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THE IMPACT OF A EUROPEAN EDUCATION UPON AFRICANS IN KENYA: 1846 - 1940

by

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TO ALL MY PEOPLE
OF AFRICAN DESCENT
WHOSE BLEAK PAST, TUMULTUOUS
PRESENT,
AND HOPEFUL FUTURE
PROMPTED ME TO UNDERTAKE
THIS TASK

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF MAPS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of Thesis

My study is a sociological history of education which was conducted by different, but interacting, groups, all of which had different means for gaining their different ends. I have chosen this theoretical framework for analysis because it most adequately identifies and conceptualizes the major forces that in fact did shape the character of the educational system for the "natives"[1] in Kenya.

B. Procedure of Analysis

1. A Socio-Historical Framework.--The educational system that existed as of the time this study ends was the resultant of a complex interplay of conflict, accommodation and other social forces operating among the major socio-cultural groups of (and in) Kenya. It was, above all, the outcome of struggles for power and authority among these groups.

The character of education was greatly influenced

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[1]Customary European usage treats "native" interchangeably with "savage," "uncivilized," etc. It has thus become offensive and contemptuous--somewhat similar to "nigger" in the United States of America, and "piccaninny" in the West Indies and Britain.

by a complexity of values, as well as different political, economic and religious systems and interests. To understand this character at any given time in history, it needs to be interpreted not only in the contemporaneous social context, but also in the historical context that views it in relation to the dynamic socio-cultural times that shape it. This view constitutes an important assumption in my study, which is widely spread generally in history, that many existing components of social life can be adequately understood only in the historical development of which they are an end product.

The same view is eloquently expressed by Malinowski in his book, The Dynamics of Culture Change, An Inquiry Into Race Relations in Africa:

> . . . the whole range of European influences, interests, good intentions, and predatory drives must become an essential part of the study of African culture change. . . . the 'one-entry' approach, as we might call it, ignores the whole dynamism of the process. . . . It obscures and distorts the only correct conception of culture change in such areas: the fact that it is the result of an impact of a higher, active culture upon a simpler, more passive one.[2]

In our case, then, we are dealing with two cultures which have multidimensional ramifications because of the nature of the incompatible interests and goals espoused by several sub-cultural groups within these two main cultures.

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[2]Bronislaw Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, An Inquiry Into Race Relations in Africa (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1945), pp. 14-15.

Inevitably, "the clash and the interplay of the two cultures produce new things."[3]

Regarding culture change, Goodenough contends that the "agents of change" would be both Europeans and "natives" --all of whom are encased in their own customs and environmental influences. The ultimate product, change, is the result of complex social interrelationships among the "entire spectrum of human concerns."[4]

One of the "new things" (i.e. change) that we are concerned with in this study is the resultant character of education for Africans in Kenya as a by-product of a historical process.

Malinowski theorizes that "History is the reconstruction of the past. . . ."[5] This reconstruction is based on any available evidence such as written documents, archaeological findings, or even linguistic and cultural systems. In utilizing this evidence, "The historian has to use inference, and this is only possible on the basis of universal laws of cultural or sociological process."[6]

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[3]Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, p. 25.

[4]Ward Hunt Goodenough, Cooperation in Change (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963), pp. 15-20.

[5]Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, p. 33.

[6]Ibid.

> Thus history, which thrives on sociological and cultural generalizations--for without these it becomes mere guesswork--yields again laws of social or cultural science. To oppose history and science is futile. To neglect either of them makes any humanistic pursuit incomplete.[7]

2. A colonial social structure.--I have inferred in this study, then, that given an historical span of time, social forces with special interest and power groups inevitably play an important part in determining the character of an educational system in any society. Further, when dealing with a colonial power group with different social values from those of the "natives," the importance of this power is probably a much greater factor in shaping the educational system than it would be in a non-colonial situation. Malinowski's use of "an impact of a higher, active culture upon a simpler, more passive one" (see above) would suggest that the "simpler" (less powerful) culture is overshadowed by the active (more powerful) culture.

There is a great need for development of a sociological theory of colonialism--one that would more accurately reflect the realities of the power structure and the impact of subordination on native peoples than Malinowski's "culture contact" concept.

The anthropological literature contains little material that would serve this end. Anthropologists today

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[7]Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, pp. 33-34.

are recognizing increasingly that there is a need for the development of this theoretical position, which has been inhibited by anthropologists' own social interests.

In Roszak's The Dissenting Academy, Kathleen Gough, in her article "World Revolution and the Science of Man," contends that anthropologists have hitherto tended to interpret their native tribal studies within the framework of colonialism itself--thus inadvertently justifying the very existence of "civilized" powers dominating "primitive" peoples. Others have referred to "western imperialism" and its impact

> in very general concepts: 'culture-contact,' 'acculturation,' social change. . . . Force, suffering, and exploitation tend to disappear in these accounts of structural processes, . . . their approaches . . . have done little to aid understanding of the world distribution of power under imperialism or of its total system of economic relationships.[8]

This power factor would probably not be as significant, and as permanent, without the European armed conquest of the "native" people, and a subsequent institutionalization and legitimization of their power, justifying it by a superior racist ideology. A colonial situation such as that which existed in Kenya is established with the conquest of a territory by a culturally alien people, and it is maintained through the imposition of their control over the subjugated people.

Fulbright categorizes the situation as the "missionary

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[8]Theodore Roszak (Ed.), The Dissenting Academy (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), pp. 147-148.

instinct" whereby Euro-American scholars, colonialists, traders and ideological demagogues go abroad and impose their values and culture on the "natives" by ". . . intruding on people who have not wanted them but could not resist them."[9]

The social complexity of the colonial situation increases substantially when the dominating power settles large numbers of individuals from the conquering peoples into the colonial territory.

Nehru, in Wallerstein's Social Change: The Colonial Situation, views such settlers as people who

> . . . had the landlord's view of the world. To them, India was a vast estate . . . , and the landlord was the best and the natural representative of his estate and his tenants. The millions of people who lived and functioned in /the estate/ were just some kind of landlord's tenants who had to pay their rents and cesses and to keep their place in the natural feudal order.[10]

This was the case in Kenya and in other parts of Africa.

The mentality of the European colonial people is characterized by Arendt as "race-thinking," the concept of a superior race which made them think of themselves ". . . as members of a natural aristocracy destined to rule over all others."[11]

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[9]J. William Fulbright, The Arrogance of Power (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 12.

[10]Immamiel Wallerstein, Social Change: The Colonial Situation (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 65.

[11]Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1951), p. 173.

"Racism as a ruling device was used in this society of whites and blacks. . . . Its basis, and its excuse, were . . . simply to declare that these [blacks] were not human beings."[12]

To legitimize their control, they set up political systems. In general, according to Almond and Coleman, "Legitimate force is the thread that runs through the inputs and outputs of the political system, giving it its special quality and salience and its coherence as a system."[13]

But the "quality and salience" of the European political systems in the occupied "native" territories was discriminatory and totalitarian. Kautsky defines political totalitarianism thus: ". . . we define it merely as a set of methods used, under certain circumstances, by a group or several groups in control of a government in order to retain that control."[14]

Since in these circumstances "all the new [member] organizations . . . profess the same ideology--the ideology of the regime," and since the regime's "emphasis is on an outside enemy" and "totalitarian propaganda aims to create

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[12]Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, p. 195.

[13]Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (Eds.), The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 7.

[14]John H. Kautsky, Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 91.

unity behind the regime . . . by encouraging loyalty and positive identification . . . [and] inculcating hatred and fear of some common enemy,"[15] the native people would be (as they were in Kenya) systematically excluded from the regime.

Given this situation, the pervasive fact of social life, and hence the fact of paramount significance, is the existence of two separate and unequal groups[16] in a colonial situation or colonial "state," with the subjugated "natives" and the culturally alien ruling class. The conquest of a people in a territory by another is consolidated as the fact of domination and subordination becomes a stable reality of the social structure. In sum, the dominant factor of this colonial structure is a caste system maintained through the totalitarian power of the ruling group.

The fact of a power-imposed-and-power-maintained caste system, directed towards both subordination and

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[15] Kautsky, Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries, pp. 93-95.

[16] (a) One of the South African Province's Constitutions reads: "There shall be no equality between black and white either in Church or State." (Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, p. 115.)

(b) Arendt describes how Darwinism was used to justify discrimination and segregation between the "fittest" race (white) and the "less fit" black race. (Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, p. 178.)

(c) The German romanticism in "race-thinking" concept of a "race of princes, the Aryans," and the non-Aryans who were less human, and therefore unequal, is another relevant example. (Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, p. 173.)

economic exploitation[17] of the oppressed people, emerges as a social factor of overriding impact that influences every aspect of institutional life in any country. Indeed, it is this fact that is central in defining the meaning of colonialism.

In light of these considerations, it can be argued with considerable justification that no satisfactory history of education in a colonial situation can be written except in a theoretical framework in which colonialism, sociologically defined, provides the major perspective for an analysis.

However, the sociological structure of colonialism, historically viewed, is exceedingly more complex than the preceding remarks suggest. The ruling group is seldom, if ever, a unitary social group--although it may appear to be so from the point of view of the victimized people. In actuality, representatives of the conquering power are diverse in their interests and aims in so far as the colonial people are concerned. As Malinowski puts it: "There is always the formation of an aggressive or conquering community *in situ* . . . This community is by no means a direct replica of its mother community at home."[18]

In other words, in considering the social structure

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[17]Probably the worst form of physical "native" exploitation was forced labor and "slavery" which European farmers encouraged. (Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. 193.)

[18]Malinowski, *The Dynamics of Culture Change*, pp. 17-18.

of the superordinate groups, one must discriminate among various sub-groups--the relationships of each to the subordinated people being defined by its own aims and interests.

Historically, in the case of European colonization of Africans, there have been several of these interest groups--each of which has tended to enter upon the African scene at a distinct phase of colonial domination, and each of which has played its own distinctive role in influencing the colonial development of my people. The most important of these interest groups have been Christian missionaries and a large number of European farmers,[19] as is the case today in the racist regimes of Rhodesia[20] and South Africa.[21]

In sum, in examining the social structure of colonialism in any specific colonial "nation," it is essential to take into consideration not only sub-groups of this kind but also the structure of relationships among them and the impact this has on the whole character of colonial domination in that "nation."

This being the case, it would seem apparent that the structure of colonial domination can be complicated greatly with entry into the situation of additional "factions." Thus, as in the history of Kenya to be discussed, when real differences between the European settler population and the

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[19]Henceforth to be referred to in the study as "settlers" or "European settlers."

[20]Colonial name for Zimbabwe.

[21]Colonial name for Azania.

home government (which was subjected to political influences from groups that might have had no direct interest or involvement in the colonial situation) exist then one must regard the "home" government and the settler population (or their local government) within the structure of the colonial power.

The same considerations apply when one examines the social structure of the colonized group. In this group, too, one may distinguish separate groups--the integrating of each group being defined by a cluster of factors such as ethnic identity and tribal culture. For example, A. L. Epstein studied this social phenomenon in the Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia.[22] He found that African political activism and inter-tribal unity always started in the large towns in the colony. It was in the towns where Africans felt humiliated by wage differentials, "color bars" (racial segregation, discrimination) and voting disenfranchisement. He also found that during the actual working hours "there was general consensus on who were the leaders in the African community."[23] But, as soon as the African workers went home to their segregated "native" locations, Epstein found no such consensus and questioning generally drew forth a stereotyped response to the effect that every tribe

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[22]Colonial name for Zambia.

[23]Max Gluckman, Closed System and Open Minds, Limits of Naivety in Social Anthropology (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1964), p. 87.

or group considered its own leaders to be most important."[24]

My thesis takes the former view of the group's own sense of common interest. I do not treat the "native" people of Kenya as having had no "consensus." They are treated as a unit. The justification for this stand is that the differences existing among these groups were less significant than the common factors and grievances that united them as one group to challenge the forces of the European groups.

It was, in other words, an unbearable situation of common oppression that determined their social and political solidarity. In effect, therefore, their unity, as a social or interest group, was imposed by the totalitarian ruling group. (It should be noted here that this "solidarity" situation changed radically on the eve of independence in 1963. As soon as the European power began to be lifted, several splinter groups formed political parties anticipating the power forces in a vacuum left by the settlers.)

Nevertheless, for the time period discussed in this study, the only significant native interest groups that were effective in influencing the shape of "native" education were organizations that acted as representatives of the subjugated peoples. As a matter of fact, at any specific time in the history covered here, the social structure of the ruling group must be analyzed in terms of the specific

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[24]Gluckman, Closed System and Open Minds, p. 87.

structure of relationships that existed between sub-groups of the superordinate aliens and one "native" group.

Another factor that makes for complexity in a historical study cast from this perspective is the fact that the structure of relations (among the interest groups that constitute either the colonial power or the enslaved peoples) is not constant through time. For example, the mentality of "race-thinking" and the concept of a British global Empire started dying out gradually ". . . at the moment when ruling classes in England or the English domination in colonial possessions were no longer absolutely secure, and when it became highly doubtful whether those who were 'fittest' today would be the fittest tomorrow."[25]

Kautsky advances another theory for the inevitable change, which is that nationalist movements may rise to challenge the ruling group. If the ruling group has weakened or lost a following in the passage of time, then the oppressed peoples take over from their overlords. These movements, Kautsky stresses, ". . . are not confined to territories that are or were until recently administered by foreign powers as colonies, like India and most of Africa."[26]

Still another factor that may affect change in a

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[25]Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, p. 178.

[26]Kautsky, Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries, p. 38.

colonial situation is a significant increase in the ruling population--as was the case in Kenya. At an early period only some of the colonial interest groups may be present in the colonial "state." As new groups enter the scene, the entire social structure changes. Of course, the entry of the new groups from the ruling European nations need to be taken into consideration only if they emerge as a significant factor in the shaping of the social structure and, specifically, in the case of the present study, they are included only when their activities have had a significant influence in the determination of the educational system for the "native" peoples.

C. Format of Presentation

The above theoretical considerations provide a basis for the organization of this study. Since chronology as such was not the single most important factor in this historical account, I have not organized my chapters on a simple chronological basis. Rather, I have defined each period, and thus each Chapter, within the historical framework in the development of education for the subject peoples of Kenya. Inevitably, therefore, there is considerable overlapping in the actual dates which mark significant milestones in this task. But care has been taken to delimit each Chapter on the basis of the specific structure of group relations--the salient consideration being the specific structure and pattern of power and domination that was

established during (and characterized by) this period.

Thus, Chapter II reviews the relevant (but scant) literature, taking into consideration the "native" education policies and practices of all the major interacting groups.

Chapter III (Pre-European--1846) discusses the system of African education in Kenya before the coming of Europeans. This is done not only to stress the prior existence of an African culture but also to establish a clear social scene which was soon to experience an alien cultural impact.

Chapter IV (1498-1850) begins with the coming of the first Europeans--and briefly describes the events leading up to active European conquest, occupation and sustained influence on the "natives."

Chapter V (1846-1911) starts with the permanent settlement of the Christian missionaries and their establishment of their own social position in African life. This phase of history ends with the emergence of the settler group as the dominant force. Thus, Chapter VI (1901-1925) discusses the settler hegemony in all affairs (including education) of Kenya Colony.

Chapter VII (1919-1937) introduces the British Government in the picture as a mother country issuing her own "native" education directives in an advisory, rather than in an enforcing, capacity.

Chapter VIII (1921-1940) is essentially an account of "native" frustration and reaction against the European sub-group power and authority. Political activism to achieve their goals (one of which was education) is a dominant factor.

The last Chapter (IX), "Summary and Conclusions," is an interpretative overview of my thesis in the context of socio-historical dynamics among alien and native groups, which shaped a European-type of education for my people.

Thus, the initial and major concern of each Chapter is to analyze the historical events that led up to, and characterized, the establishment of a particular structure of interest groups and power relationships in Kenya. This historical account provides the context in which educational developments, during the period of my study, are interpreted.

D. The Organized Group Factor

A word is in order concerning the general character of the "group factor" in educational developments that I have analyzed. To the extent that historical materials have made it possible, I have discussed the goals of education as defined by various interest groups--policies and curricula that were established, with details relating to the controls of these schools, and the African response to (and the influence on) the development of an educational system for subject peoples. Perhaps the most important assumption of

my thesis is that the essential significance is revealed through this contextualization of historical events with respect to the social group factors of the colonial situation.

In recounting the history of this development of the group social structure, I have concentrated on formally constituted organizations, such as the establishment of the settler government, African political parties and missionary churches. My rationale for this focus is as follows: the interests of a particular population, or segments thereof, do not find expression as effective factors in the development of institutional life unless, and until, they are articulated and pursued in an organized way. As Sherif's experiment in Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation illustrates: "The course of relations between two groups which are in a state of competition and frustration will tend to produce an increase in in-group solidarity."[27] To succeed, however, that group solidarity and organization against a common enemy must have "leadership"--which Thelen defines as ". . . the set of functions through which the group coordinates /and organizes/ the efforts of individuals. These efforts must result in the satisfaction to the participants as well as in help to the group in meeting its purposes."[28]

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[27]Muzafer Sherif, et. al., Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 123.

[28]Herbert A. Thelen, Dynamics of Groups at Work (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 296.

In so far as the development of the education system for Africans in Kenya was concerned, the interests and goals of the various "in-group" parties operated as effective causal factors through the instrumentality of formal organizations.

In discussing the educational development from this point of view, I do not mean to suggest that the organizations that played important roles in the educational system were primarily or essentially educational organizations. Indeed, one of the factors that emerges most clearly in the course of this study is that these organizations were political and governmental groups; and that for them, educational concerns and goals were always viewed or interpreted in a broader politico-social context. For example, in Chapter VIII, the entire "native" Independent School Movement not only was initiated and directed by the African political "in-group" parties, but also was viewed as a necessary instrumentality for the advancement of "native" political, social and economic interests. The political and economic interests of this movement were so intimately bound up with its educational interests and goals that the latter becomes understandable only when interpreted in the light of the former. Indeed, the fundamental significance of the African Independent School Movement emerges only when its development is viewed from this point of view. The same phenomenon would be true in the case of the settlers who sought to realize their goals and interests through an organized political machinery.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IN KENYA IN THE CONTEXT OF COLONIALISM, 1895-1940: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A. Introduction: The Basis for Selecting Publications for Review

This review of literature follows my thesis, and particularly from the interpretive framework, in which the development of education for Africans in Kenya is reviewed in the context of colonial domination by the British. Given this perspective, I have included publications that discuss education in Kenya from the point of view of its relationship to the political and socio-economic structure of the colonial situation.

B. Settler-Government Education Reports

There is a very limited body of literature (as of the time of this writing) in the area with which this thesis deals.

Europeans, particularly the British, did write numerous books and official educational reports of the settler-government of Kenya during most of the period covered by the study. In reviewing this literature I studied the Kenya Education Department Annual Reports for the years 1923-1953

(see Bibliography). These Government documents are predominantly statistical in the information they provide--for example, the number of teachers and pupils from year to year. They also portray, throughout this period, a characteristic that the shortcomings and inadequacies of education for Africans were primarily because Africans were mentally inferior and generally unprepared to cope with a European-type education and economy.

The discussions concerning these reports obviously are of limited value in documenting the characteristics of social situations to which they refer, and in documenting those processes the detailed knowledge of which would have been very valuable for the purposes of the study. The reports, however, are valuable for the purposes of the study in documenting official policy and its justification.

C. British Colonial Reports and Policy Documents

An additional body of official literature consists of the Annual Colonial Reports[1] of the British Government's Colonial Office for the years 1931-1950 (see Bibliography). The content of these reports is quite similar to that of the previously mentioned reports of the settler-government's Education Department. They offer little additional information or insights into the structure and dynamics of the colonial

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[1]The Reports covered all areas in each colony--e.g. health, agriculture, administration and, of course, education.

educational situation. My impression is that these reports were largely provided by the settler-government, and that the British Colonial Office published them with a minimum of changes.

In addition to these regular British Government documents, I have studied a number of special Governmental documents--for example, the British White Paper for Kenya of 1923, and British Education Policy in Tropical Africa of 1925. These documents, of course, are not studies of colonial education, but rather documentations of important conditions and developments of policy.

