievements will be found elsewhere in this report. And we shall try to estimate them as a whole and in their mutual bearing rather than in isolation.

Achimota has a religious basis. Christian teaching and worship form a voluntary, but none the less characteristic and integral, part of its life. The idea of Christian service pervades its activities. Members of the staff are expected to be in sympathy with these ideas. The fullest possible scope is allowed for such instruction and exercises and safeguards as denominational tendencies may require. This aim is not inconsistent with the welcome extended to students of all religions. There are, in fact, six Mohammedan students at present.

Achimota aims at providing the quality of education that it believes that wise parents in England would like to ensure for the training of their children. In each department no expenditure of money or energy has been spared to provide for Gold Coast students, whose parents can afford, or whose ability can win for them, this opportunity, instruction and training of a quality that would be expected in the best English kindergarten, preparatory and elementary, secondary and public schools, though varying from such education in form and content as local conditions may require. This requires public expenditure in excess of what is ordinarily demanded in England, a sacrifice on the part of parents that is probably paralleled by the like sacrifices in England, and within the College itself a larger measure of personal service of a humble and domestic kind from their students than many English public schools have so far required.

Achimota provides a course of education from the kindergarten to the intermediate university stage, and aims at completing the degree course. It hopes that all its students will complete a first school certificate course. And it wishes to receive them as soon as they are capable of school education. It believes that this early start alone can ensure their assimilation of the place, that it can offer, thanks to its liberal endowment, what many homes and schools are not yet in a position to give at a time when habits are formed and the full foundations of character laid, and that the expense of the full course, which is inevitably heavy, can be considerably lightened by methods that enable the preliminary stage to be completed in fewer years than may elsewhere be possible.

Achimota hopes to produce a type of student who is 'Western' in his intellectual attitude towards life, with a respect for science and capacity for systematic thought, but who remains African in sympathy and desirous of preserving and developing what is deserving of respect in tribal life,

custom, rule and law. This African outlook is noticeable in the cultivation of tribal dances as well as in the study of the vernacular languages and the collection and investigation of folk-lore.

Following the advice of its founder, Achimota seeks to combine with 'the training of the character in citizenship, and the education of the brain in knowledge, the training of the hand and eye in arts and crafts'. It draws no line between 'vocational' and 'humanistic' subjects and does not try to adjust their claims on the time-table. Some subjects will clearly be 'useful' for professional purposes and others will have no such use. Some have a local and some a general value. More important than the content of a subject is the attitude of its teacher. Achimota requires of the teacher the desire and ability to make each subject contribute to the student's rational intelligent enjoyment of life. It wishes to help the student not only to live but to live 'well'. It is for this reason that it encourages the pursuit of music and the arts and crafts and the development of hobbies.

Achimota realizes that sound education, while aiming at spiritual and moral progress, may possibly include among its results a demand for material or political advance. Its character training aims at subjecting this demand to moral restraint, and it hopes by its delegation of authority to fit the coming generations for service to the community as well as for the enjoyment of such political rights and the bearing of such political burdens as circumstances may produce.

Its College shield, depicting the keyboard of a piano, symbolizes the co-operation of the white and black races. Its constitution enables Africans to co-operate on equal terms with Europeans in the control of policy and funds. In the social life of the staff and the assignment of responsibility no racial distinction is recognized. The relations between the European staff and the students are expected to be as friendly as, and no less intimate than, those in an English school.

Achimota was not the first institution in the Gold Coast to encourage co-education, but it is one of the few at present in existence. It believes that African boys and girls, by common class work and by sharing in appropriate school activities, can thus learn much from one another that is useful, and cultivate relations that are socially and individually wholesome.

Achimota does not include among its aims direct political influence of any kind, and would deprecate association of the College with any political party, or school of economic thought. It seeks rather an indirect influence through the advancement of learning and sober thought and by the establishment of principles capable of being held by adherents of opposing parties, which will bring sweetness and light into the councils of all parties. Occasion may arise in the natural course of instruction for interpreting

action taken or contemplated by the Government in such a way as to remove possible misunderstanding. The constitution of Achimota and its freedom from government control make it impossible for anyone to imagine that on any such occasion the teacher is acting as the mouthpiece of the Government or that his interpretation has been dictated from outside.

Among the aims enumerated by its founder was that of being 'a model for all education' and of indicating for the Colony a 'standard of attainment'. We feel that the College today, fully recognizing the opportunities that the generosity of Government has given it, would modify this statement so as to do full justice to the progress that is being made outside Achimota by the labours of the Education Department, the Christian missions, and other agencies. Some of the good work that is being done elsewhere lies outside the scope of Achimota. From some of it Achimota has much to learn. There are aspects of its work which are beyond the present resources of other institutions. Its experiments are open to observation, and their results are placed at the disposal of all. It is admitted that co-operation between Achimota and the various departments of Government that are concerned with similar subjects is profitable to both parties, and it is hoped that the common stock of experience and wisdom that has been established will now grow steadily and before long become a source of strength to the whole.

INSPECTORS' REPORT, 1932

Chapter XV

FINAL IMPRESSIONS

We are impressed by the general aims, as set out in our third chapter, and we are still more impressed by the wisdom and thoroughness with which those aims are being carried out.

We recognize that they must from time to time be modified by the new ideas that may be contributed by new men, by the growth of the country, by co-operation with other educational workers, and by the increasing experience of the Council and staff. An equally important factor is the human material on which these ideas have had to work. We consider that the boys and girls who have come to Achimota from all over the Gold Coast combine vitality with docility to a remarkable degree. They are not wasting their splendid opportunities. They are meeting their teachers more than half-way and they seem to be winnng simple happiness for themselves and the whole community.

Accustomed as we are to the slow growth of educational institutions in England, we are almost bewildered by the rapidity with which, so far as we can see, the hopes of the founders are being steadily realized and developed.

The magnificence of the material surroundings might easily have dwarfed

the spiritual life of the place and impeded its growth. This danger is being avoided. The elements in education that cannot be tested at all by statistics, and only with difficulty by observation, pervade the whole life of the place. If, as we believe, this growth is natural and spontaneous, it will endure. The discipline in its widest sense is evidence of this growth. All indications make us believe that the experiments in the delegation of authority, sometimes bolder even than those that the condition of many English schools have made possible, and the methods of guidance by word and example are producing a society here that is happy and orderly and which, in so far as its effects are permanent, will send out into the world men and women who have self-control, self-respect and high ideals of citizenship.

We have had many opportunities of judging the work of the staff in and out of school. We have been deeply impressed by their competence and devotion. The staff taken as a whole bears comparison with that in English institutions of similar scope. In saying this we take into account the combination of variety of attainments with singleness of aim. We have been greatly interested by the development of co-education. Nothing that we have seen has made us anxious. Some of the difficulties that we have noticed in our report will tend to decrease as the number of the girls grows.

Another distinctive feature of the life at Achimota is that education on western lines has not here been allowed to weaken a sympathetic attitude towards what is regarded as fine in national life.

Finally we are very greatly impressed by the generous attitude of the Government, not only as regards financial endowment, but also in the freedom that has been conferred on the Council. This body has been given unique opportunities that few if any institutions have enjoyed before. Its use of them will always be under close scrutiny. From what we have heard we believe that this will be welcome and that by its exertions it will justify the confidence that has been placed in it and contribute to the greatness of Achimota and the Gold Coast.

For our own satisfaction, though it can hardly be necessary for public information, we must declare our conviction of the debt Achimota owes to the personal qualities of its first Principal. His experience of education elsewhere, his courage in plan and action, his fundamental tolerance, his powers of leadership, his fertility in ideas, and his trenchant expression of them, his gifts of winning the affection of his colleagues and the students, and above all his living faith have enabled him to do what few men could have done and to lay foundations on which other men may well be proud to build.

DROPPING THE PILOT

The last few years of Fraser's rule were marred by serious ill-health. In January 1934 he was in hospital with a dilated heart. In February he

was seriously ill with malignant influenza and malaria. The chapels during these days had students praying in them at all times when they were free. It took the patient many months on leave to recover, and of necessity the College suffered. He returned to Achimota in January 1935 but only for four months.

The great advance of the year was seen in the Old Achimotan Association, which had been founded in 1929, and held annual reunions. It was splendidly led by Sandy Fraser.

At the general meeting in 1934, under the new Constitution, the Association elected two members of the College Council, Mr. E. O. Asafu Adjaye and Dr. F. V. Nanka Bruce, thus providing the governing body of the College with two members from important areas not formerly represented, Kumasi and Accra.

But the most important event of the reunion was the Annual Dinner on Saturday, 5 January, when for the first time many distinguished guests both African and European were present. Over three hundred sat down, sixty of them guests, among them the new Governor, Sir Arnold Hodson and Lady Hodson, and all the members of the College Council except three who were prevented by illness.

There had never before been so large an international dinner-party in West Africa. No more than two Europeans sat together. The menu was simple—grapefruit, ground-nut chop, a choice of sweets, dessert and coffee. The waiting was done by servants from the staff bungalows, who, with one exception, worked as a team.

The Governor spoke for half an hour, a spontaneous friendly speech, setting forth the basis of his policy—but without notes and therefore not to be reproduced.

The toast of the Chief and Mrs. Fraser was proposed by John Dei in a most happy speech, in which he said, 'You will leave behind you a United Association of your old boys and girls.' Fraser in his reply claimed that Achimota after only seven years was already more mature than Marlborough had been after twenty. This he suggested was because, 'We are already rich in our traditions: Guggisberg who died with our badge on his breast and whose last message was a telegram to us, dictated as he died'; Aggrey, 'the great heart that understood and loved us all and explained each to each'; Yaw Gyamfi,[1] 'keen, modest, loyal, unruffled, hard at work whether with spade or with books'; Elison Dogbatse,[2] 'with his love for his College, his steadiness, his dogged courage, his devotion which left no room for thought of self'.

[1] See p. 47. [2] See p. 77.

'May I adapt slightly lines written of a greatly older and much larger place?

> Ever think'st of College and the dawn when we were sent there,
> The madness and the melody, the singing youth that went there,
> The shining, unforgettable, imperial days we spent there?'

After the speeches there was about an hour and a half of community singing. Then on the lawn outside, all the three hundred joined hands and sang 'Auld Lang Syne'. It was noticed that the Governor had one hand in the hand of a corporal of police who had become an Old Achimotan twelve months before, and the other in the hand of a girl who had left school only the previous month.

A European official of wide experience said it was the most important social function he had seen in Africa.

A month or two later Fraser had gone. There were hundreds of people on the beach to say goodbye in the last of a colourful series of demonstrations of gratitude and affection. At an earlier reception every paramount chief was present or was represented, and almost all the leading Africans. An address signed by all African members of the Legislative Council and many others was presented. Many splendid presents were pressed upon him and Mrs. Fraser, including a portrait in oils, the work of Mr. Cowan Dobson presented by his colleagues, and a Chief's staff in carved ebony presented by the students.

As he and Mrs. Fraser took their places in the boat ordinarily reserved for Governors, the Chiefs on the beach raised a cheer. A prefect started the College Yell. And the boat passed through quiet waters to the ship.

It would be ungracious and ungrateful if special mention were not made of the part played by Mrs. Fraser in the common life of the compound. As senior lady, entertaining endlessly, advising when advice was asked for, affectionate without gush, expecting high standards to be reached and still hoping when they were not, she was more than a mother to the young mothers with their first babies and to the countless boys and girls and youths and maidens whom she and the Chief entertained. Her engagement book, which is still treasured, is a truly remarkable document. It is believed, too, that her influence was often for peace when war clouds threatened.

Achimota owes more to her than any outside a very small circle can ever guess.

6

Expansion Hindered

THE SECOND PRINCIPAL

THE REV. H. M. GRACE

1935–1940

Canon H. M. Grace, who had been invited two years before to succeed Fraser, was well known to those who cared for such things, because of the warm tribute paid to him by Dr. (afterwards Sir Julian) Huxley in his book, *Africa View*, where he describes Grace's school in Uganda as 'the best school I saw in Africa'. This tribute was the more remarkable in that, as was well known, King's School, Budo, when Grace first took it over, had fallen on evil days.

Harold Myers Grace was now forty-six years old. He was educated at Trent College and at Queen's College and Ridley Hall, Cambridge. After a few years in curacies in England he went in the Church Missionary Society to Uganda in 1914; and there after some time in village work he took over an unsatisfactory school and in Professor Huxley's words, 'by his broadmindedness, energy and uncanny power of persuading the best type of young masters to come and work under him has put a new spirit into the place'. Those who at Achimota came to regard him with respect and affection would add other qualities to that list: a deeply spiritual humility, an impregnable friendliness, and the quiet, silent perseverance of a termite.

Grace at Achimota took over command of a school which was well established, and, as it seemed, set, but not too rigidly set, on the road marked out for it; looking forward to a gradual development, whether by evolution or addition, into a University College. The post-secondary classes, towards which, from the start, the College had looked, had only just begun to grow. But from early days Grace set himself to prepare for an expansion that he was convinced was sure to come, and

must indeed be made to come, if the Services were to be Africanized as he was sure they must be.

His second hope was for something more difficult to describe—something which came to birth and for some years during the war flourished under the direction of a very remarkable man, Vladimir Meyerowitz, an artist and teacher with more than a touch of real genius—the West African Institute. Some account of it is given below.[1]

In his third hope Grace was most successful. Like Aggrey he believed that molasses is better than vinegar (or even than gunpowder) for the catching of flies. He set himself from the start to establish cordial relations with all departments of Government from the Colonial Office down through all the ranks of the hierarchy. It soon became fashionable to speak well of Achimota; even the local press began to show understanding.

