African Education in Kenya During the Colonial Period (1895-1963)

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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

ANIL KUMAR

CENTRE FOR WEST ASIAN & AFRICAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067, INDIA
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जवाहरलाल नेहरु विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067
CENTRE FOR WEST ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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C E R T I F I C A T E

This dissertation entitled "AFRICAN EDUCATION IN KENYA DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1895-1963)" submitted by ANIL KUMAR in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Philosophy, has not been previously submitted for any degree in this or any other university. We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of M.Phil Degree.

CHAIRPERSON

SUPERVISOR

GRAM : JAYENU TEL. : 667676, 667557 TELEX : 031-73167 JNU IN

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TO

MY FRIENDS

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INTRODUCTION

An historical error which persisted for long among the European readership was the belief that the Europeans introduced education into Africa. However this error has been corrected by modern scholars. Now it is held that there existed in Africa a well-developed education system of indigenous origin, if education in its true sense means preparing an individual to live in the society in which he is born. The African customary education was aimed at conserving the cultural heritage of family, clan and tribe and adapting children to their physical environment. What the Europeans introduced into Africa in the field of education was the skills of writing and reading the books, and a formal schooling with classroom and examination systems. Thus a balanced study of African education would necessitate the study of traditional educational system as it obtained before the colonial penetration and the role of this education in indigenous society. This would enable us to know the impact of western education on the traditional society as well as to bring out in focus the major shifts and changes in the educational practices after the coming of the British in Kenya. Moreover, traditional education still plays an important role in modern African society in the early years of most children because they are vital years of life, having a lasting effect upon the individual. Indeed, the socialization of the individual to become a participating member of society was one successful area of

African education which has much relevance today. In view of the importance that we have attached to the study of indigenous education system for our purposes, we shall deal with it in some detail in the following paragraphs.

I. TRADITIONAL AFRICAN EDUCATION

The various African peoples of Kenya had developed their own systems of education before the British occupation of East Africa. When the first Europeans penetrated the interior in the latter years of the nineteenth century, the great majority of Kenya's peoples were organised in loosely knit clan and tribal groups, presenting a wide variety of social organisation and cultural development. The temperate highlands were mainly settled by groups of agriculturists primarily of Bantu-speaking people, such as the Kikuyu and Luhiya, while the plains were inhabited by nomadic groups, mainly pastoralists of Nilotic origins, notably the Luo near the lake and, towards the coast and in the Rift Valley, the Masai. A pattern of interaction had developed among these peoples, although this interaction was only spasmodic.

The important institutions which co-ordinated most of the societies' activities were the 'extended family' and the 'neighbourhood group'. Both these institutions performed the important functions such as the socialisation of members, the transfer of a heritage from generation to generation, and the daily training of the young in agricultural and herding

activities and such basic techniques as home-building and weapon-making. Thus a pattern of educational system, 'planned and provided within the family' by the older members, and outside by neighbours and peer groups, could be identified to a lesser or greater degree in every community. Indeed, such a pattern of educational relationships had to be particularly strong in a small-scale society in order to ensure its cohesiveness.

The content of the indigeous education grew naturally out of the physical and social situation. Whether the child's environment was dominated by mountain, plain, river or forest, he had to learn how to combat its dangers and use its fertility. He learnt to use spear, axe and hoe. But above all he learnt that he could not live alone in the harsh conditions, and that his life was possible only in the group and that this group demanded conformity to its manners andobedience to its laws. He was taught decency of speech and behaviour, respect for his elders and family spirits and how to share in common tasks in the field and homstead. Thus for the African boy or girl, tribal law and moral code were written in the mind and heart.

The methods of instruction were both informal and formal. The informal education was imparted through stories, proverbs, riddles, poems, songs and lullabies -- which formed a rich literary heritage reflecting every aspect of life and culture.[1] It was by the evening fireside that tribal stories,

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1. For a detailed treatment of informal education through stories, proverbs, riddles, poems, songs and lullabies see O.W. Furley and T. Watson, A History of Education in East Africa, 1978, pp.18-23.

legends and proverbs were told and retold. They told about the origins of the tribe, the great battles of the past and their heroes, and the genesis of man and the heavenly bodies. These tales, told with care and much repetition, were also the African child's education in language. "There were no grammar books, no writing, but correctness of speech, so characteristic of illiterate Africans, was learnt by imitation of their elders".[2] In their day-to-day works, the children (boys herded the cattle with their fathers while girls helped their mothers in domestic works) learnt the names of trees, plants, animals and insects and the dangers and uses of each.

Imitative plays and dances also formed an important part of informal education. As a modern writer observes, "Boys played with wooden spears, bows and arrows and shields made from banana bark; they built model huts and cattle pens, for those would be tasks for them when grown up. The girls made dolls, played at 'husband and wife', plaited baskets of grass, ground corn like their mothers, made little pots of clay and cooked imaginary meals".[3] Dancing and music played an important role in African life and children learnt both from their earliest years by watching their elder brothers and sisters and parents.[4] The dancing occasions were always communal activities to celebrate birth, initiation, marriage, death, seasons of farming etc. Dances introduced into a far

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2. E.B. Castle, Growing up in East Africa, 1966, p.40.

3. E.B. Castile, No.2, p.41.

4. Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, 1938, p.104.

wider society, inculcated standards of behaviour and measured social and intellectual qualities of a particular person.

The traditional African education also consisted of a very definite kind of formal instruction. A body had to know his geneology and his exact position in the clan so that he might be able to claim his superiority and rights when he grew older. Jomo Kenyatta seems up the underlying motives of Kikuyu education in the following words: "Growing boys and girls learn that they have one thing to learn which sumps up all the others and that is the manners and deportment proper to their station in the community. They see that their happiness in the homestead, their popularity with their playmates, their present comforts and their future prospects depend on knowing their place, giving respect and obedience where it is due. Presumption, conceit and disobedience to those above them are grave offences. The whole Gikuyu society is graded by age and the prestige which accompanies a status in age-grouping, and this is done in such a way that even small children are aware of it. It is a common place to say that in the Gikuyu society social obligations are arranged and differentiated according to the system of age groupings, but it is worthwhile to point out that this obtains in lesser as well as in more important matters. It determines the different salutations used, the manners people may adopt in eating certain foods, the different tasks in homestead or garden, it rules habits of dress or demeanour in the community; and it explains the rights of different people in judging cases, in exercising authority in the clan or family, in ceremonial or religious proceedings".[5]

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5. Jomo Kenyatta. No.4. p.106.

Among the Kikuyus of Kenya, formal education took the form of succeeding stages of initiation from status to status. The following table shows the main stages through which a Kikuyu boy had to pass in his traditional education. The outward signs, according to age-group, marked on his body signified his status. Such a system of education was compulsory and every Kikuyu boy had to pass through every stage in order to become a full member of the tribe.

Kikuyu System of Education (Boys)[6]

Age in years	Status group	Sign
1-3	Infant	
4-5	Child	
6-12	Boy	Piercing the lobe of the ears
13-17	Uncircumcised (Adolescents)	Piercing the outer edge of the ears
18-20	Newly Circumcised Warrior	Circumcision
	Warrior married with Child	
	Elders (junior)	
	Elders (senior)	

The first of a series of rites which had important educational significance occurred around the age of five. This was known as second birth and marked the passage from infanthood to childhood. From this point the education of brothers and sisters divided, and the father increasingly

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6. Reproduced with minor modifications g from O.W.Furley and T. Watson, No.1, p.10. The girls had a similar system of grading according to their rites.

took over the responsibility for his son's learning. At about the age of ten the lobes of the ears were pierced, which indicated that the child had advanced from childhood to boyhood. Throughout the period of childhood a child's knowledge and performance of his duties were watched carefully, not only by close relations, but by neighbours as well. The major areas of learning in childhood were economic activities (learning planting and weeding; digging; herding of livestock), social education (respect for elders; understanding complex pattern of family relationships; learning the names of their living kin and their ancestors; learning the importance of hospitality, the taboos concerning health and religion) and cultural (explanations of laws and customs).[7]

However, the most serious of initiation practices were those associated with puberty i.e. circumcision. It was a vital stage in tribal life, for it marked the passage from childhood to adulthood. Without circumcision a person could not be a full member of the tribe or have rights of property. The rite of circumcision for both sexes signified a distinct period of formal teaching and examining by experienced elders. The core of the curriculum consisted of the responsibilities of adult life. Behaviour, etiquette and the moral code were emphasized and the necessary instructions about duties to seniors, sexual techniques and parental care were given.[8]

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7. J. Fisher, The Anatomy of Kikuyu Domesticity and Husbandry, 1964, pp.93-103.