D. European-Authored Books--Pro-Colonial Situation

Another area of review is that of the European-authored books relating to the development of education for Africans. Examples are books by: (a) Wilson,[2] former member of the settler-government's Legislative and Executive Councils; (b) Askwith,[3] former Commissioner for African Community Development in Kenya; and (c) Place,[4] a former teacher and school principal of this writer.

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[2]Christopher J. Wilson, Before the Dawn in Kenya (Nairobi: The English Press, 1952); Before the White Man in Kenya (London: McCorquodale and Co., Ltd., 1953); Kenya's Warning: The Challenge to White Supremacy in Our British Colony (Nairobi: The English Press, 1954); and One African Colony (Kenya) (London: The Signpost Press, 1945).

[3]Tom G. Askwith, The Story of Kenya's Progress (Nairobi: The Eagle Press, 1955).

[4]James B. Place, A School History of Kenya (Nairobi: The Eagle Press, 1953).

I have treated these works as a body in this discussion because they share certain characteristics that explain their limited usefulness. An important trait found that these works have in common is that they are strongly propagandistic; that is, they were written to influence belief and opinion favorably towards the existing colonial educational system. As a student, I used some of these books as texts in the Kenya Colony schools, and I can attest that they indeed influenced African children's attitudes. We read and believed, for example, that we had "neither history nor culture" before the White man came to "civilize" us.

Typical of Wilson's writings are his defense and justification for European occupation and settlement. He is a disciple of the "no-man's land" myth, which was used by the Europeans to "prove" that they had not driven out "natives" from the lands they settled. In fact, even though this thesis stresses that Africans were forced to work on European farms, Wilson asserts that Africans were "happy" to live and work on such farms. He declares that

> One towering and venomous falsehood, perpetually presumed and replenished, is that white settlement in East Africa began by the seizure of land already cultivated by Africans who were either driven from their homes or forced to remain in a state of semi-slavery.[5]

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[5]Wilson, <u>One African Colony (Kenya)</u>, p. 21.

After European occupation, Wilson continues:

> . . . it was not long before they [Africans] began to bring their wives with them and to make their homes on the [European] farms, where they were allowed whatever land they wanted for their own cultivation. These were the first squatters, later to be known as resident labourers.[6]

Wilson, who was also at one time a member of the Board of Governors for Makerere College (East Africa's only college then giving the equivalent of fourteen years' schooling), considered the African mind incapable of reasoning--and, therefore, unable to absorb abstract complexities of western literary education. He wrote:

> To consider the education of the African, we must define the nature of the mind of the African before his first contact with white civilization. . . . The mind of the primitive savage is probably beyond the understanding of the sophisticated European observer. . . . It would be better to say that the mind has not been educated to the point where reason overpowers emotion. It seems that the paramount emotion is fear--fear of the unknown, of spirits, of witchcraft.[7]

Because of this fear of the unknown, any attempt by the missionaries to give a "religious education may, then, result in a convert to Christianity or a bewildered pagan."[8]

Besides, education raises the hopes of the African: "the result is often a fellow with an exaggerated sense of

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[6]Wilson, One African Colony (Kenya), p. 22.

[7]Wilson, Kenya's Warning, p. 46.

[8]Ibid., p. 48.

his knowledge and importance who despises his own people, envies the European, and seeks only his own interests."[9]

Therefore, he concludes in another of his works, "Education /for Africans/ tends to produce an 'intellectual' class . . . eaten up with conceit. Political power tends to be the aggrandisement of the few in authority at the expense of the rest of the community."[10]

Askwith's African development proposals included empowering local authorities to make by-laws: "To prohibit or control the making and sale of beer; to control the carrying of weapons by Africans; . . . to control the sale and movement of cattle in order to prevent thieving; to stop brothels where /African/ prostitutes live; . . . /and/ to ensure that dead Africans are properly buried."[11]

Place, my former teacher, not only taught us that the land taken by Europeans "was unoccupied"[12] by Africans, but also that the Africans could not claim any land in Kenya because they had only reached that part of Africa in recent years.

> . . . So much land now occupied by the Kamba /my tribe/ and the Kikuyu has been used by them so recently. As far away as Migwani /the locality

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[9]Wilson, Kenya's Warning, pp. 45-46.

[10]Wilson, One African Colony (Kenya), p. 13.

[11]Askwith, The Story of Kenya's Progress, p. 59.

[12]Place, A School History of Kenya, pp. 64-67.

> where I spent my childhood7, . . . are graves of the first Kamba to come down there from the hills some sixty years ago.[13]

Since these books were part of the system of the colonial domination, the facts and the interpretations they represent must be viewed with extreme caution. They do not represent an unbiased scholarly point of view any more than do the official Government publications. As documents written "in" the colonial context by interested parties in the superordinate caste, their context requires explanation from the perspective of a sociology of colonial domination. Conversely, the interpretation they provide cannot be used to explain the colonial situation of education in an objective way.

However, these books do have value in documenting aspects of the European colonial education structure, values, inadequacies and injustices.

In sum, there is a substantial body of European-authored literature, official and unofficial, that provides some insights into the educational system of colonial Kenya; but it has limited scholarly value for the reasons discussed above. Perhaps the most important limitation consists of the inevitable biases that were injected by virtue of the European-colonial-mentality authorship.

E. Two Scholarly Works by Othieno and Sheffield

As of 1965, only two scholarly studies of education

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[13]Place, A School History of Kenya, p. 67.

in Kenya had been completed. Both of these were doctoral dissertations at Teachers College, Columbia University.

One of the authors, N. Antipa Othieno,[14] was my teacher at Kagumo Teachers College, Nyeri, Kenya. The other author, James R. Sheffield,[15] visited and worked with the Kenya Education Department before, and after, African independence. He is an American scholar now teaching at his alma mater.

Othieno's work is an outline of education in East Africa. He draws heavily upon secondary sources, and concentrates on the missionary influence and initial establishment of schools for Africans. His main theme is that missionary education and religion did influence African cultures, the impact of which ". . . generally meant a negation of the traditional African way of life."[16] Thus, the main relationship between his thesis and this one is that both show that the missionaries ignored the existence of "native" African cultures among the people they sought to educate. Consequently, they did not carry on the educational process in such a way that it was meaningfully

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[14] N. Antipa Othieno, "An Outline of History of Education in East Africa, 1844-1925," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963.

[15] James R. Sheffield, "Policies and Progress in African Education in Kenya: 1949-1963," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965.

[16] Othieno, p. 22.

related to the life experience of their pupils. Othieno believes, as this writer does, that the lack of the relevance of missionary education was largely due to this factor.

In Othieno's study, the political factor does not emerge as one of primary significance. This probably reflects the fact that considerations of power actually did not become dominant during the period covered by his study. His study ends in 1925, at a time when the settlers had only recently established their own government and were still in the process of imposing and consolidating their own rule. However, he stresses that even at this early period the missionaries ". . . acted as agents in supplying their [the settlers'] needs. Consequently, Mission schools' policies became closely linked with settlers' needs."[17] Thus, right from the beginning, the African viewed the settler and the missionary as inseparable correlates in advancing European power and domination.

Sheffield's study is an analysis of social and political forces that operated to retard (or perhaps to enhance) the development of education for Africans in Kenya. His discussion of the settler policy, and his recommendations for an Africanized education in an independent Kenya, come after the period of this study--1948 to 1963. Despite the

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[17]Othieno, "An Outline of History of Education in East Africa, 1844-1925," p. 158.

difference in time, Sheffield's analysis, as does mine, documents that the retardation of African educational development for the Africans was the outcome of a deliberate settler policy to keep the Africans in a subordinate status. He contends that the British indifference meant that the settlers carried on their policies with impunity.

> Although a series of authoritative statements from the /British/ Colonial Office during the 1920's and 1930's established the primacy of African interests, the settlers, led by Lord Delamere, never gave up their efforts /of dominating the 'inferior' races/. Britain, with rare exceptions, declined to interfere in East African affairs beyond the making of overall policy. . . .[18]

Thus, British policy and "verbal commitments progressed faster than practice."[19]

The British inaction, and therefore the settler-government "independence," enabled the settlers to treat the Africans as they wished. African populations, for example, were considered reservoirs for labor on the European farms. Quoting Lord Oliver, Sheffield feels that to the settlers the ideal African reserve[20] was ". . . a convenient recruiting ground for labor, a place from which the able-bodied go out to work, returning occasionally to rest and beget the next generation of laborers."[21]

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[18]Sheffield, "An Outline of History of Education in East Africa, 1844-1925," p. 63.

[19]Ibid., p. 64.

[20]African reserves were areas designated for African settlement. By the 1915 Land Ordinance, most of Kenya's fertile land became "White Highlands" for European settlement only.

[21]Sheffield, p. 50.

Sheffield rightly realizes that education for Africans was primarily an outcome of "non-educational factors" such as African political and nationalistic activism and missionary Christian religious teachings, rather than an outcome of a systematic educational "blueprint." Further, ". . . no long-range planning was undertaken. . . ."[22]

In these circumstances, it seems to me that Sheffield's expose' contradicts his own somewhat inadvertent comments that Europeans found themselves involved in a "reluctant occupation" and that the missionaries and the settler-government "regarded the education of Africans as desirable."[23]

However, Sheffield makes specific recommendations for correcting the colonial legacy in education for Africans. He feels that the role of education in Kenya today should be the "balance" between the European and African traditions, and education for citizenship, manpower and morality.

These goals can be achieved by a "balance" between quality and quantity in expansion, and the "balance" between the education and other departments in the system.

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[22]Sheffield, "Policies and Progress in African Education in Kenya: 1949-1963," p. 206.

[23]Ibid., p. 57. In a personal communication, Sheffield commented later that he meant "reluctant occupation" in Uganda, and that "education was desirable" for labor purposes.

F. Literature Sympathetic to the African Cause

There is another body of literature containing analyses of education for Africans in Kenya that deserves comment. I will briefly discuss some representative works in this category. I have treated this group of writings on the basis of two criteria.

First, there are the writings by Kenya Africans, which analyze educational needs and problems from the African point of view. Second, there are works by Europeans who are sympathetic to the African needs and aspirations. In this respect, the works contrast quite sharply with the previously discussed European-authored books and documents.

1. Works by Kenyans.--Four books by three Africans native to Kenya merit discussion. Two of these are by Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, first President of independent Kenya and a major leader of the independence movement for four decades. His Kenya: The Land of Conflict[24] is a political document, one of numerous Kenyatta-authored writings, directed to the mobilization of the Africans for independence. Kenyatta relates education to the political situation that then prevailed in Kenya. He argues that the educational disadvantages of the Africans were an expression of the European use of political power in the colony to maintain the subjugation of the Africans. Kenyatta saw clearly that a high

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[24]Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya: The Land of Conflict (Manchester, England: International African Service Bureau, 1944).

level of education was necessary in the process of eradicating the caste subjugation of the African peoples. He regarded the settler policy of educational discrimination as a deliberate one directed towards the maintaining of the existing system of inequality. Referring to this policy, he wrote: "It is wrong that an African should be prevented by compulsory ignorance from doing any kind of work for which he is fitted by his natural ability."[25]

Kenyatta documents his case, in part, by citing statistics showing the great inequality of government expenditure in education for European and African pupils. For example:

> The Government spends 8s per head on the education of African children, while it spends £49,255 (500s per head) for the education of less than 2,000 European children. In other words, it is the poor who are taxed to pay for the education of the rich. If education is so inadequate, the medical service is no better. Other social services simply do not exist, unless the prisons be classed as such.[26]

Kenyatta's Harambee,[27] although written on the eve of full national independence, provides a realistic assessment of educational needs and problems in Kenya. And, in the process, it shows connections between these problems and needs and the politics of the colonial period. It should be emphasized that this book was written as Kenyatta prepared

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[25]Kenyatta, Kenya: The Land of Conclift, p. 22.

[26]Ibid., p. 5.

[27]Jomo Kenyatta, Harambee! Speeches 1963-1964 (London: Oxford University Press, 1964). "Harambee" is the Kenya nation's motto which is Swahili for "Let's all pull together."

to assume leadership of the new Government, and that he discusses education in the context of his own governmental programs. Kenyatta develops the view that many of the inadequacies of education were creations of the colonial system. "We are very concerned about the shortage of educational opportunities" that were "inherited"[28] from the colonial era. "No stone will be left unturned to ensure as full a response as funds will permit to the educational aspirations of all Kenyans."[29]

Kenyatta emphasizes his determination to create a body of educated Africans for administration and other essential affairs of the State. He expressed his determination to seek help from any and all nations to achieve this goal without getting involved with the ideological warfare between the West and the East. He once told Parliament: "Brothers, I want to assure you that knowledge is knowledge, irrespective of who gives it. You must make a distinction between knowledge and ideology. We do not send out people overseas to get the ideology of Britain or America or Russia. We sent them to get knowledge, to come back to this country, to help us work for our future."[30]

Kenyatta believes in self-initiative and self-help in the process of building a modern Kenya nation. The

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[28]Kenyatta, Harambee!, p. 83.

[29]Ibid., p. 85.

[30]Ibid.

Government will do all it can to aid local communities in their educational endeavors, but "self help must not be regarded as being in competition with what the Government is trying to do."[31] Rather, it is "complementary" to Government efforts.

In general, these two books together provide a good documentation of a major individual leader's evaluation of the importance of education in a colonial and post-colonial situation.

Koinange has also fought for African independence since earning the honor of being the first Kenyan to get a college degree in 1937. With Kenyatta, he helped manage the Independent School Movement in the 1940's. In independent Kenya, he has held various ministerial positions, including Minister of Education.

Koinange's The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves[32] is similar to Kenyatta's books in that it is a political activist document that interprets education in accordance with its significance for people fighting for independence. Koinange expresses the judgment that "we" Africans must become an educated people if we are to challenge the European colonial power. He proposes expanded education by:

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[31]Kenyatta, Harambee!, p. 84.

[32]Mbiyu Koinange, The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves (Detroit: Kenya Publication Fund, 1955).

> . . . arranging for a greatly increased number of African students to proceed overseas /he graduated from Columbia University/ for higher studies; . . . multiplying the number of primary and secondary schools; . . . /and/ establishing institutions of full university status in East Africa.[33]

Koinange's book is especially valuable in that he discusses his experience as the acting head of the Independent School Movement. He shows that the Independent Schools' curricula were developed as a political weapon. In doing so, he reveals a close connection between the content of education and broad political and social forces. Essentially, the curricula were Africanized. They stressed African culture, folklore, dignity and inter-tribal unity. He rejects Government and Mission education because "The African child who goes to a /settler/ Government, Mission school, elementary, primary, high school, and even to Makerere College, Uganda, is taught to obey, to be submissive while in school he is warned to avoid getting involved in politics, to avoid the company of people who are regarded as 'agitators'. If he should be seen developing a firm attitude in life, he would lose his scholarship and/or be thrown out of school."[34]

Tom Mboya was assassinated in July, 1969, at the age of 38, after an unusually brilliant labor union, and then political, career since the age of 20. During his

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[33]Koinange, The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves, p. 107.

[34]Ibid., p. 44.

active but short life, he contributed greatly towards African independence and education.[35] At the time of his death, he was Minister of Planning and Economic Development. Mboya's book The Kenya Question: An African Answer[36] was written late in the pre-independence period while he was in England. The book was written for a British audience to correct the British misconceptions about the colonial situation in Kenya, and to inform the British public of the real conditions that existed in various spheres of life. In part, the book is an indictment of the settler-government: "Together with discriminatory practices on the land, the /settler/ government have given aid and recognized schools, hospitals and residential areas, etc., established on a racial basis."

> The Government was party to all these practices. It either enacted legislation promoting discrimination or failed to legislate against it. Thus Africans identified the Government with the practices, and the Government itself became a symbol of European supremacy and domination.[37]

Education is not among the central issues discussed in Mboya's book. However, he does express the view that the Africans have suffered greatly by virtue of settler-government policy: "We fear that the right of our lands

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[35]Mboya arranged for a free airlift which brought some 1,700 students to study in U.S. colleges and universities between 1959 and 1961. I was in this group in 1960.

[36]Tom Mboya, The Kenya Question: An African Answer (London: Fabian Colonial Bureau, 1956.)

[37]Ibid., p. 15.

will be lost and liberty of our living place will be rejected, and after this we will come into bondage of working in settlers' farms for our living place."[38]

Thus, the value of Mboya's book in the present context is that it is a document of the views of a major Kenyan political figure concerning the injustices of colonial rule, and that it relates educational inequalities to inequalities in other areas of life--for example, employment.

2. Works by Europeans.--Among the pro-African European authors who write from first-hand experience in Kenya, Aaronovitch[39] is one of the relatively few European authors who analyzes the aspects of a colonial situation as part of a defense of the Africans. This book argues, and documents, that the Africans in Kenya were receiving an inferior and inadequate education and, contrary to the dominant view, they were not satisfied with the existing educational system. "Education in Kenya is infected with the same spirit of discrimination as every other aspect of life in the Colony. . . . For the great majority of African children, . . . no educational facilities exist."[40]

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[38]Mboya, The Kenya Question: An African Answer, p. 14.

[39]S. and K. Aaronovitch, Crisis in Kenya (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1947).

[40]Ibid., p. 122.

"So poor is the provision that no more than 18% of all African children of school age receive any education whatsoever, while no more than 0.03 per cent (in 1943) reach even a junior secondary standard."[41]

The official justification by local district education boards that the Africans were "contented with the present educational progress" was

> . . . the result of having illiterate representatives [hand-picked by the settler-government] on these bodies. Most of the members attend the meetings for the purposes of hearing what their D.C. [settler District Commissioner] will tell them, instead of they themselves discussing these affairs independently in order to find out what is wrong and state it.[42]

Aaronovitch discusses the intent of the European settlers to remain the power in Kenya. Although he does not explicitly argue the point, his discussion allows for the interpretation that the inferior educational system for Africans, and discriminatory practices in all walks of life, were all maintained deliberately as part of the goal to perpetuate European political rule.

Another example of a European writing from first-hand information, and from an African point of view, is the Canadian journalist, Patrick Keatley, who at one time lived in Colonial Rhodesia. His book, The Politics of Partnership,[43] was chosen to illustrate the strikingly similar

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[41]Aaronovitch, Crisis in Kenya, p. 135.

[42]Ibid., p. 134.

[43]Patrick Keatley, The Politics of Partnership (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963).

nature of the settler mentality in an African colonial situation. Thus, although Keatley discusses education and other problems in the context of the Rhodesian political and social situation, it deserves note because it reveals similarities between the structure of colonialism in Kenya and other British colonies.

Keatley shows that the legal system was used to maintain the African in an uneducated status. He documents the grossly unequal allocations of settler-government funds between the Europeans and Africans. During the 1959-60 school year, for example, there were 6,708 African students attending secondary school in Rhodesia and Nyasaland.[44] During the same period, there were 21,671 European students attending secondary schools. Yet the Africans outnumbered the Europeans in the ratio of 26:1. "The African would have to be gullible indeed to see partnership in a system that spends £6.2 million on the education of 1,036,000 black children and £6.1 million on 79,000 non-African ones."[45]

Expressed as expenditure per head, the figures for 1960 were:[46]

White children in all territories	£ 103
African children in Southern Rhodesia	£ 8
African children in Northern Rhodesia	£ 9
African children in Nyasaland	£ 3

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[44] Colonial name for Malawi.

[45] Keatley, The Politics of Partnership, pp. 316-317.

[46] Ibid., p. 371.

In these circumstances, it was simply "an effective propaganda ploy" for the settlers and their British representatives to claim that ". . . African education is farther ahead than in any of the critic countries where no such educational scheme exists."[47]

As for higher education, 52 out of every 100,000 settlers were able to study at overseas universities. The figure for Africans was a "mere 0.7 in 100,000." But when a local public college ". . . began in 1957 with seventy-one students, only eight were . . . African, and these were accommodated in a separate hostel."[48]

In general, Keatley argues convincingly that educational policy for Africans was shaped and implemented primarily with the interest of their continued subordination.[49] In this respect, the education and social systems in Kenya and Rhodesia were very similar.

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[47]Keatley, The Politics of Partnership, pp. 369-370.

[48]Ibid., p. 374.