The new Principal's fourth ambition was the establishment of a centre in the forest country for vocational training in farming and agriculture for educated young men. The story of Bunsu is told in a later chapter.[2]

In Grace's report for 1936, his first complete year, the total number of pupils and students in residence is given as 659. They were distributed as follows:

	Boys	Girls	Total
Kindergarten	37	27	64
Lower Primary	43	29	72
Middle School	75	81	156
Secondary	144	16	160
Commercial	18	2	20
Teacher-Training	83	60	143
Special Course	4	—	4
Domestic Science (Special)	—	3	3
Intermediate Arts	17	—	17
Intermediate Science	3	—	3
Pre-Medical	3	—	3
Intermediate Engineering	12	—	12
Degree Engineering	2	—	2
	441	218	659

The worst of the slump was over, and there were now more than half as many girls as boys in the School below the Sixth Form: the post-secondary classes were still altogether masculine.

[1] See p. 100.

[2] See p. 102.

The Old Chief with Mrs. Fraser and O.A. Oxford Students
E. W. Akufo-Addo, Dr. A. Chapman, M. Dowuona

Modelling a mask

Painting

H. V. Meyerowitz, a trained art teacher and an artist with previous African experience, who very soon after his appointment in 1937 set his mark on the art teaching of the School and College. During his first term he and his wife, herself a sculptor and a trained teacher (and more recently an anthropologist of distinction), were sent by the College authorities on a tour throughout West Africa to collect information about local African arts and crafts and to make contact with local African craftsmen and others. Some of the results of this study are recorded on a later page.

The *Achimota Review 1937* and the *Achimota Review 1939–40* contain the best account that I have found of the principles that guided the work of this remarkable man in his art teaching.

His influence is to be seen in much of the art teaching in Ghana to this day, not least in the Achimota Art School itself under the inspiring direction of his most distinguished pupil, Kofi Antubam. As a tribute to his memory some of his doctrine may be transcribed:

> It is becoming increasingly doubtful whether adult standards of neatness, skill and correctness of observation are standards by which the work of children should be judged; children from the age of 5–14 should be given every opportunity to develop their imaginative life.
>
> It is desirable that we should not introduce the distinction between the 'Easel Artist' and the Craftsman into schools, a mistake which has been disastrous in other countries.
>
> We must shift the emphasis towards a freer and more imaginative form of picture-making.
>
> A new scheme of work for arts and crafts work in schools will have to be evolved.
>
> Many of the traditional crafts—e.g. carving, modelling, weaving, cloth-stamping, dyeing—can be successfully adapted for use in schools, and should replace much so-called hand-work originally invented for the benefit of a European urban population.
>
> It is very desirable to perpetuate the traditional forms and patterns by introducing new techniques and adapting them for the benefit of a new society.

Two years later he wrote:

> It may be said that the old form of 'Hand-and-Eye Training' which attempted to convert instinctive activities into rational ones has been completely abandoned, particularly in connection with child Art education.
>
> A course has been planned leading up to the 'Revised Art Syllabus for Tropical Dependencies' compiled with the advice of Mr. G. A. Stevens,

first Art Master at Achimota, by the present Supervisor: it takes into consideration the local arts and customs and demands much original work.

The manipulation of clay will to many be as interesting as, or even more interesting than, the manipulation of a pen; it will tend to bridge the gap between so-called brain-workers and hand-workers, an ideal worth struggling for in any society.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In the years 1932 to 1937 inclusive thirty-two students passed out of the 'University' (post-matriculation) classes. Nine of them passed the London Intermediate Arts Examination, two the 1st M.B., and three the London Intermediate Science Examination. One graduated in 1934 at the Institution of Structural Engineering and two passed the final B.Sc. Engineering. Eight students proceeded to Great Britain for further studies, five to read medicine at Edinburgh, one to read Arts at Oxford, and one to read Science at Cambridge.

In the five years 1934 to 1938 twenty-four students sat for the London Intermediate Arts Examination; eleven passed and four were referred in one subject.

In the same period seven sat for the London Intermediate Science Examination; three passed, and three were referred in one subject. Three sat for the 1st M.B. and two passed. Nineteen sat for the London Intermediate Engineering Examination; six passed and five were referred in one subject. Six sat for the London B.Sc. Engineering, and four passed.

In 1935 the Engineering Department was inspected by Professor Dixon of London University and recognized as an approved Institution, qualified to enter students for the final London Degree in Engineering.

Of the students above mentioned eleven entered the teaching profession, two the Government Printing Press, and two the Civil Service. Two Engineering students were admitted to the Government Railways Department and three others who did not complete the course, as 'assistant mill shift boss trainees' in Kodongo Gold Mines Ltd.

It was one of Grace's chief concerns that these numbers should be much increased. His reasons were partly political: he saw very clearly that times were changing and that the old political set-up would not suffice. He refused to be horrified by the stories which were imported from India where, it was said, there were hundreds of unemployed and unemployable graduates being turned by circumstances into seditious

agitators. Still less was he horrified by the old argument that because Europe had taken a thousand years to climb out of barbarism Africa must take a thousand years too. Aggrey in Uganda many years before had, just by being Aggrey, finally banished that superstition from Grace's mind. 'The African', he wrote in a last message to the College Council, 'will surprise the world.' If it would help the expansion of the classes at the top to sacrifice the classes at the bottom, he was prepared even for that—though he believed the country could afford to have both.

Through 1938, therefore, Committees both of the staff and of the College Council were at work on estimates of the cost of adding new courses: B.A. General, B.A. Honours in History and B.Sc. General, together with the full course in Electrical Engineering up to the B.Sc.

The scheme was examined by the Inspectors who were appointed in 1938. They were not satisfied that the diagnosis was sound.

Their recommendation was that co-operation with Fourah Bay and Yaba should come first. And further they insisted that the authorities should 'wait for some indication of a change in the practice of Government and Industry as regards appointments before encouraging the production of any considerable number of graduates who may be doomed to disappointment'.

To this Grace replied, 'It cannot be right to prevent Africans of fine character and with good brains from going as high as they can.'

This conflict of opinion was ended the following year by a more serious conflict, the Second World War. He would be a bold man who today should say that the Inspectors were right.

THE INSPECTION OF 1938

The final judgement of the Inspectors is summed up in the last paragraph of their report:

> Achimota appears beyond doubt to be fulfilling the hopes of its founders as a training ground in which young men and women should learn to live as members of a community. Both from what we ourselves could see, and from the high reputation which former students of the College have gained, we are confident that what seemed to be an experiment of very uncertain prospects has justified itself.

Some of their recommendations may be recorded: some may even be relevant in the changed circumstances of today.

(1) The importance of a good working knowledge of English cannot be too strongly stressed . . . the utmost importance should be attached to the quality of the teaching in this subject. (Para. 345.)

(2) We are not sure that sufficient provision is made for that leisure without which they cannot form habits freely. (Para. 345.)

A new time-table from 7 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. was adopted, giving more leisure in the afternoon.

(3) The maximum age of admission should if possible be lowered.

In 1947 the average age of admission had been much reduced:

In S 1	under 14
In S 2	14½

(4) General Science from 1945 was taken by every candidate for the School Certificate, as the Inspectors recommended.

(5) A great extension of Secondary Education was recommended.

The figures are striking:

	Boys	Girls	Total
1938	153	27	180
1947	315	97	412

(6) It was recommended that the Kindergarten and the Lower Primary should gradually die out.

This occurred in 1945: see below, page 112.

(7) The provision of an Assembly Hall and a Chapel was strongly urged.

These had to wait for many years.

WEST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF ARTS INDUSTRIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

From its inception Achimota owed much to anthropology; it was great luck that Rattray's classical works on Ashanti came to birth in the same decade as the College. Rattray himself was an enthusiastic supporter of the College. As early as January 20, 1925, he is reported in *The Times* as saying:

> The Gold Coast [Government] has launched into a truly great experiment . . . the founding of a great school. . . . Here the African will be encouraged to study the folklore, the traditions and the past history of, and the institutions of his own race, instead of to despise and neglect them,

> and so perhaps will not lose what must be a priceless heritage to any people, their own national soul.

He invited the first art master, G. W. Stevens, to illustrate his *Ashanti Folk Tales*, and Stevens went one better; he had illustrations made by his students. But Rattray was no blind supporter. He thought the 'unity business' was overdone by the Principal and his staff; that the atmosphere would be even healthier if there were an occasional 'blow-up', provided it was followed by reconciliation and friendliness.

Principal Grace came from Uganda and found in the Gold Coast a country with a very different history of European penetration, and, he thought, a much weaker tribal system. He was not persuaded that the 'stools', the local chieftaincies, could stand up to the blasts that were blowing in from the modern world. But most of all he was convinced that not enough was known about the working of the African mind and the meaning of African rites and customs.

In this he was supported by Dr. M. Fortes, Fellow of the International African Institute, who was for several years about this time engaged in research in West Africa. Dr. Fortes was convinced that there was a 'noticeable malaise, a feeling of impending change in the whole social and political system of the country'; and that a school of social studies might do much towards solving the problems that had arisen.

This diagnosis was underlined by the cocoa 'hold-up' of 1938, in which under the leadership of the chiefs the cocoa farmers, in protest against a buyers' price-agreement, refused to market their produce.

From another side support for the proposal was enthusiastically given. H. V. Meyerowitz had taken charge of the Arts and Crafts Department of the College in 1936 and thrown himself with the energy of genius into its reorganization. In a preliminary tour of the country he had found that crafts which Rattray had seen flourishing ten years before had disappeared; and that craft guilds were themselves dying out.

Something must be done, he urged, to save the remnant. There was only one way; modern techniques must be added to ancient skills and traditional craftsmanship; and all on strictly business lines.

Proposals embodying these ideas were enthusiastically approved by the College Council and the Colonial Office Advisory Committee and later by the 1938 Inspectors of the College.

Meanwhile a beginning had been made by the appointment to the staff of a trained ceramist, R. C. Davis, who by 1939 was turning out tiles (and later bricks) in such numbers that when Accra was rebuilt after the earthquake, the hideous iron roofs were to some extent

replaced by something much more gracious, a lead followed by the architects of the University College at Legon. When war came water coolers in large numbers were ready, and even glazed insulators for the broadcasting system.

The war inevitably altered the emphasis. Long-term sociological inquiries were postponed in favour of more immediately urgent needs—food, clothing and housing.

When in 1941 a new Principal, the Rev. R. W. Stopford,[1] succeeded Grace much of his time was given to these things as Acting Director. The fall of France made them very urgent.

A textile expert, A. E. Southern, was appointed and many looms of an improved pattern were set up. Cotton seed was imported and crops grown. The extraction from wood of power alcohol was considered and estimates of costs drawn up. The College was fed by the farm at Bunsu which was closely associated with the Institute.

When it became necessary for the Principal to be relieved of these duties they were borne very gallantly by Meyerowitz. The weight of them was greater than an artist could carry. His death brought the enterprise to an end.

But research would probably show that some of the more recent developments in Ghana spring from very small seeds sown by harassed extemporizers in the early years of the war; and certainly nothing has happened to prove that Grace and Fortes and Meyerowitz were not right.

BUNSU PLANTATION

In 1937 a plantation at Bunsu which had belonged to the United Africa Company was handed over by the Government to Achimota with the intention that technical and theoretical courses in tropical agriculture leading to a diploma should be established by the College, as a step towards the training of educated farmers and of teachers of agriculture. The plantation was well situated in the heart of the best farming country and was already planted with some crops—cocoa, rubber, cola and citrus.

Sections of the economic crops, which had been neglected, were cleaned up, and some building done. It was hoped that before long pupils might begin their training.

The war changed all that. Though the development of the estate con-

[1] Now Bishop of London.

tinued, the great emphasis was now necessarily laid on production. As the war came to an end, plans for the training of assistant agricultural and agricultural education officers broke down upon the decision that for that purpose Bunsu was an unsuitable site.

The contribution of Bunsu to war production was considerable. By May 1941 the old rubber plantation was producing two tons of dry rubber a month. Large quantities of vegetables were grown for civilian and military consumption. A garden of over three acres was made by draining the Arkwa stream. Crops of all kinds of European vegetables were grown. In 1942 eight thousand bottles of fruit juice were sold.

Thousands of cocoa seedlings were planted. Twenty acres of oil palms and four acres of coffee were established. A flock of 150 sheep was built up. For all this roads, drains and culverts had to be built.

For the first few years classes from Achimota went for practical work on cocoa, citrus and coffee. Former pupils were employed as learners, eleven of them from secondary classes.

If the Bunsu scheme achieved but little of its original purpose, for that the war may justly be blamed.

THE EARTHQUAKE

At about 7.20 p.m. on the evening of Thursday, 22 June 1939, Achimota was badly shaken by the earthquake in which twelve persons lost their lives in Accra, over a hundred were injured, large parts of the town were destroyed, the water mains from the Weija reservoir were broken in several places, and for many days there was in the town much misery and suffering—but not, it would seem, any serious panic.

In Accra according to *The Times* report, 'the troops lined up stiffly in perfect parade order under the command of their African sergeants . . . apparently convinced that they were listening to the firing of the first shots of a new world war'. Prayers were said in church. Guns were fired into the air. The angry earth was pacified by means of liberal libations of gin.

Achimota was only very slightly affected. The reinforced concrete stood the shock. The main clock tower indeed was cracked, though not seriously; and many walls were damaged, but none dangerously. The clock on the Domestic Science School in the western compound threw off its hands, but it continued to go. Books poured out of shelves. Bottles stood on their heads in the labs. The horned head of a beast of prey fell off the wall in the Museum. But there was little real damage.