8. J. Kenyatta, No.4, Chap.6.

After circumcision the male member reached the first stages of adult life. Now he received a more formalised military training as he had to take his place in the regimenta age set. Next stage, the third stage, in adult life was marked by marriage, which involved a contract between two families. During this period the young people were given detailed advice by their elders, reminding the former of their duties. Those married men who successfully established a homestead became junior elders. They served as attendants at the councils of the older men and thereby learnt the code of law and the methods of judging cases. The junior elder acquired the status of a senior elder when the circumcision of his first child took place. At this stage, an important ritual was carried out to test that he knew the tribal code in detail. The final stage was predominantly religious in character. Only those respect older men reached this stage whose children had all passed through circumcision and could be now called the 'philosophers' of the society.[9]

A similar pattern of stages marked a woman's life training. The emphasis was naturally on the competence in the home and the traditional tasks of women.

As the crafts-training, it tended to be linked to families or neighbourhoods. Medicine men and smiths whose

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9. Ibid., pp.189-196.

works involved specialisation were trained through long family apprenticeships. Their skills were retained within a limited number of families. On the other hand, such skills as construction work and the making of grain stores were learnt by a casual apprentice system. Girls' specialised crafts, such as pottery and thatching, were passed on by close relations.[10]

The religious significance of the grades and various rites compelled individuals to accept the instruction and tests they involved. Most importantly, the content and emphasis of the instruction reinforced the integration of social and religious values. The disciplining of the young children was directly related to this. At first, children were punished simply by being denied food or given a beating. But as the relationships of the youngsters to their parents and elders were made clear, respect and obedience followed. A boy who aimed to advance in life soon realized that his father's permission, advice and material help were needed at every stage. In any case, the fear of incurring a parental curse remained the ultimate sanction.[11]

Similar patterns of traditional education could be identified among the other peoples of Kenya. Although the actual details of the education system differed, their basic

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10. J. Fisher, No.7, pp.97-99.

11. J. Kenyatta, No.4, pp.108-114.

principle viz. a long and careful training of each individual to enable him to take his place in the community, remained the same. Writing of the Luo, Michael Whisson observes:

> "Within the tribe therefore each member had his part to play in educating the young. The parts were consistent with social status of the teacher in relation to the pupil. The old men possessed the wisdom of years and had the vital task of teaching about religion, politics, the middle-aged men taught the practical arts, the young men rehearsed their younger brothers in these arts. The power to pass on or to withhold wisdom was a most important factor in the authority which the old possessed over the young". (12)

Thus it is amply clear that within their own settling, the African peoples of Kenya recognised the vital importance of education and understood the relationships with such factorsas status, political authority, and wealth. Thus when they came into contact with Europeans, 'a knowledge of their own educational process and reference to their own values' were soon to enable intelligent Africans to understand the practices and motives of the foreigners and thereby to indulge in careful selection (of benefits of western school system) and rejection (of its less acceptable implications).

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12. M. Whisson: Change and Challenge: A Study of the Social and Economic Changes Among the Kenya Luo, 1964.

II. AFRICAN EDUCATION AND COLONIALISM

The multi-ethnicity (generally referred to as multi-raciality) of the Kenyan society -- comprising Europeans, Asians, Arabs and Africans - had its manifestations in educational sphere as well, for there evolved a school structure wherein each racial group had separate schools for its members. This racial discrimination also manifested itself in the allocation of funds (European sector received far greater amount of funds than the African sector) and in determining the content of education (the curricula for the African schools emphasized technical/industrial education while that for the Europeans schools more academic type of education). However, we are concerned with education of the Africans who constituted the overwhelming majority in the total population of Kenya. Thus it is the education of the Africans that will be examined in the colonial situation.

The educational manifestations of colonialism in Kenya were in essence the same as elsewhere. Thus despite their overwhelming numbers, the Kenyan Africans did not have power to control and direct their education as they wished. The type, content, extent and administration of education all were decided by the colonial masters.

The European groups who exercised actual powers in determining the course of educational development in Kenya were the missionaries, the administrators and the settlers, whose interests the educational system was designed to serve. The missionary groups often had substantial control over educational policy. For them religious motives (conversion to christianity) were the key element in establishing schools.

Colonial administrators were concerned with training literate clerks who could be employed to man the lower or subordinate ranks of the civil service. The third group of Europeans consisted of settlers who possessed large estates of cultivable, and often most fertile land in Kenya. They required, therefore, a large number of cheap African labourers -- skilled and semi-skilled - to work on their farms. They naturally favoured a technical/industrial education for the Africans.

Although the overriding interests of these European groups varied, and they did not always agree on the lines along which education should develop it was not impossible to reach a compromise. In fact, they were part of the same colonial effort and saw education as a means for accomplishing their ends. This attitude towards African education was bound to produce undesirable impact on the development of African education -- which will be the underlying theme of the present study. Thus our study seeks to examine the distortions which were produced in the education system by the self-interests of the European groups, each of whom advocated different types of education system none of which took into account the needs and asiprations of the African people. Naturally it would be curious to know the reactions and responses of the African people to the types of education that were provided to them.

The three agencies which were involved in imparting education to the Africans were the missionaries, the government and theAfricans themselves. The missionaries were the first to undertake the education of the Africans and were chief purveyors of education for many years. The governmental efforts in the field of African education were at first marked by non-interference but gradually took on important steps to control its development as it saw desirable. The private enterprise of the Africans gained ground only in the late 1920s when there developed a thirst for education and a revolt against mission education. Our study therefore also aims at assessing the roles/ contributions of these agencies in the development of education among the Africans. But again the discussion would be focussed on the African reactions and responses because no educational system could have thrived without the efforts of the Africans.

The various themes outlined above will be dealt with through a scheme of chapterization which is apparently chronological in sequence but in reality different chapters would highlight different themes. The chronological chapterization has been adopted to keep in sight the course of educational development.

Since the traditional education of the Africans before the coming of the British has been discussed in the 'Introduction', the first chapter takes up the growth of formal western education among the African people of Kenya and the roles of missionaries and government in it. The

content of education has been also dealt in detail. Our second chapter forms a very important part of the study because it deals with the growth of education during the inter-war years, the educational controversies and their resolution, and most important, rapidly increasing demand for education/schools by the Africans in the new and changing circumstances. The third chapter will focus on the state of higher education besides taking an overview of the educational progress in the post-World War II period. Various themes of our study are inter-woven and the combined thread will pass through all chapters.

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CHAPTER - I

GROWTH OF EDUCATION BEFORE WORLD WAR I

Western education was introduced into Kenya, as elsewhere in Africa, by the missionaries for evangelical purposes. They wanted to convert Africans and to train enquirers and catechumens for the propagation of christianity by enabling them to read and understand the Bible. In this venture they had to confront many problems, inducing those associated with an unknown land and people. Their activities were looked upon by the Africans with suspicion and initially the Africans did not show any desire to receive western education that the missionaries offered. However, as this education became more familiar to Africans and consequently more in demand, the missionaries noted that their control of education afforded them great impact on African societies and won many converts. Naturally, they sought to retain their control over education even as the colonial state began assuming greater educational duties. Indeed, before the first World War, they were the chief purveyors of western education in Kenya, and the colonial state played a minimal role in African education.

I. ROLE OF MISSIONARIES

Before the establishment of the Protectorate of British East Africa (as it came to be called Kenya later on)

in 1895, western education was confined to the coastal area, the missionaries being the sole purveyors of such an ecucation. But even on the coast, the missionaries did not achieve much success in this field due to the existence of a long and durable tradition of Koranic instruction among the overwhelming muslim population there. The Church Missionary Society was the earliest to reach the coast with the overriding aim of evangelisation. But it soon found out that this objective could be realised only if schools (providing christian education) were to be used as agents in the gradual process of proselytisation. Dr. J.L. Krapf's experiments in the 1840s and 1850s were aimed at this, although they did not achieve much.

It was only after the establishment of the protectorate in 1895 and the beginning of the construction of railroad linking Mambasa on the coast and passing through Central Highlands to Lake Victoria in 1899 that an intense missionary activity started inland along the railroad. There sprang up mission stations along this route and many missionary societies set up their stations. R. Oliver rightly describes this period as "the Zenith of the Missions".[1] And this certainly forms a landmark in the growth of Western education in Central Highlands of Kenya because almost simultaneously schools were opened by the missionaries near the mission stations.

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1. R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, 2nd Edn., 1965, pp.212-213.

During the Protectorate rule, the missionaries were the chief agents of providing formal western education to the Africans, having evangelical purpose uppermost in their minds. Among the protestant missions which were active during this period were: The East African Scotland Mission which first established the mission centre at Kibwezi among the Wakamba but later in 1898 moved to Thogato (it became its headquarters; also the largest station) just outside Nairobi. In 1901, the station was taken over by the Church of Scotland and henceforth known as Church of Scotland Mission (CSM). The Church Missionary Society (CMS) established the first station at Kabete among the Kikuyu in 1900 and was very influential in Fort Hall district. The African Inland Mission, a non-denominational group under American leadership, first started a small mission centre in Ukambani among the Wa-kamba but later shifted its headquarters to Kijabe and established contact with the Kikuyu and some of the Rift valley tribes such as the Nandi, American Seventh Day Adventists and Quakers set up mission stations in Nyanza[2].