[49]Rhodesia declared an illegally unilateral independence from Britain in 1966. In March, 1970 she declared herself an apartheid Republic, with the tiny European minority in control. Typical of Britain's attitude whenever her settlers are in the process of "civilizing savages," she has done nothing in the African interest. It should be recalled that we in Kenya were earmarked for a white-ruled British Dominion stretching from Cape Town to Nairobi. It is hardly an exaggeration that the Mau Mau War of Independence saved us from being engulfed by this racist ambition.

It should be noted that these writers, who have advanced and defended African interests over the European ruling class interests, also were writing "in" the colonial situation, and this undoubtedly has influenced their facts and interpretations as much as the social position of the earlier discussed European writers influenced their views. In sum, we cannot regard the literature written by members of either "camp" as meeting the standards of objectivity in scholarship and ideals.

Thus, all of these European materials, although historically valuable, must be used in a highly critical manner and with considerable caution.

G. Reason for Lack of African Literary Works

One may wonder at the fact that there is so little scholarly literature by Africans on education in Kenya. Indeed this in itself is a reflection of the legacy of the colonial situation--and hence it is sociologically significant. For it was the colonial system of education that barred Africans from pursuing higher education. The few who made headway escaped from the colony (usually as "agitators") and studied abroad. Examples of these are the three African authors and political leaders discussed earlier.

Locally, Kenya's first college opened its doors for 150 students (out of a native population of 7½ million) in 1956. They started Master's Degree programs in 1969.

We are, therefore, as yet to produce our own group

of scholars of a stature that can deal with and analyze our problems in what can be called a "scholarly" manner. Perhaps readers should wonder at the fact that for 110 years --that is, from the establishment of the first European school for Africans in 1846 to the opening of a college in 1956--the Europeans saw no need for higher "native" education.

H. Conclusion

In conclusion, this review of the literature documents both the dearth of scholarly writings of the history of education in Kenya, and the interest-infused character of most of the literature relating to the subject. If this review has been of any value, its value is primarily in documenting the need for historical research in this area, conducted according to standards of scholarship.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION BEFORE THE EUROPEANS: THE PRE-EUROPEAN PERIOD TO 1846.

A. Introduction

The era of African education before the Europeans ends with the establishment of schools by European missionaries in 1846. Even though the missionaries actually started the first school in Kenya (as well as in all East and Central Africa) in 1846, this mark-off year is somewhat arbitrary, since more than a half century passed before missionary schools became a dominant factor in education for Africans.

Further, for many of the geographically less accessible tribes in Kenya, the pre-European nature of education persisted largely unchanged until well into the twentieth century.

For those exposed to missionary education, formal influence of missionary schools and churches came during late childhood and adolescence. Children began schooling at the seven-to-twelve year age range--by which time they had already assimilated the fundamental ways of tribal life.

Thus, despite some missionary influence in churches

and schools, the tribal religions, morality, traditions and world view were still the vital dominant influences in shaping the lives of the people.

Given the relative stability of tribal life before and, to a lesser extent, after the Europeans, we can, in fact, draw upon twentieth century studies to document the nature of education in Kenya before the advent of the white man. These studies may be "projected back" into the pre-European period to the extent that the traditional type of education persisted into the twentieth century relatively unmodified by European influences.

In describing the Kenya pre-literate educational system, I employ three sources--namely, anthropological literature, ethnographic studies (especially Kenyatta's) on the Kenya "native" people, and my own knowledge drawn from personal experiences as a boy and a young man growing up in a Kenya "native" society.

B. Anthropological Review

Anthropology demonstrates that small-scale folk societies share general characteristics with complex industrial societies as far as education is concerned. Consequently, we can draw upon general knowledge of education in folk societies to characterize certain important features of education in Kenya before the coming of the Europeans.

Both industrial and small-scale societies have certain established modes of life and culture. Both strive to

maintain their peculiar cultures through a system of education and instruction.

Kneller relates that: "Each established human group evolves a version of social life or culture that is unique, though all versions provide such basic arrangements as family, economics, religion, technology and culture."[1] Spindler continues to say that such ". . . a given kind of social system requires certain kinds of psychological structures in people in order to make the social system work."[2] Since men do not live apart from society, every society provides a certain amount of social knowledge in order to maintain proper functioning and to get the maximum gratification. This "social knowledge" is education. Herskovits sees education as an "enculturative process" in which education becomes "the process whereby the knowledge of a people is passed from one generation to the next."[3] On the other hand, Mead defines education as "the cultural process, the way in which each new-born human infant, born with a potentiality for learning greater than that of any

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[1]George F. Kneller (Ed.), Foundations of Education (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), p. 300.

[2]George D. Spindler (Ed.), Education and Culture: Anthropological Approaches (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 351.

[3]Melville J. Herskovits, Man and His Works: The Science of Cultural Anthropology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 325.

mammal, is transformed into a full member of a specific human society, sharing with the other human members a specific human culture."[4]

Whereas Mead's concept of education is applicable to both complex and small-scale folk societies, Herskovits' enculturative process as a means of education is largely ethnological--that is, more relevant to folk societies. He adds another dimension--schooling--to cover education as it is known in complex Euro-American societies. Basically, formal schooling involves leaving one's home and society and going to an institution, quite different from one's society, for specializing in certain fields. Such training would be typical instruction which has nothing to do with the home--a concept that is totally alien to preliterate societies.[5]

Thus, the idea of "schooling" constitutes the most fundamental difference between educational processes in complex and small-scale societies. The African traditional communities stress "the need for an individual to learn something which everyone agrees he would wish to know" as opposed to the European school-house in which children must succumb to "the will of some individual [who is supposed] to

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[4]Spindler, Education and Culture, p. 309.

[5]Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 318.

teach something which it is not agreed that anyone has any desire [and obligation] to learn."[6]

Schooling for an African child is an everyday social affair. He "encounters cultural agents acting in the various roles and statuses provided by the social structure of his society."[7] The European child is more isolated in a home with a mother--and later in a school with a teacher--quite often unaware of societal and cultural forces around him.

The African social consensus of what should be learned is a manifestation of social homogeneity in the traditional way of life. The homogeneity is in turn a trait of cultural continuity which has existed for many generations. This contrasts sharply with the largely complex and heterogeneous society which is characterized by cultural discontinuities. Hence, whereas pre-literate societies of a hundred years ago are virtually the same today, complex societies of barely a decade ago have taken on totally different cultural attributes through inventions, science, technology, politics, economic development and travel. In this regard, the child in an industrial community is likely to be confused as to his role and what is expected of him by the society, for it is usually difficult for anyone to cope with the fast changes and the

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[6]Spindler, Education and Culture, p. 311.

[7]Ibid., p. 380.

demands of a complex industrial society.

The tribal society contrasts sharply with the Euro-American society in its initiation ceremonies which constitute an important aspect of its education. For example, in their Cultures and Societies of Africa, Simon and Phoeve Ottenberg contend that traditional education through initiation rites and ceremonies are primarily for turning "immature boys and girls into fully fledged members of the adult community." The idea is to convert children into men and women.[8]

In another sense, the approach to "native" teaching, according to the Ottenbergs, is psychological, symbolic, and practical.[9] To wit, during circumcision rites, young people are isolated in the bushes and taught to fear and respect the ancestral spirits and gods. This is necessary because if the spirits become angry over the living people's activities, the society as a whole will bear the ancestral condemnation and wrath.

During the same time of seclusion, the youths also learn how to withstand hardship without complaint. They remain outdoors during rains. They may not cry when circumcision is performed without anesthesia. They learn to

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[8]Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg (Eds.), Cultures and Societies of Africa (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 200.

[9]Ibid., pp. 200-202.

endure thirst and hunger.

For practical education, young men make their own equipment--such as bows and arrows. Young women practice homecraft and household duties. Another practical method of learning to master the environment as an adult is to emulate adult activities. Thus children make miniature fish spears, grinding stones, small knives, small homes and the like.

Anthropological authorities agree that social comradeship and collectivism are the focal elements around which pre-literate societies' homogeneity revolves. There is much emphasis on the common bonds which unite all members of the society. Gibbs[10] relates four methods of maintaining these vital bonds for cultural--and indeed societal--survival. First, clanship is "manifested through original myths" which "supply a sense of identity and continuity." Secondly, this clanship is reinforced by a strong oxogamy. (Cf. clan endogamy where members may marry outside the clan.) This system eliminates the possibility of different sub-clans clustering as powerful groups to challenge the loyalty awarded to the main clan. Third, solidarity is further strengthened by extending hospitality to all kinsfolk, neighbors and clansmen, "no matter how genealogically different." Fourth, the

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[10]James L. Gibbs, Jr. (Ed.), Peoples of Africa (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), p. 52.

religious beliefs and welfare are tied up with the "agnatic ancestors"--and thus the community feels more strongly identified with them.[11]

Moreover, Spindler points out that in their attempts to maintain solidarity, the small-scale societies do not seek to convert out-of-group members. "The idea of conversion, or purposely attempting to alter the ideas and attitudes of other persons, did not occur."[12] Thus, if anyone moves to a new tribal area, he has to learn the language, songs, customs and ways of life of that "new" tribe. It is significant to mention here that the Europeans sought to convert Africans instead of learning and adjusting to the new way of life which they found in Africa. As we shall see later, this created friction between the European and African cultures.

Finally, despite the fact that Europeans tried to change the African way of life, Gibbs insists that evidence given in 1956 by the Tiriki elders of Kenya shows that "for the most part [African customs] are the same as they were in traditional times."[13] This is a thesis that I hold to be accurate. And thus, throughout this Chapter, I discuss the African pre-literate societies as a present--rather than a past--cultural phenomenon.

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[11]Gibbs, Peoples of Africa, Summary, p. 52.

[12]Spindler, Education and Culture, p. 312.

[13]Gibbs, Peoples of Africa, p. 49.

I am aware, however, that to some extent this description of the educational system in the pre-European period oversimplifies reality, particularly in that it emphasizes the relative stability and homogeneity of traditional societies in Kenya. For in actuality, traditional societies (or any other society for that matter) are never homogeneous and unchanging, as this discussion may suggest.

In so far as the questions of power relationships are concerned, the conquest and domination of one tribe by another was not unknown in Africa before the coming of the Europeans. However, the emphasis on a stable functioning culture serves to highlight the place of education in the African society in the pre-European era. Further, it seems unlikely that before the establishment of a formal school system major changes of power and interest in the social structure would have the same impact on education as occurred after European-type schools were established.

C. Kenyatta's Ethnographic Study

Another source of folk society educational system consists of ethnographic and other studies of tribal life in Kenya which include material on education. Although some of the best ethnographic material is from the early twentieth century--such as Kenyatta's Facing Mount Kenya--these studies (as stated above in this Chapter) describe patterns of culture that have not been changed radically through European contacts and influences. Thus the

description of educational patterns in such communities in the twentieth century affords us a view of an educational system that probably was not greatly different for many centuries.

If this assumption is correct, then Kenyatta's analysis of the Gikuyu educational system characterizes it as it existed for many generations before the advent of Europeans. His work is particularly relevant in my project because he is an indigenous Kenya anthropologist and, secondly, because it is a detailed account showing the relationship of the educational system to the rest of the culture. Thirdly, it specifically describes a tribal society in Kenya which in many ways is akin to my tribal group, and which is our next-door neighbor.

Kenyatta relates that "education begins at the time of birth and ends with death."[14] The character, responsibilities and moral code of individuals are "formed within the family circle and then within the local group, and then within the whole tribal organization through a course of initiation ceremonies."[15] Thus, "there is no special school building--the homestead is the school."[16]

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[14]Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), p.99.

[15]Ibid., p. 98.

[16]Ibid., p. 99.

A system of co-education, apprenticeship and learning through imitation of the elders exists. Co-education is to be found mainly in the pre-seven-year-old age group. Thereafter apprenticeship--and imitative learning--emphasizing male and female roles in the society--are imparted to the children. A bee-keeper's son, for example, may learn actual bee-keeping to take over his father's occupation. Girls keep a close watch on the female techniques of field cultivation, cooking and the required manners of a woman. All these teachings are strictly "anticipatory of adult life"[17] in the social fabric of the tribe.

Children receive education in physical development and health. The former is provided through physical exercises such as games and dances. The latter is inculcated in the children's minds as "taboos." "Children are trained not to go into a house where there is small-pox, not to touch clothes of a leper, nor touch a dead animal, or the bones of a dead man."[18]

Kenyatta continues to say that "each step in the [social] ladder is marked by a corresponding standard of manners and behavior."[19] But in all stages of social and

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[17]Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, p. 101.

[18]Ibid., p. 105.

[19]Ibid., p. 109.

physical development, the Kenya societies stress personal relations. "We may sum it up by saying that to the Europeans, 'Individuality is the ideal of life,' to the Africans the ideal is the right relations with, and behavior to, other people."[20]

The African family nucleus is the extended family concept which includes parents, grandparents, cousins, uncles, aunts, and clan members. The European concept of a family is nuclear--parents and children. This basic difference helps to explain further the African socially broad interpersonal relations versus the generally select group and individualistic European social behavior. Any elder in the African community, for example, treats all the youths as his children. Similarly, the youths accord him all the respect of a parent.

Kenyatta contends that the African child's education is essentially practical for everyday life. But the European child is "handicapped by attending school and listening to formal instruction which is for the most part unrelated to his interests and needs."[21]

Failure to take account of the African way of life --as exemplified in Kenyatta's ethnographic analysis and in

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[20]Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, p. 122.

[21]Ibid., p. 105.

the above anthropological studies-- ". . . neither prepares him [the African child] for the proper functions of a European mode of life nor for African life; he is left floundering between the two social forces. European educationalists and others, especially those who are guided by racial prejudice and preconceived ideas of what is good for the African, usually fail to take cognisance of this vital fact."[22]

D. My Own Experience

A third source of data on the character of pre-European education is my personal experience as a Kenya "native." I regard my own missionary education in my early years as a characteristic representation of African traditional training versus European influence and impact. I am a child of two worlds, as it were, coming from a non-Christian family and environment, but having attended European-Christian institutions. I must say, however, that since I was born in 1937, my tribal way of life still shows relatively few signs of European influence. The basic traditional patterns of subsistence agriculture are still flourishing for the overwhelming majority of my people. I will give only a few examples to illustrate this point.

We have Protestant African Christians, for instance,

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[22]Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, p. 125. For further references, see Ibid., pp. 98-129, and D. J. Penwill, Kamba Customary Law (Lonson: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1951), p. 123.

who by virtue of being "people of God" may not drink, smoke, go dating, practice polygamy or consult a so-called "witch doctor" like my father. But educated and Christian Africans continue to consult traditional medicine men to dispel evil spirits, bad omens and physical illnesses.

Polygamy is still legal and widespread. A recent Kenya Government Commission (1968) found that both men and women, in all walks of life, still preferred polygamous social institutions in Kenya.

The rural peoples have always practiced traditional music and dances. After independence, a move by the Government to revitalize African music and artistic expression has been supported by both those who are nominally Christian as well as those who are not, and by most educated people.

Without mentioning the small number of educated people who have been "Europeanized," the picture remains incomplete. These "Black Europeans" live in two worlds, so to speak. Perhaps they serve some useful purpose in Kenya. What I think is imperative is the recognition of the simple fact that the large majority of Africans have remained culturally African. Any blind adoption of Europeanization is therefore likely to serve the needs of a few Black Europeans at the expense of the society as a whole.

E. European Interests and Native Education: Summary and Conclusions

In short, Kenya African traditional education is informal and non-institutionalized. It is an integral part of the total culture pattern of the society. It emphasizes the means for survival of the community. These means--and their ends--always bear a social reference. Hence, pre-literate education teaches traditional values, roles, morality, religion, and skills needed for maintenance of community life and existence.

There is the absence of divergent group interests which largely precludes group conflict involving education as a means of advancing special group interests. Also, education is essentially free from external and different political influences and ideology because all the cultural aspects are inextricable components of society itself.

However, the European missionaries, settlers and colonial administrators constituted different interest groups which came to Kenya at different times. The type of "native" education each group sought to provide was determined by its own interests as it saw them, and the power it had to impose its will, under particular historical circumstances. Each group had a different conception of the kind of "native" education that was desirable because each had its own interests to advance. To the European groups, education was an important instrument for achieving their ends. Thus, the question of the kind of education the "natives"

should have received became a political one.

Further, the power of each of these European groups--and that of the natives--differed at different historical times. Hence, the power that any group was able to exercise in influencing "native" education, or educational policy, was partly an outcome of the "balance of power," as it existed among these groups at a given time--and this balance was itself a result of the interplay of complex historical factors. The group interaction, and the variable of power, led to a particular impact or influence on the "natives" who had much less power.

In sum, the European groups imposed their domination through the institutionalization of educational, legal, political, religious and social forms. They also developed an ideology (such as the racial inferiority of the African people) to justify their domination. Consequently, the "natives" became a subordinated underclass--a classic instance of European colonization in Africa. As we shall see in Chapter VIII, the Africans reacted to this subjugation by political activism, by starting their own schools, and, finally, by an armed struggle to challenge European hegemony.

CHAPTER IV

INITIAL EUROPEAN CONTACTS AND SETTLEMENTS IN EAST AFRICA (KENYA): 1498-1850

A. Introduction

Even though the East African coast became known to Europe in 1498, the interior remained unexplored by Europeans for three and a half centuries. The African peoples of mainland East Africa remained the "mystery natives" in the "Dark Continent." During this period, the Europeans utilized the coastal ports and islands as refuelling stations while en route to Asia for trade. The presence of the Arabs on the coast before the Europeans generated a power struggle and claims of ownership for the largely unknown hinterland. Finally, the European power and authority prevailed. And what we now know as East African countries (including Kenya) were explored and, ultimately, occupied by the Europeans.

Among the European groups who settled Kenya were the Christian missionaries and farmers. This occupation in the latter part of the nineteenth century reflects a significant shift in European interests from a policy of the Arab "partnership and conflict" on the coast to a direct establishment of control and influence over the "native" masses.

B. The Earliest European Visitors and the Conflict With the Arabs: 1498-1800.

The beginning of European contact with present-day Kenya occurred in 1498 when the Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, landed at Mombasa and Malindi after sailing around the entire western, southern and eastern coast of Africa in search for a sea route to India.[1] Da Gama found Arab permanent settlements on the East African coast. East Africa's proximity to Asia made it possible for Asian traders to visit Kenya by sea. Among the visitors were the Hindus, Phoenicians, Chinese, Persians and, of course, Arabs. It is difficult to tell with precision when the Asian sailors visited East Africa, but Hollingsworth estimates that: "For at least 3,000 years, sailors and traders have thus taken advantage of the monsoons,[2] and some of these [Asian] visitors have played a most important part in the history of the East Coast [of Africa]."[3]

Of the permanent settlements that Da Gama found on the coast, the Arabs and the Persians (who had intermarried

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[1]Columbus had already claimed a different route to India six years before. Both seamen were attempting to open sea routes for Europeans to reach the lucrative Asian spice markets after the closure of a Europe-to-Asia mainland route by the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

[2]Sometimes referred to as the North East and the South East Trade Winds.

[3]L. W. Hollingsworth, A Short History of the East Coast of Africa (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1956), p. 3.

among themselves and with the Africans)[4] were the dominant groups. They had arrived at two different periods. During the seventh century A.D. the Oman Arabs landed on Lamu on Kenya's coast and claimed an Empire along all the east coast of Africa. Some Persians sailed from the Persian Gulf area "in A.D. 975, in seven ships, and each shipload founded a settlement: Four of these settlements are known: Mombasa, Pemba, Johanna--and Kilwa."[5]

> By the fifteenth century, there were 37 towns along the coastal strip between Kilwa and Mogadishu, and on the eve of the discovery of the route /by Vasco da Gama/ round the Cape to the Far East, these towns were at the height of prosperity.[6]

When Da Gama arrived, sultans of these settlements were often at odds with one another; but the headquarters of the Zenj[7] Empire were at Zanzibar. After receiving friendly welcome in the southern towns such as Kilwa and Zanzibar, he found unfriendly Arabs up north at Mombasa. Farther north-east, Malindi (which was at war with Mombasa) received

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[4]This intermarriage has largely been responsible for the evolution of a Swahili culture and language. Both the culture and the language are an infusion of Arabic and African cultural and linguistic traits. Swahili is now the lingua franca of Eastern Africa and the world's seventh most widely spoken language.