Anumle, the village of the subordinate staff, was less fortunate. Some *pisé* houses were badly cracked, and many of them were thought at first to be unsafe. (They were rebuilt in concrete.) The village school, being already of concrete, was undamaged; together with seventeen tents, it proved a valuable shelter for the homeless. Modern houses of concrete blocks came through unscathed.

The kindergarten children were all asleep; many of them remained asleep even while and after they were carried downstairs to the ground floor.

There was some screaming among the girls, but they were soon calmed; and even when later tremors were felt—forty or fifty of them occurred during the next ten days—there was no panic or anything like it.

The boys, like the girls, were at prep. when the shock was felt. A number jumped from upper balconies to the ground below; and every one of them escaped with nothing worse than a bruise.

Prayers were read at eight o'clock next morning as usual; and morning classes held; in the afternoon everyone was advised to make up for sleep lost in the night. The Red Cross patrols went out as usual.

The earthquake had a profound effect upon Accra, making rebuilding necessary, and rebuilding possible with tiles that Achimota had learned to make.[1] But upon the College and the School the effect was small; yet it is remembered more vividly than any other event of that eventful time—which is why it has been given more space here than it really deserves.

THE SECOND PRINCIPAL RETIRES

When he found that the doctors would not allow him to return to Achimota, Grace wrote a long memorandum for the Council. For reasons of economy it was not published. Some of the points which he made in it are quoted here; they are the fruit of long experience and ripe wisdom, and perhaps they are not out of date.

> Nothing could be more disastrous than to have a staff which was so overworked that it could only attend to the urgent necessities of the timetable and be unable to enter into that wide and fruitful field of personal relationship between staff and student.
>
> I am now a convinced believer in co-education. Achimota has confirmed what I believed in Uganda and began to put into practice there.

[1] See p. 101. In this work an important place was taken by James Brown, the Maintenance Officer, lent by the College for the purpose.

Where five years ago there were only three Africans on the Senior Staff there are now nine . . . and there ought to be another ten in the next five years.

As long as Achimota has to have a Senior and a Junior Staff (the Junior Staff always all African) misunderstandings are more likely to arise between the races.

It is more heretical to refuse to work with your fellow Christian in love than it is to disbelieve the doctrines of Apostolic Succession, the Infallibility of the Pope or of the Bible.

In comparison with the Baganda the students have an even greater fear of the fetish, which is a 'terror that walketh at noonday'.

A discipline that attempts to use the power of forgiveness throws a great responsibility on the staff, for unless the Christian doctrine of forgiveness is understood and accepted the whole procedure becomes immoral.

Achimota must maintain living contact and sympathy with Government, Church, Native State, Press and Parents, or she will fail. . . . There is one Department (of Government) which ought to know more of Achimota and that is the Administrative Department.

The arguments that try to prove that British Africa cannot take her place in the next generation or two or three as a self-governing Dominion of the British Commonwealth, I do not agree with.

Achimota has not really catered for the slow developer and the non-literary type as she might.

The School Shop is not only a flourishing business, it may have in it the germ of large community co-operative enterprises.

I should like to see that every boy and girl between 12 and 18 has in addition to his or her housemaster or mistress a tutor, a senior friend to help and guide them.

7

The War and After

THE LONG INTERREGNUM

1939–1941

War found the staff weakened and weakened it still further. Grace was ill for many months and the doctors finally forbade him to return.

Kingsley Williams, Sandy Fraser, Constance Hellins and Esther Appleyard had already left in 1938; R. C. Blumer followed in 1939, after carrying with gallant imperturbability for fifteen years a heavy burden as Vice-Principal responsible for all the detailed work of curriculum and time-tables and text-books, and also as Acting Principal, during the many necessary absences of the Chief. A little later Dennis Herbert resigned in order to take over Grace's old school in Uganda, leaving a large gap in the staff of the Training College department. In that year, too, J. E. K. Korsah died—most charming of Old Achimotans and a notable Fante scholar. In 1940 K. B. Ateko retired after many years of service in the Aggrey tradition, interpreting Black to White and White to Black. W. E. F. Ward left the same year on promotion as Director of Education, Mauritius; it would be difficult to say which he did more for: history or music. Dr. F. R. Irvine retired in 1941, well known as a Gold Coast botanist, and memorable as long as the trees he planted continue to flower in the compound.

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In the same year further hospitality was required of the overcrowded College—this time by the Higher College, Yaba, in Nigeria; their buildings had been lost to the Army, and some of their staff and students moved to Achimota. Accommodation was provided in temporary laboratories and concrete thatched round-houses, and Yaba town was created. The arrangement lasted till 1943, when the Nigerians returned to their own quarters at Yaba.

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The Resident Minister and his Staff, when the time came for them to leave the compound, presented a handsome dining table, suitably inscribed, and a set of chairs, for the use of the prefects. A fund was raised by G.H.Q. to pay for the education at Achimota of the son of a Gold Coast ex-service man.

THE THIRD PRINCIPAL

THE REV. R. W. STOPFORD

1941–1945

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7

The War and After

THE LONG INTERREGNUM

1939–1941

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and as Principal of Fraser's old school in Ceylon, Trinity College, Kandy, 1935–41. He was in his forty-first year.

He threw himself with immense energy into the task of raising academic standards and lowering ages and cutting out lazy wood—'Stopfordization' is still a term in use in Achimota slang—and making plans for the building up of a University College on the Gold Coast. His gifts which included an ability for long continuous and concentrated work, could have been fully occupied inside the College; but all departments of the Government administration were depleted and the new Principal was soon at work on other tasks also; the most notable being the *Report of the Education Committee, 1937–1941*, a document of capital importance for the future of the country.

Some of the main ideas reflected in this report were presented by the new Principal in an address to the Achimota Staff Guild when he was, as he remarked, only four months old in the Gold Coast.

He estimated that of the 740,000 children of school-going age in the Gold Coast only 12 per cent were at school, and of them a large majority only in junior schools up to Standard IV.

To secure that 50 per cent of the population between 8 and 12 years old should be in school in 1990, the annual increase in numbers must be 6,700. But the annual increase in 1940 had in fact only been 1,889. At that rate it would take 300 years to get half the children into school—indeed it would take longer, since the population was rising.

Further, of the 90,000 children in school only about 2 per cent were in secondary schools. In England 6·7 per cent of the 5–14 age group at that date went on to secondary courses and 0·1 per cent to higher studies; in the Gold Coast 0·08 per cent went on to secondary courses and 0·030 per cent to higher studies.

The Principal further found that education in Gold Coast, as in India, Ceylon, and Malaya had suffered from a slavish imitation of methods long out-of-date in England. He commended Mahatma Gandhi's Wardha Scheme in which primary education is based upon a craft, and Laubach's mass literacy campaigns in the Philippines and South India. 'We must act, and act quickly, to spread literacy in the Gold Coast.'

As to the aims of education Stopford quoted some of the key passages in the Spens Report: 'The curriculum should be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored.' 'A large place must be found for those activities generally called creative.'

He concluded: 'In the post primary school I would like to see three streams—"Literary" for those going on to a university education, "Agricultural Practical" for those who will be engaged in agriculture, and "Scientific Practical" for those whose inclination lies towards trade or commerce or who want to become technicians.'

In May 1942 Stopford gave an address to the College Council on some of the conclusions which in spite of limited travel and the pressure of detailed College organization he had tentatively reached. He was convinced that 'Guggisberg was right in the importance which he attached to the traditions and heritage of the country as the basis for all education'. But the problem still remained to be solved.

He went on to submit that the break in education which came at 11 plus in England should come a little later in the Gold Coast, where the medium of instruction was not the mother tongue; that there were very cogent reasons against sending very young children away from their homes, and that the Achimota Lower Primary boys had increased in responsibility and community-sense while living by themselves at the Old Technical School. He recommended, therefore, that a Senior Primary Boarding School should be set up away from Achimota but under the control of the Achimota Council.

As to Secondary Education the Principal argued for three streams, or as he now called them 'sides', literary, applied practical and applied scientific, which must lead to certificates of equal value.

In the post-secondary department, sometimes called 'University' classes the Principal urged that the first necessity was the increase of staff and its separation from the secondary staff; this would make possible the extension of the tutorial system which had already been established on a small scale.

A grievous blow struck him in 1942: his wife lost her life when the ship on which they were travelling home with their children was sunk by enemy action.

The development of the West Africa Institute, of which he was for several years the acting Director took a heavy toll of time and energy, and before long even his robust health began to suffer. The war was not yet over when he felt himself compelled to retire.

The College will always owe him a great debt for maintaining good relations with the military and other 'invaders'. It is impossible not to regret that the development of higher education in the country swung so soon and so swiftly away from the course on which he would have liked to hold it.

The Earl of Swinton has very kindly given me permission to quote from his book, *I Remember*.[1] It contains a valuable record of the impression made by the College at a time of crisis on an observer of wide experience who had himself been Secretary of State for the Colonies during some important years in the history of the College. That he forgets one of the three founders does not ruin his appreciation of the other two.

> Having fixed upon Accra where could I find a headquarters immediately available? Here again I was very lucky. The African College of Achimota, where General Giffard had already established his headquarters immediately offered to place at my disposal all the accommodation I required. As I was determined to operate with a small central staff, there was no need to displace the College; and Stopford, the Principal, and his colleagues, became our hosts, our neighbours and our firm friends.
>
> I found Achimota an ideal headquarters. This remarkable place owed its origin to the combined imagination of Guggisberg and Aggrey. A few miles north of Accra rises a hill named Achimota which means 'the place that must not be spoken of'. Its subsequent history belied its title. During the First World War the Gold Coast Government accumulated a large surplus out of the proceeds of cocoa. Guggisberg, the Governor, had been a distinguished sapper. He was also a man of imagination. He made good roads and he was inspired by Aggrey to build an African college at Achimota. He was determined that this place should be both a centre of education and a thing of beauty. Set in a spacious park, which he planted with many kinds of flowering trees, and surrounded by woods, the buildings and playing fields are worthy of any university.[2] The building was Guggisberg's, but the original idea was Aggrey's. I wish I had known Aggrey. He must have been one of the most remarkable men Africa has produced. A young African friend of mine, preaching at Achimota on Aggrey Day, described Aggrey's three characteristics: Implicit trust in God, a dauntless spirit of adventure, and an abiding faith in the partnership of Briton and African, what Aggrey himself called 'the harmony of the black and white keys'. The black and white shield of Achimota testifies to this partnership. Aggrey was a keen educationalist, to use a horrible word. He was emphatic on what he wanted to teach. 'Not simply the 3 Rs but the 3 Hs: the head, the hand and the heart.' He was great on the part agriculture must play in African education and African economy. Preaching on the parable of the sower he said, 'Some of us preachers don't know anything about agriculture; the Master knew what to do.' Aggrey was emphatic too that we must educate the women as well as the men. 'If you educate a man, you educate a person; if you educate a woman you educate a family.'

[1] Hutchinson, 1948, p. 195.

[2] And they owe much to the tireless labour of F. R. Irvine and his staff.—C.K.W.

ACHIMOTA IN WARTIME

Of the much-reduced staff that coped and improvised and toiled through the War—much reduced in numbers but gallantly helped by volunteers, notably the wives of officials 'off' the compound—a considerable, some said a disproportionate number were registered conscientious objectors. But a contingent of the Home Guard was very active. 'Major' Stopford was in command. Charles Woodhouse was second-in-command, J. R. Marshall and R. F. Allan were platoon officers. Many of the staff, African and European, and many of the senior students were members. There was much drilling and training and beating about the bush; the first experience with a tommy gun is still remembered by many. Many old boys joined the regular Army.

The whole compound was divided up into areas and trenches were dug. There was a partial black-out. There was a siren in the clock tower (and no pleasant light); and the whole population of the compound could run to earth in two minutes—and did so often. By April 1941 there were only four white children left on the compound. There was no official rationing: things just became unprocurable.

Comforts were collected and dispatched to the 7th Battalion Gold Coast Regiment in Burma. In token of their gratitude the Battalion on their return to the Gold Coast presented a silver rose-bowl to the College; it passed very properly to the girls' houses to be won each year by competition.

But perhaps even more important was the new thinking that at Achimota, as in a wider field, was stimulated by the conflict of the nations.

An unofficial staff discussion group published three documents which at that time were remarkable for their wide concern, their objectivity and their forward look.

The first published was in 1940 at the Achimota Press with the title *Quo Vadimus*, or Gold Coast Future. It contained articles by M. A. Ribeiro, M. Dowuona, K. Horn and C. S. Deakin. *Pointers to Progress* published in 1942 looks forward in greater detail to the following five years. *Towards National Development* went to the press on V.E. Day. New names that appear prove that this method of discussion had spread far beyond the staff. These pamphlets had a wide circulation, and, it is believed, a considerable influence on the political thinking of the country.

Three Old Achimotans served with distinction in the Gold Coast Regiment.

Seth K. Anthony was appointed Cadet in 5(T) Battalion in August 1939; was commissioned in April 1942; embarked for service with the 81st West African Division in India/Burma in July 1943; disembarked at Takoradi from service in Burma in February 1946; was awarded M.B.E. for service in Burma; and is now in the Ghana Foreign Service.

John H. Cobbina enlisted in the Gold Coast Regiment in February 1942; embarked for service in the Gambia in April 1942; and was commissioned in June 1946. He is now a Senior Police Officer.

Nathan A. Aferi enlisted in May 1945; was commissioned in April 1950; and is now a Battalion Commander with the rank of Brigadier in the Ghana Army.

Stephen Otu, who was in the Training Department 1932–36, is a Brigadier in the Ghana Army now (1960) on service in the Congo.

THE KINDERGARTEN AND THE LOWER PRIMARY

THEIR WANDERINGS AND THEIR END

The story of the Kindergarten and the Lower Primary School in the period 1937–47 falls into three parts: three and a half years of happy stability in the old home; nearly two years of wandering and extemporization, and two and a half years in happy separation at Aburi before the end.

