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The Intellectual Legacy of Gold Coast Hand and Eye Curriculum and Art Education in Ghana

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Abstract

In 1887, the British colonial masters in the Gold Coast implemented an Arts education reform that prioritized the faithful representation of everyday objects in still-life artistic works. This was known as the Hand and Eye curriculum, an Arts education which was geared towards industrialization and functionality rather than innovation and creativity. This study assesses the educational code of 1887, the art during that period, what the legacy offers for creativity in art-making, and how

colonialism impacted the Ghanaian art scene. Using a mixed-method approach and drawing on diverse data sources such as audio-visual materials, school visits, archival studies and exhibition histories, the study finds that the intellectual legacy of copying what one sees is still a significant component of the Ghanaian curriculum and educational practice today. While there are examples of exciting developments in Ghanaian artistic education and practice, the country's basic and secondary art education is still steeped in the still-life paradigm of colonial art-making and education.

Introduction

Western education was introduced into many British colonies (Whitehead, 1981) and the arrival of the British colonial power in the Gold Coast in 1874 brought with it the introduction of formal education for the colonized population. Before their arrival, the dominant form of education in the Gold Coast was informal apprenticeship. These pre-colonial practices included practical education in trades such as farming and fishing as well as informal schools for art-making. Despite the flourishing state of artistic skills and learning practices of Gold Coast people, the colonial masters did not consider inputs from the indigenous society. Instead, a curriculum was introduced called the "Hand and Eye Curriculum (1847)¹" which did not consider level of artistry or practice but rather imposed semi-Western educational styles that were unfamiliar and foreign to the various societies in the Gold Coast. The Achimota School was established during this period to train artists and art educators. It went on to become the nation's most important institution for Arts education.

The first Principal of Achimota School, Herbert Vladimir Meyerowitz and art teacher George Alexander Stevens were considered significant art masters of their time and were instrumental in the establishment of the institution's educational framework. They took a particular approach that sought to resolve the 'Oxford versus Redbrick' or the 'Newman versus Huxley' educational orientations, which were opposing educational traditions in Great Britain. Oxford espoused an academic orientation while Redbrick focused on praxial education. The Achimota School model was an adaptive one: an unsuccessful blend of antithetical Western

¹ The Hand and Eye was a series of practical lessons in drawing authored by William Bentley Fowle in 1847. This was for training those important organs. It was adapted for use in Gold Coast Common Schools by the British colonial government.

humanist models of the English Public school systems. To some degree, the Gold Coast model followed in the Eton-Winchester tradition which trained the scholar gentleman, politician and elite professionals (Agbodeka, 1977; Quist, 2003; Stevens, 1930; Yamada, 2009). The curriculum focused on the mechanical, manual, and ornamental arts, in line with an educational philosophy that measured artistic value in terms of overt instrumental and market value. Importantly, the curriculum became a specialist training course for art teachers in the Gold Coast in 1909 (Forster, 1963; Antubam, 1963, Quao, 1970).

In the spirit of spurring creativity and breaking with conservative practices, it is imperative to develop a fuller understanding of the intellectual legacy of the colonial Hand and Eye curriculum of the Gold Coast. However, it has not been easy assessing literature on the Gold Coast Hand and Eye curriculum's objectives and content. Literature is very scarce, and there is no previous research specific to the curriculum apart from a few paragraphs on other more comprehensive subjects. Forster (1963) argues that the Hand and Eye curriculum's main objective was to develop commercial training which led to the teaching of watercolour painting and design. According to Meyerowitz (c.1941) in a speech at Achimota School on Art and Crafts, "The Hand and Eye training attempted to convert instinctive activities to rational ones" (Kwami, 2003, p. 6).