[5]Zoë Marsh and G. W. Kingsworth, An Introduction to the History of East Africa (London: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 5.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Zenj means Black. Bar means Coast. Zenj Bar (Zanzibar) was therefore the coast of the Black People. Similarly the Zenj Empire was the Empire ruling the Black People.

him warmly and gave him a sea guide across the Indian Ocean waters to the Indian sub-continent.

Portugal quickly realized the strategic importance of the Arab-settled east coast of Africa. The coast could be used for refueling stations en route to India. It could also serve as Portuguese settlements (and later colonies) once they had conquered the Arabs. Accordingly, Vasco da Gama made a second trip in 1502. "He called at Kilwa and forced the Sultans to pay tribute to the King of Portugal."[8] Similarly, he coerced the Sultans of Mombasa, Sofala and other towns to accept Portuguese rule. He sought to unite his Sultan friend at Malindi (who had given him a guide to India four years before) with the Zanzibari Sultan against the unfriendly Mombasa Sultandom. ". . . Ten years later, she [Portugal] had conquered the East Coast of Africa.[9] The Portuguese embarked on building fortresses for defense. They built the famous Fort Jesus in Mombasa in 1592, and made it their East African headquarters.

The Portuguese rule and influence lasted for the following two hundred years. Their almost total collapse in the East African coast[10] was brought about for several reasons. First, Portugal's tiny population during the sixteenth

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[8]Marsh and Kingsworth, An Introduction to the History of East Africa, p. 11. (Hereafter, An Introduction.)

[9]Ibid., p. 10.

[10]Mozambique remains the sole Portuguese Colony on the East African coast. Elsewhere in Africa the Portuguese have the colonies of Angola and Portuguese Guinea (Guinea-Bissau).

and seventeenth centuries was already spread too thin in her empires in Brazil, India, West Africa, Angola, and East Africa. Second, the Arabs in Mombasa constantly rebelled and fought against the Portuguese, seriously weakening their East African capital and center of military reinforcements. Third, tropical diseases killed many settlers. And fourth, according to Hollingsworth, they were disliked by the Arab rulers because they "committed many acts of cruelty, treachery and avarice."[11]

Meanwhile, since the discovery of a sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498, other European sailors had been voyaging to Asia for trade, via the Portuguese-ruled East African coast. The notable examples were the British, the French, the Germans, and the Dutch. These later sailors made no permanent settlements until years after the fall of the Portuguese Empire during the first half of the nineteenth century. Like the Portuguese, their initial contact was with the Arab rulers. Hence, the early European groups in Kenya actually made no real contact with the tribal peoples. They usually confined themselves to the coastal areas where only a few Africans were subjects of Arab colonialism. In sum, these early European visitors were conquistadors, adventurers, empire seekers, traders and explorers. However, their mention is particularly relevant for this study because later some of them "opened up" the East African territories for European

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[11]Hollingsworth, A Short History of the East Coast of Africa, p. 76. (Hereafter, A Short History.)

occupation, and, consequently, for European sustained contact with the Africans in the interior.

C. Beginning of Active European Contact with Africans: 1800-1900.

After the Portuguese decline, the Arab Sultans once again assumed their administrative hegemony in East Africa. They "claimed to rule not only the whole of the coastline . . . but also a vast area on the mainland stretching westwards from the coast as far as the great lakes [Tanganyika, Victoria, Nyasa, Kivu and Albert]."[12]

The Arabs had traded in this vast territory in slaves, ivory, leopard skins, and rhinoceros horns for centuries before the advent of the Europeans. The Arabs insisted, therefore, that permission had to be granted to all Europeans who wanted to penetrate the hinterland for trade, exploration, settlement and occupation.

To meet the Sultan's claim, the Europeans made diplomatic overtures, aside from having negotiations and arguments with the Arabs. By the British-Arab Treaty of Moresby in 1822, for example, Britain agreed to help the Arab Sultan militarily against his enemies. The Sultan agreed, in turn, to "limit" slave trade, and to permit British travel and occupation in East Africa. Britain, however, ". . . recognized his claim to overlordship in East Africa."[13]

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[12]Hollingsworth, A Short History, p. 130.

[13]Marsh and Kingsworth, An Introduction, p. 24.

The United States established a Consulate at Zanzibar in 1837. The British sent theirs in 1841, and the French followed suit in 1844.

As a result, between 1840 and 1888, permission was granted to British explorers like Burton, Speke, Grant, and American-sponsored Stanley to venture into the interior; to missionaries like Livingstone, Krapf and Rebmann; and to trading concerns like the German and the British East African companies.[14]

These concessions did in effect allow Europeans to begin the first direct contacts with the African peoples on the mainland. The concessions were also used by the Europeans to extend their power and to weaken the Arab rule on the mainland. Thus, after the 1883-85 Berlin Conference, which divided Africa into European "spheres of influence," Britain's East African Company assumed the responsibility of administering what is now Kenya. Similarly, the German Company took over Tanganyika. The Arab Sultans remained the coastal overlords--but as "protected" people, and not as an independent empire.

This was the beginning of a European "law-and-order" era which was to guarantee safety for future European groups (including the missionaries) amidst the Arabs and the Africans.

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[14]Marsh and Kingsworth, An Introduction, pp. 94-105.

CHAPTER V

THE EMERGENCE OF MISSIONARY HEGEMONY IN AFRICAN EDUCATION: 1846-1911

A. Introduction

This is a discussion of the historical period (1846-1911) when missionaries came to Kenya as the first group of Europeans. I treat them as a specific group of Europeans in Kenya who had definite interests and sought to realize these interests through their relationships with the tribal peoples.

Further, the period covered in this Chapter is characterized by the fact that the Christian missionaries constituted the only significant interest group as far as the development of African education was concerned. The main educational development during this period was the establishment of missionary churches and schools.

B. Beginning of Missionary Work in Kenya: 1846-1911

Effective missionary work in the East coast on Africa came only after European law, power and influence were established among the coastal Arab "overlords" (see Chapter IV). The first European missionary in Kenya was a German Lutheran, Johann Krapf. He was employed by the Britain-based Church of Missionary Society--an overseas affiliate of

the Anglican Church. Two more fellow German Lutherans, Rebmann and Erhardt, also employed by the Anglican Church, joined him in 1846 and 1849 respectively.

In 1846, Krapf and Rebmann started the first East and Central Africa school for Africans at Rabai, near Mombasa, Kenya. The school catered to the freed African slaves (from the Arabs) and the inhabitants of the area.

In addition to the mission at Rabai, these missionaries sought to spread their evangelical work beyond the coastal areas. As employees of a British church, they were granted travel permits by the Arab Sultan, in accordance with earlier pacts with the British (Chapter IV), to visit his Sultandom.

In 1847, then, Krapf travelled inland where he encountered many African groups--including my tribe, the Kamba. Finally he reached Mount Kenya to the northeast of present-day Kenya. Rebmann undertook to explore the southern area of Kenya and the northern parts of Tanganyika (now Tanzania). He too met the many tribal groups, including the powerful Chagga people on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro which he discovered[1] in 1848. "In 1850, Krapf with Erhardt coasted northwards by dhow from Mombasa to the mouth of the Rovuma, gleaning on the way important intelligence about the geography of the interior."[2]

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[1] "Discovered"--only from a European viewpoint.

[2] Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1952), p. 7.

The three-man team efforts to establish permanent missions in the interior failed for several reasons. First, the Arab Sultan's assumption that the "natives" in the hinterland were loyal subjects was false. If anything, the Arab slave traders depended entirely on marauding the villages and fighting the Africans so as to enslave them. Thus, Africans suspected Arab friends like Krapf and Rebmann. Without the African cooperation, it was impossible to administer a mission station in absentia. Second, the team lacked personnel to man the churches and schools in more friendly African tribal areas. Even without these problems, there still remained the difficulty of travelling long distances on foot to furnish supplies to the missions. In the end, the team concentrated its work on the coast. Chiver asserts that they did not follow up the inland openings. "Krapf returned to Europe broken in health in 1853, Erhardt in 1855, and Rebmann was left to work on at Rabai for twenty years alone."[3]

C. British Political Control and Missionary Work: 1894-1911.

While the missionaries gathered their forces on the coast, European travellers were exploring the hinterland of East Africa. Present-day Kenya was transversed by Joseph Thompson, an Englishman, in 1888--the same year that the British East African Company got a concession from the Sultan to

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[3]Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 8.

trade, develop and open up Kenya to "civilization." All these missionary and traveller discoveries added more knowledge regarding the terrain, the people, the wild game and other problems which the white man in the future had to face when he arrived in Kenya.

The inland explorations led to more active British occupation policies. In 1894, Britain declared Kenya her British East African Protectorate. The following year, in a move to contain German expansion in Tanganyika, she declared Uganda a Protectorate as well. Kenya officially became a colony in 1920. These unilateral declarations all but nullified the Arab Sultan's claim of overlordship in East Africa. However, the Sultan was allowed to exercise some limited power over his coastal domain which was arbitrarily reduced to a mere ten-mile coastal strip.

> The ten mile coastal strip, which nominally forms part of the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, was not affected by this proclamation save that, henceforward, it was to be known as the Kenya Protectorate.[4]

After the explorations, and whence the proclamation of the Kenya Protectorate, transportation remained the key issue for any European group which intended to come to Kenya. The British Government authorized the British East African Company to build a railway from the Indian Ocean at Mombasa to Lake Victoria. Thus, the British would be able to

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[4]Ifor L. Evans, The British in Tropical Africa: An Historical Outline (London: Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 321.

reach Uganda without transversing German territory. With the help of Indian laborers, work started in 1895. The railway touched Lake Victoria at Fort Florence (now Kisumu) in 1901.

During the construction of the railway, Britain consolidated her control by military force as well as by "diplomatic negotiations" with the tribal leaders.

Kenyatta describes some of the "diplomatic" tactics used by the early Europeans. At first the Africans thought the European "wanderers . . . had deserted from their homes and were lonely and in need of friends."[5] The natives were generous; they allowed them "to pitch their tents and to have temporary rights of occupation on the land."[6] The Europeans agreed to these terms but they "soon started to build small forts or camps, saying that 'the object of a station is to form a centre for the purchase of food for caravans proceeding to Uganda.'"[7] Actually, however, these were European ". . . preliminary preparations for taking away their land from them."[8] Finally, the ". . . Europeans, having their firm feet firm on the soil, began to claim the absolute right to rule the country and to have the ownership of the lands under the title of 'Crown Lands.'"[9] The original

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[5]Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (London: Martin Secker and Warburg, Ltd., 1938), p. 44.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., p. 45.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., p. 47.

owners, the Africans, were forced to "live as tenants at will of the Crown."[10] Chief Waiyaki, who had "signed" a "treaty of friendship" with the Europeans, "was afterwards deported and died on his way to the coast."[11] In this way, ". . . the people were put under the ruthless domination of European imperialism through the insidious trickery of hypocritical treaties."[12]

Whenever the tribal peoples showed a sign of resistance, the British used force. Colonel R. Meinertzhagen, one of the officers to lead the "law-and-order" forces during the early period, has related innumerable incidents of armed attack on the Africans. One of them was at Nyeri on August 20, 1902 at 3:00 a.m.: The "villages had joined forces" to attack the British. Then the encounter ensued:

> . . . We killed about 17 niggers. Two policemen and one of my men were killed. I narrowly escaped a spear which whizzed past my head. Then the fun began. We at once burned the village and captured the sheep and goats, . . . burned all the huts, and killed a few more niggers, who finally gave up the fight. . . . [We] fined them 50 head of cattle . . . Such nonsense as attacking the station is completely driven from their stupid heads. So order once more reigns in Kenya [Nyeri] District.[13]

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[10] Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, p. 47.

[11] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

[12] Ibid., p. 47.

[13] Colonel R. Meinertzhagen, Kenya Diary (London: Oliver and Boys, 1957), p. 40.

With "law-and-order" virtually assured, and with the railway transportation easily accessible, the European missionary work revived and developed rapidly under the aegis of British control. Thus, the progress and success of the missionary work in Kenya was based firmly, and was dependent upon British power.

D. The Missionary Purposes and Values in Native Education[14]

1. The Missionary View of African Culture.--The missionary church school philosophy aimed at advancing certain specific interests of the missionaries. The kind of education that they provided was reminiscent of these interests. In the missionary view, education and religion were inextricably bound up with each other. An educated man was and had to be a religious one.

In order to be a religious man, the African had to abandon all his native ways of life. The European missionary viewed the natives as "uncivilized heathens"--a phenomenon which was incompatible with European civilization, religion and education. For this reason, "on religious grounds, the missionaries have cast disrepute and the stigma of immorality, ignorance and irreligion upon most of the tribal customs. . . . In fact, there is little that the missionaries have not found

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[14]Works dealing specifically with missionary values and purposes in conducting native education during this period (1894-1911) are rare. I am thus forced to rely on secondary and mid-twentieth literature to describe the nature of missionary work as it existed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

to condemn on one ground or another in the whole set-up of tribal institutions."[15]

The sweeping condemnation of African cultural institutions was due to the missionaries' ignorance, which tended to perpetuate itself because of the missionary self-righteousness and prejudice against studying the native customs. For example, Krapf, who started Kenya's first school in 1846, and who had lived among Africans for more than a decade, described the Wakamba (my tribe) in southeastern Kenya as follows:

> The gross superstitions and, still more, the lawlessness and anarchy, the faithlessness, capriciousness and greed of the Wakamba are very great. . . . The descendants of Ham have outlived themselves. . . . The Gospel alone can save Africa from complete destruction.[16]

Dr. David Livingstone, the missionary doctor who made extensive travels in Africa between 1844-1873, and the man who publicized to Europe the horrors of Arab slave trade in East Africa, wrote: "The more intimately I become acquainted with barbarians, the more disgusting does heathenism become. It is inconceivably vile. . . ."[17]

As Kenyatta points out: ". . . nothing was done to investigate the religious aspects . . . , to show the

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[15]Peter Alan W. Cook, The Education of a South African Tribe (Johannesburg: Juta and Co., Ltd., 1934), p. 21.

[16]Christopher J. Wilson, Before the Dawn in Kenya (Nairobi: The English Press, Ltd., 1952), pp. 78, 84.

[17]Ibid., p. 46.

connection between . . . Christianity on the one hand and Gikuyu religion on the other."[18] Further, according to Kenya educator Othieno, "The missionaries failed to differentiate Christian ethics from the European way of life."[19]

2. The Missionary School "Curriculum".--With their race supremacy ideology and a firm religious conviction that only a Christian religion and education would save the African from "savagery and primitivity," the missionaries proceeded to implement their religious education by employing a strictly religion-oriented curriculum.

During the pioneer period, each individual missionary ran his church station very much as he pleased. Strictly speaking, therefore, it is inaccurate to talk of a unified missionary curriculum or of a common approach to native education before 1911, when the settler-government took over the supervision of African education.

However, there were some characteristics of early missionary education which existed in most Christian centers. For our purposes, we will categorize these and related activities at the centers as a "curriculum."

At the very beginning, and even after Britain proclaimed Kenya her Protectorate in 1894, missionary

". . . teaching met with complete indifference from the tribal

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[18]Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, p. 279.

[19]Antipa N. Othieno, "An Outline of History of Education in East Africa, 1844-1925," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, New York: Columbia University, Teachers College, 1963, p. 22.

communities--their only adherents were men and women who had to some extent cut themselves off from the tribal life, who had settled on the mission's land and were at least partly dependent on the mission's wages."[20]

To maintain this newly imposed "tribal" life under their supervision, the missionaries started a system of "boarding schools" at the mission stations. They received boarders individually and in groups. "If a man came alone, he served a probation period, after which the mission bought him a wife and settled him among the married pupils. If a whole group came they were settled in a village by themselves."[21]

In these residential schools, the natives learned the European way of life. They learned reading and writing in their own vernacular. Some were taught skilled trades like smithing, carpentry, masonry, printing, brick-laying and tailoring. Some learned Swahili and English. The boarders also learned to use more durable agricultural implements such as the iron hoe and the plow. They acquired the art of erecting more permanent houses as well as the use of pieces of furniture like tables, cupboards and chairs. Some made use of clothing for the first time. Similarly, they were introduced to the use of more permanent metal

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[20] Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 172.

[21] Ibid., p. 53.

cooking pots and silverware. The missionaries stressed hygienic habits such as the use of soap and the latrine pits. Women were given prenatal and child care instruction. The station farm and its livestock demonstrated more productive methods of farming and provided plenty of food and dairy products. The residents also had access to medical care.

Incidents of missionary cruelty towards dissident residents and captured deserters were common. One missionary in southern Kenya conceded, for example, ". . . that sometimes he felt more like a governor of a gaol than a missionary."[22]

Critics have accused missionaries of having managed "church slave labor camps." Holders of this view contend that the residential schools destroyed tribal societal links--and thus mutilated native institutions and morality.

However, on the whole, the missionary "boarding schools" were viable political, economic and social units which served perhaps as good proof (and certainly as effective propaganda to the non-convertees) that the Gospel alone--as taught by the European missionary--could "save Africa from complete destruction."

As missionary work spread throughout Kenya, so did they convince more natives that Christian education and religion were ". . . some new tool which made life easier."[23]

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[22]Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 54.

[23]Ibid., p. 61.

More Africans started accepting the missionary requirements for residential settlement. For instance:

> At the Teita [southern Kenya] station natives were 'consenting, as conditions of residence, to attend the services, to send their children to be taught and to refrain from work on the Sabbath.' The population of Rabai [the first missionary station founded by Krapf in 1846] near Mombasa, had grown by 1897 to some 3,000, of whom only 700 were freed slaves [from the Arabs] or their descendants.[24]

Gradually the "central stations"[25] acquired enough following and "trained" native personnel to start a bulwark of "bush stations"[26] all over Kenya. In the bush stations, however, the "curriculum" was somewhat limited to evangelization and the rudiments of the Three R's. "Qualified" native teachers and pastors were assigned the job of spreading the missionary doctrine and philosophy of education in these remote areas. The missionary, however, retained the overall

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[24] Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 176.

[25] The "central station" was the headquarters of the missionary work. All planning, supervision, training of native teachers and preachers was centralized here. Sometimes "central stations" would have demonstration farms with cash and food crops, as well as livestock. It was usually near a British Administrative local capital.

[26] "Bush" or "out stations" were the feeder stations for the missionary expansion and influence. Gospel work and school teaching were carried out wholly by "qualified" native converts. Occasionally the missionary left the "central station" to inspect the "out stations" and to investigate prospects of more "bush stations" among the natives.

authority in determining the "curriculum," methods of teaching and supervision.

In line with the basic principle of civilizing the native population, the "bush station" pastor preached the evils of African culture during the church services. Oliver observes that

> The native catechist, of slender intellectual attainments, presiding over the syllabic chorus and interspersing it with crude denunciations of drunkenness and dancing, of polygamy and witchcraft, from beneath the shelter of a wretched hut, has seemed to many European observers a pitiable reflection of western bigotry.[27]

Yet, it remains a fact that the missionary insistence that natives should read the Bible, and understand the church hymnal, formed the basis for initial literacy among Africans. Margaret Wrong, former secretary of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africans, points out that

> A Gospel and a primer have usually been the first books Africans have known, and in some vernaculars, they are still the only books. Catechisms, prayer books, hymn books and readers have followed the Gospel, and possession of some or all of these is a sign of being a Christian.[28]

Like the pastor, the native teacher had to be a Christian. The missionary trained him--and approved his teaching qualifications. The classroom curriculum was aimed at giving a Christian education. Thus the teacher taught both

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[27] Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 201.

[28] Margaret Wrong, Africa and the Making of Books (London: International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, 1934), p. 6.

the Three R's and a subject we used to know in school as "Religious Knowledge"--which occupied the bulk of the weekly time-table. In addition, the pupils were required to attend daily evening prayers--as well as Sunday School. The teacher helped in conducting the hymn singing, the prayers, and the Sunday services.

> Further, mission teachers are subjected to a stricter discipline with regard to their way of life. . . The teachers are inclined to believe the promotion depends upon zealous church membership as much as professional ability.[29]

Given the religious emphasis on the Christian church-school "curriculum," the testing in catechism lessons and in classroom teaching became a matter of testing the converts' sincerity and faith in Christianity--rather than testing literacy attainment *per se*. But the important point is that the converts became literate in an effort to discover this "new faith" which was written in the Scriptures and in the church hymnals.