The first part is to be remembered as a continuation of earlier days under Miss George (later Mrs. J. R. Marshall) and the Zoo which she and Miss Hellins got together: duiker and deer, guinea pigs and rabbits and donkeys, with a goat and a cock to be seen sometimes at morning prayers.

The Lower Primary girls were living in the Lower Primary House under Miss Page (later Mrs. H. C. Neill) and the Lower Primary boys joined them in their classes coming over from the eastern compound where they lived.

In July 1940 the Kindergarten and the Lower Primary lost not only their dormitories but their classrooms to the Army and a series of improvisations began.

The Lower Primary girls were at Agogo at the end of 1940; the new uniforms they made there were long remembered. The Lower Primary boys, housed in the Survey School from September 1940 to the end of 1941 had some excellent sports there and made a fine garden. The

Kindergarten went first to the Vice-Principal's bungalow, then to the Principal's, then to a new wooden house between House IX and House VI, then to House V, then back to the wooden house, then to the Common Room of House IX.

The arrival of the Resident Minister and his Staff in 1942 brought further changes. The whole of the Kindergarten and the Lower Primary moved to Aburi where the Governor's Rest House and what had been an Agricultural Department received them in June 1942. There Mrs. Wilkinson who had joined the Staff in 1941, with the help of some tried and trusted African teachers created Achimota School, Aburi.

The older boys and girls, separated from their seniors, became important people and increased in reliability. The surroundings made possible a real garden school. And Achimota was not too far away for the staff to pay regular and well-liked visits.

But in May 1944 the College Council decided that this junior school must come to an end: which it did at the end of the year. It seems certain that the Council hoped that the money saved would help to make possible the expansion at the upper end on which their eyes were fixed.

In 1947 it was reported that of the 163 children who had been in the Kindergarten and the Lower Primary in 1937, 28 were still at Achimota; three of them were in the Intermediate and two of them at least had been 'here since they were three years old'.

THE COLLEGE

The separation of the College from the Secondary School—that is to say the staff and classes of the Intermediate and Degree courses and of the Teacher Training department—which the Inspectors of 1938 recommended, was a development which the War made quite impossible. Until 1947 the western compound was occupied by G.H.Q. and the Resident Minister and his staff.

Numbers, however, grew in that period from 31 to 90 and would have grown to more than 100 but for difficulties in staffing the Engineering Department—difficulties which have had very serious results in more recent history. More notable still, at the end of the period 220 applications for admission were received from students possessing the minimum qualification—a pass or its equivalent in the London University Matriculation examination.

At the beginning of the period courses led to Intermediate Arts, Intermediate Science, First Medical, Intermediate and B.Sc. Engineering

examinations. Intermediate Economics was added in 1943 and Intermediate Commerce in 1944.

In 1938 the Engineering Degree course had been reorganized by London University, and the requirement was introduced that students, coursework should be submitted to the London examiners. With the exception of one subject in one year all candidates' coursework was accepted as satisfactory. Reference has already been made (on page 62) to work in preparation for the Volta Bridge.

Over a long period valuable support was given to the Engineering course by Messrs. Tarquah and Abosso Mines, Ltd., Ashanti Gold Fields and Marlu Gold Mining Area, mainly in scholarships.

In 1939 there was a staff of three engineers, but at the end of the period the course had been interrupted and the staffing position was acute.

The visit of the Elliot Commission in January 1944 was followed by a long period of discussion and uncertainty. In August 1945 the Achimota Council decided to separate from the School all post-secondary students, including those taking new two-year teacher-training courses, and put them together in one place under a Warden. C. S. Deakin, the head of the Engineering School, and much more than the head, was appointed to that office. The place selected was the old Girls' School (western compound). But this was occupied by the Army until September 1946. The move took place in January 1947. Temporary army buildings were converted into laboratories and a gymnasium. The old permanent buildings were furnished and equipped in a manner more suitable for senior students and renamed Fraser Hall, Aggrey Hall, and Guggisberg Hall; a fourth retained its old name, Slessor, after the mill-girl missionary of Calabar.

The dining-hall remained as pleasant as ever; improvements to the stage made by the Army were specially welcome.

The old Kindergarten Hall made an excellent chapel and the old Kindergarten classrooms, offices. The Lower Primary Hall became a library, and the classrooms lecture-halls.

For several years before the move separate morning services had been held. The College now had its own Chaplain, the Rev. Peter Fraser. Services as before were voluntary. They were fairly well attended.

The Plato Club continued its useful work. The Apollo Choir established itself firmly. The Education Society was a centre for discussion more particularly of those training as teachers. The Student Christian Movement owed much to Mr. M. A. Ribeiro.

The standard in tennis was described as high. Several old boys in England played in College and University teams in hockey and football. A. K. Okine was captain of the Balliol College teams in both tennis and hockey.

Play-acting was much enjoyed and a magazine *The Student* was published three times a year.

The Warden, Mr. Deakin, concludes the review from which these notes are derived with these words:

> The announcement by His Excellency to Legislative Council in March 1947, that the Secretary of State had agreed to the creation of a University College in the Gold Coast, and the subsequent unanimous acceptance by Council of the Bradley Report followed a visit by a delegation from the Inter-University Council led by Prof. Hale Bellot, representing London University. This delegation made it clear that for any Gold Coast College to be admitted to the special relationship with London University, and to be classed by the Council as a University College, several conditions must be fulfilled, including complete separation from the School, genuine autonomy, with control of courses by an academic board, adequate library and laboratories, and proper provision for research work.
>
> The progress of the College is clearly bound up with the early appointment of a Principal to deal with the many preparations that are required for the developments of the next few years; but it is clear that the schemes for a University College which Sir Gordon Guggisberg worked on twenty years ago and which then to many people seemed so visionary are now within sight of fulfilment.

DISCIPLINE

It was not to be expected that during the time of political tension the College—now in new quarters in the western compound—should remain unmoved. On two occasions there was strain. In the first, students sought to obtain the co-operation of the staff in forwarding to the Government a document protesting against the action of the police which had resulted in loss of life and been followed by grave disorders. Co-operation was refused. The document was thereupon sent to the Press, and for some hours non-co-operation of students followed. But the students' demeanour throughout was respectful and no permanent ill-feeling was created.

On the other occasion a body of College students proceeded from their compound to the School (i.e. the eastern) compound and invited the upper forms to 'sit down'. This invitation was not accepted and the procession returned.

The remarkable thing in both instances was not that discipline was strained at a time of great emotion and no little violence elsewhere, but that it was strained so little, and that the African staff resisted the temptation to win easy popularity.

THE END AND THE BEGINNING

What Guggisberg looked forward to is not quite clear. Did he think that Achimota would *grow into* a University College, perhaps into a University? Or did he think that it would *prepare the way* for the higher institution? There was a good deal of confusion right down till 1947. Indeed the Achimota authorities themselves were not all of one mind.

Some certainly took the first view and held to it as long as they could; and these, it would seem, were the more willing to let the Kindergarten and the Primary Departments go because they thought that concentration would make development at the top easier and more natural.

The view, however, prevailed that a University College cannot grow out of a secondary school: that Intermediate classes are not in any proper sense of University standard—they are rather the equivalent of a real sixth form; that school discipline and college discipline are two utterly disparate things; in short, that the new University College must be a separate foundation, with a separate constitution.

These principles are embodied in three Ordinances which became law in 1948 establishing as separate institutions:

(1) The University College of the Gold Coast;
(2) The Achimota Teacher Training College; and
(3) The Achimota School.

The University College was founded on 11 August 1948. Upon its buildings on the splendid site on Legon Hill was spent in the first ten years of its life, with the help of the Colonial Development Fund, no less a sum than ten million pounds.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Prince of Wales College and School Council contain a summary of the final speeches. Mr. H. C. Neill, the Acting Principal, spoke in appreciation of the work of the Council, and Mr. T. Barton, O.B.E., Director of Education, spoke warmly of the work of its President, Mr. Justice L. E. V. M'Carthy, and the President replied:

> Mr. Neill on behalf of the first three Principals and on his own behalf as Acting Principal expressed gratitude to the Council for all its work. Its

establishment had been a landmark in education, and it had served as an example to other educational bodies—not least the new University College of the Gold Coast. It had guided Achimota through periods of affluence and of austerity, through times of pleasant peacefulness and times of trouble.

The minute book, the record of the Council's proceedings, should be suitably bound with a gold clasp and displayed in the Museum.

Principals are notorious for having 'bees in their bonnets' and it had been the task of the Council to see to it that some, at any rate, of them had been good working bees and not merely useless drones.

An Acting Principal, on the 'lucus a non lucendo' principle, of course *did* nothing and was therefore less difficult to deal with.

Solomon had had a reputation for wisdom. On one occasion he had recommended that a baby should be cut in two; the suggestion had been promptly turned down. This Council had succeeded in dividing a grown child into three parts, and no objection had been raised.

In conclusion he asked leave to read a list of names of distinguished members of Council in years gone by;

Hon. J. E. Casely Hayford	F. Awooner Williams
Nana Sir Ofori Atta	E. C. Quist
K. Bentsi Enchill	R. I. Edwards
H. S. Newlands	Rev. M. B. Taylor
W. Ward Brew	Mrs. J. Buckman
Togbe Sri II: Awoami Fia of Awuna	Miss E. C. Sutherland

The Director of Education said that already in his office three new files had been begun—The Achimota School, The Achimota Teacher-Training College and The University College of the Gold Coast.

After long discussion and the distractions of many urgent problems, principles of policy had been defined and accepted. The Council now stood at the threshold of great events. Very soon, legislative sanction would be given to policies for educational advance which were, in a genuine sense the policies of the people of the Gold Coast. The Achimota Council was proud that its President (a 'foundation member') should have the honour of introducing to the Legislative Council and piloting into law the bill for a University College for the Gold Coast. It was very fitting that the President of the Council of the Prince of Wales College and School should be so intimately associated with the fulfilment of the vision of its Founders.

Judge M'Carthy had become President in 1939 and by the free and enthusiastic choice of the Council he had held the office ever since. He had guided the College through exceedingly difficult times. It needed a great effort to recall clearly the easy pre-war days. Of such days the Judge, as president, had seen very few. Difficulties and anxieties had beset them from

the outbreak of hostilities. The School and College had had to face increasing shortage of staff and, especially, the loss of irreplaceable men and women of experience. At the same time, it had been very conscious of a need for development which, month by month, became the more urgent. To all this had been added the occupation of so much accommodation by Military and Civil Authorities, though it was to be accounted a distinction to Achimota that within its walls there had been much planning and working for the victories at El Alamein and in Burma.

The President had brought Council and College to the certainty of the present and to the secure promise of a still greater future. He was reminded of the words of the College Council Prayer—'strengthen the good thing thus begun'. The President had indeed been a strength to the great enterprise which was Achimota. His sympathy with the individual, his courtesy, his patient, forward-looking judgement and his clear vision of ultimate purposes had been an example and support to the Council and the College and School. He had a peculiar skill in so correcting the hasty that he increased their admiration and regard for him and at the same time persuaded them that their second thoughts might be better than their first and their third still better.

Of the future of Achimota—the School, the Training College and the University College—they could be confident. Much effort lay ahead; but from the past there came a wisdom and a spirit which would be a support to them and which the Judge had patiently safeguarded and strengthened.

Replying first to the Director of Education, the President said that he was deeply moved by the kind things said about him and his work for Achimota, and for the gifts presented to him on behalf of the Council which he would always treasure, as mementoes of his long and happy association with the Council.

Referring to the warm tribute which the Acting Principal had on behalf of the Staff paid to the Council, the President said that he was quite sure that everyone who had joined the Council had rejoiced in the opportunity of serving Achimota. It had been fascinating, particularly for the older members, to watch the steady growth until the stage had now been reached, where Achimota as we had known it had become too big to remain a single institution, and was about to split into three most important and promising bodies, each with its own Council.

Members would always look back with pleasure to their time on the old Council which was about to be dissolved, and would feel that their common service to Achimota was a bond of fellowship between them.

This, the last meeting of the Council that had supported the staff in building up Achimota during a period of eighteen years, was an historic occasion, as most certainly was the first meeting of the Council on the 30th April, 1930, when Rev. A. G. Fraser was Chairman. He was glad

that it had been decided to commemorate both events by the erection of suitable tablets.

He spoke of the great services of the Principals, Rev. A. G. Fraser, Rev. H. M. Grace and Rev. R. W. Stopford, and those of the Acting Principal, Mr. H. C. Neill.

He referred to the invaluable work of Mr. R. F. Allan the Bursar and Secretary of the Council for the last seventeen years, and said that only pressure of time prevented him from enlarging on the services of the Warden, Mr. C. C. Deakin, and of the Rector of the Training College, Lord Hemingford.

The Achimota Teacher Training College moved under the guidance of Lord Hemingford to Kumasi, where it became a foundation faculty of the College of Technology. From Kumasi it moved to new buildings at Winneba where it remains.

At Achimota the west compound—the old 'School side'—remained for many years, while the new buildings were going up on the new site at Legon, the home of the new University College.

The eastern compound—the old 'College side'—became the permanent home of the refounded secondary school, a co-educational Christian foundation, whose high calling it is in the changed circumstances of today to continue, and, with the encouragement of a Government which owes not a little to the 'triumvirate', to develop whatsoever things were honest and just and pure and lovely and of good report in the Achimota of the early years.