Among the Catholic Missions were: the Gospel Missionary Society which began evangelistic work among the Kikuyu in 1902, with Nairobi as its headquarters; the French and Irish Holy Ghost Fathers who channeled their energies into the Kikuyu districts but also worked among the Kamba people; the Italian Consolata Fathers opened missions in the Kikuyu and

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2. Ibid., p.171.

Meru regions; and the English and later Dutch Mill Hill Fathers, who moved into Nyanza from Uganda.

This sudden intrusion of a range of faiths and nationalities generated among them an intense and often unscrupulous competition to carve out spheres of influence as rapidly as possible. This was particularly true in the case of the protestants vs Catholics, in those areas which were densely populated and were therefore more attractive for evangelical purpose than the less densely populated areas. An important side effect of this was the imbalance in the spread of education as the less densely populated areas remained largely uninfluenced by educational work. On the other hand the Kikuyu and to a lesser extent the Kamba people were among the first to have access to western education because of the concentration of mission stations in their areas.

However, the missions entering Kenyan Highlands initially faced difficulties in making converts and filling their classrooms. Simple appeals and sermons failed to effect conversions on any significant scale. The early converts were those individuals who were in straitened economic condition or outcasts from traditional society such as twin children, and a few curious and enterprising persons. It was not until 1908 that the CSM at Thogato was able to baptize its first converts - ten years after the founding of the station. Similarly the Consolata Fathers baptized first converts only in 1911.[3]

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3. Robert L. Tignor, The Colonial Transformation of Kenya, 1976, p.126.

The missionaries were also hard put to get students for their rudimentary schools, which they opened on mission stations. These schools in general provided compulsory religious training and simple technical and agricultural instruction. The catholics and the less fundamental Protestant groups also aimed at using schools to train catechists, but invariably they faced the problem of finding pupils for the schools.[4] The problem stemmed from two main reasons. First, children formed an important part of the family economy, particularly in herding the livestock. Sending the children to the schools, therefore, meant loss of family labour. Moreover, the post-initiation period, which was best suited for giving formal education to such children, was also the period in many native societies for imparting formal instruction to the children when they learnt about their societies. It was for this reason that the C.M.S. at Kabete later on started the system of evening school for providing formal education. Secondly, the parents saw no immediate returns if they sent their children to schools, and consequently withdrew their children from the school. When the missionaries sought the help of chiefs or elders and the government officials to force the parents to send their children to schools, the children were found to be dull or recalcitrant having not

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4. The procurement of pupils for the schools was a great problem the missionaries were faced with in early years. But they seem to have appropriated all the credit for early educational work among the Africans thereby totally forgetting the latter's contributions in terms of land, building or labour, or even in direct procurement of pupils.

much value in the family labour force. And to remedy this situation, the mission started a system of payment to pupils who attended the school.

The tide began to turn by the early years of the second decade of 20th century when some advantages of western education became apparent to the people. The change was more perceptible among the kikuyus than the others as it was among them that missionaries were most active. The parents saw for themselves that a knowledge of reading, writing and industrial skills brought higher pay on the new European farms. Thus increasing number of Kikuyus became interested in acquiring western education.

There were, at this time, two levels of mission schools- the elementary or village schools (also called 'Bush' schools) where pupils were given the introduction in reading and writing for a year; and the central schools, to which were linked the elementary schools, where the children were trained in some industrial arts, central schools were generally boarding schools and had strict rules of behaviour and work assignments which many students found too harsh and deserted the school after some time. Another type of desertion took place when studentsleft the school for some lucrative employment. However, the indenture law put a brake on such desertions as the missions invoked this law to get back those students who had signed contracts and then left.[5]

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5. Robert L. Tignor, No.3, pp.134-35. The indenture law applied to those persons for whom the state made grants

As for the content of African education in the mission schools, the missionaries preferred to give a literary education if only to enable the Africans to read the Bible and adhere to christianity besides training a few of them as catechists. However, they could not totally disregard the official government policy which also suited the settler's interest. While the government feared disaffection among the educated Africans against the colonial rule, the settlers respected the schools to supply cheap and skilled labour for their expanding commercial farms. Thus practical aspect of education which meant agricultural and technical education (learning some craft) in this context was emphasized in reports of government sponsored commissions and the directives based on such reports as in the case of Frazer Report which will be dealt with later on in this chapter.

In any case, the mission schools at this time sought to impart a blend of literary and technical education. The CMS boarding school at Maseno in Nyanza province, which developed into one of the most influential schools in Kenya, required the students to a fair measure of practical work in addition to their literary studies. Bricklaying, tailoring, carpentry and dairy farming were some of the trades at Maseno. But the resentment against learning these

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for technical training. Such persons were made to sign a contract before the district officer, whereby they undertook to study a particular trade for a specific period. In case they left the work before the required period the state reserved the power to bring them back.

crafts was very strong among the African pupils who went on strike in 1908; but no change was effected in the curriculum as the mission was only following official government policy in requiring this industrial training.[6] All the mission schools in Nyanza, as in other places, laid emphasis on practical aspect to their education, besides their literary christian teaching. Thus, the Friends' Africa mission christened itself as the Friends' Industrial Mission at Kaimosi, with agricultural work which elicited much praise from European settler farmers. A contemporary observer made this remark about the Mill Hill Station: "The Mission teaches the natives carpentry, bricklaying, building, roadmaking, tailoring etc. as well as to plant grains, cotton and vegetables, directs them in cultivating and extracting vegetables".[7] The CMS concurred with these missions, and with official government policy by stating that "purely intellectual education is of questionable benefit to African natives: of greater importance is it to show them the dignity of labour and instil habits of industry".[8]

GOVERNMENT'S ENDEAVOUR

In the early years ofthe Protectorate rule, the colonial administration saw no logic in taking direct

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6. O.W. Furley and T. Watson, A History of Education in East Africa, 1978, p.79.

7. Ibid., p.80.

8. Ibid.

responsibility for the education of the Africans. It was satisfied with the missionary provision of education which it found to be adequate. Moreover, the colonies were intended to be self-supporting and education was to follow the economic development and not to precede it or to stimulate it. "such a policy", Anderson points out, "was in keeping with British imperial thinking at this time".[9] Further Arthur Mayhew rates that education was thought to grow naturally in a new society as a "mode of self expression". He writes, "External agencies may be able to assist, but the nature of growth will be determined largely by internal factors and incalculable forces and local conditions".[10]

This line of thinking provided enough room for relegating the services like education to the background and paying more attention to those aspects of administration e.g. political and economic which the British imperial policy considered vital and urgent. Such a thinking also fitted in well with 'indirect rule' and, therefore, a justification for their neglect of social services like education.

The first major government report on African education was produced in 1909 by J. Nelson Frazer who was appointed a year before as Education Advisor to Governments of British

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9. John Anderson, The Struggle for the School, 1970, p.36.

10. A. Mayhew, Education in the colonial Empire, 1938, p.32, quoted in John Anderson, Ibid.

East Africa and who had a long experience of education for the three major racial groups (Africans, Asians and Europeans) and called upon the government to emphasize technical education for the Africans.[11] The emphasis on technical education followed the logic that African skilled labour would involve relatively cheaper costs as compared to Asian labour. Thus, to train 'a skilled class of workmen who will keep up the habit of daily work for a lifetime' made sense both on economic and administrative grounds as well as fitted in with the interests of the settlers. It was, therefore, natural for the colonial administration to seize upon the technical/industrial education which the 1909 report stressed, as a guiding principle in its early educational endeavour.

As a result, soon the government started a modest scheme of governmental grants to mission schools for technical education. It recommended a small government grant of £2 to missions for each student under technical training and £5 for each person who completed his course and successfully passed a state examination. Frazer, however, favoured a limited teaching of the English language to a select group of Africans to be trained for church work.[12]

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11. East African Protectorate, Education Report, 1909, quoted in Robert L. Tignor, No.3, p.134.

12. O.W. Furley and T. Watson, No.6, p.87.

But Frazer report was not well received by all the missions. The AIM refused to take governments grants as they entailed greater government control over the missions; but it nevertheless took lead in industrial education as did the CSM which also accepted grants. The CSM at Thogoto provided for specialisation in carpentry, stone-cutting and masonary, brick-laying, agriculture and teacher training while at Tumutumu it started training in hospital and evangelical work. Similarly the AIM at Kijabe had established sawmill and cement work by 1910 and also introduced stone-cutting and laying.[13]

Another government venture into African education was the opening of schools for the training of the sons of the chiefs. The first attempt in this direction was made by Charles Dundas, a district officer (later to become an East African Colonial Governor) in 1909 when he started a small training centre (outside missionary control) among the Wa Kamba. The recruitment in this school was facilitated by the government order which enjoined upon all headmen and chiefs to send their sons to the school. The children learnt 3 Rs and Swahili and a little carpentry. For this purpose, the government sanctioned a small annual grant of Rs.500/-. Although one of the reasons for starting this school was the Kamba's dislike of mission education, but in practice, the Kamba showed no greater desire for Western education. Since

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13. Robert L. Tignor, No.3, p.134.

the teachers were missionaries, the point of conflict remained as before. And finally, the school closed down in 1914 after a dismal performance.[14]

Before the first World War, government concern in the field of education was also reflected in certain other developments. They presupposed an increasingly important role of education in the development of East Africa. Thus an Education Board, consisting of government, missionary and settler representatives, was set up in 1910. The Board was supposed to provide advice and guidance to the Department of Education which was set up in the following year. The settler influence in the work of the Department was predominant in its early years and the officials of the Department were primarily concerned with placating the European settlers and providing better schools for European children.