> As far as the rural population is concerned, education and Christianity are aspects of the same thing. The term used for converts means 'readers.' The whole younger generation are nominal Christians.[30]

E. Results of Missionary Work: The Spread of Education and Influence

Missionary education work was so intimately bound up

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[29] Colin G. Wise, A History of Education in British West Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1956), p. 65.

[30] Aidan William Southall, Alur Society: A Study of Process and Types of Domination (London: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 275.

with proselytizing that the two must be discussed together. Indeed, education was the instrument for converting "heathens" to Christians--a vital goal for the missionaries.

In this context, it is evident that education was not thought of as education for teaching children only--adults were equally subject to missionary efforts.

Therefore, in order to determine the spread of missionary education in Kenya, one must also look at the spread of missionary evangelization. This is important for several reasons. First, the missionary "central station" served as the headquarters for the Christian, as well as instructional, work in the out-stations (or "bush stations"). Similarly, the out-stations served first as centers for conversion and then as centers for schooling. Second, the missionaries favored admitting children of their converts to their schools. Other entrants were usually converted first before they could gain admission into missionary schools. Some families became Christians for the sole purpose of getting an education for their children. There were a few exceptions--such as for the chiefs who did favors for missionary settlements, whose children were allowed without the conversion requirement. Third, the church served as both the house of worship as well as the school house. In my missionary school, for example, we had to clean up the "school" and rearrange the desks every Friday for the weekend "church" prayers and services. Fourth, adult education was conducted only among the converts in the evening, after regular children's school hours. The

missionaries aimed at fundamental literacy to enable the church-goers to read the Bible, the hymnal, and the catechism books. In most cases, children and parents attended the same catechism classes before they could qualify for the oral and written questions required for baptism. Fifth, education on hygiene, agricultural productivity, child care, animal husbandry was given to all children and their parents if they were converts. Sixth, the "more educated teachers" helped in conducting the choir and in reading the Bible during the services on Saturdays and Sundays. The "less educated" pastors conducted the mandatory daily Bible classes for children during school hours. During the services, they listened to the Bible readings by the teachers and then interpreted their meanings to their bewildered congregations. And lastly, as discussed above, missionaries occasionally established residential quarters at the "central stations" and recruited boarders, some of whom were trained in masonry, carpentry, and agriculture. These boarders would, for example, work on a demonstration church farm or rear a better breed of church livestock. They might also work as apprentice carpenters and masons on the church school house. They served to illustrate to the natives the need for conversion, and its accompanying knowledge of the Christian white man's way of life.

Given this intimate connection between education and religious proselytizing, the spread of churches throughout Kenya during this period of missionary hegemony provides some idea of the extent of missionary influence--both religious

and educational. This influence goes even further, for education in this sense (and indeed in this thesis) refers not only to the Three R's but also to all types of general education for community welfare involving children as well as adults. The estimates of the spread of a European education conducted solely by the missionaries would also be quite accurate because no other European group was engaged in this endeavor at the time in question. "Indeed, up till 1911, all education for Africans in East Africa was in the hands of the missionaries, who often met with a good deal of /tribal/ opposition."[31]

For an overview, then, the following is a complete inventory of all European church stations established by the missionaries during the 1846-1911 period.[32]

1844 The Church Missionary Society sent Krapf to Rabai, near Mombasa. Krapf and Rebmann introduced schooling

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[31]Marsh and Kingsworth, An Introduction, p. 83.

[32]Oliver distinguishes the Protestant policy from the Roman Catholic policy. The Protestants sought "to keep their temporal authority down to a minimum," while the "Roman Catholic missionaries . . . preferred the complete temporal as well as spiritual authority." (The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 51.) From the African point of view, this distinction serves no practical purpose--except as an academic exercise. The reality of the missionary situation was, to the Africans, that "strangers came to our land and taught us a strange religion and customs." In a free Kenya, however, with Africanized Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, such religiously philosophical distinctions are more relevant, for we can now, for a change, convert the church to suit our present purposes, needs and aspirations.

for Africans in their station in 1846.

1862 The United Methodist Free Churches set up a central station at Ribe, near Mombasa.[33]

1885 Krapf's Church Missionary Society ". . . had planted . . . two isolated missions among the Teita in [southern Kenya] . . . and among the Chagga [in northern Tanganyika]."[34]

1890 Mgr. de Courmont, the Holy Ghost Fathers Vicar Apostolic of Zanzibar, established a Kenya coast agency in Mombasa.

1891 De Courmont went farther inland and started a station at Bura, near Voi, which was a half-way mark between the Kenya Highlands and Mombasa.

1891 The Imperial British East Africa Company ". . . established a mission . . . called the East African Scottish Industrial Mission . . . at Kibinezi, some 150 miles inland from Mombasa [which] served some useful purposes as a resting-camp for officials of the Company travelling to and from Uganda."[35]

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[33]Marsh and Kingsworth, An Introduction, pp. 75-83.

[34]Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 169.

[35]Ibid., p. 170.

1891 The Church of Scotland Mission sent representatives to Kenya to explore areas for settlement.

1895 The Mill Hill Fathers started a central station in the Kenya Highlands.

1895 The African Inland Mission started a mission station at Nzauni, in southeastern Kenya.

1896 The French Fathers of Saint Austin's Mission planted the first coffee trees at their station near Nairobi. Coffee became (and still is) the "king" cash crop in Kenya.

1898 The Imperial Company's mission was moved to Kikuyu, near Nairobi, as the Uganda Railway construction advanced towards the Aberdare Mountains' escarpment.

1899 The Rev. W. G. Peel became the Church Missionary Society's (C.M.S.) Bishop of Mombasa. His diocese included all the Society's stations in Kenya.

1900 The Imperial Company's mission at Kikuyu "was transferred to the direction of the Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee."[36]

1901 The Railway reached Kisumu on Lake Victoria having transversed Kenya from east to west. This opened a new and quick route from the coast to the hinterland.

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[36] Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 171.

1901 The C.M.S. founded a station at Kihuruko.

1901 C. E. Hurlburt of the Africa Inland Mission moved the station from Nzauni (founded in 1895) "to Kijabe--25 miles to the west of the Scottish Mission at Kikuyu."[37]

1902 Italian Fathers arrived in June, and established themselves at Kiambu.

1902 A Pentecostalist splinter group of the Africa Inland Mission at Kijabe started the Gospel Missionary Society, but remained in the neighboring areas of Kijabe.

1902 American Adventists and Quakers arrived and moved to the railhead, founding two separate missions in the Kavirondo (now Nyanza) district.

1903 The C.M.S. founded a station at Weithaga.

1903 From Uganda going westwards, the Mill Hill Fathers were posted to Kisumu at the railhead. The same year, they started stations at Mumia's and Kakamega.

1903 The Italian Fathers added another mission of their own at Limuru, near Nairobi.

1905 "Archdeacon Willis of the C.M.S. was posted by Bishop

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[37]Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 171.

Tucker [of Uganda] to the Nyanza Province [west Kenya] to open work among the Joluo [sic.], which spread to the Bantu Kavirondo [now Baluhya], the Nandi and the Lumbwa."[38]

1905 The Catholicism chain of command in Kenya became independent of the Zanzibar headquarters.

1906 The C.M.S. settled at Kahuhia.

1906 The Italian Fathers founded a station at Mangu, near Thika.

1907 The Consolata Fathers established a mission at Nyeri near Mount Kenya.

1908 The C.M.S. expanded still farther into the Kenya Highlands when they started a station at Mahiga.

1908 The former Imperial Company's Mission, which was absorbed by the Church of Scotland Foreign Missions in 1900, opened a center at Tumutumu near Mount Kenya.

1910 The C.M.S. expansion reached the southern slopes of Mount Kenya at Embu.[39]

These above central stations formed the earliest

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[38] Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, pp. 169-171.

[39] Ibid.

nuclei of missionary evangelical and educational work and expansion. By 1913, Oliver estimates that all African Christians of all denominations were "probably less than 5,000."[40] ("By 1938 Christians were about 8 per cent of the population in Kenya, 10 per cent in Tanganyika and 25 per cent in Uganda.")[41]

Another contribution by the missionaries was some reproduction of supplementary reading materials in native vernaculars, folklore and tales. Even though the cardinal books remained, as a rule, the Bible and the Hymnal (which, incidentally, the missionaries had translated into the vernaculars of their areas), the missionaries composed primers, and sometimes issued pamphlets on health, child-care, agriculture, and on Christian life. A few went even further and wrote some scholarly works for their converts, and for the world. Krapf, for example, ". . . was able to publish the first Swahili dictionary, together with a translation of part of the Bible."[42]

F. Conclusion

The character of missionary education and curriculum can best be understood as an expression of the interests of the missionaries, which is analyzed in this chapter. They

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[40] Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 223.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Marsh and Kingsworth, An Introduction, p. 75.

were able to work unobstructed, and with little interference, since they were the only European group interested in African education in Kenya. The next chapter reviews the interests of the second group--the settlers.

CHAPTER VI

THE EMERGENCE OF THE SETTLER GOVERNMENT HEGEMONY AND CONTROL OF AFRICAN EDUCATION: 1901-1925

A. Introduction

A complex train of developments in the colonization of Kenya was set off by the declaration of British rule in 1894. The developments included, most importantly, the building of the Kenya-Uganda Railway between 1895-1901. The railway greatly promoted colonization by making the fertile Kenya Highlands easily accessible--and thus facilitating European occupation and settlement.

Accordingly, immediately after the completion of the railway, the British High Commissioner (Governor), Sir Charles Eliot, invited European farmers from South Africa and Britain to settle in the "no-man's"[1] fertile-and-temperate-climate plateau in central Kenya. The call was promptly answered.

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[1]The European concept of "no-man's" land, when referring to "uninhabited" lands, ran counter to African tradition because land, like air, belonged to every member in the society. Some "strangers" were welcome for as long as they understood that their rights to the land were temporary. Thus, anyone could graze or farm anywhere without the inhibition of specified personal ownership and boundaries.

by an influx of hundreds of farmers who sought to share the bonanza, to make their homes in Kenya and to establish a European-ruled colony.

The settlers' initial occupation was through armed conquest and eviction from the lands whenever the "natives" resisted. In friendly areas they made treaties with the African chiefs (Chapter V, pp. 69-71).

Individual settlers acquired land[2] by leasing it from the British Government for 99 years, 999 years, or even 9,999 years. The settled areas later became known as "Crown Lands," or the "White Highlands," which were exclusively reserved for European settlement. The less fertile land was classified as "Native Reserves"--where African majorities were restricted (and forced) to live. Sir Edward Northey, Governor of Kenya Colony between 1919-1922, declared, after taking office in 1919, that

> The /Kenya/ Protectorate has taken over the ownership of millions of acres of good land and the guardianship of a large native population. . . . Where they have doubts and disputes as to the ownership of land, title and tenure of natives, I propose to proclaim the area in question as reserve; that does not mean that I recognize the whole area as belonging to any native tribe or individuals, but is Crown land.[3]

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[2]Data is unavailable as to precisely how much land was taken either by the individual farmers or the portion of land occupied by all European farmers. But, about two-thirds of Kenya (Kenya is about the size of Texas) is arid semi-desert or desert. It was mainly most of the fertile third that the European "strangers" confiscated.

[3]East African Standard, Nairobi: February 25, 1919.

Settler life in the "White Highlands" was ideal because of the European-like temperate climate (due to elevation averaging some 5,000 feet above sea level) and the rich volcanic soil which provided excellent ground for planting the lucrative cash crops[4] of coffee, tea, pyrethrum, sisal and wattle bark. Also, European-type livestock was equally "at home" on the Highlands. The settlers imported thousands of European cattle, sheep and pigs, and started equally profitable businesses in dairy products, beef, pork, wool, hides and skins.

By 1911, an estimated 3,175 Europeans had settled in Kenya. This European population was numerically small compared to the Asian population of almost 21,000, and the native population which was probably over three million.[5] Despite their numerical insignificance, the Europeans established their political and economic control of the colony by 1909 when they established an all-European Legislative Council or Parliament. From that date on until late in

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[4]Africans were forbidden by law from planting any of these cash crops.

[5]Kenya Population - 1911, 1921, 1931, 1944, 1945, 1946.

Race	1911	1921	1926	1931	1944	1945	1946
European	3,175	9,651	12,529	16,812	22,594	23,033	23,706
Asian	20,986	35,982	41,140	57,135	111,691	114,683	118,901
African	?	?	?	(1939) 3,413,264	?	3,922,000	?

Source: United Kingdom, Colonial Annual Reports: Kenya 1946 pp. 21-23.

1963,[6] the settler power in all walks of colonial life remained dominant.

B. The Settler Attitudes and Objectives in the Colonization of Kenya: 1901 and After

The settlers' main interest was economic--land acquisition, farming and other retail and wholesale businesses. Their position regarding the Africans was that the European was to be the employer and the African was to be the laborer. The dominant settler attitude towards the African was, therefore, shaped predominantly by this economic imperative, and this was, in turn, basic in shaping settler-government's educational policy for the "native."

There is only a limited amount of historical material to document settler attitudes towards African education during this period. However, the available information indicates that the dominant attitude expressed a widespread European conviction of moral, mental, and cultural superiority --combined with a deprecation of African cultures as being inferior and devoid of value.

Given their interest in land, and determination to have the "natives" subordinated as laborers, the European ethnocentric attitude was an excellent rationalization for their political and economic domination. A strong element of

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[6] December 12, 1963--Kenya's Independence Day.

racism in the European attitude further reinforced their ideology that they were the chosen superior race.

The settlers' attitude is reflected in the following statements made by their leaders. In unequivocal language, these statements affirmed the doctrine of European superiority and power in Kenya affairs.

Sir Charles Eliot, the second High Commissioner or Governor (1901-1904), who had invited the first wave of settlers to occupy Kenya, expressed the characteristic view that Africans had neither culture nor civilization when he said:

> First, modern East Africa [Kenya] is the greatest philanthropic achievement of the later XIXth century. . . . There can be no doubt of the immense progress made in rendering the civilization of the African at least possible, and it is a progress which need occasion no regrets, for we are not destroying any old or interesting system, but simply introducing order into blank, uninteresting, brutal barbarism. . . . A large part of East Africa is a white man's country, suitable for European colonization.[7]

In discussing the priorities and interests of the racial groups in Kenya, he stressed that ". . . we should recognize that European interests are paramount."[8]

Sir Percy G. Girouard, who was the High Commissioner

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[7]Norman Leys, Kenya (London: The Hogarth Press, 1924), p. 182.

[8]Sir Charles Eliot, The British East African Protectorate (London: Anold, 1905), pp. 309-310.

from 1909 to 1912, stated the settler-government policy with respect to subordinating Africans to the role of labor in the economic development of Kenya Colony. His proposal to increase "native" taxes, which had to be paid in cash, in effect forced Africans to work for the money on settlers' farms to avoid the stiff jail sentences which were imposed to ensure prompt payments. To wit, Commissioner Girouard said:

> We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of seeking work. Only in this way can the cost of living be increased for the native. . . . We consider the only natural and automatic method of securing a constant labour supply is to ensure that there shall be competition among labourers for hire, and not among employers for labourers; such competition can be brought about only by . . . an increase in the tax--say to Rs 15 or Rs 20 per head.[9]

Both Sir Charles and Sir Percy stand out as the most prominent masterminds in shaping settler policy in Kenya. There were settler political leaders who espoused this policy during the whole period of colonial domination. The Baron Delamere family, and Colonel Ewart S. Grogan, for example, came in 1901 as settlers, and remained strong political forces until African independence in 1963.

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[9] East African Standard, Nairobi: February 8, 1913. A Rupee (R) was equivalent to two shillings (about 2/7 of a U.S. dollar). Leys estimates that Rs 15 or Rs 20 was, at that time, about 5 months' pay for the African. Thus, about 50% of the annual income for the native laborer went into taxes. Leys, Kenya, p. 186.

The first Lord Delamere believed in a colony dominated by Europeans with Africans "benefitting" from this domination. On January 23, 1903, he remarked to a British "law-and-order" Colonel in Kenya: "I am going to prove to you all that this is a white man's country." The Colonel doubted the statement by "humbly" saying: "But it is a black man's country; how are you going to superimpose the white over black?" Delamere "impatiently" answered: "The black man will benefit and cooperate."[10]

Like Sir Charles Eliot, Colonel Ewart S. Grogan sought to justify the European attitude that "natives" were inferior morally, mentally and culturally. To him, European exploitation of the "native" was proper because Africans thus would undergo a process of civilization and "education" by working on the settlers' farms. To realize this educational benefit, therefore, natives must be forced to work under European supervision. He once wrote:

> I will ignore Biblical platitudes as to the equality of men. . . . The native is fundamentally inferior in mental development and ethical possibilities to the white man. . . . A good sound system of compulsory labour /is/ compulsory education as we call our weekly bonnet parades 'church' . . . what cannot be utilized /in a native/ must be eliminated. . . . And the time will come when the negroes must bow to this as the inevitable.[11]

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[10]Colonel R. Meinertzhagen, Kenya Diary, pp. 78-79.

[11]Colonel Ewart S. Grogan, From Cape to Cairo (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1902), pp. 350-363.

The British Government attitude, at this time, was not fundamentally inconsistent with that of the settlers in respect to European dominance. For example, Sir Winston Churchill, then the British Colonial Secretary, assured a Kenya settler delegation in London led by Lord Delamere that Britain supported European hegemony in Kenya:

> We consider . . . the highlands of East Africa exclusively for European settlers; and we do not intend to depart from that pledge. We shall apply broadly . . . equal rights for all civilized men. That means natives and Indians alike who reach and conform to well-marked European standards. . . .[12]

These are but a few examples of how European settler representatives and sympathizers felt about African and European interests in Kenya. It was within this racist and social framework that "native" education policy was to be determined for many colonial years that followed.

C. The Missionary-Settler Alliance in African Education: 1901 and After

The settler-missionary alliance can best be understood if viewed in the context of the settlers' dominant power and their objectives in seeking to establish a European-ruled colony in Kenya. The fact that the settlers and the missionaries shared a common belief that Africans were mentally and culturally inferior made the alliance even more "natural."

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[12] Elspeth Huxley, White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya, Vol. II (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1935), pp. 130-131.

Although the settlers believed in rendering a "Christian western civilization to the natives," such civilization was to be disseminated only as a means of bringing "natives" under European control and guidance. Their methods included "treaties" with the "natives," conquest, political and economic domination, occupation and settlement in native areas, and "educating" the natives by forcing them to work on settler farms.

By contrast, the missionaries viewed evangelization as a tool in spreading western civilization. Their method was primarily teaching the natives the rudiments of European education and religion.

Thus, while the missionaries viewed the African way of life as "uncivilized" because it was un-Christian, the settlers saw the African customs as "uncivilized" because they were non-European, thus constituting a barrier in fulfilling their main objective of establishing a viable European economy under their firm control.

In terms of physical and social contact with the natives, the missionaries had a clear advantage, for they had penetrated the tribal areas beyond the "White Highlands," and they had established stations in most parts of the colony.

The settlers welcomed this development because the hitherto "wild" and inaccessible tribes were now under European influence. They saw the missionaries as tools for regrouping natives in churches and schools--thereby stabilizing

African population for purposes of labor supply, taxation and administration. For as long as the missionaries performed this vital role of pacifying the natives, the settlers reciprocated by assuring them protection and safety. In this sense, the settlers favored missionary work and influence not for their religious and literary value, but rather for their usefulness in "taming" the "natives" and regrouping them into easily "governable" units.