APPENDIX 1

BENEFACTORS

Among the personal benefactors of the College and School one name stands out pre-eminent—the name of Cadbury. Year after year the *Achimota Review* records benefactions of all kinds: books and maps and scholarships and engineering equipment and special funds and emergency gifts. It would seem that no appeal to this generous family firm has ever been made in vain. As early as 1925 the family set aside a capital sum of £10,000 for the endowment of scholarships, half for boys and half for girls. Among the beneficiaries of that fund to-day are a woman District Commissioner, a woman Member of Parliament, the head of the Agricultural Department at Kumasi College and a woman industrialist. Up to the time of his death William Cadbury corresponded with the Housemaster of Cadbury House, as his wife does still. In 1957 in connection with the Independence celebrations and the company's jubilee in Ghana the girls' gymnasium was presented to the school.

It is altogether fitting that the name of Cadbury should be commemorated in one of the school houses, along with Lugard, Aggrey, Livingstone and Guggisberg.

Another name that must be mentioned is that of A. B. and M. C. Gillett of Oxford.

The United Africa Company in 1934 founded four scholarships for the Commercial Course.

And the mining companies have been very generous:

Tarquah and Abosso Mines Ltd.
Ashanti Gold Fields Ltd.
Gold Coast Selection Trust.
Marlu Mines Ltd.

endowed engineering scholarships which made possible for many years the remarkable work of the Engineering School.

Members of the staff who were also members of the Society of Friends presented to Achimota the Hill House to be a place of quiet and meditation.

Lady Willcocks in 1929 presented to the Gold Coast Government and they in turn passed to the College on permanent loan the collection of antlers, swords, guns and curios made by her husband Sir James Willcocks in Ashanti

and Burma, which was the foundation of the Achimota museum, the first in West Africa, and itself the small seed out of which has grown the fine exhibition in Accra.

Other gifts were made as follows:

Sir Ransford Slater: Elocution Prize.
Sir Stafford Northcote: Honours Board.
Dr. M. Fortes: Anthropology Prize.
W. E. F. Ward, Esq.: Epidiascope.
Dr. Mumford: Cine Projector.
Captain and Mrs. Maxwell-Lawford: Chapel Furnishings.
The Resident Minister (Lord Swinton) and his Staff: Dining Table and Chairs for the Prefects.
Nana Sir Ofori Atta, K.B.E.: Silver Cup for inter-house athletic competition.
Metha Ram, Esq.: Scholarships for Apprentices in Textiles and Ceramics.
W. Galloway, Esq.: Engineering Scholarship.
7th Battalion Gold Coast Regiment: Rose Bowl.

APPENDIX 2

THE COLLEGE COUNCIL

The following served on the Achimota College and School Council as Governor's representative (G.R.), African elected member (A.M.), Staff representative (S.R.), Missionary Member (M.M.) or *ex officio*.

A. L. Adu	S.R.
E. O. Asafu Adjaye	A.M.
E. W. Akufo-Addo	A.M.
Rev. C. W. Armstrong	M.M.
K. B. Ateko	S.R.
Hon. G. H. Avazethe	G.R.
R. P. Baffour	S.R.
T. Barton	Ex. off.
K. Bentsi-Enchill	A.M.
Rev. R. C. Blumer	S.R.
W. Ward Brew	A.M.
P. P. Brown	S.R.
Mrs. John Buckman	G.R.
D. A. Chapman	S.R.
Miss E. M. Cooke	S.R.
Mr. Justice J. Henley Coussey	A.M.
T. D. Cranston	Ex off.
Dr. J. B. Danquah	A.M.
C. S. Deakin	Ex off.
Dr. J. N. de Graft Johnson	A.M.
K. J. Dickens	Ex off.
T. M. Dowuona	S.R.
S. T. Dunstan	Ex off.
R. I. Edwards, M.C.	G.R.
A. E. Ellis	G.R.
Hon. G. N. Farquhar, M.C.	G.R.
Hon. A. F. E. Fieldgate	G.R.
Rev. A. G. Fraser, C.B.E.	Ex off.
H. C. R. Goddard	G.R.
Rev. H. M. Grace	Ex off.

L. B. Greaves	M.M.
J. A. Harland	G.R.
Hon. Major A. H. A. Harman, D.S.O.	Ex off.
Hon. R. Harris	G.R.
Hon. J. Casely Hayford, M.B.E.	A.M.
Lord Hemingford	S.R.
C. J. Hodgens	G.R.
Rev. K. Horn	M.M.
Hon. W. J. A. Jones	G.R.
Hon. R. A. Kelly	G.R.
K. A. Korsah, O.B.E.	A.M.
V. H. K. Littlewood	G.R.
L. E. V. M'Carthy	A.M.
Hon. Capt. A. D. MacKenzie	G.R.
Miss E. H. McKillican	G.R.
Hon. T. R. C. Mangin	G.R.
J. R. Marshall	S.R.
Mate Kole, Nene Azzu	A.M.
Hon. F. Nanka-Bruce	A.M.
H. C. Neill	Ex off.
H. S. Newlands	G.R.
E. Norton Jones	G.R.
Nana Sir Ofori-Atta, K.B.E.	A.M.
W. E. Ofori-Atta	S.R.
Hon. D. J. Oman, O.B.E.	Ex off.
Rev. R. R. Persico	S.R.
Hon. G. Power	Ex off.
Capt. G. M. Puckridge	G.R.
P. D. Quartey	S.R.
E. C. Quist	A.M.
Hon. R. C. Ramage	G.R.
F. A. Reed	G.R.
M. A. Ribeiro	S.R.
Father J. Rothoff	M.R.
Rev. Dr. R. Simpson	S.R.
Hon. A. D. W. Skinner, I.S.O.	G.R.
Rev. R. W. Stopford	Ex off.
Hon. B. J. Surridge, C.B.E.	G.R.
Miss E. C. Sutherland	G.R.

J. E. Symond	G.R.
Hon. F. E. Talland, O.B.E.	G.R.
E. A. T. Taylor	G.R.
Rev. M. B. Taylor	M.M.
V. A. Tettey	Ex off.
Hon. Togbi Sri II, Awoame Fia of Awuna	G.R.
Hon. H. W. Thomas	G.R.
Hon. H. Vane Percy	G.R.
W. E. F. Ward	S.R.
Hon. T. Whitfield	G.R.
Francis Awoonor Williams	A.M.
Rev. C. K. Williams	S.R.
C. P. Woodhouse	R.S.

APPENDIX 3

MEMBERS OF SENIOR STAFF

Teaching and Administrative, together with Members of the Junior Staff confirmed in their appointments, 1924–1948.

Adams, D. T.
Adoo, E. O.
Adjei, W. Q.
Adu, A. L.
Aggrey, Dr. J. E. K.
Aikens, P.
Allan, R. F.
Allen, H. H.
Allen, Mrs. M.
Amoah, B. A.
Amonoo, R.
Amoo, A.
Amu, E.
Anderson, Miss I.
Andrews,
Ankrah, A. A.
Anthony, Seth K.
Anthony, T.
Appleyard, Miss E.
Armstrong, Miss M.
Asare, Miss Janet
Asare, J. H.
Ateko, K. B.
Attafuah, A. B.
Ayivor, V. F. K.
Azu, E.

Baffour, R. P.
Bannerman-Bruce, A. F.
Bardsley, Miss J.
Bardsley, Rev. J.
Barker, H. A.
Bastow, Miss D.
Benzies, Capt. D.
Binks, E. H.
Blackwood, Miss M. W.
Blair, Miss D. J.
Blumer, Rev. R. C.
Boafo, Miss S.
Boatin, T.
Bolton, Capt. A.
Boston, Dr. H. M.
Botchway, T. Q.
Brewis, Miss H. E. S.
(later Mrs. A. R. B. Fraser)
[1]Brown, A. P.
Brown, B. A.
Brown, J.
Brown, P. P.
Bunbury, Miss D. E.
Bunner, W. J. K.
Busia, K. A.

Caddis, Miss G.
Cardew, M. A.
Chapman, D. A.
Charnley, Miss M.
Christian, Miss S. H.
Colbatch Clark, Miss M.
Colbatch Clark, E. D.
Coleman, W. F.
Cooke, Miss E. M.

Coutts, Miss E. M.
Craig, Miss T. C.

Damalie, L. K.
Damptey, M. F.
Davis, R. C.
Deakin, Miss L. O.
(later Mrs. K. W. Todd)
Deakin, C. S.
Dey, C. S.
Djabanor, R. P.
Dowuona, T. M.
Dunnett Miss M. I. D.
Dunstan, S. T.

Elliott, Mrs. G.
Elliott, Miss M. K.
Ellis, R. C.
Etherington, Miss E. M.

Fadipe, N. A.
Field, Miss M. J.
Fisher, Rev. R.
Flecker, Miss O. J.
(later Mrs. A. Botton)
Foote, Miss V. J.
Fraser, Rev. A. G.
Fraser, A. G., Junr.
Fraser, A. R. B.
Fraser, Rev. P.

Gardiner, Miss H. C.
Gardiner, P. C.
Gbedemah, Miss V. E.
George, Miss N. M. F.
(later Mrs. J. R. Marshall)
Gilbert, Mrs. M. G.
Gillett, D.
Glancey, Miss M. A.
Golightly, E. L.
Grant, Miss A. F.
Grant, J. R.
Greer, Dr. W. R.
Griffith, Dr. D. R.
Gunn, Miss W. P.

Hellins, Miss C. E.
Hendrie, Dr. H. McD.
Herbert, D. G. R.
(later Lord Hemingford)
Hodges, A. W. M.
Holmes, M.
Hood, G. E.
Horn, Rev. K.
Hulede, P.

Irvine, Dr. F. R.

Jaipal Sigh
Johnson, Mrs. de Graft
Johnson, F.
Joselin, F. E.
Joselin, Mrs. I.
Joseph, A. H. R.
Judd, Miss M.
(later Mrs. P. P. Brown)
Judd, Miss M. R.

Kay, Miss E. M.
Koi, Miss M.
Konuah, K. G.
Korsah, J. E. K.
Kuta-Dankwa, Dr. A. K.
Kwami, R. A.

Lapsley, R. A. N.
Lyth, P.

MacKendrick, J. M.
Mackintosh, Miss M. A.
(later Mrs. S. T. Dunstan)

Maguire, Miss E.
Mallet, Miss R. E.
Manley, Miss E. S.
(later Mrs. C. G. Wise)
Marshall, J. R.
Maxwell-Lawford, Capt. F.
Meyerowitz, H. V.
Meyerowitz, Mrs. E. M.
Mills, J. W. L.
Milne, J. C.
Moss, Miss G. E.

Nash, Miss D. E. F.
Neill, H. C.
Norfolk, A. J.
Nylander, C. T.

O'Baka Torto, F. G. T.
Obeng, Miss E.
Oddoye, J. C. A.
Ofori-Atta, W.
Ofosu-Appiah, L. H.
Okine, A. K.
Oku-Ampofu, Dr. E.
Opare, W. D.
Opoku, A. M.
Osabutey, M.

Packham, Miss C. E.
Page, Miss U. H.
(later Mrs. H. C. Neill)
Parnell, Miss A.
Perry, Rev. C. C.
Persico, Rev. R. R.
Phillips, C. J.
Pippet, G.
Pitt, Mrs. A. E.
Plumptre, E. D.
(later Mrs. A. H. R. Joseph)
Porter, J. L.
Potakey, F. K.
Procter, G.

Quartey, P. D.
Quist, C. L.

Revell, Miss R.
Ribeiro, M. A.
Rignell, Capt. J. H.
Rigney, Rev. Fr. H.
Roberts, Miss W. E.
Ross, W. G.
Rotter, Miss D. L.
Rowe, J. E.

Savage, Dr. Agnes
Sawyer, W. W.
Scholes, J.
Scott, Miss M. M.
(later Mrs. Benzies)
Scragg, J.
Shaw, C. T.
Simpson, Dr. R.
Skinner, Capt. A. D. W.
Smith-Mensah, J. H.
Sonne, C. D.
Southern, A. E.
Southern, Mrs. S. M.
Spio-Garbrah, A. M.
Spio-Garbrah, B.
Sproat, Miss E.
Stevens, G. A.
Stratton, Miss P. D. C.
Stuart, Rev. C. E.
Summerhayes, Dr. J. W.

Thompson, F. W.
Todd, Dr. K. W.
Torto, F. A.
Tucker, Miss L. M.

Turkson, R. M.
Tweneboa, M. S. A.

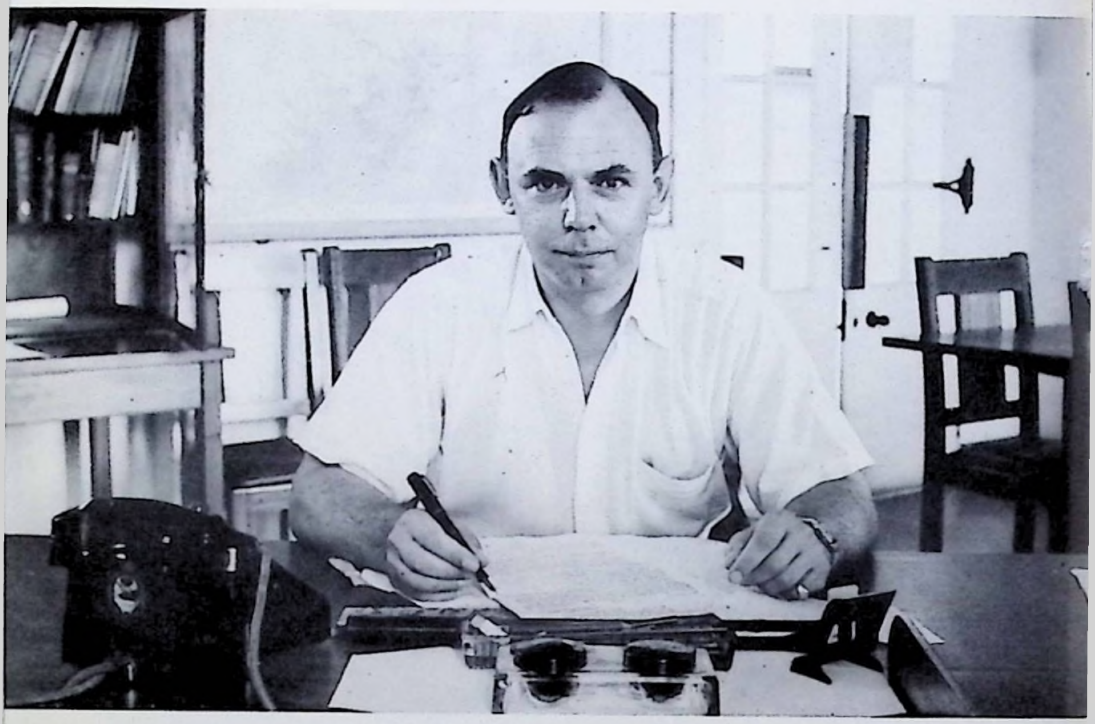
Varley, Dr. W. J.