A change in government attitude towards African education was discernible by 1913 when it gave up the policy of relying on missionaries alone for it. In that year, the first government African school was opened in Machakos. The school was patterned on missionary system of schools as it was a central technical/teacher-training school, around

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14. O.W. Furley and T. Watson, No.6, pp.88-89.

which a network of village schools developed. Although there was stress on technical education, it was soon realised that simple academic education was necessary to meet the growing demands of teachers and clerks. Such a necessity compelled the government to extend the grants-in-aid to the school in 1918.

An estimate of the growth of formal western education among the Africans shows that before the first World War the missionaries played the crucial role in this field. Not only did they perform the spade work but they also built up a structure for subsequent development of education. However, despite their preference for imparting a literary training to the Africans, they could not do away with technical education of a low value either wittingly or under governmental direction. As for the Kenyan government it wanted to promote technical education with the avowed purpose of filling up lower ranks of administration and also helping the settlers to organise the economy more profitably by training the vast reservoir of African labour. Although the Protectorate government did attempt to control the pace and direction of education for Africans, its attempts were halting and inadequate. It did not consider it prudent to assume direct responsibility for educating the Africans, or at best, failed to appreciate the role of education in social change. The post-War period, however, witnessed new exigencies, and therefore, a rethinking on African education.

CHAPTER - 2

AFRICAN EDUCATION DURING THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

As pointed out in the previous chapters, the European groups in Africa -- settlers, administrators and missionaries - had differing attitudes toward African education. These differences became fully exposed in Kenya during the 1920s, when the government sought to bring order to the educational chaos that had surfaced before world War I. Before 1914 the missionaries enjoyed great freedom in their educational activities and were the cheif purveyors of African education. The government was never satisfied with the amount of control it had over the missions and some officials doubted the value of the education given to Africans at the mission school with their too strong emphasis on religion and their attacks on African traditions. The administration wanted an educated labour force to help develop the colony's economy and to provide chiefs and headmen capable of participation in indirect rule. It was feared that a breakdown of African traditional society might lead to a breakdown of traditional authority. Government policy of 'trusteeship' and 'indirect rule' seemed to be in accord with the settlers' paternalistic attitude towards the Africans. The missions, on the other hand, resented any type of government interference with the running of their schools. They claimed their prior right to educate the Africans, and in their own way.

Although these controversies lasted for many years and were settled only in due course, in the meanwhile the Africans' thirst for education kept on growing. The supply lagged far behind the demand as the missionaries failed to satisfy the needs of the education of the Africans. They came increasingly under pressure to meet the educational demands of the Africans, which included more schools and better facilities. Before the government could take adequate measures to meet the crisis situation the thirst for education turned into educational revolt, the occasion for which was provided by the female circumcision controversy of 1928-31. And there started independent schools movement in which the Africans themselves took initiative in setting up schools on a large scale. This new situation demanded greater urgency on the part of the government to set the things in order and to this end various measures and policies were effected.

I. UNCERTAINTIES IN AFRICAN EDUCATION AND THEIR IMPACT

Just after the first World War the Kenyan government proceeded to tackle the educational problems although it was still ambivalent about the degree to which it should become involved in African education. In 1918 the whole problem of education for all races was examined by a Commission of Inquiry (which had no African representative). The Commission's Report, published in 1919, was inevitably flavoured with the settler-dominated political outlook of the times. For instance, it recommended immediate provision of education for European and Indian children for leadership,

for "if they are to exercise the right sort of leadership over the mass of the natives, it is highly essential that they should be educated". This echoes the prevailing political situation in Kenya that settlers and Indians were demanding an ever-increasing political role. The commission recommended that technical education should be the principle goal of African schools. It noted the outstanding mission contribution to African education and advised the governmentto support the mission schools, with funds, inspection, advice and efforts to establish a uniform syllabus. It believed that African education should continue entirely in the hands of mission-trained teachers, and therefore, mission teacher training colleges should be aided. Moreover, grants in aid to a schoold should not be based on 'results' but in its general state of efficiency. To assess this, the report said, there must be a system of inspection and registration of all private schools. It favoured English, rather than Swahili to be taught as a second language.[1]

Soon the government worked towards implementing these proposals. It reestablished the borard of education in 1920 and provided grants in aid. In 1921 it allocated nearly £ 10, 000 to eight mission schools almost entirely for the technical training of African apprentices. But these efforts were largely nullified by the economic crises during 1921-23

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1. Report of the Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate, 1919, discussed in Robert L. Tignor, The Colonial Transformation of Kenya, 1976, p.207 and O.W. Furley and T.Watson, A History of Education in East Africa, 1978, pp.153-154.

which forced the government to cut back its administrative programmes and personnel.[2]

However, around this time there took place two major developments which helped to refocus attention on education after this first halting effort to establish an educational framework. The first was the controvery between the Indian and the European settler populations over land, immigration and political representation. As a consequence the Europeans renewed their demand to train Africans to replace Indians as clerks and artisans. The bitter European-Indian dispute also culminated in the issurance of a white paper in 1923 which proclaimed the paramountcy of African interests.[3] The white paper took up the idea of trusteeship as the primary duty of the government towards Africans in Kenya, with its declaration that there can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level. This compelled the government to pay attention to African development. Another development which drew attention to African education was the recession of 1922 to 1924. This hit the settlers and the state alike and forced them to reduce expenditure and to think of more efficient ways of spending their money. This was to be done, as both agreed, through the training of Africans to replace Indians as clerks in the bureaucracy and as artisans in

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2. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Annual Report for 1922, No. 1188, London, H.M.S.O., 1924.

3. Indians in Kenya, Cmd. 1922, H.M.S.O., 1922, p.10.

government technical departments and an European farms. Accordingly, the government passed it first ordinance for the establishment of an African civil service. However, with so many interests and hopes attached to African education, the uncertainities continued for some time.

Although many underlying conflicts were not resolved a number of compromises were affected. In part, the compromises were facilitated by therecommendations of outside bodies, chiefly the colonial Office Advisory Council on Education in the colonies and the phelps-stokes Commission. The colonial office Advisory Council which was set up in 1923 formulated general education policy for the British colonies. Its report on African education was issued in March 1925, but its ideas had already been put in circulation. It recommended the setting up of advisory committees on education, composed of settlers, government officials, missionaries, and representatives of African opinion. The council saw religious and moral instruction as a new cement holding African societies together in the face of breaking down of traditional African values. It directed the colonial governments to reserve to themselves thedirection of education policy, while at the same time welcoming voluntary agencies and assisting missions through grants in aid.[4]

In the 1020s the Phelps-stokes Fund sponsored two educational commissions to investigate and report on African

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4. Educational Policy in Tropical Africa, Cmd.2374.

education. The second commission, composed mainly of British and American officials, visited Kenya in February and March 1924 when the educational controversy was at its height. It too opted for mission education and encouraged cooperation among all interested groups.[5] It focussed strongly on the immediate needs of African communities in a rural setting and the general findings of the report established the claim for practical, agriculturally oriented education. The commission emphasised the need to adapt the curriculum and teaching to African conditions, in the way in which Tuskegee and Hampton had developed rural education for the American Negroes. The commission in particular noted the following : "a strange but all-too-common weakness of educational endeavour in Africa has been the lack of cooperation among the three groups representing European and American civilization. Too frequently, missions, governments, and commercial concerns have worked in their respective spheres without adequate consideration for one another. The participation of the Natives had naturally been even less than that of any of the other groups".[6]

The publication of the Phelps-stokes reports and the establishment of the Advisory Committee for Education in Tropical

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5. See, Thomas Jesse, Jones, Education in East Africa, New York, Phelps-stokes Fund, 1925, passim, and Kenneth J. King, Pan Africanism and Education, Oxford, 1971.

6. T. Jess Jones, Ed., Education in Africa, Report of the Phelps-stokes Fund Commission, 1924. Quoted by L.J. Lewis, Phelps-stokes Report on Education in Africa, 1962, Introduction.