Oguibe (2002) also quotes one of the governors of the Gold Coast Sir Hugh Clifford in the *Blackwood Advertiser* as saying "The West African Negro has often been reproached with his failure to develop any high form of civilization. The West African Negro has never sculpted a statue, painted a picture, produced literature, or even invented a mechanical contrivance worthy of the name, all of which is perfectly true" (January, 1918). Clifford's immediate successor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, in a speech on art education which he made to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast early in 1920, stated, "Without wealth, we shall not have the necessary money to spread on a completely satisfactory system of education. Our wealth depends on our trade. Our trade depends entirely on our agriculture and our transportation" (Sivonen, 1995, p. 35). These two assertions from Clifford and Guggisberg make one rethink the Hand and Eye curriculum's objectives, which was adopted as a two-year teacher training art programme at Achimota College. Guggisberg's argument – that without money it would be difficult to trade and support education – might represent dominant attitudes underlying the practical orientation of the Hand and Eye curriculum. Assuming this is true, then why adopt this curriculum to train artists where creativity is crucial?

Stevens (1930) noted that the British colonial masters were not interested in developing the prevailing artistic practices of the Gold Coast. To Stevens (1930), the art and practice was in a far more flourishing state before the Hand and Eye curriculum was drawn. Stevens (1935)

stated, “I found it impossible to believe that the African Negro whom I had to teach was an entirely different being from his immediate ancestors, maybe, grandparents, who had gone undisturbed in their ways to create masterpieces ... clear designs, rich patterns, surface quality, tremendous solidity and appreciation of volumes” (pp. 14-18). Stevens appreciated the artistic levels of the people of the Gold Coast, describing them as masterpieces. The people of the Gold Coast were creative in producing rich patterns with quality surface treatment. Was the Hand and Eye the most suitable for developing such level of art at the time? Has the intellectual legacy of Hand and Eye inspired creativity in our art-making and education? Did it fan democratization of ideas, thinking and innovations in art production or instead confirmed Delaquis’ (1979) assertion that a student is not good if he or she cannot produce what he or she sees with the eyes and hands? Nortey and Bodjawah (2013) examined the reasons for students’ inability to submit art studio assignment on time at the tertiary level in Ghana. Using quantitative and qualitative data derived from survey, observations and interviews, the study revealed that although procrastination was a challenge to the students, they procrastinated because they struggled to conceptualize and ideate their concepts (Nortey & Bodjawah, 2013, p.96). Interestingly, the idea of copying and strict adherence to formats has been a practice right from kindergarten to the tertiary level in Ghana.

This paper shall examine the educational code of 1887, what it offers for creativity in art-making, and how colonialism impacted the Ghanaian art and art education scene. It is worthy to note that the relationship between Ghana and Gold Coast is that the Gold Coast colony became a dominion of the British Commonwealth on March 6, 1957, and achieved independence as Ghana on July 1, 1960.

It appears that from the Gold Coast to present Ghana, many of our art practices and works have been more mechanized, showed little creativity, material limitations, single narratives and sticking mostly to formats from the colonial curriculum. Bodjawah, Nortey and Kissiedu (2019) therefore called for a better understanding of the colonial education, its objectives and implications, and how these implications can be worked towards creativity in our art practice and future endeavours.

Data Collection and Analysis

This study employed a mixed-methods approach with a wealth of primary and archival sources of data. This approach is further enriched by the critical study of artefacts, exhibition histories, published articles, audio-visual materials, interviews, archival studies, and observations on the Hand and Eye education and influences on art-making in Ghana. Schools were randomly selected from the various categories of Ghana Education Service within Accra and Kumasi (the two largest cities in Ghana). There were several visits to creative art lessons

in the selected primary, junior and senior high schools in Accra and Kumasi. Observation and interviews were key instruments in understanding the pupils' art making processes. Examination questions in General Knowledge in Art set by the West African Examination Council were also studied. In addition, related literature found at the W.B Dubois Centre and the George Padmore Library (both in Accra), were read by the authors, who subsequently had discussions with educationists and officials who had substantial knowledge of Gold Coast colonial education. Several contacts and searches were made in missionary institutions especially at the Presbyterian Headquarters and the Methodist House in Accra where documents on missionary education were retrieved and studied. Study limitations were that there was no full document on the Hand and Eye intellectual legacy apart from its mentioning in the context of more comprehensive subjects and in William Fowle's (1847) document on the Hand and Eye which was series of practical lessons adapted for Common Schools. Therefore, this study called for careful reading and synthesis of the various scattered information to produce meaningful and accurate analysis. It became imperative that the paper was based on substantive content analysis of archival documents, observations of art productions by categories of Ghanaian artists and brief interviews with officials who have substantive knowledge on colonial education of the Gold Coast and development. Information gathering spanned between 2001-2016 coupled with extensive literature review covering historical information about colonial art education, the various reforms and how these developments have influenced the present state of the art practice and education in Ghana.