Ward, Miss B.
Ward, W. E. F.
Watkins, T.
Watts, F. G.
Whitfield, Capt. P.
Whittaker, K. C.
Wild, Rev. W. S.
Wilkinson, Mrs. D. G.
Williams, Miss M. I.
Williams, Rev. C. K.
Wilson, Dr. J. M.
Wise, C. G.
Witten, Miss M.
Wood, J. E.
Woodhouse, C. P.

Young, Norman

[1] A. P. Brown, after making enquiries into the fishing industry, introduced the Lee-board to the fishermen. It is now widely used from Axim to Kata. He also designed, with M. J. Field, the first fish-smoking house at Teshie. This was built by Daniel Abloh, a fisherman, and also a stonemason on the College maintenance staff; the only man, it is said, who could make the 'marble' of the Achimota swimming-pool.

Potting Drafting



The Reverend R. W. Stopford, Third Principal

H. C. Neill, Esq., First Headmaster

APPENDIX 4

PUBLICATIONS

The Achimota Press published a wide variety of pamphlets and booklets written by members of the staff; and printed an equally wide variety (mainly in one or other of the local vernaculars) for the local missions and the Education Department.

Larger works written by members of the staff included the following:

The Future of the Negro, by A. G. Fraser and F. G. Guggisberg.
Plants of the Gold Coast, by F. R. Irvine.
West African Botany, by F. R. Irvine.
West African Agriculture, by F. R. Irvine.
Saltwater Fish on the Gold Coast, by F. R. Irvine.
British History for Overseas Students, by W. E. F. Ward.
Africa before the White Man Came, by W. E. F. Ward.
Gold Coast History, by W. E. F. Ward.
The Aim of the Curriculum, by R. C. Blumer.
Common Errors in Gold Coast English, by J. Scragg and P. P. Brown.
Religion and Medicine among the Gā People, by M. J. Field.
Longman's Simplified English Series, general editor, C. K. Williams.
A First Reader in Gold Coast Geography, by D. T. Adams (with H. A. Harman).
African Songs, by E. Amu.
Social Organization of the Gā People, by M. J. Field.
Religion and Medicine of the Gā People, by M. J. Field.

APPENDIX 5

WHO'S WHO

Some Old Achimotans

I have to thank my old colleagues A. A. Ankrah and Janet Asare, who kindly undertook a considerable labour in compiling this list at my request in 1959.

* Registered members of the Old Achimota Association.

	Years at Achimota	*Present (1959) Appointment*
Ababio, E. T.	Jan. 1941–June 1948	Bursar, Akuafo Hall, University College of Ghana
*Adams, Otoo	Jan. 1928–Dec. 1931	Senior Master, Technical Education
*Adali-Mortty, G.	Jan. 1932–Dec. 1935	Organizer, Extramural Studies
Addae, Miss Gloria	Jan. 1941–July 1946	First Ghanaian Woman Economist
*Adegbite, V. M.	Jan. 1942–Dec. 1945	Architect, Housing Corporation
*Adu, Amishadai, L., O.B.E.	Jan. 1931–June 1935	Permanent Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; O.A.A. Rep. on School Council on various occasions
*Agyeman, J. O. T.	Jan. 1929–June 1935	Deputy Commissioner for Commerce; President O.A.A. Accra Branch and Vice-President O.A.A. Central
*Agordekpe, A. B. (Rev. Fr.)	Jan. 1927–Dec. 1930	Anglican Minister of Religion
Ahia, G. K.	Jan. 1926–Dec. 1929	Member of Parliament
*Akenten, Wiafe	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1932	Offinsuhene

Akiwumi, A. M.	Jan. 1936–May 1946	Senior Crown Counsel
*Akwei, Dr. Eustace	Jan. 1929–June 1935	Chief Medical Officer
Akwei, R. M.	Jan. 1939–July 1945	2nd Secretary Ghana Embassy, Washington
*Akufo-Addo, E. W.	Jan. 1929–July 1930	Legal Practitioner, Achimota Scholar to Oxford, Chairman Achimota School Council
*Akufo-Addo, Mrs. Adeline née Ofori-Atta	Jan. 1936–Dec. 1939	Housewife
Al-Hassan, E. G.	Jan. 1936–Dec. 1939 Jan. 1943–Dec. 1945	Education Officer
Agbettor, Miss Elizabeth Victoria	Feb. 1938–Dec. 1950	1st Woman Science Graduate of University College of Ghana
*Armar, Dr. A. A.	Jan. 1939–Dec. 1942	Medical Specialist
Amissah, A. J. N.	Feb. 1941–April 1949	Crown Counsel
*Amponsah, R. R.	Feb. 1938	Member of Parliament
*Anfom, Dr. E. E.	Feb. 1935–June 1940	Surgical Specialist
*Annan, J. S.	Aug. 1935–July 1938	Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, O.A.A. Rep. on School Council
Amartefio, Mrs. Evelyn née Nunoo	Jan. 1934–Dec. 1937	Housewife. Secretary, Federation of Ghana Women
Ampaw, R.	April 1929–July 1943	Assistant Commissioner of Police
Ahia, G. K.	Jan. 1926–Dec. 1929	Member of Parliament
Alissani, J. H.	Jan. 1924–Dec. 1926	Minister of Health
Apaloo, L. K.	Feb. 1932–July 1938	Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Works
Apaloo, M. K.	Jan. 1935–Dec. 1938	Member of Parliament
*Antubam, Kofi	Jan. 1937–Dec. 1946	Supervisor, Achimota Art School

*Anthony, Seth, M.B.E.	Jan. 1930–July 1937	Ghana Embassy U.S.A. Rose to rank of Major in last war.
Asare, Janet F.	April 1930–Dec. 1936	Senior Housemistress and Supervisor Achimota Housecraft Dept.
*Aryee, S. A.	Jan. 1936–July 1942	Dental Surgeon
Aferi, Nathan A.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1931 Jan. 1935–Dec. 1940	Major, Ghana Army
Amuah, G. E.	May 1942–Dec. 1948	Lieutenant, Ghana Army
Ankrah, Leopold	Jan. 1942–Dec. 1945	Government Agent
Asihene, E. V.	May 1939–Dec. 1943	Art Master, St. Augustine College, Cape Coast
Ashietey, Robert (Rev. Fr.)	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1932	Anglican Minister of Religion
*Attafua, A. B.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1932	Registrar, of College Technology, O.A.A. Rep. on School Council, 1956–58
*Attoh, S. A.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1932	District Magistrate
Ayensu, Mrs. Hilda, née Vardon	Jan. 1940–June 1945	1st Ghanaian Woman Dental Surgeon
*Bannerman, R. H. O.	Jan. 1932–Dec. 1937	Specialist Obstetrician and Gynaecologist, Ministry of Health
*Badoe, Dr. E. A.	Jan. 1937–Aug. 1944	Medical Specialist
*Baffour, R. P., O.B.E.	Aug. 1931–June 1935	Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Communications. Member of Achimota School Council
*Bempang, P. O.	Jan. 1939–Dec. 1942	Asst. Registrar W.A. Examination Council

*Bentsi-Enchill, Kodwo	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1937	Businessman
*Bentsi-Enchill, Kwamina	May 1927–July 1938	Legal Practitioner
*Bentsi-Enchill, Kwesi	May 1927–July 1938	Medical Practitioner
Boafo, Alice	Jan. 1932–Dec. 1940	Nursing Sister, Ministry of Health
Boafo, Grace	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1937	District Education Officer, Ministry of Education
*Boafo, Sophia	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1937	Principal Education Officer, Ministry of Education
*Boakye-Mensah, J. E.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1932	United Africa Company Manager
*Boateng, E. A.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1938	Lecturer and Hall Tutor, University College
*Boatin, H. S.	Dec. 1926–Dec. 1929	Education Officer
*Boatin, T.	Jan. 1928–Dec. 1931	Education Officer
*Boatin, W.	Jan. 1927–Dec. 1930	Organizer, Extramural Studies
*Botsio, R. B-P. Hon.	Jan. 1935–Dec. 1936	Leader of Government Business and Minister of External Affairs
*Brown, B. A.	Jan. 1935–July 1936	Principal Education Officer, Achimota Scholar to Oxford
*Brown, D. A.	Jan. 1934–Aug. 1939	Senior Education Officer
*Brown, E. M.	May 1934–Aug. 1939	First Ghanaian Dental Surgeon
Bonsu, G. A.	Jan. 1946–July 1951	Government Agent
*Busia, Professor K. A.	Aug. 1935–July 1936	Leader of Parliamentary Opposition Achimota Scholar to Oxford

*Cann-Wood, T. A. A.	Jan. 1926–Dec. 1929	Superintendent of Police
*Chapman, C. H.	Jan. 1925–Dec. 1928	Regional Commissioner, Trans-Volta Previously Deputy Speaker of Assembly
*Chapman, D. A.	Jan. 1926–Dec. 1929	Ghana Embassy, Washington. Hon. Dr. of Laws and previously Clerk to the Cabinet
Chapman, Mrs. Efua (née Quashie)	Jan. 1927–	Housewife
Christian, Dr. F. E.	Jan. 1935–Dec. 1944	Medical Practitioner
*Clerk, Dr. Matilda	Jan. 1933–Dec. 1937 Jan. 1940–Nov. 1942	Principal Medical Officer
*Clerk, T. S.	Jan. 1932–July 1936	Architect and Chief Executive Officer, Tema Dev. Corp.
Cobbinah, J. H.	Jan. 1928–Dec. 1939	Senior Superintendent of Police
*Cofie, E. A. Q.	Jan. 1934–June 1940	Dental Surgeon
*Dadzie, Martha	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1934	1st Ghanaian Woman Optician
*De Graft Johnson, G.K.B., O.B.E.	Jan. 1932–July 1937	Dep. General Manager of Ghana Railways
*De Graft Johnson, J. W.	Jan. 1932–June 1934	Headmaster and Methodist Minister of Religion
*De Graft Dickson, C.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1932	Regional Commissioner, Ashanti
*Dei-Anang, M. F.	Jan. 1932–June 1933	Secretary to the Governor-General
*Djoleto, Dr. E. F.	Jan. 1930–Aug. 1937	Principal Medical Officer
Dennis, T. A.	April 1931–Dec. 1932	Deputy Town Clerk, Cape Coast

*Dodu, Dr. S.	Jan. 1932–Dec. 1942	Medical Specialist, Ministry of Health
*Doku Nartey Nyumutei, J. A.	Jan. 1928–Dec. 1931	Insurance Agent, President, O.A.A. Accra Branch, 1951–1955
*Dowuona, Mrs. Catherine née Konuah	Jan. 1926–June 1931 Jan. 1937–Dec. 1940	Housewife
*Dowuona, M., M.B.E.	Jan. 1929–June 1931	Registrar University College of Ghana and Achimota Scholar to Oxford
Djabanor, G. L. A.	April 1930–Dec. 1933	District Magistrate
Dike, K. O.	Jan. 1938–Dec. 1938	Principal, University College, Ibadan
Easmon, Dr. C. O.	Jan. 1929–July 1934	Surgical Specialist
Egala, Imoru	Jan. 1937–Dec. 1940	Chairman, C.M.B., Formerly Minister of Agriculture
Essah, K. S.	Jan. 1936–Dec. 1939	District Education Officer
*Essilfie, H. T.	March 1925–Dec. 1928	Regional Education Officer
*Ekuban, J. E.	Jan. 1925–Dec. 1928	Senior Method Master, Amisano College, Cape Coast
Francois, Edward	Jan. 1934–Dec. 1944	Road Engineer P.W.D.
*Francois, George R. M.	Jan. 1934–Dec. 1942	Legal Practitioner and Legal Advisor to Achimota School
Francois, John	Jan. 1942–Dec. 1951	Forestry Officer
Fynn, E. M.	Jan. 1927–Dec. 1930	Teacher
*Gbedemah, K. A., Hon.	Jan. 1929–June 1933	Minister of Finance