Africa by the British Colonial Office during the period 1923-25 marked important developments in African education in Kenya. The missionary societies reached a consensus among themselves on the need for community oriented education. The basis for cooperation with the government was also laid down and the Kenya government emphasized this by passing a new education Ordinance which required all schools and teachers to be registered with the Education Department and all teachers to be licensed before they could teach.[7] It also gave the state the power to inspect all schools. Further, the government created the Advisory Committee on African education,[8] including officials and settlers, but giving the majority of seats to missionaries. At the same time the government officially accepted responsibility for the major portion of the cost of education. And the missions agreed to make religious instruction optional in their schools through an arrangement called the conscience clause.[9]

This spirt of cooperation and the proposals of the Phelps-stokes Commission resulted in the establishment of the Jeannes Training School at Kabete in 1925, mainly supported by government funds. The Jeannes School followed the precedent established in the southern states of America. Each man and wife team was to be trained to workwith teachers and their

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7. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Report for 1924, No.1282 J.M.S.O., 1926, p.18.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., p.19.

wives in the rural African communities, helping them to build up their local school as a centre of community leadership and 'to give a new direction and impulse to education in regard to the home life of the people'.[10] Julian Huxley wrote after visiting the school in 1932 : 'I felt this was one of the most interesting and hopeful things I saw in Africa; it was so enlightened, so unhampered by tradition, so practical'.[11]

Two other important new schools emerged from the controversy of 1924 and 1925 and each represented the aspirations of one of the participants of this dispute. The first was the Native Industrial Training Depot (NITD) at Kabete. It was the result of settler pressure for the more efficient of African artisans to be employed in the cities and on European farms. First begun in 1924, the NITD offered instruction in carpentary, joinery, masonary, brick-laying, black-smithing, painting and tailoring. The course was five years, a general course for two years and then specialisation in a particular vocation. The technical departments of mission schools were also linked with the NITD.[12] In 1936 the government estimate showed that 1050 students had completed their apprenticeship at the NITD, 501 as carpenters, 424 as masons, 72 as smiths, 38 as painters and 15 as tailors.[13]

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10. J.W.C. Dougall, 'School Education and Native', Africa, Vol.III, No.1, January 1930.

11. Julian Huxley, Africa View, London 1933, p.149.

12. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Report for 1926, No. 1352, H.M.S.O., 1929, p.22.

13. Ibid., Report for 1924, No.1282, 1926, p.19.

The second school was the Alliance High School which was the result of a conference of the major protestant denominations in Kenya. It was started in 1926, the year of the La Zoute Conference at which the Protestant missions formally agreed to cooperate with the British government in a new education policy for African territories.[14] It was a junior secondary school, the first in Kenya, and the course of study at first ran for three years. Christian missionaries in fact played a pioneering role in secondary education in Kenya. Beside the Alliance High School, three other secondary schools were founded by Christian missions before the second World War: at Kabaa (in 1927), at Maseho (in 1938) and at Yala (in 1939). In these secondary school, the arm of providing both Christian education and a sound academic education, so popular with students, came to be realised. Nevertheless, these schools offered an unrealistic literary education unmindful of the needs or realities of Kenya. And the great criticism of mission secondary education, particularly the Alliance High School, has been that it acculturated students to the British academic approach to life and has created an elite.[15]

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14. R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, 2nd ed. 1965, pp.271-72.

15. John Anderson, The Struggle for the School, 1970, pp.22-24.

Government endeavour in the field of education was also reflected in the reorganisation of grants-in-and system in 1925 for which it acknowledged its responsibility. However, grants were still limited chiefly to the teacher training or technical side of education. For African teachers, the government granted two-thirds of their salaries, provided the missions paid one-third. Allowances for the upkeep of buildings and equipment were considerably increased. Government expenditure on education thus vastly increased. While in 1922 the state had allocated only £23,000 to Arab and African education, by 1930 this figure had jumped to £83,000 of which grants-in-aid was 45 per cent.[16]

II. AFRICAN ENTERPRISE: INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS.

From the middle of the 1920s, Africans themselves took a much more active interest in the provision of education. They started establishing their own schools. Such an interest in setting up schools for Africans by the Africans themselves stemmed from various factors.

There was a strong feeling that government expenditure on education discriminated in favour of European and Indian schools, although the bulk of the revenue came from taxes paid by Africans. This feeling was perfectly correct. The Phelps-Stokes Commission noted the inadequacy of the amount in proportion to the population: the sum in 1924 being

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16. Department of Education, Annual Report 1930, p.9 and 1933, p.24, cited in R.L. Tignor, No.1, p.214.

£37,000 for Africans, £24,000 for Europeans, and £11,675 for Indians. This worked out at roughly 20 cents per head of African population, and Shs.40 per head of Europeans. Thus in reality, Africans were subsidising the education of other races through taxes;[17] although African education was itself subsidized by the missionary societies, besides the fees paid by African parents.

The African enterprise in education was helped by the establishment of the Local Native Councils in 1924. With powers to vote tax levies for local purposes, new schools, especially secular schools divorced from mission education, were given high priority. Of the various tribes of Kenya, the demand for schools providing secular education was strongest among the Kikuyu.

Although the Kikuyu devoted much effort in helping the missions establish bush schools in the early years, in the 1920s relations between the missions and the Kikuyu got embittered. The latter wanted to be free from missionary dominance of schooling because the missions sought to use the Kikuyu thrist for education as a lever for promoting religious, social, and political ideas they considered desirable. The missions threatened to close the schools if the students did not conform to the mission point of view. The Kikuyu, on the other hand, used boycotts and strikes, to express their opposition to missionary policies. Nearly all the mission stations experienced these confrontations in

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17. Julian Huxley, No.11, pp.400-406; R. Oliver, No.14, p.259.

the 1920s.[18] And the Kikuyu delegations calling on the Director of Education in 1929 and 1930 urged him to take over all mission schools.[19]

However, the Kikuyu demand was not merely for non-mission education but also for more education. The Kikuyu Central Association and the Kikuyu Association - the first organised political groups emerging in this period -- also joined in the demand for more schools. A memorandum to the Hilton Young Commission in 1928 by the Kikuyu Association urged that schools be established in every area so that the masses of children could attend. It also demanded secondary schools as well as schools for girls.

All these factors were important in the setting up of independent schools by the Africans who desired to shape their education in the direction they saw advantageous, and not as the missions planned. The final showdown built up around theissue of female circumcision. When some of the missions (e.g. the Church of Scotland Mission, the Africa Island Mission and Gospel Missionary Society) taught against the Kikuyu practice of female circumcision, the movement to set up schools of a different type was greatly accelerated,

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18. For a detailed description of the nature and form of conflict between the Kikuyu and the missions, see, Robert L. Tignor, The Colonial Transformation of Kenya, 1976, pp.255-59.

19. T.O. Ranger, 'African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa', Past and Present, no.32, Dec. 1965.

and it became "an educational revolt".[20] Some scholars regard it as a revolt against mission education in general, an attempt to obtain full western-type education without the accompanying christianity, rather than merely to uphold tribal customs.[21] But undoubtedly missionaries' campaign against female circumcision was a primary cause of it all, and the direct cause of the mass withdrawals of Arican members from the churches and of their children from the mission schools.[22]

There was, however, also a good deal of African support for the campaign for abolition of female circumcision. Political organisations like the Progressive Kikuyu Party, the Council of the Shield, andthe Kikuyu Association of the Kiambu supported the campaign, and by 1929 all the Local Native Councils had resolved that circumcision should at least be restricted to a simpler form. The Kenyan government recognised that the practice was harmful on several counts, but professed to remain neutral on so touchy a question, hoping that as education spread it would die out. However the masses, supported by the Kikuyu Central Association, resented the attack on this basic tribal rite.[23]

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20. C. Rosberg and J. Nottingham in their book, The Myth of Mau Mau, 1966, p.105; observe, "The roots of the conflict are located in the Kikuyu challenge to the total cultural transofmration demanded of them by the missionary church".

21. T.O. Ranger, No.19, p.66.

22. F.B. Welbourn, East African Rebels, London, 1961, pp.135-141.

23. C. Rosberg and J. Nottingham, No.20, pp.118-20.

A vigorous growth of independent schools ensued, organised by Africans themselves. In 1929 the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (K.I.S.A.) was formed to further the interests of the Kikuyu. Schools were established, and help sought from the Director of Education. This posed a problem for the government which wanted to support mission education in general. However after much hesitation they agreed to the opening of two secular schools at Kakamega and Kagumo for which Local Native Councils had taxed their people. Many other schools sprang up with volunteer support only, most of them run by committees of elders.

The Kikuyu Karinga Educational Association (K.K.E.A.) broke away from the K.I.S.A. in 1933 to form its own independent schools in the Kiambu district, and became affiliated to the African Orthodox Church, one of the African-organised churches. The K.I.S.A. remained much the larger body, and became linked to the African Independent Pentecostal Church.[24] The popularity of the independent schools was due to the fact that "they aimed at developing Africans who are proud of their culture and who want to be free".[25]

The growth of independent schools represents a remarkable achievement in self-help. By 1933, 34 independent bush schools were giving instruction to over 2500 pupils. They preferred English to Swahili to acquire the full benefits of education.

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24. Ibid., p.125.