Results and Discussion

Art Education in the Gold Coast: Some Historical Records

Several studies have pointed out that missionaries were the initiators of Western education in West African countries (Metcalf, 1964; Whitehead, 1981). Whilst this may be true, it is worth considering that before the arrival of missionaries and Western education, the Gold Coast people had their form of informal education. There were several channels of transmitting knowledge and skills such as agrarian training and court schools by powerful traditional chiefs who trained royals and subjects on various administrative roles. In this view, before the arrival of the colonial masters, the Gold Coast people though lacking in formal education were skilful enough in producing their artworks such as pots for their domestic activities, jewellery for their chiefs and other elites. Most of the artworks were utilitarian and directly involved in the daily lives of the communities. Knowledge was transmitted to younger generations through various informal schools where adolescents were nurtured to fit into adult communities. They were taught how to produce pots, carve stools, sculptures, weave, and make tools and other utilitarian items. They were also educated in societal norms and relevant histories.

In 1989, Kwaw Ansah, a Ghanaian writer, filmmaker, and director, produced a classic historical movie entitled *Heritage Africa*. The writer portrayed how Kwesi Atta Bosomefi, an educated native who having been appointed District Commissioner in the then Gold Coast anglicized his name to Kwesi [Quincy] Atta [Arthur] Bosomefi [Bosomfield] to show allegiance to the colonial master. He gave out a uniquely crafted family heirloom artefact which was a family treasure passed on from generation to generation for over 500 years to the then British Governor. Upon receiving the art piece, the governor remarked, “Exquisite! What an amazing piece of art”? (Pfaf and Ansah, 1995, p. 7). Years later, Kwesi [Quincy] realised he had given away a significant cultural artefact and wanted the heirloom back, but it was too late. The piece may have been sent to a museum in England or ended up in a private collection.

Bosomefi’s heirloom was produced long before the colonial masters arrived and passed on from one generation to the other. It was the soul of the family, meaning art was inextricably intertwined with the Gold Coast people, and Kwesi [Quincy] had given it away. Referencing this movie confirms Stevens’ (1930) assertion that Ghana's art was flourishing before the arrival of the colonial masters. The craftsmanship of the heirloom which Bosomefi gave to the governor found its way to the global north, and this obviously should confirm the level of artistry in the Gold Coast. Svašek (1997) recorded another typical example of Amon Kotei’s beautiful realistic work in clay classified as “horrible” by HV Meyerowitz (the then-Principal of Achimota College). Kotei was an African who had produced in Western concepts and format. Meyerowitz’s comment was simply a confirmation of skills and flourishing state of Gold Coast artists that they were able to produce works of both African and Western identities. Significantly, the use of artefacts was inextricably intertwined with the people of the Gold Coast's daily lives.

Before introducing formal education in the Gold Coast, there were several reviews of educational ordinances during the British colonial rule. The Education Committee Statistics in 1890 showed that education in the Gold Coast started with missionaries, with Protestant churches accounting for about 72 per cent with a little over 8 per cent established by the Catholic church; there were only two government-assisted Muslim schools (Metcalf, 1964, p. 580). It is quite interesting to note that the Gold Coast had lower number of Muslim schools than other West African countries. Spencer Trimingham (1969) explained that before the arrival of European mission workers, formal education in Africa had reached its furthest point in areas where the Islamic faith was dominant; wherever Islamic communities developed, teachers were needed to instruct children and young people to support religious life, especially teachers and religious leaders in Koranic schools and Islamic activities (p. 143). In the Gold Coast, it was rather the Protestant Churches that had much influence. As far back as 1836, the

Methodist Church had established Wesley Girls High School, with Mfantipim in 1876, when most boys and girls had started receiving formal education. These missionary schools such as the Presbyterian Boys Secondary School in Odumase, which was later transferred to Legon, Mfantipim, and Wesley Girls' High Schools in Cape Coast continue to be among the leading and most prestigious schools in present-day Ghana. Since these were missionary schools, they were shaped mainly by Christian virtues and morals. This approach influenced the curriculum, and it became very bookish in style with little room for technical or vocational dimensions. Missionary work gained grounds and trust among the people of Gold Coast, and as the various societies were developing at this stage and yearning for more education, the churches became more established in providing more schools. This was so because the colonial rule was becoming consolidated. Government, however, from time to time came in with reviews to ensure the school graduates would fit into the industries.