Gbedemah, Mrs. Grace née Banford	Jan. 1934–Dec. 1936	Kitchen Superintendent, University College of Ghana
*Gbeho, P. C.	Jan. 1925–Dec. 1928	Music Master and Composer of Ghana National Anthem
Glover, Dr. J. I. T.	Jan. 1939–June 1945	Medical Practitioner
Grant, Dr. F. C.	Jan. 1930–	Medical Practitioner
*Grant, H. A. H.	April 1931–June 1934	Principal Assistant Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs
Haizel, E. A.	Jan. 1937–Dec. 1947	Assistant Headmaster Ghana Secondary School, Swedru. Distinguished Sportsman
Holdbrook-Smith, H. J.	Jan. 1926–Dec. 1929	Education Officer
Jiagge, Mrs. Annie, née Baeta	Jan. 1934–Dec. 1937	1st Ghanaian Woman Magistrate
Jiagge, F. K.	May 1927–Dec. 1937	Assistant Secretary Development Commission
Johnson, Robert	Jan. 1937–Dec. 1943	Government Agent
*Kisseih, Docea	Jan. 1935–Dec. 1938	Senior Matron, Ministry of Health
*Konuah, A. K.	Jan. 1929–June 1931 May 1936–July 1938	Headmaster, Accra Academy
*Kofi, A. B. B.	Jan. 1932–June 1939	Administrative Officer
Koram, E. M.	April 1934–July 1939	Deputy Postmaster General, G.P.O.
*Kuta-Dankwa, Dr. A. K.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1932	Medical Practitioner
Kurankyi-Taylor, Dr. E. E.	May 1937–July 1939	Member of Parliament
Kwateng, A. K.	Jan. 1933–July 1941	Administrative Officer
Kwapong, A. A.	Jan. 1941–Aug. 1945	Lecturer, University College of Ghana

Kyei, Joyce	Jan. 1936–Dec. 1950	Mistress, Aburi Girls' Secondary School
*Kyei, T. E.	Jan. 1925–Dec. 1928	Principal Education Officer
Kumi, C. G.	Jan. 1938–Dec. 1941 June 1942–July 1946	Mechanical Engineer, Accra Municipal Council
Lamptey, J. Bob	Aug. 1932–Dec. 1938	Private Photographer
*Laing, Dr. W. N.	June 1934–June 1939	Medical Officer, Ministry of Health
*Lutterodt, Dr. W. K.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1934	Board Member, Ghana Airways
*Madjitey, B. T.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1933	Collector of Customs
Madjitey, E. R. T.	Jan. 1941–July 1943	Acting Commissioner of Ghana Police
Martinson, C. E.	Jan. 1930–June 1934	Headmaster, Ebenezer Secondary School
Martinson, Doris	Jan. 1927–July 1929	Supervisor, Anglican Primary Schools
Martinson, Veronica	Jan. 1937–Dec. 1940	Science Mistress, St. Monica, Mampong, Ashanti
*Mate Kole, Nene Azu	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1932	Konor of Manya Krobo
Mate Kole, Charles B.	Jan. 1930–Dec. 1936	Government Agent
Menka, A. F.	Jan. 1942–Dec. 1950	District Education Officer
Mensah, Emmanuel A.	May 1936–June 1940	Electrical Engineer
Mensah, Peter	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1936	United Africa Co. Manager, Belgian Congo
Mercer, Franklyn, née Bartels	Jan. 1932–Dec. 1937	Housewife
*Newlands, S. S.	Jan. 1934–Dec. 1938	United Africa Co. Manager, Lomé
*Nkrumah, Kwame, Hon.	Jan. 1927–Dec. 1930	First Prime Minister of Ghana

Nkulenu, Esther	Jan. 1936–Dec. 1940	Proprietress, Fruit and Canning Industry
*Nyantekyi, J. K. O.	Jan. 1925–Dec. 1928	Private Businessman
*Nyinah, J. Kingsley	Jan. 1931–Dec. 1942	Legal Practitioner
Mills, J. W. L.	Jan. 1936–June 1943	Principal Education Officer
Oddoye, J. K. O.	Jan. 1927–	Dental Surgeon
*Ofori-Atta, A. E. A.	Jan. 1929–June 1936	Minister of Local Govt.
Ofori-Atta, Grace	June 1945–Dec. 1949	Organizer of Children's Library
*Ofori-Atta, W. E. A.	Jan. 1929–June 1933	Member of Old Legislative Council. Law Student in London
*Ofori-Atta, Dr. Susanna	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1934	First Ghanaian Woman Doctor in charge of Children's Hospital
*Ofosu-Appiah, L. H.	Jan. 1932–July 1940	Lecturer, University College of Ghana
Ofori, Henry	Jan. 1940–Dec. 1943	Journalist, Editor of *Drum*
*Opoku, A. M.	Jan. 1931–Dec. 1934	Art Master, Kumasi College of Technology
*Opoku-Achiampong, A. M.	Jan. 1932–Dec. 1935	Legal Practitioner and Founder of Okuapeman School, Akropong, Akwapim
*Okoh, Enoch	May 1927–July 1938	Permanent Secretary and Acting Clerk to Cabinet
Okaah, Alice	Jan. 1928–Dec. 1943	Nursing Sister
Otoo, B. O.	Jan. 1936–June 1944	Engineer, P.W.D.
Otu, S. J. A.	Mar. 1933–Dec. 1936	Major, Ghana Army
Offori, E. D.	Jan. 1947–Dec. 1952	Master, Achimota School

*Panford, J. G.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1930	Assistant Superintendent of Police, and Ghana Migration Officer, London
Prah, J. K.	Feb. 1933–Mar. 1934 June 1936–July 1940	Chief Transport Officer
Quartey, E. L.	Jan. 1932–June 1940	Senior Electrical Engineer
*Quartey, E. K.	April 1932–Dec. 1935	Senior Executive Officer, Information Services Dept.
*Quartey, Dr. J. K. M.	Jan. 1929–June 1940	Surgical Specialist
*Quartey, P. D.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1931	Ghana Sports Organizer, Former Master, Achimota School
Quarcoo, E. G. K.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1933	Medical Practitioner
Quarshie, R.	Mar. 1936–Dec. 1939	Labour Officer, Now First Secretary, Ghana Embassy, Paris
Quashie-Idun, J. B.	Jan. 1939–Dec. 1950	Legal Practitioner
Quashie-Idun, Betty, née Van Lare	Feb. 1939–Dec. 1940	Housewife and Radio Ghana Announcer
*Quaye, Charles	Feb. 1932–June 1933	Headmaster, Fijai Secondary School
*Quartey-Vanderpuye, J. L.	Jan. 1929–Dec. 1930	Medical Practitioner
Renner, P. E. O.	Jan. 1933–Aug. 1945	Senior Master, Achimota School
*Riby-Williams, James	Jan. 1936–Dec. 1936	Dept. Director Social Welfare and Community Development
Sai, F. T.	Jan. 1940–Dec. 1943	Medical Specialist and Radio Doctor
Sey, Mrs. Elizabeth, née Biney	Jan. 1940–Dec. 1943	1st Woman Graduate, University College of Ghana

Simango, J. K.	May 1936–Aug. 1945	Medical Specialist
*Sonne, C. D.	Jan. 1926–Dec. 1927	Examinations Officer, W.A. Exam. Council
*Sowah, E. N. P.	Jan. 1936–July 1942	Legal Practitioner
*Spio-Garbrah, Britton	Jan. 1933–April 1936	Deputy Director of Broadcasting. O.A.A. Secretary 1946–54
*Tagoe, E. B.	Nov. 1932–June 1940	Medical Specialist
Tamakloe, L. K. L. M.	Jan. 1929–April 1931	Accountant, Dept. of Agriculture
Taylor, K. A.	Jan. 1927–June 1937	Medical Specialist
*Tetteh-Lartey, A. C. V.	Jan. 1946–Dec. 1952	Master, Achimota School
Tettey, Vesta	Jan. 1936–Dec. 1936 Feb. 1942–Dec. 1951	1st Ghanaian Woman Meteorologist
Thompson, J. O.	April 1929–Dec. 1931	Personnel Assistant, G.P.O., Accra
Torto, F. G. T. O.	Feb. 1937–July 1940	Lecturer, University College of Ghana
Torto, J. G. K. O.	Jan. 1929–June 1929 Aug. 1935–June 1939	District Engineer, G.P.O.
Tosu, L. K.	Jan. 1935–Dec. 1938	Deputy Clerk to National Assembly
Twum, E. K. (Barima)	Jan. 1935–June 1941	Head of Dept. of Agriculture, Kumasi College of Technology
*Vanderpuye, A. F.	Jan. 1927–Dec. 1930	Supervisor, Methodist Schools, Koforidua
Vanderpuye, E. A.	Jan. 1931–Dec. 1944	Acting Producer, Ghana Film Unit
Winful, H. F.	May 1936–June 1942	Director of Housing, now Adviser to Minister of Housing

*Wulff, Barbara (Mrs. Oddoye)	Jan. 1945–Dec. 1950	Undergraduate, University College of Ghana
Yakubu, Tali (Tolon Na)	Jan. 1934–Dec. 1937	Member of Parliament

APPENDIX 6

ACHIMOTA COUNCIL SCHOLARSHIPS

for further education in Britain.

Scholarships were awarded to the following from 1931 onwards:

T. A. M. Dowuona
D. A. Chapman
E. W. Akufo Addo
P. D. Quartey
A. L. Adu
M. A. Ribeiro
S. R. Ntem
E. Amu
A. K. Okine
A. Sampong
J. G. A. Oddoye
B. A. Brown
R. A. Kwami
L. H. Ofosu-Appiah
M. F. Damptey
J. W. L. Mills
S. P. O. Kumi
K. B. Asante
A. B. Attafua
Janet Asare
Violet E. Gbedemah
Victoria E. Teye
A. A. Kwapong
P. C. Gbeho
A. F. Bannerman-Bruce

APPENDIX 7

THE ACHIMOTA HYMN

1 Grey city of the outlaw's hill,
Quick with the hope which makes sublime,
Still in thy youth, thou dares't to look
Far on to centuries of time.

2 Born but to rule through service given,
The ages all belong to thee,
O may thy life more humble grow
Through Him whose service makes us free.

3 He who wept o'er Jerusalem,
And yearned to turn the chastening rod,
Longs in His steadfast love to build
In thee a city for our God.

4 Well may thy sons and daughters say,
As back to thee they look with joy,
Praise God who gave us there to share
The freedom of His grand employ.

5 Wellsprings of wisdom are in thee;
With harvests rich thy hillsides sing:
Thou givest life, so mayest thou be
For aye a City of our King.

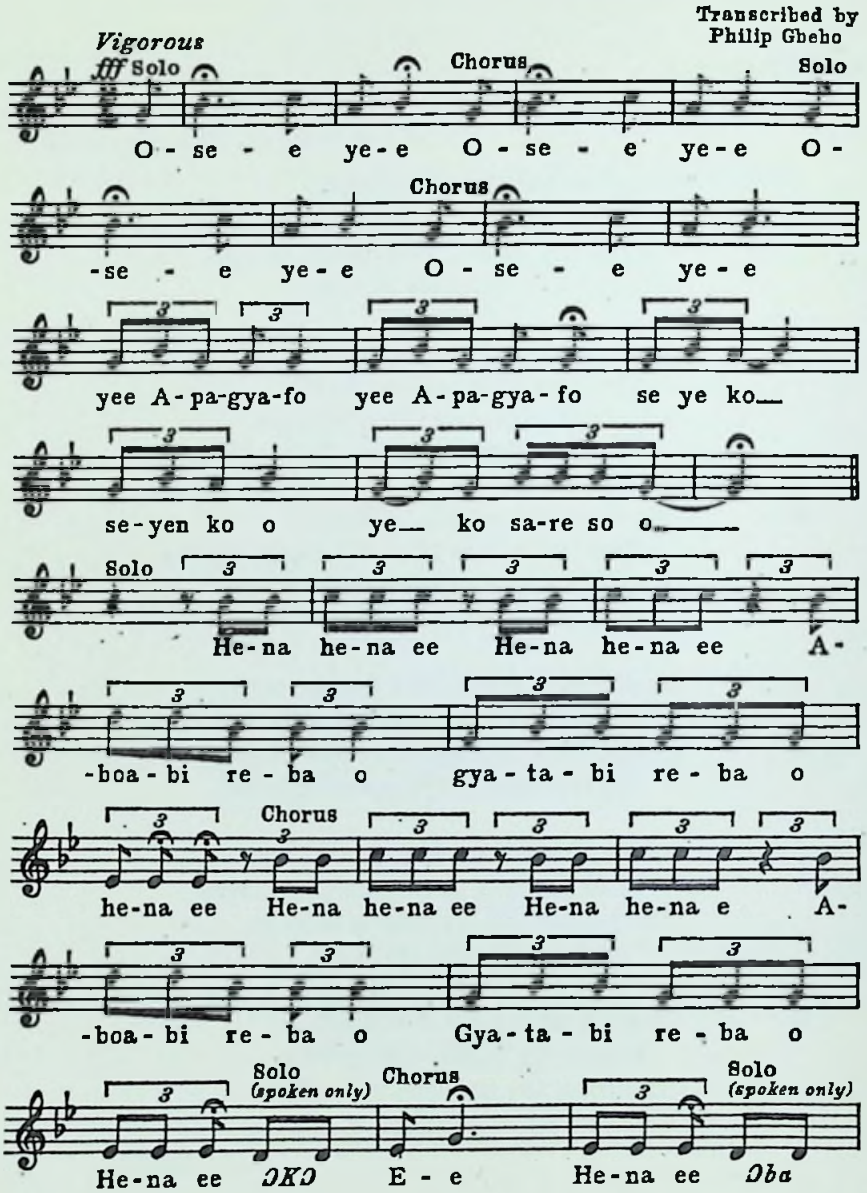
6 Though set upon a desert hill,
May living waters rise in thee;
And from thy children wider flow
The rivers of eternity.