25. E.B. Welbourn, No 22 - 1[illegible]

The shortage of sufficiently trained teachers proved a great stumbling block, however, and standards were often very low. However, gradually there developed greater cooperation between the government and these schools and conditions improved with the government assistance. The schools grew rapidly and the numbers attending them rose from 7,223 in 1937 to 12,964 in 1939. The K.K.E.A. became increasingly involved with the Kikuyu Central Association and independent schools movement was often thought to be linked with African nationalism. The government also knew that these schools had political as well as educational potential.[26]

Through the efforts of the K.I.S.A. and the K.K.E.A. was opened the Kenya Teachers' College at Githunguri in 1930. It was a very different institution from other training colleges. Webourn writes: "Its curriculum was based on a conscious attempt to build an education which, while borrowing heavily from the West, should belong essentially to the new Africa which already existed in the minds of its leaders. Its consequent rejection of the Government's syllabus and examinations meant that it gave no recognized qualifications; it was poorly staffed; and a high proportion of its funds were supposed to find their way into private Joockets".[27] Nevertheless it won enthusiastic support from Africans. It gave agricultural training and encouraged the study of African folklore and tried to foster a national rather than a tribal spirit.

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26. O.W. Furley and T. Watron, No.1, pp.175-76.

27. F.B. Welbourn, No.22, pp.153-54.

III. GROWTH OF AFRICAN EDUCATION DURING THE 1930s:AN OVERVIEW

In the early years of 1930s, a more comprehensive educational framework evolved, although the economic depression faced to curtail many plans. The Kenya Education Ordinance of 1931 created separate advisory councils on African, Arab, European and Indian education -- thus adding a fourth race - the Arabs - to the precious list of 3 three races segregated for schooling. On a local scale it created school area committees for all races. This gave local interests a chance to participate in the running of schools in that area, and brought in African representation for the first time. The governor and the Department of Education were accorded wide powers in the state system of education.[28]

By 1934 the worst of the depression was over and during this time the government made two improvements in African education. The missions were induced to combine together for the better distribution of elementary schools throughout Kenya. Suchjoint schools were to be assisted by the Local Native Councils. Secondly, African participation was given a further boost in 1934 when the District Education boards were set up to supervise elementary and sub-elementary schools and allocate funds to them, from public funds or L.N.C. funds. Although this meant more African participation, It also meant more government control. Local Native Councils had hitherto allocated funds to any schools they

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28. Annual Report on theSocial and Economic Progress of the people of Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1931, No.1606, London, H.M.S.O., 1933.

liked, including independent schools, but now prior government approval was necessary to do so.

Now it would be worthwhile to examine the progress of education after 1934 uptil the outbreak of second world War. During this period the government expenditure on education. increased considerably for all races.

Elementary and primary education for Africans expanded vigorously. In the single year from 1937 to 1938, the number of boys at school increased from 76,910 to 89,828, and of girls from 33,592 to 39,179. The schools were provided by the government, 16 different missionary societies, and the Kikuyu independent school organisations. However nearly all the education provided was elementary and very few got a good primary course. In 1936 the distribution of African pupils was 96.77 per cent in elementary schools, 3.05 per cent in primary schools, and a very small 0.18 per cent in secondary schools.[29]

But even with the very small output from primary schools, the government was worried that primary school leavers may face the difficulty in finding their choice of employment (Obviously, to find jobs as government clerks. To remedy the situation the government introduced a new primary syllabus, which made two practical courses compulsory, together with arithmetic and either Swahili or English. The elementary syllabus was also revised in 1937 with great emphasis on arithmetic, agriculture and handwork.

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29. O.W. Furley and T. Watson, No.1, p.178.

African secondary education was still limited to the Mission schools at Kikunju (Alliance High School) and the Holy Ghost Mission School and Kabaa. In 1938 thirty boys had started secondary work at the C.M.S. Maseno School, and 15 boys began a school certificate course at Alliance High School. In 1939 St. Mary's school Yala, started secondary courses to make a total of 227 Africans (only 2 of them girls) at secondary school in 1939.

The inter-war period thus saw the perpetuation of racial segregation in education; the slow pace of African education, slowed down further by the world dperession; but later a rapid rise in numbers of both boys and girls in school, and the rise of government-aided technical education. It also saw strong African demands for more academic education, and for independent schools. Above all, it saw, in the Kikuyu crisis with the mission schools, the first indication that education could be a major political issue and a factor in the rise of African nationalism.

CHAPTER - 3

AFRICAN EDUCATION BETWEEN 1940 AND 1963

History of education in Kenya between 1940 and 1963 are really greatly significant years because these years witnessed the aftermath of the second war, which manifested itself in various forms, the coming of the outstandingly significant changes in the policies during 1946-52 and last but not the least, the advent of the independence in a quite abrupt manner in the early 1960s.

In 1939 education system in Kenya followed a pattern, which was formulated by that regime which was European dominated. The education system was not planned to nurture the dissemination of the education quite well among the local people, but it was designed in a way to serve the needs of the colonial society. Thus the memorandum of Kenya Education Department of 1938 made crystal clear the elitist nature of European and Asian education, which was designed to help them to play crucial role in the life of the colony. It also made emphasis on the subservient form of Western education in which no African could join the boarding schools in and around Nairobi, which were reserved only for the European boys and girls.

Now it will be worthwhile to see the condition of the African children, who were attending schools during those years.

In 1938 about 12½ per cent of African children of school age were attending schools, 96,983 were in sub-elementary or elementary schools, 3059 in primary and only 176 in junior secondary schools. There were very few among the Africans, who were capable of going overseas for the higher education outside the domain of the government, pupils used to attend independent schools in Nyanza, Kikuyu and other parts of Kenya. It is a fact that they varied greatly in their standard of education but they provided an outlet for local initiative and they provided moorings to those pupils, who lacked the various other opportunities.

The second world War hampered greatly the progress of education in Kenya. The coming of the forces of Italy in Ethiopia proved to be an enormous amount of tension for the Allied armies. This led to the large scale recruitment of the European officials, missionaries and of African teachers for military service. Widespread arrest were made of Italian and German missionaries and it created void greatly in the schools. The African teachers got very lucrative salaries for their military duties. They used to take classes in literacy because the official policy used to make the soldiers greatly competent in English.[1] The widespread travel of the people in the military services greatly helped them in

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1. J. Middleton, "Kenya Administration and changes in African life, 1912-45" in History of East Africa, ed. V. Harlow and E.M. Chilver, Oxford, 1965, II, pp.386-7.

the broadening of their horizons because now they started to identify themselves with the political aspirations of the people of India and Burma.[2]

Despite a host of problems of the wartime years, the demand for education grew gradually. The Africans, after getting money from the sale of the food to the army camps, tried to use them in the payment of elementary western education. The soldiers used the gratuities, earned during the wartime for educational purposes. They tried to see their children to compete on an equal footing with the Europeans and the Asians. The war led to the great rise in the trading activities by the Africans, who used the money for the school fees.

The contribution of the African district Council's to educational development should be mentioned here because it brought these into direct conflict with the gove nment at the centre. They provided local scholarships, as in the case of Tom Mbuya and also funds for schools. They did not pay heed the the various instructions of the central government and they gave priority to education from the budget allocated to the social services, while the central government wanted to invest them for selected primary schools, which had to fulfil certain requirements. The government revised the system of grants-in-aid in 1942 but it could

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2. C.J. Wilson, One African Colony, 1945, p.13.

not stop the local authorities and they invested the money received from the sale of food, wartime gratuities and local taxes into primary schools. Coupled with these problems were the problems of the tremendous rise in the numbers of European and Asian immigrants coming into Kenya during the postwar period. Due to the War now the Europeans were not in a position to send their children abroad. With the corresponding increase in the populationof the Africans, their demand for more schools also grew.

Introduction of the cambridge school certificate into Kenyan African secondly schools in 1940 made the Africans extremely desperate and forced them to strive for higher educational standards.[3] The Kenyan government tried to produce a plan for African educational development which would fit into the government's racial policies. The government set up a Development Committeefor African education in 1945. The emphasis at that time was typically colonial. "To use the natural resources of the country including, kanpower, in a manner calculated to increase the national income of Kenya inthe shortest space of time, so as to raise as soon as possible the standard of living of the majority of the inhabitants". Hardly any concern was made towards the political or social advancement of Africans. Even the first modest plan for four-year primary education for all African children within the next 20 years was abandoned, when the financial ceiling imposed by the government was reached.

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3. A.A. Mazrui, "Independent East Africa" in Zamani, ed. J.A. Kieran and B.A. Ogat, Nairobi, 1968, p.360.

The ten-year plan for the Development of African Education 1948 tried to slash the severe wastage in primary classes. The glaring weakness of that plan was the continuing under provision of secondary and technical education. In 1947 there were 51 junior secondary schools and only two government and four senior secondary schools. This 1948 plan tried to introduce 14 new government senior secondary schools but soon this plan saw its demise with the coming of the Beecher's Committee, which came in 1949 to enquire into the scope, the content and method of African education. They saw the education system highly disorganised and they tried to impose enough control with a view to improving both the objectives and the quality of the education offered. At the lower levels, tremendous expansion had taken place but the scant regard was paid for the quality. The enthusiasm at the local level had not given fruits enough and it was termed by the Beecher Report as a vicious circle.[4] The criticism of the quality of the education at the lower constituted the rub of the Beecher Committee Report.