One of the Educational Ordinances of the colonial masters was in 1852. This first British Education Ordinance was culled mainly from the South Kensington Art Instruction system. However, the Educational Ordinance was still-born due to political misunderstandings between England and the central government in the Gold Coast over implementation. seid'ou (2014) explained that the Ordinance predated England's own attempt by the state to bring school administration under central government control. That idea of central government control was contemporaneous with the Department of Science and Art's formation in the Gold Coast. After the colonial decision to ask the Gold Coast Legislative Council, the Ordinance was to secede Gold Coast administration and appoint a governor. Our analysis suggests that these political barriers became an obstacle to implementing the Ordinance. This resulted in many schools staying under the missionary mode, and these missionaries continued with their pedagogy of education through religious virtues which were largely theoretically and morally oriented.

The Gold Coast cities were developing, and it was expedient to have the requisite human resources for the various industries that were emerging. There was a need for vocational and technical curricula to train technicians for the emerging industrial hubs in the cities. According to Owusu-Agyarkwa, Ackah & Kwamena-Poh (1994), there was also a turning point in 1863 when Rev. Johann G. Auers Reform Committee suggested replacing the academic-oriented curriculum with a vocational and a technical one. Rev. Auer was a German Principal at the Akropong Seminary. According to our analysis, the vocational and technical curriculum proposed may have been based on the Wuerttemberg education system in Germany. According to Schweizer (2000), Wuerttemberg education during that period was noted for technical and vocational training, and Auer had experienced that system before arriving in the Gold Coast. The 1863 reform and another educational ordinance in 1882 which

was also geared towards boys' education, resulted in the Hand and Eye training of the 1887 educational code. This training was established as a two-year teacher education course. Forster (1963) and Quao (1970) argue that the Hand and Eye curriculum was proto-art inclined. From assessment, the Hand and Eye training became expedient as the societies were developing and active commercial activities called for deeper industrialization.

Art Education at Achimota School

Achimota School is immediately mentioned whenever art education in Ghana is discussed in academic writing. Achimota School, which was established in 1924 after the First World War (1914-1918), was indeed an institution that pioneered innovative methods for teaching art. The school was established by the then colonial masters, the British. Being the first art school established on the Gold Coast, Achimota School became an art education icon. It merged with Kumasi College in 1962, now the Faculty of Art in the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, in Kumasi, Ghana, playing a pivotal role in Ghanaian art practice and art education from the era of independence.

Before establishing Achimota School, the colonial government had introduced the Educational Code of 1887, which was a relic of the Hand and Eye curriculum. The curriculum became an intellectual legacy for art learning and teaching and indeed was geared towards industrialization. Could this be the beginning of art education on the Gold Coast? Certainly not, because the then Gold Coast inhabitants were actively involved in the making of art. Carving at the most acceptable level was being practiced; chiefs' regalia and other utilitarian objects from stools to earthenware were conceptualized and produced through very creative processes and techniques. Along the banks of rivers and the coastline, canoes were carved out from various logs and decorated with paintings and inscriptions from traditional folklore.

Fry (1920) also commented on carvings in Africa, especially on the Gold Coast, saying some of these sculptures were more incredible than anything produced in Europe in the middle ages. This recalls Bosomefi's beautifully carved heirloom. William Rothenstein (1929) noted with dismay that the fine art training exported to Africa from England consisted of "copying feeble outline maps – drawings they certainly were not – of English candlesticks, chairs, and wash-stand jugs; nowhere was an understanding shown of the beautiful shapes and swift rhythmical forms evolved by the local geniuses" (p. 4). William Rothenstein was then the Royal College of Art's principal and had an appreciation of African art mediated through early modernism. Rothenstein would have argued for a more creative curriculum than the copying of what was already known. The situation could be likened to being in an advanced Grade 6 and coming back to start from the kindergarten level. Amon Kotei, Kofi Antubam and other contemporaries were far advanced in producing realistic works but were required to copy