A. G. Fraser

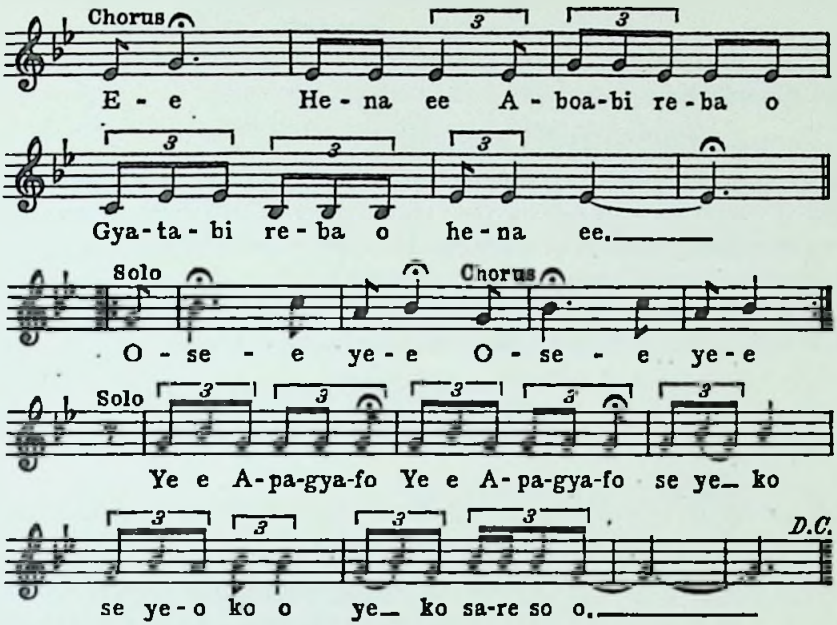
APPENDIX 8

THE COLLEGE YELL

The Achimota Yell– Osee yee



N.B. In the bar 25 the word *"ɔkɔ"* must not be sung to any given pitch. It must be spoken by the Soloist to the time indicated, e.g. ♪ *ɔkɔ*. The same applies to the bar 27, ♪ *ɔba*.


Chorus
E - e He - na ee A - boa-bi re-ba o
Gya-ta - bi re - ba o he - na ee.
Solo
Chorus
O - se - e ye - e O - se - e ye - e
Solo
Ye e A-pa-gya-fo Ye e A-pa-gya-fo se ye_ ko
D.C.
se ye-o ko o ye_ ko sa-re so o.

APPENDIX 9

SOME JUDGEMENTS ON ACHIMOTA

The educational problems ahead, particularly at the two extremes of primary and advanced teaching call for the fullest display of that spirit of enquiry and experiment which has become the dominant note of British rule in the tropics. . . . An extremely important experiment . . . to offer to Africans an advanced training which will fit them to remain a part of native life and to lead their fellows in the betterment of life in the Gold Coast.

The Times Leader, Jan. 31, 1927
(just after the formal opening).

The foundation of Achimota College marked a great milestone in the whole conception of education in British tropical Africa.

L. A. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in *The Times*, June 16, 1927

One thing that strikes me at Achimota is respect for things African; but European as well as African music and games and dances are taught.

'A Senior Teacher in the Junior Service.'

There are few missions in Africa whose educational work is as truly educational and as truly religious as that of Achimota.

Professor Victor Murray, *The School in the Bush*, p. 350 (Longmans, 1929).

At a Conference in 1927 a significant feature was the choice of a speaker on the subject of the 'Relation between Achimota and the Schools'. With the whole of the Gold Coast to choose from, including the Government Education Department and Africans with English University Degrees the Principal nevertheless chose a humble village schoolmaster out of the bush.

Ibid., p. 350.

The first Sunday evening service in the school hall impressed me very much. The reverence shown throughout the service and the attention given to the speaker, their obvious enjoyment in taking a share of the service shown in the splendid way in which they sang the hymns made me feel that they could teach many an English congregation a lesson. With all this their readiness to laugh and enjoy a joke if the occasion arose during the address.

'A Newcomer' in *Achimota 1933*

On the whole I had expected the students to be more Europeanized in externals than was actually the case. The wearing of African 'cloths' and the singing and dancing which accompanies the tribal drumming came as a surprise. At first I thought these things were really only externals but now I am inclined to believe that the students regard them very seriously as symbols of the African culture which is given free rein here in many other directions.

From 'First Impressions' in *Achimota 1933*

The finest thing that Britain has done for Africa since the abolition of the slave trade.

Sir Stafford Northcote,[1] ex Colonial Secretary; Governor of British Guiana

There at last and there alone we are doing something handsomely and wholeheartedly, something of the kind we would wish to do for our own rising generation. We are handling the question of African education, not on the cheap, as a thing to be dealt out grudgingly to people inferior to ourselves, but on a great scale.

The impressions that stand out most at the present time are (*a*) the hard and strenuous work put in by the staff; (*b*) the delightful relations of European, African and Indian on the staff; (*c*) the high standard of manners throughout the school; (*d*) the high standard in the various classes I attended, among which the Latin perhaps impressed me the most.

Charles Roden Buxton, M.P.

[1] Who presented the great panel in the Dining Hall on which the names of senior prefects are inscribed.

Here there is no distinction of colour whatever. The Europeans consider and respect the African staff even more than other Africans do.

'One of our best students, writing to a friend.'

Any money spent on Achimota has been cheap. We have got more than its value.

Sir Arnold Hodson, Governor of the Gold Coast, at the Old Achimotan Association Dinner, June 6, 1935

The atmosphere of frankness and confidence was most refreshing, and always I came away encouraged and with the knowledge that in Achimota there was something that would endure to the lasting benefit of Africa.

Sir Shenton Thomas, Governor of the Gold Coast

. . . a perfect example of free enquiry in practice and of complete equality of status for its members . . . few men and women could be found, who do not profess that Christian motive, who would spend their lives as the staff at Achimota does.

Mr. Fraser, the Principal, will soon retire. He *ought* to have charge at the C.O. of all education in tropical Africa. His successor will have the extraordinarily difficult task of introducing teaching of University quality. If under him the College can do in the next seven years as much as has been done in the last seven it will have a profound, creative, liberating effect on all British Africa.

Dr. Kenneth Leys to the Labour Party's African Committee, April 1933

What alone matters is that not only the relations between teachers and taught, but all the relations of ordinary social life in which Africans and Europeans in Achimota take part are absolutely right. Best of all, this ideally right behaviour is enjoined by no rules. It is freely enjoyed by all. Alongside

that shining fact it would be absurd of me to point out the amusing incongruity that, while rightly none is required to join in public worship, everyone must play some game and indulge in some hobby.

I have been reading again the various official papers and reports, of the Inspectors, the Annual Report, Blumer's. What strikes me is that nowhere is the one feature of life in Achimota that matters clearly stated. With negligible exceptions people in Achimota behave as in the ideal family. The characteristics of that life are that all have the same status; that speech and behaviour are frank and free from conventional restrictions that are proper in other sorts of relation than the family; and everything that is best in life is shared, irrespective of the individual's age, income, race or sex, so that as you each have received you give, of knowledge, experience, talents. So long as that spirit is maintained no blunder really matters, because, as in a family, blunders do not need to be forgiven.

Dr. Kenneth Leys in the
Achimota Report 1933

My aim has been to describe not criticize, the aims and methods of Achimota. If I seem to have strayed too often from exposition into eulogy, my transgression must be ascribed to the feeling of exuberance that arises naturally from the contemplation of educational funds placed liberally at the disposal of a large and well-chosen staff and a wisely constituted Council. . . . Conditions most favourable to fruitful experiments in liberal education have been established at Achimota. . . . Magnificent opportunities are not being thrown away by the staff, or, so far as it lies within the staff's power to secure, by the students.

Arthur Mayhew, C.I.E., Joint Secretary to the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

(From Chapter 4 of *The Year Book of Education 1933*, reprinted in *Report on Achimota College for the Year 1932*, by permission of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.)

I am delighted to have the opportunity of reporting upon the three former members of your College now in residence here—Oddoye, Sampong and Baddoo. Their Tutor, the Dean, their Director of Studies, and all their Supervisors, are unanimous in their praise. They all take part in every form of College activity, are members of the Choir, play games, and are obviously very popular with all their English contemporaries.

DR. I. A. VENN,
President of Queen's College, Cambridge

APPENDIX 10

SOME SAYINGS OF DR. AGGREY

THE KEYBOARD

You can play a tune of sorts on the white keys, and you can play a tune of sorts on the black keys, but for harmony you must use both the black and the white.

COLOUR

I am proud of my colour; whoever is not proud of his colour is not fit to live.

If I went to heaven, and God said, 'Aggrey, I am going to send you back, would you like to go as a white man?' I should reply, 'No, send me back as a black man—yes, completely black.' And if God should ask 'Why?' I should reply, 'Because I have a work to do as a black man that no white man can do. Please send me back as black as you can make me.'

MY COUNTRY

Gold Coast gave me birth, God bless her. And my dear mother made the sacrifice, Heaven reward her! And now I belong to two hundred million Negroes and people of African descent in the world, to plead for them and see that more union and harmony exist between them and the Whites, and between the Whites and them; and also that they are given chance to bring Africa up to do large services for humanity.

I believe that the Negro has a great gift for the world: the gift of the idea of meeting injustice and ostracism and oppression by sunny, light-hearted love and work. I believe he is going to teach that to Asia and the white folks.

AFRICA WAKING

A new Africa is being born. . . . Africa is ready for co-operation. They want people to work with them—my people do, not simply to work

for them. . . . This is a critical time in the history of Africa. . . . Just as the invention of gunpowder and the mariner's compass changed political supremacies, so the World War and one or two other things are changing Africa. Africa is really the huge question mark among the continents. Occident or Orient? Conflict or concord?

WHITE AND BLACK

To my people one 'let us do' is worth more than a thousand 'you must do's.' Africa is a child, but our paternalists fail to observe that this child is growing. They also forget that in many instances it is more important to work with than to work for.

As against Marcus Garvey's hostility, I teach the doctrine of love and work; as against Gandhi's Indian policy of non-co-operation, I proclaim all the time co-operation.

EDUCATION FOR AFRICA

No race or people can rise half-slave, half-free. The surest way to keep a people down is to educate the men and neglect the women. If you educate a man you simply educate an individual, but if you educate a woman you educate a family.

Let Africans remain good Africans, and not become a poor imitation of Europeans.

Too often the African was taught that everything African was heathen, wrong, ungodly. Our very names were designated as pagan and we were given European or American names. Our dances were all tabooed, our games stopped, our customs discarded, and all that was best in our systems was forgotten, with baneful results.

Only the best is good enough for Africa.

THE EAGLE

A certain man went through a forest seeking any bird of interest he might find. He caught a young eagle, brought it home, and put it among his fowls and ducks and turkeys, and gave it chickens' food to eat, even though it was an eagle, the king of birds.

Five years later a naturalist came to see him, and, after passing through his garden, said: 'That bird is an eagle, not a chicken.' 'Yes,' said its owner, 'but I have trained it to be a chicken. It is no longer an

eagle, it is a chicken, even though it measures fifteen feet from tip to tip of its wings.' 'No,' said the naturalist, 'it is an eagle still: it has the heart of an eagle, and I will make it soar high up to the heavens.' 'No,' said its owner, 'it is now a chicken, and it will never fly.'

They agreed to test it. The naturalist picked up the eagle, held it up, and said with great intensity: 'Eagle, thou art an eagle; thou dost belong to the sky and not to this earth. Stretch forth thy wings and fly!'

The eagle turned this way and that, and then, looking down, saw the chickens eating their food, and down he jumped.

The owner said: 'I told you it was a chicken.' 'No,' said the naturalist, 'it is an eagle. Give it another chance tomorrow.' So the next day he took it to the top of the house and said: 'Eagle, thou art an eagle; stretch forth thy wings and fly.' But again the eagle, seeing the chickens feeding, jumped down and fed with them.

Then the owner said, 'I told you it was a chicken.' 'No,' asserted the naturalist, 'it is an eagle, and it still has the heart of an eagle; only give it one more chance, and I will make it fly tomorrow.'

The next morning he rose early and took the eagle outside the city, away from the houses, to the foot of a high mountain. The sun was just rising, gilding the top of the mountain with gold, and every crag was glistening in the joy of that beautiful morning.

He picked up the eagle and said to it: 'Eagle, thou art an eagle; thou dost belong to the sky and not to this earth; stretch forth thy wings and fly!'

The eagle looked around and trembled as if new life were coming to it, but it did not fly. The naturalist then made it look straight at the sun. Suddenly it stretched out its wings and, with the screech of an eagle, it mounted up higher and higher and never returned. It was an eagle, though it had been kept and tamed as a chicken!

My people of Africa, we were created in the image of God, but men have made us think that we are chickens, and we still think we are; but we are eagles. Stretch forth your wings and fly! Don't be content with the food of chickens!

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Many names not included in the Index may be found in the Appendices

(*continued from front flap*)

College, now the University of Ghana. The end of the story leaves Achimota a co-educational secondary boarding school, now one of many secondary schools, but in more splendid buildings than any other, set in a park of exquisite beauty and with a history of which she may justly be proud.

Not the least of the achievements of Guggisberg and Fraser was the transfer of the control of the college from the local colonial government to a College Council representative of government, staff, old boys and girls, missions and the general public, with the possibility from the first of an African majority.

This book tells the story of Achimota College from 1922 to 1948, and is the first comprehensive history of this famous school to be written. Included at the end are appendices containing lists of staff, council, distinguished old students, and visitors' tributes.

THE AUTHOR

Charles Kingsley Williams was educated at Birkenhead School and Merton College, Oxford. He then spent three years at Mansfield College, Oxford where he won the University Junior Greek Testament Prize. From 1909-12 he was Chaplain at The Leys, Cambridge and from 1913-26, he was Principal of Wesley College, Madras. In 1927 he became Assistant Vice-Principal of Achimota College, and returned to England in 1938 to become Assistant Master at Kingswood School, Bath.