As a long range objective, therefore, the spread of missionary work ultimately meant the extension of settler power among the native peoples. It was for this reason that the settler-government officially sanctioned missionary work right from the beginning. As Commissioner Eliot saw it, missionary work and missionary stations were

> . . . generally as efficacious for the extension of European influence as the opening of a government station. . . . There are districts . . . /in/ which European influence has hitherto been represented almost entirely by missionaries, but which have made as great progress as the regions which have been taken in hand by /settler/ government officials.[13]

Perhaps the best example of almost totally stabilized native people was to be found in the missionary "residential schools" (Chapter V). It was in these "schools" that Africans lived under European guidance and teaching. Credit has already been given for the numerous positive achievements of these "schools." However, in a negative sense, they

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[13]Eliot, The British East African Protectorate, p. 241.

uprooted natives from their familiar cultural surroundings and sought to Europeanize and to Christianize them. The prevailing assumption (as we pointed out before) was that African cultures were devoid of value. Once again, the settler-government endorsed the existence of "residential schools" because, in their view, they were serving as "civilizing" agents. Eliot commented:

> It /the mission residential school/ facilitates a better and more civilized life if natives can engage in some form of trade or occupation which causes them more or less to break with their old associations and come under Christian supervision. For /sic./ this point of view I think it is a great mistake to isolate natives and place them in reserves, for such isolation inevitably confirms them in their old bad customs and cuts them off from contact with superior races, which might improve them.[14]

Once European influence was felt throughout the colony, the settler-government consolidated its power over missionary activities--including schools--by legislation. Although the missionaries continued to do almost all the teaching and local supervision, the policy relating to the curriculum, methods and administration was determined by the settlers. For example, it was policy up to 1926,[15] that African children would receive no more than eight years of schooling. These semi-educated "graduates" would perform the

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[14] Eliot, The British East African Protectorate, pp. 241-242.

[15] The first Junior High School for Africans--Alliance High School (10th grade)--was started at Kikuyu, near Nairobi, in 1926. Note that Kenya's first school was started in 1846.

non-skilled clerical tasks on settler farms, businesses, and in government. Their illiterate relatives would, of course, constitute a reservoir for cheap menial labor. Thus, the settler control of African education--with the missionaries doing the "dirty work"--was primarily a means for advancing their economic and political interests at the expense of the African people. The implications of this alliance between the settlers and the missionaries for African education are clear. For as long as public education remained under the control of the settler-government, it was to be shaped by the needs of this European group rather than by those of the native peoples. As far as the missionaries were concerned, their acquiescence in cooperating with the settlers was tantamount to a drastic shift from mainly religious, educational and humanitarian work to a settler-controlled educational system which was designed to promote European interests and domination.

D. The Settler Education Department: Some Aspects of Operation and Structure, 1911-1926

1. Establishment of an Education Department.--As a first step in legalizing power and extending their official control over missionary education for Africans, the settler-government created an Education Department in 1911 to "assist the missions in native education" through financial "grants-in-aid and supervision." The original plan was to give priority to ". . . the education of chiefs' sons by making a

grant for the purpose to the missions . . . , [but] the offer of the grant was refused by the missionaries. . ." because it included some chiefs' sons who were not Christian.[16] It should be noted here that the settlers' first move--although turned down by the missionaries--was to favor the sons of the settler-hand-picked chiefs[17] who helped them in running the government's local administrative units.

Nevertheless, the Education Department withdrew its offer and embarked on another plan to give financial grants to the missionaries for Christian "native" children. From 1911 to 1918, Government subsidies to missionary schools were awarded "per capita" grants, according to the success of the pupils in examinations. That is, schools which did poorly received less aid. This marked the beginning of an examination-oriented system which was to prevail in Kenya for more than half a century.

The Department also built the first secular and government-controlled African school, at Machakos, in 1913, for teaching of "technical" subjects. (The Government's second African school was the all-purpose Native Industrial and Training Depot--opened in 1924 at Kabete. The Depot trained

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[16]James B. Place, A School History of Kenya (Nairobi: The Eagle Press, 1953), p. 81.

[17]The native traditional chiefs were gradually liquidated by the settlers during the occupation period.

masons, carpenters, primary school teachers--who were only fourth grade graduates--and social workers. The school at Machakos was the forerunner of Government African Elementary --grades one to five--and Primary--grades six to eight-- schools built all over the colony between 1925 and 1939.)

In 1918, the Department established a system of inspection for all aided schools in the colony. The inspectors checked pupil attendance, curricula and teaching practices. Thus they were able to recommend more accurately the necessary grants-in-aid for schools with good academic standing. Although the missionaries were responsible for reporting activities in their schools, the Chief Inspector of Schools--a non-missionary official--could inspect, with or without notice, any school he wished. He was empowered to close established schools, or open new ones. This Government official was represented locally by European settler officials usually stationed in the District (county) Headquarters.[18]

From 1918 to 1924, the Department extended its grants-in-aid to include support for all indentured apprentices (with or without success in examinations), grants for future Teacher Training Centers or Colleges, and for assisting "literary", as opposed to "technical", education. "Literary" education consisted of the physical and social sciences and

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[18]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, African Education in Kenya: Report of a Committee Appointed to Inquire in the Scope, Content, and Methods of African Education, its Administration and Finance; and to Make Recommendations in 1948 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949), (hereafter referred to as The Beecher Report, 1949, named after the Committee's Chairman.), p. 17.

foreign languages. "Technical" implied manual education, such as carpentry, masonry, sewing, physical training, and practical agriculture. (Africans were given no "literary" education until 1926 when missionaries established the first African junior high school.) However, for the existing missionary schools, financial support consisted of an initial £2 ($5.60) for equipment for each apprentice and "a further £5 ($14) for each apprentice successfully completing his indentures."[19]

In 1924, single apprentice grants for pupils was abolished and "new grants were calculated on two-thirds of the approved salaries of European and African teachers. Boarding schools--usually at the missionary headquarters--were to be given special board and room grants."[20]

Although schools apparently received two-thirds of all the staff salaries, plus extra money for boarding schools, the factor of staff salaries calls for more scrutiny. The Europeans, who were substantially remunerated, never taught in African schools. They usually supervised schools, thereby being disqualified by their status from the teacher category. Further, the semi-educated native teachers received as little as £2 ($5.60) per month.[21] And, by statistical average, the old one-room schools with one teacher handled all the classes,

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[19] The Beecher Report, 1949, p. 3.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Leys, Kenya, pp. 15, 18.

teaching the older children in the morning who later taught the younger ones in the afternoon. (Twenty years later, I attended such a school from the first through the fifth grades.) On the whole, salaries accorded to native teachers and, therefore, indirectly constituting grants for native education, were minute, especially when we consider the overwhelming majority of the African population and the total sum given to them as shown in the Table below:

TABLE I

The Kenya Budget, 1924

Prisons Cost	£	39,793.	
Police	£	113,764	
European Education	£	21,140	(£22 or 440s per child of school age)
Indian Education	£	8,720	(£2 5s or 45s per child of school age)
African Education	£	22,680	(1s per child of school age)
Military	£	173,336	

Source: Leys, Kenya, p. 342.

Because of the totally inadequate sum allocated for African education, the settlers sought to raise money for native education from the natives themselves. The 1924 Native Authority Ordinance[22] provided, among other things, for the

[22]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, The Native Authority (Amendment) Ordinance, 1924 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1924.)

levying of fees in all schools starting in 1926. Thereafter every pupil had to pay a certain fee per year to go to school, ranging from 25¢ to 5s (U.S. $.35 to .49), depending on the grade of the pupil. The goal was to augment the Government grants-in-aid. However, irregularities and discrepancies were found from school to school, especially in the relatively more independent missionary schools. Moreover, missionaries competed for converts by charging the lowest school fees. To unify the fee collection in all schools, rules were amended in 1934.[23] The amendments strengthened the settlers' over-all authority in the levying of uniform amounts of fees in all native schools.

2. Establishment of Education Committees on Racial Lines, 1924.--In line with the basic settler policy of European domination in all walks of life in colonial Kenya, the settler-government enacted the 1924 Education Ordinance.[24] This ordinance specified not only the official discriminatory policy in education along racial lines, but also empowered the African Committee (without African representation) to determine the needs and interests of Africans in education. In any case, the ordinance provided for three Education Committees (European, Asian and African) to advise the Director

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[23]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, The Education (Fees) Rules--Amendment, 1934 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1935).

[24]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Ordinance, 1924 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1925).

of Education of all matters relating to education, such as the designation of school areas, the constitution of school area committees, inspection of schools and control over their closing and opening, issuance of certificates or licenses for teachers, levying of education rates and prescription for payment of grants-in-aid. The composition of these first education committees was:[25]

European Committee:	All settlers
Indian Committee:	All Indians except the Director of Education (Chairman) and the Kenya Colonial Secretary
African Committee:	Fifteen members--nine European priests and six settlers--including settler-leader Delamere.

The three committees set to work formulating an official settler policy on education for all races in the colony. While the committees worked on the "new policy," the settler school officials continued to stress "technical" education in African Government and missionary schools. By 1925, the colony had fifteen primary schools (grades six through eight) providing a "technical" education. Of the fifteen schools, six were government-controlled schools at Waa, Machakos, Kabete, Narok, Kericho and Kapsabet. The remaining were missionary schools at Maseno, Vusi, Kahuhia,

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[25]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1927), p. 5.

Kikuyu, Tumu Tumu, Kaimosi, Meru, Nyeri and Kakamega. The highest grade schools were at Machakos, Maseno and Kabeta. Machakos, the largest in the colony, had 180 boarders.[26] (Kenya's black population was about three million--see page 90 of this Chapter.)

In his yearly report in 1925, the Superintendent of Technical Education, H. O. Weller, explained the need for African "technical" education:

> The reason for the unanimity [of the settler and the missionary] purely, is that education for the literary or passive kind is not so safe a road for the progress of a backward people, as an education which develops a pupil's activities, shows immediate and concrete results to him, and enables him at all stages to know himself. In short, passive [literary] education leads to dangerous activities; there is in it no warning touch of real fire to make the child dread it . . . . We wish to lead him [the native] into citizenship by a more efficient route than seditious rebellion. . . .
>
> It has been found . . . that the raw African will grasp an idea through a familiar concrete example, which idea would completely elude him if presented in the abstract. That being so, it would appear advisable to include manual instruction as a compulsory subject in all [native] schools.[27]

Also in 1925, the principal of Kabete Jeanes Technical and Trades School, the Rev. J. W. Dougall, reported that his school taught "technical education" organized on the requirements of family and village. The trainees, their wives

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[26]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926, p. 25.

[27]Ibid., pp. 25, 26 and 27.

and children, were all members of one community in which education was strictly related to daily situations connected with village life. Literary education was considered incompatible with village life.[28]

The District Commissioner of Nyeri South, A. M. Champion, simultaneously voiced his support for African "technical" education that same year (1925): "They [the natives] will never be able to earn their living in literary vocations and I do not presume many even hope to do so."[29]

Just before the three Education Committees submitted their recommendations on an education policy, the settler-government passed an Education Ordinance of 1926,[30] which, in effect, was aimed at inducing and luring European school masters and mistresses into the Kenya African schools. The ordinance also carried a clause which introduced a new element of awarding maintenance grants for school buildings which were "permanent." Mention must be made that the Ordinance was specifically for "aiding" schooling for "natives" --not the other racial groups. However, the "Rules" increased European salaries as well as payment for passage to and from

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[28]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926, p. 33.

[29]Ibid., p. 44.

[30]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education (Grants-in-Aid of African Education) Rules, 1926 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1926).

their homelands. The maintenance grants were to be based on the capital value of the buildings and "permanent" equipment. The Rules also combined per capita and boarding grants into a single boarding grant. An undefined "special merit" grant for native schools was allowed, subject to the approval of the Chief Inspector of Schools.

Mud-walled and grass-thatched village school houses were, obviously, not "permanent" in nature. The equipment --slates, pencil slates, pens, ink, books, chalk, blackboards, hoes, and footballs--could not be considered "permanent" either. The only two African boarding schools at Machakos and Kabete could hardly bring in significant boarding grants for Africans in the colony. Thus, the 1926 Grants-in-Aid Rules, like the 1924 Rules, would appear to have offered no markedly substantial assistance to African education.

E. Settler Policy on European, Asian, Arab and African Education--1926

In 1926, for the first time, the Education Department outlined basic policy on education for all the racial groups in Kenya. The three Education Committees (European, Asian and African), established by the 1924 Education Ordinance to advise the Director of Education, submitted their recommendations. The recommendations became the official settler policy for education contained in the 1926 Education Department

Annual Report.[31] The recommendations reflected a settler attitude towards the needs of the three major racial groups. Strictly speaking, therefore, the 1926 Education Report was more of an official document spelling out the settler racial ideology, rather than a clearly defined and non-discriminatory education policy. The very nature of its treatment of the three groups separately was further evidence that the settlers were unwilling to provide equal educational facilities for all races in Kenya Colony. Summaries of these recommendations follow:

1. The European Committee.--It recommended sites for new secondary schools and higher education at Nairobi and Thika. Hostels for girls and a "possibility" of compulsory education for Europeans were matters of urgency to the Committee. The abolition of primary and junior secondary levels by 1928 was stressed. This meant that after 1928 Europeans would pass directly from primary school (grades 1-8) to a full secondary school. To accomplish the goal of expanded education facilities for Europeans, the Government voted £215,000 ($645,000) for construction of buildings for European schools.

The Committee considered the need for European leadership, and it praised the Education Department for having recognized that Europeans needed more education than the other

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[31]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926.

races to enable them to maintain their dominant role. It stated:

> The Department, however, has consistently held in view, that if the Europeans are to remain the leading race of the Colony and to set an example to the other races, the rising generation must be educated and compulsory education should be introduced as soon as possible and the additional accomodation which has been provided goes a long way towards realizing this ambition.[32]

The Committee emphasized that curricula in European schools had to be an outgrowth of, and a reflection of, the needs and industries of the colony. Thus, settler youths (as the leaders) were to be trained in farming, administration, business and other skilled professions.

2. The Asian Committee.--This committee called for an organization of local school areas, which would in turn work with the Central Committee to advise the Director of Education in matters pertaining to Asian education. A boys' secondary school was to be established in Nairobi. The report emphasized the conversion of all aided private schools into actual Government-run schools, because the Government was a more reliable source of funds. Like the Europeans, the Asians demanded curricula for their senior secondary schools which had relevance to their needs in the colony. They were mainly retail merchants, as well as the "No. 2" servants in the private and public sector of the colony.

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[32]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926, p. 9.

The Government responded by a grant of £60,000 (#180,000) for an Asian boarding school in Nairobi. Enrollment totalled 670, of which 15 students were later successful in the School Certificate (12th grade) Examination. The report added, however, that the Indians were incapable of supplying well-trained staff for their schools. Further, "the present arrangements do not admit, as in European education, of the best staff. . . . Indian . . . as African education . . . should be placed under the increased direction of European masters."[33]

3. The African Committee.--One can better appreciate the policy for African education by contrasting it with the policy assigned to the other ethnic groups; by noting European economic interests and how the Africans in an uneducated and subordinate position could be exploited in the process of implementing these interests; and by considering the European attitude and conviction that the Africans were inferior mentally and culturally. In these circumstances, an African Committee, that had no African representation, would have found it even more difficult to be sympathetic for the African cause. Some of the recommendations follow:

> This year [1926] it is merely proposed to outline the chief difficulties which are encountered in building up an effective system of education for primitive races in a young colony, and the methods adopted by the Department for overcoming them. . . .

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[33]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926, p. 12.

> The African again knows nothing of the exact sciences and calculations of measurement of western exactness are new to him. . . . The present stage of mental development for the African permits only a few to become reliable and independent journeymen carpenters. . . .
>
> A study of the examination results . . . shows how few of the Africans have at present the power of thought which is required for a high standard of literary education. Generally speaking, the African mind in Kenya has reached the stage of sense perception . . . but the development of the reasoning faculties must be slow. Just as handwork has been found useful in training of mentally defective children, so the most useful training which the African can receive in his present condition is continual contact with material processes. . . .[34]

The African Committee also recommended the registration of teachers on European farms. These teachers were untrained clerks who performed jobs such as maintaining accounts of farm production during the day and teaching the farm workers and their children in the evenings. The "schools" were approved of by the individual farmers for their resident laborers (usually called "squatters"), but were unaccredited by the Government. The curricula consisted only of the rudiments of the Three R's in the vernacular of the laborers. Such students had no access to higher education because this would have deprived the settlers of their labor supply.

The Committee called for the standardization of native dialects--possibly by grouping several similar ones into one

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[34]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926, pp. 12, 14 and 15.

language. An alternative was to choose one dialect as standard for the whole language. For example, my written tribal language grew out of a dialect from a small part of my tribal district.

The teaching of compulsory religion (Christianity) in Government schools was stressed as a means of spreading a "Christian civilization" in the colony. This stipulation ignored the fact that barely eight per cent of the Africans were Christians (see Chapter V).

The settler-government official policy regarding discipline in African schools also appeared in the 1926 report:

> Discipline is of two kinds--external and internal--control and self-control--the control of the child and the self-control of the man. To the African in his primitive state, military or semi-military discipline makes a strong appeal. . . . If the semi-military discipline is absent, then the strongest controlling force is that of a well-taught religion which alone can give the power of self-denial and self-control.[35]

As a rider clause, the African Committee made recommendations for another "inferior" racial group--the Arabs. In so doing, the Committee recognized that the Arabs had different needs, and that they were culturally different from the Africans. But the significance of their being assigned to a similar committee with the Africans (without Arab representation) was that the settlers placed as little importance

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[35]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926, pp. 16-17.

on Arab education as they did for the Africans. To wit, Arab education was needed to arrest the indolence, decadence and apathy into which the coastal people had sunk after the ". . . abolition of slavery [which] dealt a serious blow to their wealth, power and ambition."[36] The Arabs, according to the Report, had no parental control. They were overrun by "venereal diseases" and "hookworm." What they needed were lady social workers, supervision (by a European) of all Koran classes, semi-military discipline, a strong emphasis upon physical fitness by means of physical training, football, boxing and athletic sports, and the use of propaganda among "conservative" Moslem populations. The girls, too, had to learn sanitation, "physical fitness and duties of the home."[37]

Since the Arabs were not favorably disposed towards "manual" and "technical" training, the curriculum was to be ". . . 'literary' with a view to enabling the Arabs to enter the commercial life of the shippers and trading firms of Mombasa, and to enable them to obtain Government appointments as mudirs and leaders among their people."[38] No recommendation was made (and therefore no action was taken) regarding grants

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[36]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926, p. 20.

[37]Ibid., p. 22.

[38]Ibid., p. 20.

for African and Arab education.[39] The discrepancy in Government expenditure for European, Asian, and African-Arab education became a persistent phenomenon of the settler policy.

F. Conclusion

The main theme in this Chapter is occupation, domination and colonization. This colonizing European group came to Kenya with strong economic interests. To effect these interests, they imposed their rule on the natives, who became a dominated underclass. Their domination was formalized through the institutionalization of legal, political and educational authority. They also developed a racist ideology to justify their continued oppressive rule. The settler-missionary "holy alliance" to combat heathenism and primitivism was, therefore, a smokescreen concealing the real issue--namely, the "superior white race versus an inferior black race." The menace of European control, and the destruction of tribal institutions and morality, went hand in hand with the little education that Africans received during the process.

We shall see in the next Chapter how British policy

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[39]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926, p. 20.

served to undergird white settler domination in spite of a few written laws to the contrary.

CHAPTER VII

THE EMERGENCE OF BRITISH POLICY AND PRACTICE IN AFRICAN EDUCATION: 1919 - 1937

A. Introduction

Until 1923, the British home Government assumed little responsibility for native education and welfare in Kenya. Indeed, the British role in Kenya was primarily that of appointing top-level settler-government officials and allowing the settlers to make policy and to conduct local affairs.

The nature of British interest was thus defined by the general colonial policy of British control, settlement, occupation, expansion of the British Empire, and the fulfillment of European economic and political interests, whenever necessary at the expense of native peoples. In this respect, the settlers were an accurate reflection of the over-all British policy in Kenya Colony.

However, the British Government official involvement after 1923 meant an extra dimension of the interplay of European interest groups--the concept of which is the central theoretical framework of this thesis. It will be recalled that up to this time, two European interest groups (the missionaries and the settlers, Chapters V and VI respectively)

were already interacting and formulating policies for African education.

B. The Missionary Influence Outside Kenya: 1919-1925

After World War I, outside missionary groups took action in the interests of Africans which greatly influenced British policy and attitude toward her subject peoples in tropical Africa.

The two major missionary conferences (organizations) in North America and Britain were composed of influential people, as well as experienced missionaries with information on the educational problems in Africa. This also marked the first major attempt by the missionaries to organize as one group to advance a common course of promoting Christian education and welfare. Hitherto, each missionary society functioned independently in its African stations--competing for converts with the other societies and very often duplicating activities (such as churches and schools) in the same areas.