The education at the primary levels suffered greatly due to a host of factors -- firstly lack of money for school fees, the distance of such schools from children's homes, the call of domestic duties and periodic crop-picking or harvesting needs, denominational rivalries, lack

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4. African Education in Kenya, the Beecher Report, Nairobi, 1949, p.12.

of school materials, etc. The Beecher proposals did not advocate radical changes in the entire educational system. The education of Kenya based on racial lines remained and a more towards the universal primary education remained as remote as it was earlier. Secondly, this report did not move away from the principle of partnership in African education between the government, missions, local government authorities and African local communities. The feature of the report, which was greatly disliked by the Africans was the restriction of the primary course to four years only, with a minium age of entry at seven years of age. The move was made to present each stage of education as a separate course in itself. African protestors discerned this as a deliberate plan to slash the amount and availability of primary education already provided and to restrict its further growth through African initiatives. When this report was implemented in the early 1950's, it was opposed quite vociferously by the education-conscious Kikuyus, who saw it as an attack on the progress of the education and this has been cited as one of the causes of the Mau Mau rising of 1953-56. The most outstanding of the Beecher proposals was the extension of the secondary places, thus expanding the apex of the educational pyramid. It was proposed to provide 16 secondary schools of the Africans. It was a large increase and it has been criticised as "unrealistic in the context of world thinking at this time".[5] One long term effect of the Beecher report was that in 1958 only 29 per cent of African children went beyond standard IV; by 1963, 80 per cent were getting that far. This represented really

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5. J.Anderson, The Struggle for the School, London, 1970, p.39.

a resolution in Kenya's educational development because now came a western educated class prepared for work in central and local government, agriculture and public services, thus making the way to break down the racial and the social barriers.[6]

Such advances in secondary education facilitated a large number of African Kenyans to proceed to higher education within East Africa and overseas. By 1963 over 1000 students had departed for higher education abroad. The implementation of the Beecher plan helped greatly in that. The broadening of the apex depended greatly for effectiveness upon the strengthening of the whole education pyramid. This plan advocated a 4:4:4 education system with four years of primary, intermediate and secondary education. At the same time, it advocated provision of more qualified European and African government inspectors The proposals did not succeed fully. Local funds were not adequate to pay the wages of the teachers. In some section of Kenya, this became greatly unpopular due to racial grounds because it did not suggest compulsory education for Africans as in the cases of Europeans and Asians and only 30 per cent of African pupils were allowed to proceed to the intermediate stage from primary. The competitive system put forward by this system was not heartily accepted by the Africans. Some Africans saw the Beecher report as an inadequate attempt to expand the secondary education.[7]

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6. Middleton, No.1, p.390.

7. Anderson, No.5, p.45.

The return of Mbiyu Koinange from Columbia University , New York led to the rise of independent schools movement. With the support of the local elders he took over the training college at Githunguri and turned it into an educational center with different sections. The government looked with suspicion upon Koinange's attempts to uplift the Kikuyu. The return of Jomo Kenyatta from England in 1946 and his appointment to the college led to the further popularity of the college. The number rose from 562 boys and 11 girls in 1947 to over 1000 pupils in 1948.[8] But this was closed by the government in 1952 after the outbreak of Mau Mau movement.

A number of independent schools spread to other parts of Kenya during and after the second World War among the Pokomo, Kericho and Kisii districts. The Mao Mao uprising by the Kikuyu people against British colonial rule affected greatly the opportunities for education because a number of schools were attacked or closed down. Estimates of their numbers vary between 270 and 400 as Anderson points out[9]

A conference of women educationlists had met in 1950 to consider the Beecher report, in relation to the education of African girls. Domestic science or homecraft played a crucial part in their discussions. In 1954 Beecher described girls' education as most important for the whole future of Kenya. But the state of the girls' education had not been quite well, and in 1938, an American visitor

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8. Ibid., p.125.

9. Ibid., p.129; and J.R. Sheffield, Education in Kenya An Historical Survey, New York, 1973pp.63-64

had commented upon "the almost complete neglect of girls' education".[10] Evenso, the education of African girls exceeded in standard that offered Arab girls at the coast.

Between 1974 and 1979 the Native Industrial Training Depot at Kabete near Nairobi had become the major centre for the industrial training in Kenya. Its wexaminers tested apprentices, trained in mission schools. This depot became the military training unit during the war. On its return to the Education Department it was opened as a technical and trade school for the African artisans. All through the 1950s the bias in African technical education was not on industrial or light engineering skills but in rural trades such as bui/ding and carpentry. Even in 1960, the majority of the pupil's in technical and trade schools took carpentry or masonry. Secondary technical education started in 1955, with the first pupil's taking general certificate of Educational technical subjects in 1959, but they were a mere handful, 30 in number.[11] In 1949, the Dillonghby Committee on technical education agreed to give the highest priority to the building of a Nairobi Technical and Commercial Institute forall races, thus making new ground and providing enormous opportunity to the Asians and the Africans to become technologist as well as technicians in the future. A committee met- to consider

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10. Anderson, No.5, p.79.

11. L. Winston Con and J.F. Lipscomb, The History of Kenya Agriculture, London, 1972.

the introduction of technical and commercial courses in secondary schools at two new schools at Nairobi and Mombasa. Secondary technical classes for Africans began at Kebete and Thika in 1955. Technical education made modest advances during the post war period. The proposal of the Willoughby Committee materialised and an interracial technical college started in the form of Royal Technical college in 1956. It offered advanced courses in engineering, scientific and allied subjects. The opening of the Kenya Polytechnic in 1961 further expanded opportunities for the technical education in Nairobi. The proposal came in 1949 to build a technical school at Mombasa but it was confined to Muslims only but of all races. It excluded the Europeans but included the Arabs, Swahilis, Asians and Africans. One hundred and three Muslim students came from all part of East Africa for the opening courses in 1951. Within three years, the number had doubled.

In all of its colonies, the British colonial educationists encouraged the practice of agriculture and Kenya did not prove an exception here.[12] Each of the East African territories contained areas of rich, fertile land. The people banked upon the subsistence farming. Educators hoped that the agricultural bias would help the pupils well and it will soon spread in the entire community.

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12. E. Stabur, Education since Uhuru, The Schools of Kenya Connecticut, 1969, pp.35-57.

The adoption of the 4:4:4 structure of the education had curtailed the influence of the agriculture in the primary schools. But lateron agricultural education was encouraged greatly and this brought school teachers and agricultural officials. These people taught practical scientific agriculture in schools and in adult classes. In 1947 during the tour of Nyanza schools, it was recommended that the old-fashioned gardens should be replaced by experimental plots. A year's training course at Thogato Rural Training Centre was started to train the African teachers in agriculture. They learnt the skills of the compost preparation, fodder growing, bench-terracing and crop rotation. Amongst the pastoral peoples, pupils received education in animal husbandry.

Between 1955-57 noteworthy attempts were made to provide special education for the underprivileged and handicapped. The Thika Institute for Blind gave the Africans an eight-year course of training in the handicrafts and the industrial training. St. Nicholos School, Nairobi accepted the backward European pupils. Two schools fulfilled the needs of the pupils of the mixed percentage, who were the victim of the prejudice.

The establishment of the Kenya Inspectorate in 1955 was a more towards the improvement of educational standards because with it started the inspection of the schools and the teachers and also the research into teaching methods and curriculum development. The extension to African primary schools in 1962 saw great success. Stress was now made on more stimulating education and variety and also on

making the learning process more child centred.[13] A number of questions regarding the education suitable for the African children were enquired.

After 1956, significant change took place in the spread of the East African education, appearing firstly in Kenya. The Mau Mau resistance movement brought tremendous changes in the attitudes of the government officials. The results looked upon greatly manifest in the secondary education as the number of African schools increased from 18 to 50 between 1955 and 1961. Agriculture and medicine were the two professions which got support at the pre-University level. Between 1960 and 1963, the technical education made the significant strides in Kenya. The six government trade schools which were created for artisans employment in industry or in crafts, were showing marked acceleration in the quality of the boys.

It will be quite interesting to see the steps taken by Kenya for a racially integrated policy of education before independence in 1963. It was first visible in technical education in the Willonghby proposals in 1979, which lay stress on the creation of a multi-racial technical institute. Over ten years later, the three technical institutions -- the Institute of Muslim Education at Mompasa, the Royal College and the Polytechnic at Nairobi were accepting the student of all the races. But these high-cost institutions charged exorbitant fees, which was really beyond the reach of the large number of the Africans

13. G.E. Perren, "Traihing and Research in English Teaching", Overseas Education, No.1, April 1959; No.1, Oct 1959.

thus before independence, only a microscopic minority among the Africans reached the European and the Asian schools.

A certain amount of progress had been made by 1963 but a number of anomalies seemed visible in the system of the education. The new government set-up the first Omende Commission as the first National enquiry into the whole system of education in Kenya. Its report attacked very severely the division of education into three separate racial groups. The sense of separation, which was imparted by the education left is indelible imprint and it extended to the entire racial life and customs of the various groups.[14]

Now the point to be paid attention will be: how adequate were the educational preparations for Kenya's independence? An african writer in a post-independence report criticised the expansion of secondary and higher education was greatly accelerated in the years just prior to Uhuru, Kenya was left in a highly unprepared state".[15] The 1963 Ominde Education Commission supported the view.