basic shapes' "feeble outlines" because of the Hand and Eye curriculum. Svašek (1997) records that, in 1938, Kotei – then a student of Achimota School – after producing a realistic portrait in clay showed it to Herbert Vladmir Meyerowitz, the principal of the school, who commented "Horrible, horrible, horrible, this is not African art, this is European Art" (p.4). The work produced by Kotei speaks volumes of at least the artistic level of some of the art students who went through the Hand and Eye curriculum. What was needed was for the colonial masters to appreciate the arts of the Indigenous cultures to compliment the introduction of Western art education in the colony. In the chiefs' court and palaces were master craftsmen such as Osei Bonsu, who carved pieces of interesting dimensions both for the palace and for daily use of the people.

Considering the limitations of the colonial curriculum described above, it is not surprising that Stevens – who was a British art teacher in Achimota School – critiqued the Hand and Eye training thus: "There was, and is, no provision for the training of taste, appreciation, criticism, or for the slightest perception of art history" (1935, p. 15). Oguibe (2002) and seid'ou (2014b) argue that the concept of art education was considered vocational and functional, with a very complicated and sometimes antagonistic relationship to modern art. To Stevens, the code was drawn up as if there were no Indigenous arts in the country at all, whereas these were in a much more flourishing condition than they are today (Stevens, 1930 p. 130; cf. Svašek, 1997).

Art Education at Achimota School

According to Goldwater (1969), the beginnings of progressive art education in British West Africa can be traced back to 1905, when the French Avant-garde 'discovered' Negro Sculpture. Harrod (1989) writes that this art education's content was geared towards early modernism and that the Progressive Education philosophies and romantic-primitivistic intellectual perspectives were significant influences on the art teachers of Achimota School during the interwar period.

Before establishing Achimota School, the missionaries were running their schools based on Protestant Christian doctrines and ideologies. Typical of these were the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Roman Catholic who had built structures and offered some level of education to the people. This form of education was mostly academic and required reforms. Agyakwa et al. (1994) and seid'ou (2006) explain that reforms were made in 1863 to change the theoretical orientation of arts education to the technical and vocational one which became the foundations for modern Gold Coast education. seid'ou (2014b) reiterates that, once again, the curriculum was codified in the logic of the colonial masters and epitomized in the Hand and Eye training manual for boys and girls, emphasizing imitation and technical expertise. This became the pattern for art education in the Gold Coast colony. Our archival and heuristic

analysis found that the goal of Hand and Eye was commonly understood as looking at an object and reproducing a likeness of the same. Mitchel (1970, p. 11) cites Vincent Kofi as referring to that curriculum as “just drawing what one could see”. It could be translated as placing an object before a teacher-trainee to draw. Would such a system foster innovations and creativity? As Stevens argues, the curriculum laid its focus on the simple mechanics of European drawing, painting, modelling and handicraft. Stevens noted that the African had already achieved a considerable ability in these.

The Hand and Eye Intellectual Legacy and its Effect on Art-Making in Ghana

The content of the colonial intellectual legacy of the Hand and Eye curriculum was a very mechanical attitude to figure and object drawing. It was strange that whilst in England students were introduced to art history which served as one of the strongest foundations of art, appreciation, criticism and creativity, students at Achimota School were drawing from ‘still-life’. This intellectual legacy has had a profound influence on Ghanaian art making and education. Many of our students and artists have been affected in one way or the other in copying and making replicas, models, or still-life compositions. Nortey and Bodjawah (2013) found that Ghanaian students in art studio practice find it extremely difficult to ideate and create. However, some students are quick to copy simple shapes and forms. In Ghanaian basic and junior high school education, the authors personally recall producing artworks at the end of every term’s examination. These works are often the climax of every term’s examination as pupils eagerly wait to see what other colleagues will be producing. Significantly, all works produced and presented were relics from what we saw. Examples are using empty milk tins to make miniature cars, corn husk to make bags and doormats. During our teachers’ assessments, if your work was not a close copy of what we could see in our daily activities, you were assured of a lower grade. A classic example of this came from observations at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Basic school where the pupils were asked to produce artworks in any media of their choice. Out of 45 pupils, only one produced something conceptual or contemporary. Pupils produced drawings of Nintendo, Power Rangers, Scooby Doo and similar common cultural references. Out of these pupils, only one produced something based on happenings from the immediate environment. That pupil had cut out shapes of his feet and that of his siblings and arranged in an installation depicting indiscriminate felling of trees and contamination of river bodies. The message was that human activities lead to the destruction of our environment. Though the teacher applauded the good concept of the pupil, his colleagues however were impressed about the drawing of the Nintendos, Power Rangers and the like. In this case, creativity was downplayed and producing exact copies was admired. It is even safe to assert that the curriculum could be best captured as ‘if the student cannot see and produce the exact copy, the student is not worthy an artist’. Can this be a few of the vestiges of the colonial Hand and Eye intellectual legacy?