The churchmen sought to expose to their home congregations and Governments the then existing deficiencies in European educational policy and practice towards the natives. Some of the dissatisfactions that they expressed concerned the apathy of the colonial powers, their lack of cooperation and financial support for missionary work in Africa. This was therefore a necessary tactic to put pressure to bear upon the home public and Governments so as to get the moral and material

support that the missionaries required for effective work and success.

Accordingly, in 1919 the Foreign Missions Conference of North America urged (and won) the financial support of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in the United States to undertake an investigation of native educational institutions in colonial Africa. The Fund's trustees immediately voted to conduct ". . . a survey of educational conditions and opportunities among the Negroes of Africa, with a special view of finding the type or types of education best adapted to meet the needs of the Natives. . . ."[1]

To implement their resolution, the Fund appointed an Education Commission, which had missionary representation, to travel through West, Central and Southern Africa between 1919 and 1921. In 1922, the Commission published its report and recommendations entitled Education in Africa. Two years later the Fund sponsored another Education Commission to visit East Africa (including Kenya) for the same purpose. Its report and findings came out in 1925 as Education in East Africa.[2]

The Commissions made individual recommendations for all the colonies visited. In general, they repeatedly

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[1]Phelps-Stokes Fund Commission, Education in Africa (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund), p. xiii.

[2]Phelps-Stokes Fund Commission, Education in East Africa (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund).

stressed the need to adapt Christian education to suit the African environment and cultural institutions. Among the priorities were: health; use of the environment; preparation for home life; recreation or the use of leisure time; character development and religious (Christian) life; rural and urban community education; school organization and supervision; higher education and native leadership; citizenship; agricultural education; training of medical and religious workers; realization of Africa's wealth of resources and natural beauty; and fostering European and American influence on Native Education. They called for the cooperation of colonial governments to make these recommendations a success. Regarding this cooperation, the first Commission declared:

> In the early periods of every colony, practically all educational work was maintained by the mission societies. . . . But . . . it is the right and duty of the government to make certain that African youth are educated so that they may participate effectively in the life of the colony.[3]

In 1920, meanwhile, in Britain itself, the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Northern Ireland echoed the North American missionaries' concern by submitting a memorandum directly to the British Colonial Secretary, exposing the educational deficiencies that existed for the natives, such as the lack of Government funds, cooperation,

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[3]Phelps-Stokes Fund Commission, Education in Africa, pp. 90-91.

direction and supervision. The Colonial Secretary responded favorably and appointed a Committee composed of missionaries and British Government officials

> . . . to advise the Secretary of State /for the colonies/ on any matters on Native Education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa, which he may from time to time refer to . . . and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates.[4]

These were extremely significant developments in North America and Britain because for the first time the missionaries, acting as a group, succeeded in sending an Education Commission to Africa, as well as in getting the British Colonial Secretary to take action that might remedy the missionary problems and difficulties in educating the Africans.

Moreover, the presence of missionaries in the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and in the British Colonial Secretary's Committee meant that the missionaries had a direct voice in influencing colonial official policy regarding native education. These developments in North America and in the British Isles were to have, therefore, a substantial impact on the general education policy and involvement. As one authority on native education put it, the developments represented ". . . the foundation stone of educational effort

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[4]United Kingdom, Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa (London: H.M.S.O., Nov. 23, 1923).

in British tropical dependencies."[5]

C. Native Versus European Paramountcy: 1923-1925

Although the Colonial Secretary appointed an Education Committee in 1920 after the urging by the Missionary Societies of Britain and Northern Ireland, the Committee did not produce a formal report until 1925. However, during the 1920-25 interim period, it seems that the Committee's views and influence had been felt and respected by the Colonial Office. We see substantial evidence of this influence by 1923 when the Colonial Secretary had already begun to act to advance and protect native interests in Kenya.

Until this time, a policy of European paramountcy and domination was in effect in Kenya. As we saw in Chapter VI, this policy of advancing European interests was articulated by both the settler-government and the British Colonial Office. It is against this background that the true significance of the new policy can be seen. The policy, contained in the Devonshire White Paper of 1923, represented a radical reversal of the previous policy. The implications for the interplay of racial interest groups in Kenya were made quite explicit when the White Paper said that:

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[5]L. J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1954), p. 14.

> Primarily, Kenya is an African territory, and His Majesty's Government thinks it is necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, these interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail.[6]

Thus the proclamation of the Devonshire White Paper was the beginning of a significant shift in British policy towards the native peoples of Kenya. This was expressed in the effort to establish the policy of native paramountcy regarding all affairs in colonial Kenya.

It should be pointed out that the Missionary Conferences and the change in British attitude toward native interests in general--and education in particular--coincided with the ending of World War I. As also occurred after World War II, the African service in the British armed forces led the colonial peoples to demand more, fair and equal treatment from the mother country they had successfully defended from enemy conquest.[7] Had it not been for this general development generated by World War I, it is probable that the efforts of the Missionary Conferences would not have been as effective as they were. It seems unlikely that the Colonial Office would have decided upon this fundamental change in colonial policy. At least it had not altered the policy since the acquisition of "spheres of influence" in Africa in 1885.

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[6]United Kingdom, The Devonshire White Paper, 1923, Cmd. 3574 (London: H.M.S.O., 1923).

[7]More details regarding African political activism, led by educated people and ex-soldiers of World War I, are to be found in Chapter VIII.

D. Britain's Education Policy and Practice on African Education: 1923-1937

1. 1925--First Education Policy Memorandum.--In November, 1923, following the Colonial Secretary's White Paper on Kenya, the Education Committee for the Colonies felt that the time was

> . . . opportune for some public statement of principles and policy which would prove a useful guide to all those engaged, directly or indirectly, in the advancement of native education . . . and . . . that such a statement will be particularly welcome to Directors of Education and to missionary bodies, who are playing such a large part in educational activities.[8]

In 1925, after two years of work in the Colonies, and consultation with the Colonial Office, the Committee published its recommendations entitled Education Policy in British Tropical Areas. In summary, the memorandum recommended that the British Government should supervise all schooling, appoint Advisory Committees and secure cooperation from all concerned in the colonies, to adapt education to local conditions; conserve sound elements in traditional and social organizations, while at the same time letting education function as an instrument of progress; give religious and moral instruction which should be accorded equality with secular subjects; improve conditions of education in order to attract the best people; give independent schools grants-in-aid from colonial governments so long as the schools

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[8]United Kingdom, Education Policy in British Tropical Areas (London: H.M.S.O., 1925), p. 5.

achieved good results in examinations; teach and study in the vernacular languages and engage special instructors for this purpose; create a good cadre of teachers and teacher-training institutions; establish a system of visiting and peripatetic teachers; clearly define educational aims; offer friendly advice and supervise schools in coordination with the colonial governments; put technical and vocational training under government departments such as the Department of Agriculture; promote the dignity of manual vocations and their equality with clerical service; regard education of women and girls as an integral element of educational endeavor; promote elementary education for girls and boys; give secondary education in technical and vocational schools; develop higher educational institutions into universities; offer adult education in order to ensure identity of outlook between the newly educated generation and the parents; foster inter-departmental cooperation in all educational endeavors.[9]

In a specific reference to native languages in Kenya, the Sub-Committee on African Education, whose parent body was the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, issued a statement on language teaching in 1928. With 40 languages spoken in Kenya, Swahili was the lingua franca for

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[9]United Kingdom, Education Policy in British Tropical Areas, pp. 7-10.

all the tribal groups. Under these circumstances, the Sub-Committee stressed that children gain the facility of a language as an instrument of thought and expression. "We believe that this cannot be properly carried out unless the language of the school is the language of the home."[10]

Hence, the Committee favored teaching the vernacular in the lower grades (1-4) and English in the upper levels. Swahili was to be dropped altogether because its function was "that of a tool which will gradually be replaced by a better instrument." They considered prolonging the life and status of Swahili to "be a mistake."[11]

2. 1925-35: Related Events in British Change of Policy.--The 1927-35 period is characterized by a reaffirmation of British policy change as well as a determination to effect and implement this change by giving financial, political and moral support to the natives. This included a strong stand on the guarantees on native land for settlement, a specific financial commitment for the purpose of native welfare and education, a pledge to give African children relevant and universal education, and the establishment of a British governmental education agency to grant natives scholarships for studies in Britain and to set up educational extra-curricular programs in the colonies.

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[10]Vidler Hatfield, "New Emphasis on English in Kenya African Primary Schools," Oversea Education, XXI, No. 3 (April, 1950), 1061-1065.

[11]Ibid.

In 1927, for example, the British Government realized that neither educational nor political assurances for the natives would be meaningful without a strong stand on native land. Land was Kenya's economic mainstay. As we saw before (Chapter VI), the settlers occupied much of the fertile land, and the landless Africans worked on the European farms. The fundamental African grievance and discontent, therefore, stemmed from land deprivation.

Hence, Britain sent Hilton Young to Kenya to investigate the native land interests, and to make recommendations. The Governor, Sir Edward Grigg, discouraged Young from interviewing Africans, for the reason that "the African, of course, has no view at all."[12] The Commission nevertheless reaffirmed the priority of "native paramountcy" and welfare. Young's recommendations read, in part:

> The first essential is to remove finally from the native mind any feeling of insecurity in regard to his tribal lands--that the lands within the boundaries as finally gazetted for Native Reserves are reserved for the use and benefit of the natives forever. Any derogation from this solemn pledge would, in the view of His Majesty's Government, be a flagrant breach of trust /and/ a serious calamity from which the whole Colony would not fail to suffer.[13]

In 1924, the British Government passed the Colonial

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[12]Norman Leys, A Last Chance in Kenya (London: The Hogarth Press, 1931). The sentence quoted is a caption under the book's title.

[13]United Kingdom, Colonial Office, The Hilton Young Commission--1929 (London: H.M.S.O., 1930).

Development Act releasing £1 million (U.S. $3 million) for the general economic development--including education--in the British Colonies. Provision was also made to amend the Act in subsequent years as the colonial needs increased.[14]

A year later, Britain reaffirmed her will to educate the Kenya natives by a special education memorandum on Kenya --Native Policy in East Africa, 1930. Its objectives included ". . . the spread of education in the widest sense."[15] Lord Hailey observes that adults, as well as children, were to benefit from this education, for it aimed "not merely at inculcating efficiency in clerical duties or handicrafts, but raising the standards of knowledge and intelligence of the whole community, with a view to effecting a transformation in the daily lives of the people."[16]

In 1931, to stress some specific recommendations of the 1925 Education Memorandum which called for considerations for local conditions when determining educational syllabi, the Colonial Secretary summoned the Directors of Agriculture from the Colonies. The Directors agreed on a colonial education with an "agricultural bias." The focus of education in the

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[14]In 1940, Britain increased the aid to £5 million (U.S. $15 million). In the same year, Kenya Colony received its share of £34,500 (U.S. $103,000) for education. In 1945 the amount was up to £120 (U.S. $360) million for all British colonies.

[15]"Colonial Development and Welfare Act," Oversea Education, XVI, No. 3 (April, 1945), 135-141.

[16]Lord Hailey, An African Survey: A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 1231.

African colonies was to be farming and animal husbandry. This education, it was argued, was more relevant to agrarian peoples than a literary or technological education.[17]

In July 1935, Britain inaugurated the British Council, which was to function as a non-Government educational agency. In accordance with the 1925 Memorandum provisions, its duties were to expand grants to the colonies for education, and to award scholarships to deserving subject peoples for study in various fields in Britain itself.

In addition, the Council organized educational tours in Britain for native civil servants, chiefs, teachers, labor unionists, politicians and government officials. Some of the tours were extended to short-period studies in British institutions.

The Council also provided educational films on health, agriculture, child care, local government, animal husbandry, hygiene, entertainment, general education and economic development.[18] My high school, for example, showed these films at least once a month.

By 1935, with ten years of hindsight, the Colonial Secretary restated the 1925 Memorandum's objectives in his

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[17]R. W. Chaundy, "A School With an Agricultural Bias in a Backward Area," Oversea Education, XIX, No. 1 (October, 1947), 579-585.

[18]United Kingdom, Colonial Office, "Scholarships and Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committee," Charter of the British Council, 1935 (London: H.M.S.O., 1935).

Memorandum on the Education of African Communities.[19]

In summary, it envisioned a much closer cooperation between the various sections of the community, such as the school and the village. Another target was the improvement of various social elements, such as education, health, welfare, and animal husbandry. It conceived of the school as an agent for the dual purpose of conserving the old useful elements of the society as well as evolving a new modus vivendi. The memorandum saw a special need for teacher training institutions for native teachers. It stressed both adult and juvenile education, sociological research in the colonies, and cooperative educational movements with other countries, such as student exchange.

It also included what had been a significant omission by the 1925 memorandum--the importance of African self-initiative. L. J. Lewis comments that: "The 1935 memorandum, however, specifically stated that African thought and feeling must be taken into account, and African initiative, self-help and responsibility sought before living conditions could be improved."[20]

E. 1937--First British Policy on African Higher Education

The British Council started sending students to Britain regularly for further studies. But it became apparent

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[19]United Kingdom, Colonial Office, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, Cmd. 103 (London: H.M.S.O., 1935).

[20]Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas, p. 22.

that the higher education problems had to be tackled from within the colonies themselves. One of the alternatives was to expand the existing colleges in the colonies, and the other was to establish new institutions in the "have-not" areas. For East Africa (including Kenya), the British chose the first alternative. Accordingly, in September, 1937, she sent a commission to East Africa in order

> . . . to examine and report upon the organization and working of Makerere College and . . . the institutions or other agencies for advanced vocational training connected with it in relation to the society which they are intended to serve. . . . Having in mind the declared policy of His Majesty's Government to promote the establishment of facilities for higher education in East Africa, to make recommendations for the development and administrative control of Makerere College and its allied institutions to this end; within limitations imposed by the ability of the Governments concerned to meet the cost. . . .[21]

This was the first commission of its kind for Britain to send to East Africa. It issued its report, Higher Education in East Africa, 1937, on the basis of investigation and inquiry into both Makerere College and the "freedom schools" in East Africa. It briefly traced the history of elementary and high schools in East and Central Africa. For example, it discovered that Kenya had no full secondary school for Africans in 1937, even though there was a high school in 1926. 'Tanganyika' initiated secondary education in 1935 at Tabora with a class of 22 boys. 'Nyasaland' had not one secondary school, but it had a "higher percentage of

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[21]United Kingdom, Colonial Office, Higher Education in East Africa, Cmd. 142 (London: H.M.S.O., 1937), p. 5.

literacy in the vernacular than . . . any other country in tropical Africa." Sixty per cent of the population could read and write in vernaculars.[22] 'Northern Rhodesia' had only five schools offering an 8-year primary education. 'Zanzibar' was without secondary and upper primary schools. Uganda, the most advanced of all, could boast of one full secondary school--Makerere College. Three mission schools were "preparing for full secondary school courses." Ten to twelve mission schools were "preparing for the first 3-year secondary" school work, and two mission schools were "preparing" for the last 3-year secondary school courses.[23]

Makerere College itself was founded in 1921 as a training ground for African artisans. In 1935, it became a full secondary school. Recognizing the inadequacy of higher education in East and Central Africa, the Commission recommended an establishment of a Higher College in East Africa --"completely separate" from Makerere College. Makerere was to remain as a "feeder-school."

The Higher College would offer post-secondary work in arts, science, agriculture, medicine, education, veterinary science and engineering. It would also "provide all the facilities for advanced education which the four East

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[22]United Kingdom, Colonial Office, Higher Education in East Africa, Cmd. 142, p. 50.

[23]Ibid., p. 51.

African Dependencies will require, or be able to use."[24] 'Nyasaland' and 'Rhodesia' were to share in the facilities and expenses of the college. That the five Dependencies were to share one college was an economy measure. The maximum capacity was 100 students per year. Then, after experience, the college would "gradually" become a university.

Meanwhile, affiliation with a British university would subordinate supervision, determination of academic standards and curricula, issuance of examinations and the granting of diplomas to the authority of that British institution.

Among the "entirely new" courses to be added "immediately" was dentistry: "We welcome the decision to introduce simple dentistry in the surgical course." Medicinal training got its start in 1923. In 1936, 31 students (25 Ugandans, 1 Kenya, 3 'Tanganyikans', and 2 'Zanzibaris') qualified as African Medical Assistants.[25]

The veterinary science school had 13 students (11 Ugandans and 3 Kenyans) at the same time.[26] Engineering, forestry, surveying, police officers' training, law, accounting, and African Studies were envisioned as future additions. Commenting on the nature of an East African law

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[24]United Kingdom, Colonial Office, Higher Education in East Africa, Cmd. 142, p. 84.

[25]Ibid., p. 85.

[26]Ibid., p. 98.

school, the Commission said:

> We doubt the wisdom of seeking to develop a law school on lines of English models. . . . The training of native judges would appear to be the natural function of a law school in East Africa. The careers open to graduates would be legal positions in the native administrations . . . /such as/ court clerks . . . /and/ registers of titles.[27]

The Commission expressed awe at the lack of African police officers. Nearly all Africans were illiterate constables who never reached a non-commissioned officer status. A police course in Makerere would combat the problem throughout East Africa. Each territory "needed one African Assistant Sub-Inspector yearly for the next ten years"; these were to work as subordinates of European officers.[29]

The more general recommendations for education (outside Makerere) aimed to meet the educational needs of African women; "to preserve and enhance indigenous local traditions and culture"; "to develop local pride" in native achievements; to develop "creative" and non-imitative education;[30] to encourage a rural oriented education; to establish universal primary education "for all who are to become peasant cultivators, and the girls whom they will marry, in

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[27]United Kingdom, Colonial Office, Higher Education in East Africa, Cmd. 142, pp. 91, 110 and 111.

[28]Independent 'Tanganyika' opened a law school in 1961. A commercial school came into being in 1955 in Nairobi, Kenya. Both were campuses of what later became the University of East Africa in 1964.

[29]United Kingdom, Colonial Office, op. cit., p. 21.

[30]Ibid.

order that the whole community may have the opportunity to learn and apply improved methods;[31] to convince the inter-territorial governments to offer trained Africans "duties superior to those of the artisan but subordinate" to Europeans[32] because Africans "cannot expect to be paid salaries as high as those of European officers";[33] to expand "all stages of education, primary, secondary and post-secondary, both for boys and girls";[34] to enhance missionary-government cooperation in education; to delegate all local educational functions to Native Authorities through which "African opinion will increasingly express itself";[35] to teach tailoring, masonry, telegraph line work and carpentry in elementary schools so as to secure village industry in these trades; to teach the lower levels in both vernacular and Swahili since Swahili will "facilitate intercourse between the governing class and the governed" and also between the trading class (Asians) and the Africans and between all the tribes at large;[36] to abolish the "examination tyranny" at

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[31] United Kingdom, Colonial Office, Higher Education in East Africa, Cmd. 142, p. 14.

[32] Ibid., p. 22.

[33] Ibid., p. 27.

[34] Ibid., p. 25.

[35] Ibid., pp. 37-38.

[36] Ibid., p. 43.

the "termination of the primary school course" by circumventing rote memorizing;[37] to increase salaries of African teachers who earned Sh.4 - Sh.65 ($.41 - $7.50) per month.[38] The recommendations included: establishing refresher courses for in-service teachers; opening more teacher training institutions for Africans; opening educational centers in the villages such as Farmer's Clubs and Cooperatives; employing literate children to teach reading to village adults; offering "the freedom of all religions and sects" in school while prohibiting the use of pressure on "school-children to study religions to which they, or their parents, do not voluntarily adhere";[39] rendering "attendance at religious instruction" voluntary in Government secondary schools;[40] establishing secondary schools for girls; abolishing (if any) classical languages in African schools; teaching native crafts and handicrafts "to elaborate and improve African patterns and aesthetic traditions";[41] teaching literature that possesses "literary value as well as suitable subject matter . . . the authorized translation of the

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[37]United Kingdom, Colonial Office, Higher Education in East Africa, Cmd. 142, p. 44.

[38]Ibid., p. 45.

[39]Ibid., p. 54.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid., p. 64.