Attempt was made to create a new society through education. The steps towards multi-racial schools were in operation at the primary, secondary and higher levels. The introduction of English as the medium of instruction in African primary schools by 1962 proved immensely successful.

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14. Kenya Government, Report of the Education Commission (The Ominda Report), Nairobi, 1964, Pt.I, pp.21-22.

15. Quoted in O.W. Furley and T. Wasson, A History of Education in East Africa, 1978, p.263.

The "Africanisation of syllabuses, to which a great deal of attention was made after independence, had never been seriously tackled and secondary teaching in particular saw its British-oriented touch. As Anderson points out in the 1950s, the Cambridge Overseas Secondary School examination were looking irrelvant to Kenya's needs.[16] It is a fact that the rapid development had been made but the change over to African education had been far too slow. There is a great deal of criticism of one writer that in the ten years before independence more capital was invested in European and Asian education, representing 3 per cent of the population, then in the education of the African 97 per cent. In the year Kenya won her independence, only 12 per cent of primary school leavers could enter secondary schools.[17] Drastic change in education is really greatly difficult to achieve. Though it is a fact that - with the coming of a new independent government there has come tremendous rise in the expectations of the people but Kenya's educational problem did not and with independence as Jomo Kenyatta recognised in 1963.[18]

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16. Anderson, No.5, p.46.

17. E. Stabler, No.12, p.21.

18. J. Kenyatta, Suffering without Bitterness, Nairobi, 1968, p.217.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing account of African education in Kenya during the colonial period reveals many aberrations which were only natural in a colonial situation. It was so because it was the colonizers who determined the nature and direction of the education of the colonized. The colonizers -- the administrators, settlers and missionaries -- used education to serve their own interests and consequently, disregarded the interests and aspirations of the Africans. This had undesirable effects on the education of the Africans.

Since the missionaries were interested in evangelisation and proselytisation of the natives of Kenya they provided education of the type which served this purpose. Thus the mission schools had a strong religious content in their educational curricula, so much so that Christianity and western education seemed to be interchangeable terms for the Africans. They were ready to impart only that much of education which would enable the Africans to read and understand the Bible. It was really unfortunate for the development of African education because such an education had little value for the Africans because it did not teach them about their own social and religious values and customs which their traditional education system had so thoroughly inculcated in them. Thus the mission education produced disruptive forces in the African society by its onslaught on the native customs and practices. The missionary interference in African life was made possible by the mission's control over African

education in mission schools which were responsible for the education of the bulk of the school-going African children.

However, the missionaries also made some valuable contributions to the development of African education. Besides being the chief purveyors of western education for many years, they were the first to undertake girls' education despite many odds. They were also the first to provide secondary education to the Africans and the Alliance High School played a very important role in providing secondary level schooling to the Africans, and set a standard for others to follow. The missionary provision of education for the Africans especially appears significant in view of the financial constraints in which they had to operate.

The colonial administration and the settlers were however, unhappy with the nature of missionary system of education. The government viewed with concern the missionary interference in the social and religious life of the Africans made possible by the missionary control over African education. It feared the breakdown of traditional society and widespread disturbances. Thus missionary activities appeared to the government as undermining the system of 'indirect rule' which was the basic policy of British administration in Kenya. The government also did not like the academic type of education to be given to the Africans, because it was thought to breed dissatisfaction against the colonial rule as had happened in some British colonies, especially India. It wanted, on

the other hand, to use the education of Africans to serve its own needs, that is, to train the Africans in different vocations so that they could be used to man the lower ranks of administration as clerks.

The settlers adopted broadly a similar attitude towards African education. Their paternalistic attitude towards the Africans implied that Africans should be given only a low level of technical education because their brains were not adequately developed to receive an academic type of education. They saw a long period of British paternalism in which the Africans would develop their faculties of mind. This was indeed smacked of racialist overtones. But at a deeper level the settlers were guided by their own interests of economic advancement. They wanted to use the skilled African labour on their farms. Thus they were strongly in favour of a more technical/industrial education to be given to the Africans.

The government, particularly after the first World War, tried to control the direction of education through the grants-in-aid system and various ordinances. The technical side of education was thus emphasized not only in the government schools but also in the mission schools. Thus joinery, carpentry, smithing etc. were some of the crafts in which schools provided training to the Africans.

Thus none of the European groups who wielded real power in Kenya tried to shape the education policy for the benefit of the Africans. They even determined the type of education they thought was most suitable for Africans. The government expenditure on African education remained very low as compared to that on European and Indian education, if viewed in terms of population of each racial group.

All these moves to control the nature and pace of African education were resented by the Africans. The latter saw little value in the religious instructions given in the mission schools. More important, they vehemently protested against the increasing missionary intefference in their social and religious lives and missionary attacks on their traditional customs and rites. This was the main reason behind the Kikuyu demand for non-mission schools, and later on behind the female circumcision controversy which rocked Kenya between 1928 and 1931. This was also an important factor in the rise of independent schools movement during the early 1930s.

The independent schools movement, in fact, marked an important landmark in the growth of African education and exhibited the hopes and aspirations of the African people. It reflected the African desire not only to get freedom from mission education but also to establish an educational system in which the Africans would have complete control over their education. It also betrayed the African attempt inself-help,

and the sacrifices he was prepared to make through payment of fees, tases etc. As a result there ensured a vigorous growth of independent schools, financed by Africans themselves. This private African enterprise greatly contributed to the growth of schools for Africans, although these schools faced the problems of funds, facilities and trained teachers. Even the Teachers' Training College at Githunguri was not up to the mark. Thus the Africans demands of more schools, better educational facilities and higher education which were instrumental in the launching of independent schools movement, were only partially realised by the African enterprise. But the schools opened by the independent schools associations became a permanent feature of Kenya and the government eventually recognised these schools and assisted them in several ways.

The emphasis on technical and agricultural education for the Africans was also resented by the alert Africans. They saw in this the government's attempt to deny the Africans the best of education and to keep them perpetually in a subordinate position. This was made evident by the European example itself; while the Europeans demanded an academic education both at primary and secondary levels, they prescribed technical education of a low level for the Africans. Hence, the Africans demanded an academic type of education and looked down upon technical/agricultural education. This attitude of the Africans towards technical education, bred by the

European colonialism was another aberration in African education because it overlooked the realities of Kenyan situation and alienated the educated elite from the rest of African society.

Yet another aberration in the growth of African education was the almost total lack of provision for higher education. Indeed, higher education for Africans did not fit in the plans of any European groups. It was only after the second World War, when the policy of 'trusteeship' had given way to that of 'partnership' with the Africans, that government made attempts to provide higher educational facilities within Kenya. Still higher education was very inadequate at the time of independence and the government of independent Kenya had to face the shortage of qualified personnel to fill the important administrative posts and other important departments. Thus the needs of 'Africanization' remained unsatisfied for some years.

As far as the spread of western education among different African peoples of Kenya was concerned, it varied greatly. It spread more among the Kikuyu than the Masai, the Kamba, the Nandi or the Luo. A major reason for this was that early missionary activities were concentrated in the Kikuyuland which was most densely populated area of central highlands of Kenya. The Kikuyu recognised western education as the key to economic advancement and the way out of poverty. Western education also gave the educated Kikuyu prestige in their tribal community because they could understand and interpret the laws related to land and labour and file suits in the

courts in the case of disputes.. And as there developed a Kikuyu hunger for land so also developed a Kikuyu hunger for education, which manifested itself in the form a series of petitions and memoranda to the colonial authorities. This hunger for education finally culminated in the independent schools movement and the formation of K.I.S.A. and K.K.E.A.

The independent school associations greatly enlarged the educational base of Kenya. The number of primary schools and children on the rolls increased significantly. In the post-World War II period this trend got accelerated because colonial policy in the 1940s emphasized 'mass education for citizenship and self-government' and 'an integrated process' that would train a smaller number of Africans for administration. Priority was placed on the development of mass primary education for rural development with a more limited secondary-school expansion to supply the man-power needs. And primary education expanded dramatically after 1945. In Kenya the number of children in primary schools increased from 3,00,000 in 1949 to 7,26,000 in 1960.

In the 1950s, the emphasis shifted to secondary and post-secondary education due to rapid political changes. And though there was significant expansion in secondary education, it was still meagre in comparison with the actual demand.

Finally, it must be said that although Africans were not involved in the formulation of educational policy the African pressures had important impact on it. The Africans pressurized the government to open secular schools and greater

number of schools, to allocate more funds for African education, to make higher education available for Africans etc. And the government, under African pressure, did attempt to meet their demands, albeit slowly either deliberately or due to some constraints. The independent schools movement exerted a strong pressure on European groups and sent the unmistakable signal that African aspirations could not be neglected for long.

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