Currently in Ghana, after the junior high school (JHS) level, pupils are required to specialize in a three-year senior high school (SHS) programme. The Visual Art programme is one of the options under the SHS programme. Its mission is to provide an institutional framework for the standardized teaching and learning of art at the SHS level, with objectives to train creative people for art and related industries in Ghana just as the Hand and Eye curriculum intended: train artisans who are capable of practising after exiting SHS, and, above all, groom candidates for higher education in art in Ghana upon certification. According to Edusei (2004), visual art education at the primary level is mainly practically oriented with no vocational objectives. However, at the Ghanaian senior high school level, students are examined in a compulsory theory paper – General Knowledge in Art – and three practical electives, which cover Textiles, Ceramics, Picture Making, Jewellery, Sculpture, Graphic Design, Basketery and leatherwork, which are vocation oriented. Upon graduation, the student is expected to take up art as a vocation after little hands-on training, which poses many challenges. The curricula at these levels are silent on the expanded field of art in terms of theory, discourse, media, processes, techniques and exhibition of art and there is conservative confinement to certain perceived traditional media and processes of art-making. It is quite interesting to note that the development in science and technology and the modern world has still not significantly influenced the curricula at the primary and secondary levels of education. A careful study of the curriculum and practical examination questions set by the West African Examinations Council reveals that the Hand and Eye curriculum is mostly still with us. General Knowledge in Art (GKA) is a subject studied under the Visual Art programme at the pre-tertiary level (SHS). It is a compulsory subject and students are required to choose any two of the following in addition to GKA: Graphic Design, Sculpture, Picture Making, Leatherwork, Jewellery, Textiles, Basketery and Ceramics. A careful study of the questions reveals narrow artistic knowledge on creativity. There are generally two questions and a candidate is required to choose one. Since the inception of the examination in 1993, the questions have been similar, with a focus on still-life and offering little room for creativity. Let us consider the following West African Secondary School Certificate Examination (WASSCE) General Knowledge in Art questions which are representational of the caliber of questions that are set:

1. Draw and make a composition of the following:
 - i. Pineapple
 - ii. Water melon sliced horizontally
 - iii. Kitchen knife (2017 WASSCE General Knowledge practical question)
2. Draw and make a composition of the following:
 - i. One bucket
 - ii. One scrubbing brush

- iii. One map
 - iv. One packet of powdered soap
- (WASSCE General Knowledge practical question, 2020)

In summary, these type of questions coupled with the various observations at the creative art class lessons point to an undeniable fact that there are issues with the development of creative sensibilities in Ghanaian art education. The intellectual legacy of copying what one sees is still a significant component of the Ghanaian curriculum and educational practice today. Our materiality has been skewed towards a particular direction and our questions appear to put students' in a strict mode of art making without freedom of expression.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The issue of still-life is prevalent in almost every art activity in the classroom of basic schools and evident in visual art questions set by the West African Examination Council. We are still heavily influenced by this colonial pedagogical legacy, and the relics of the Hand and Eye are still with us as questions demanding students to draw still-life and reproduce what they see. What happened to the freedom of expression that Salami and Visona (2013) envisage, with focus on the sense of feeling, imagination, experience and yearning, tied to the longing for freedom from colonial rule that spread across West Africa in the wake of national liberation movements? Salami and Visona (2013) assert that it was within this socio-political context that talented young artists such as Kofi Antubam were exhorted to work hard, laying the foundation upon which others might build. Kofi Antubam revealed his yearnings for recognition when he was quoted as saying: "The present stages of politics and religion in the Gold Coast called for real hard work on their [Gold Coast artists'] part to lift their art from the low level of provincialism to the higher and brighter plane of world standard" (Antubam, 1954, p. 6). In 2021, most of our examination questions at the primary and secondary levels are still steeped in still-life just as it was in the colonial curriculum. As Kwame Nkrumah (1970) puts it, genre painting and still-life which are legacies of colonial education are still with us and dominating artistic pedagogy at all levels.

Ghana recently made history as a country by presenting artists at a pavilion during the 2019 Venice Biennale. It was a debut for Ghana at the Venice Biennale with themes on contemporary art and modernism. This can be attributed to the rethinking of materiality and site-specific installations that the Faculty of Art is championing at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and partner institutions. Increasingly, the world is becoming aware of these exciting developments. The changes and developments in the curricula of various art programmes in KNUST ought to trickle down through all levels of art education in Ghana.

Kwaw Ansah's *Heritage Africa* film reflects the state of the artistry of the people of the Gold Coast who had achieved considerably greater ability in art-making than the Hand and Eye curriculum envisaged. The intellectual legacy of the Hand and Eye curriculum was indeed a step in the right direction for the colonial masters as industrialization was their objective at the time. However, the intellectual legacy has had a profound influence on Ghanaian art-making. The curriculum perhaps did not look at the long-term effect on students as it limited the artist's creativity. While their contemporaries in Europe were mastering the foundations of art history, creativity, design, the use of industrial materials, processes and techniques, the intellectual legacy only offered the opportunity to copy from still-life, sticking to mostly single-narrative artworks. Consequently, this idea of drawing what we see has survived into our 21st art teaching and education in present Ghana. Most of our artists trained before the 21st Century have worked on single narratives and stereotypical paintings and sculptures remaining planimetric. Examination questions are typically based on everyday tableaux themes such as 'refugees', 'market scene', 'a bus station,' and the like. Over the years, this has led to a great degree of limitation on students' artistic expression, as well as a privilege given to certain mediums and formats of art-making and display.

Despite the limitations of the colonial legacy described in this study, it is worthy to note that there have been few recent reforms and revolutionary changes in some tertiary schools, notably the Faculty of Art in KNUST, where there has been cutting edge experimental work and exhibitions by students and faculty involving site-specific installations, heteronomy of materials, different techniques and processes of making and varied exhibition formats. These have been possible now due to several reforms, signaling a shift in material acquisition and usage and strengthening the teaching of art history. Stevens (1935) was correct in critiquing the Hand and Eye curriculum's intellectual legacy of being weak in art history, appreciation, taste, and criticism. What is needed in Ghanaian art teaching and education is to develop a curriculum at the basic and high school levels that would produce independent-minded graduates who would fit into the exhibition space, design, industrial and collaborative spaces in the 21st Century and beyond. This paper calls for radical reforms at the basic and high school levels recommending a paradigm shift from only drawing what one sees as being practiced at the basic and high school levels to creating a curriculum where creativity is taught and encouraged. This would lead to abilities to utilize a more comprehensive range of media, exhibition formats and criticality of content which ought to penetrate teaching, learning and making art at all levels in our educational system. We must look at the curriculum reviews at the basic and second cycle institutions that have been very conservative and not so receptive to the developments in the fine and industrial arts. This conservatism has resulted in typecasting and recycling the same graduates to the detriment of experimentation and different approaches to art.

This study calls for an expanded field of expression in a wide range of media and democratization of materials where no medium is privileged over another. Students ought to be allowed or given room from the basic level to freely express themselves by going beyond copying what they see. The curriculum we design can create the opportunity to explore ideas and concept development and would lead to greater creativity in our practices. Yes, drawing soft outlines of objects is a suitable ideal for a colonial, industrializing society. However, this paper suggests that a break from the past and the inclusion of more creative endeavours is necessary for Ghanaian art education today.

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