Bible is the outstanding example";[42] and teaching English in higher grades as a necessary international language.[43]

F. Shortcomings of British Educational Policy and Practice

Due to settler opposition in Kenya and the British sympathy for European settler interests, His Majesty's Government's declared policy on "native paramountcy" and interests remained largely unimplemented. For example, the 1923 White Paper on native paramountcy, and the 1927 Young Memorandum on the restoration of native land, according to Robert Gregory, were ". . . never submitted to Parliament and remained therefore the obiter dicta of a minority Government without Parliamentary ratification."[44]

Later, Gregory continues, Britain

> . . . avoided all reference to native paramountcy. In 1949, during the Third Labour Government, the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, the Earl of Listowel, assured Conservatives in the House of Lords that the doctrine [native paramountcy] was no longer the official policy in East Africa.[45]

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[42]United Kingdom, Colonial Office, Higher Education in East Africa, Cmd. 142, p. 75.

[43]Ibid., p. 3. Between 1939 and 1945, Britain sent similar commissions to investigate Higher Education at Achimota College, Gold Coast; Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone; Malaya; and the West Indies. See Bibliography--United Kingdom Documents.

[44]Robert A. Gregory, Sidney Webb and East Africa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 137.

[45]Ibid.

L. J. Lewis recalls that the 1929 Colonial Development Act was an attempt to implement the 1925 Education Memorandum which had thus far ". . . fallen far short of its goal" because there was neither money nor European education officers available for colonial educational service. This failure had provided "some justification for adverse criticism of British Colonial efforts /in native education/."[46]

But L. G. Morgan, a career British educator in the colonies, feels that the failure resulted because the Colonial Office neither defined the policies clearly, nor published them. "The first fact to be noted is that published statements of such policies in any complete or detailed form are rare." The officers and money were available, he contends, but the Europeans did not know the historical conditions, the psychology and temperament of the subject peoples to counter the traditional prejudices and superstitions likely to oppose needed modernization. This lack of knowledge led to "apathy and inertia" in educational efforts. The policies ignored questions of education for citizenship, peace and relations of Africa and Europe, and emphasized routine matters of formal education, e.g., text books, methods of teaching and examinations. Africans, for example, were "frustrated" because they received no equal training and facilities in professional and technical jobs. Their expression of personality, the "essential democratic

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[46]L. J. Lewis, Education Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas, pp. 48 and 81.

aim" was repressed. Thus the policies "merely outlived their time" and education became "stereotyped and lifeless."[47]

In conclusion, the Kenya settler-government continued its oppressive policies virtually unchallenged by the British directives. The missionaries, who at this time were swimming with the current, as it were, felt no need to react either way. The losers were the Africans whose hope for British intervention had all along seemed doomed to failure and disappointment. In other words, there was no shift of power relations among racial groups in Kenya. The only alternatives left to the natives were political activism and establishment of their own schools--this is the subject of the next Chapter.

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[47]L. G. Morgan, "A Note on Colonial Educational Policy," Oversea Education, XVIII, No. 4 (July, 1947), 537-543.

CHAPTER VIII

AFRICAN INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS AND RELATED FACTORS: 1921 - 1940

A. Introduction

This Chapter (and in fact the whole study) ends at the beginning of World War II, around 1940, because the war brought about a fundamental change in the power relationships between the African independence movements and the settler-government. The period from 1940 till independence in 1963 was of very complex political, economic and social developments--all of which profoundly influenced the development of the educational system in Kenya. I have not discussed these developments--for example, the settler Beecher Report on African education in 1948--because they could not be adequately treated within the limited scope of this study.

However, the Chapter must be viewed in the light of the previous three Chapters describing the work of the missionaries, oppression by the settlers, and the apathy of the British; and the fruitless interrelationship among these three groups regarding education for natives which finally forced the Africans to break the ties with their European mentors.

The Africans envisaged a campaign on three fronts: first, they would challenge settler power by political activities; second, they would reject the Christian churches and establish Africanized churches which were more in tune with African culture and interests; third, they would use "diplomacy"--such as the sending of memoranda, cables, letters and delegations to London--to make known the "natives'" dissatisfaction with British-supported European domination.

B. African Politics as a Related Factor to Education

The most important cause for the establishment of native Independent Schools was that African leaders were dissatisfied with the slow rate at which the settler-government (and the British Government) provided educational facilities for the natives. Without adequate education, the leaders feared they would remain the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water" in their own homeland. Education, too, would bring them to the level of the Europeans in government and in the economic sectors. Thus, Africans could, for example, participate in legislating fair laws in employment, race relations and democratic elections.

A lack of education crippled the Africans in combatting grievances such as land deprivation, forced labor, collective punishment, low wages and movement restriction laws. Natives saw these laws as repressive measures aimed at keeping them poor, illiterate and, therefore, weak in challenging the settlers' power. For example, at the start

of World War I, most of the Colony's fertile land belonged to Europeans in the "White Highlands." In 1915, the Government enacted a Land Ordinance[1] which authorized Europeans to lease the land for 99 or 999 years. Africans were designated to live in the less productive Native Reserves. Crown Lands constituted fertile land which lay idle waiting for European settlement. The government evicted all "natives" who were living in the "new" areas officially termed by the Ordinance as Crown Land and White Highlands (see Chapter VI).

The Native Registration Ordinance[2] (1919) and the Masters and Servants Ordinance[3] (1928) ensured that servant deserters from European farms and homes were apprehended, punished and returned to their masters. For identification the natives were fingerprinted. Kenyatta recalls that the Ordinances were a "diabolical system of finger-prints as though the Africans were criminals."[4] Further, it cost more to keep trace of the able-bodied natives (aged 16-50) for purposes of labor than it did to educate them and their children. Norman Leys observes that the Administration of the Central Bureau of the Ordinance "cost £20,000 (U.S.

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[1]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, The Land Ordinance --1915 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1915).

[2]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, The Native Registration Ordinance, 1928 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1928).

[3]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, The Masters and Servants Ordinance, 1928 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1928).

[4]Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu (London: Secker and Warburg, 1961 reprinting), p. 212.

$60,000) a year as compared with £24,000 (U.S. $72,000) which is spent on the education of Africans."[5]

Throughout the entire period covered in this Chapter (1921-40), African political activism for equality, education and land is a recurrent factor. Prior to World War I, the largely ignorant and illiterate native masses performed the manual labor of the colony. Their grievances were either ignored or suppressed because there were no educated, articulate native leaders to challenge the settler policies. Britain, as the "mother country," could intervene on behalf of the Africans as she did in the 1923 White Paper which declared "native paramountcy." But to most natives, the settler-government in Nairobi was the supreme, unmovable body.

World War I permitted the native to abandon hopelessness for an articulate "rebellious" approach. More than 150,000 Kenyans fought for the King, and for the first time they came into contact with Europeans on an equal military footing. Parenthetically, of the 150,000, "46,618 men were killed or died of diseases. Of these 46,618 dead men, the relations of 40,645 are still untraced, and unclaimed balances of pay and wages amounting to £155,447 [U.S. $466,341] are owed them. . . ."[6]

The survivors returned and joined a few "educated"

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[5]Leys, Kenya, p. 198.

[6]Ibid., p. 287.

young men in the colony. Led by Harry Thuku, the youths broke away from the loyal and pro-settler Kikuyu Chiefs' Association and formed the Young Kikuyu Association. At a meeting in Nairobi on July 1, 1921, the same young nationalists formed the first African political party--the East African Association.[7] Thus, the seeds of native political activism were sown, and political activity remained the only means for channelling African grievances to Nairobi and London.

In May 1922, the Association held a demonstration in Nairobi demanding land restoration and expanded education. It also sent cables to London explaining the Africans' plight in the colony. Harry Thuku, the Association's leader, was imprisoned--and later banished to a remote coastal island.[8] The following year (1923), the settler-government proscribed the East African Association.

Even though it was short-lived, the East African Association marked the first organized political movement among Africans. Instead of a situation where only the Europeans were represented in the legislative realm, the majority native population had begun to make their presence known politically. Their efforts were to have an effect in the entire development of African education--particularly as a counterforce for the settler-government policies and power.

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[7]Keith Kyle, "Ghandi, Harry Thuku and Early Kenya Nationalism," Transition, VI, No. 27 (April, 1966), 16-22.

[8]Ibid.

After the banning of the East African Association, efforts to suppress and destroy native political activism were made by the settlers, because they saw it as "dangerous and subversive" for European interests.

However, the followers of the Association (including Jomo Kenyatta) immediately formed another political party--the Kikuyu Central Association--in 1924. Unlike the East African Association, which was more open and forceful, the Kikuyu Central Association was more cautious in its operation and strategy. It mainly concentrated on "quiet diplomacy" through memoranda and member delegations. Soon after its inauguration, for example, the Central Association promptly sent a draft resolution to London which demanded a wide range of native rights, including land; planting cash crops like coffee; agricultural and domestic education; a "sufficient number of secondary and high schools;" "scholarships . . . for training all natives of ability;" and sending "deserving boys from the districts to England and elsewhere to receive university or higher education in arts, medicine, engineering, agriculture, etc."[9]

By 1939, with the help of a sister group, the Kavirondo Taxpayers' and Welfare Association in Western Kenya,[10]

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[9]Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya: The Land of Conflict (Manchester, England: International African Service Bureau, 1944), pp. 12-14.

[10]The "Kavirondo" (a settler derogation for the Nyanza people) were outside the "White Highlands" but they resented

the Kikuyu Central Association had sent many similar memoranda to London and Nairobi. Mzee Kenyatta, as the General Secretary of the Association, wrote letters to the British Press on the same issues. The Associations sent him to London three times between 1924 and 1939, but His Majesty's Government either ignored, or took no action on, the demands he presented. This led the Associations to declare that Africans could no longer put trust "placed upon solemn pledges and sacred undertakings on the part of the British Government. The principle of the declared trusteeship of the natives is a mockery."[11] The response from Nairobi was to ban all native political activity in the colony in 1939.

However, in 1940, the "Kavirondo" and the Central Associations joined forces and formed, for the first time, a colony-wide political party which they called the Kenya African Union. The name itself is significant--for it contained neither sectional nor tribal labels. Instead, it implied a political union for all native peoples of Kenya. And although the "Kavirondo" and the Central Associations had a following of a large majority among the Africans, a united native front to challenge settler power had not been so articulated before. Led by its president, Jomo Kenyatta, the union opened branches all over the colony.

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taxation without representation. Their main complaint on land was the settler evictions from their homes to make room for the settler mining interests.

[11]Kenyatta, Kenya: Land of Conflict, p. 16.

Meanwhile, the settlers sought to frustrate its activities. They imposed regulations restricting membership, registration, press releases, free speech and meetings. For example, a group no larger than five Africans could meet without written permission of the highest local British administrator--the District Commissioner. Finally, in the late 1940's, the Union went underground, becoming one of the most effective forces of the Mau Mau Nationalist War of Independence fought during 1952-1960.[12]

The African political organizations between 1921 and 1939 show clearly that this was a complex development characterized by a series of African efforts to present their interests and by repressive counteraction on the part of the settler-government.

Although the British Government was involved, it was essentially the interplay of the European and African groups in Kenya that ensued--with a constant pattern of action and repressive reaction between these two groups. The African group, for example, sought to advance its programs in a number of areas--such as land rights and other economic needs. The demand for education emerged as one of the basic elements in the developing political native voice.

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[12]Robert D. Gregory, Sidney Webb and East Africa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 137-138.

C. The African Independent School Movement: Some Aspects of Its Beginning and Later Activities: 1923-1940

Without question, the most important development in education for Africans in Kenya during this period was the formation of the Independent School Movement, so-called because Africans wanted to run their own schools which were independent of missionary and settler-government supervision. Indeed, the Movement was in most cases an arm of African political activity. But before the sole African party--the Kikuyu Central Association--openly assumed direction of the Independent School Movement, it appeared as though the African masses had suddenly awakened to challenge the settler policies in education. Thus, in 1926, the Education Department reported that the Local Native Councils[13] in the colony had collected "voluntary cess" to establish schools for Africans (see Table II). In Nyeri, District Commissioner A. M. Champion reduced African educational facilities by closing ten schools, because, he said, defending his action, "This, in my opinion . . . is a step in the right direction."[14] The Education Department reported that when Champion closed the schools, ". . . the natives are disappointed, they want to finance and to run their own schools."[15]

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[13]The Local (District) Administrative Authority headed by a settler District Commissioner.

[14]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926, pp. 43, 44 and 45.

[15]Ibid., p. 19.

A year later (1927) in Western Kenya, the Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza, after conducting meetings with Africans, reported their stand on education, viz: "We /Africans/ do not wish Government to contribute anything to the Local Native Council school. If we accept help, probably European children will be sent to the school." Contending that there was "restless awakening of race consciousness," which had resulted in "creating an impulse in the awakened to bite the hand that has fed them," the Commissioner warned that "These are danger signals along the road of educational achievement."[16]

TABLE II

KENYA LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS' EXPENDITURE 1925-30

YEAR	EDUCATION (£)	MEDICAL (£)	AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY (£)	WATER SUPPLIES (£)
1925	502	?	399	572
1926	3,695	1,419	3,642	581
1927	3,379	2,772	4,617	4,771
1928	2,806	6,385	5,081	3,142
1929	6,885	5,027*	8,799	4,606
1930	7,348	4,866	6,526	4,890

Source: Kenya Native Affairs Department Report, 1930, p. 23.

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[16]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Native Affairs Department Annual Report, 1930 (London: H.M.S.O., 1931), pp. 44-45.

Evidence of widespread African self-initiative for education, and the need to have schools whose curricula and philosophy were relevant to the African political and economic interests, all led the Kenya Central Association to organize an official Independent School Movement[17] in 1928. It defined its objectives of an African education for Africans, and by Africans, in its constitution, which read in part:

> The Objects [sic.] of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association are to further the interests of the Kikuyu and of its members and to safeguard the homogeneity of interests of the Kikuyu nation, such as spiritual, economic, social and educational matters.[18]

Mbiyu Koinange, who later assisted Jomo Kenyatta[19] in running the Kenya Teachers' College, describes the Independent Schools and the College as places where African

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[17]The original body was the Kikuyu Independent Schools' Association (KISA). In late 1929, the Karing'a (traditionalist) Schools' Association was formed as a branch of KISA. Both operated mainly in the Kikuyu country--the area most affected by settler occupation. Both joined the Kenya African Union to start the Kenya Teachers' College in 1940. Later, the Independent Schools (as they were then called) and the College, attracted students from Kenya as well as from other East African colonies. The other tribes also started Independent Schools which functioned on a model of political and nationalistic philosophy of the Independent School Movement. My uncle was a principal in one of these schools before the settlers arrested and detained him for "subversive activities" in 1952.

[18]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1937, p. 56.

[19]Kenyatta was President of the Kenya Teachers' College, the Kenya African Union, as well as the titular head of the Independent School Movement--once again signifying the close relationship between the political Union and the School Movement.

students learned to respect their own culture, unity, economic needs and political awareness. Moreover, he sees these schools as a necessary step towards realizing the African goal of getting relevant and quality education. The settler-sponsored schools, with missionaries doing most of the teaching and supervision, ran counter to the African interests. They were merely instruments for "keeping the native in his place" by giving him as little education as possible so that he could continue being a "loyal" citizen.

Koinange writes: "The syllabi in the Independent Schools were geared to prepare students 'for life in the modern world.' They did not prepare pupils to 'cram' for government examination."[20]

An African Independent College was needed in Kenya. In 1940, for instance, there were 7,000 pupils in upper Elementary Schools; of these, 200 went on to secondary schools and 12 managed to reach Makerere College--East and Central Africa's only college (without degree-issuing status) at the time.[21]

During the holidays, pupils learned stories, legends and other African folkways from the tribal elders. Once back at school, the folkways were written down and distributed to all the students. Thus, different tribes learned

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[20]Mbiyu Koinange, The People of Kenya Speak For Themselves (Detroit: Kenya Publications Fund, 1955), p. 39.

[21]Ibid., p. 40.

about each other's way of life in the schools--an aspect of education which never existed in the "established schools," for the latter were more interested in the "divide-and-rule" colonial principle.[22]

Songs were composed to "emphasize oneness," rather than tribalism. Thus, songs cherishing African unity and self-esteem were taught to the pupils. As for sports, "we tried to organize an inter-racial sports meeting," but the Kenya Education Department rules "would not permit us to invite European or Indian children to join in on the same sports field." But the Independent Schools continued to teach foreign folk dances to orient students to other people's ways of life.[23]

During World War II, some American black soldiers were stationed in Nairobi. The settler-government did not want Africans to mix with them--lest they inject "bad ideas" in the "native" minds about America. Nevertheless, Koinange invited them to his home and to schools to talk to the students. They sang the black American spirituals. "It was the first time in the whole of East Africa that Africans heard Negroes from America sing Negro Spirituals."[24]

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[22]Koinange, The People of Kenya Speak For Themselves, p. 39.

[23]Ibid., p. 41.

[24]Ibid., pp. 42-43.

The European child was taught "the Swahili language in the form of commands: "Fanya hivi" (Do this), "Lete chakula" (Bring food), "Kuja hapa" (Come here), etc. This was done to "enkindle his sense of leadership." The European child was trained for "responsibility" and was given "confidence" that "he is in life to lead." He was taught that he was far superior to any other race in the colony.[25]

By contrast, "the African child who goes to a Government, Mission school, elementary, primary, high school, and even to Makerere College, Uganda, is taught to obey, to be submissive." He is not allowed to get "involved in politics." If ever he developed a "firm attitude to life, he would lose his scholarship and/or be thrown out of school." This had happened to many African students in Britain "who refused to become informers on their own people." It was thus necessary to have Independent Schools where Africans would be free to teach whatever they pleased without restrictions.[26]

By 1943, the Independent College ran into financial problems. Koinange wrote to Europeans and Indians for help. Indians gave Sh. 10,000 ($1,500). A single European woman sent Sh. 10 ($1.50) and asked to remain anonymous. The African efforts continued to bear "good fruits," however.[27]

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[25]Koinange, The People of Kenya Speak For Themselves, pp. 43-44.

[26]Ibid., p. 44.

[27]Ibid., p. 45.

As education was "organized on a racial basis, and priority . . . determined on a racial basis, Africans are always last on the queue." Africans had to run their own schools. And subsequent understanding, knowledge and concern would introduce them to financial requirements of other social services.[28]

The Government had required, as a prerequisite since 1924, local school boards for governmental grants-in-aid. Since Africans had not been authorized to have such local school organizations, the Movement sought to impress the Government by establishing an efficient "school board" with a chain of command from the colonial level to the local communities. By so doing, like the other racial groups, they hoped to qualify for Government aid in education.

The top hierarchy started with a Central Executive headed by a President and a Vice-President. The Executive had representatives from all districts of the colony, while every district had a committee to run local affairs. Each school had a committee of twelve that managed the school.[29] Thus, co-ordination from the local school committees to the Central Executive was possible for the first time in African education. Hitherto, only Europeans and Asians had such

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[28]Koinange, The People of Kenya Speak For Themselves, p. 46.

[29]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1937, p. 55.

local committees advising the Central Education Department (the Director of Education) on matters relating to education. Yet, the Education Ordinance of 1924 had long authorized the functions of local and central committees.[30]

Still, there remained a further problem of qualifying as a "voluntary," "Christian" or "mission" agency. That is, a Christian agency which was prepared to volunteer to start schools under government supervision and direction, and which was, consequently, entitled to get government financial grants for the education work.

Specifically, during the pre-1928 era, "voluntary agencies" applied to "European and American missionaries for ecclesiastical discipline."[31] The Independent School Movement could not secure trained "clergy for its school system by one of the other missionary societies."[32] Thus, the Movement was, by Government definition, a non-voluntary agency. Being a non-voluntary agency, the Movement was automatically disqualified from Government recognition and licensing, from issuing of Government accreditation, from receipt of Government academic certificates, from grants-in-aid, and from Government supervision and advice.

To obtain these qualifications, the Movement hired

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[30]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Ordinance, 1924 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1925).

[31]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, The Beecher Report, 1948 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949), p. 51.

[32]Ibid.

Archbishop Alexander of the African Orthodox Church of South Africa--which followed the Christian Bible, Christian liturgy and Christian tradition. But it also respected all African customs--including polygamy and female circumcision. The Movement soon replaced Alexander's Orthodox Church and started a new African Independent Pentecost Church, which was put under direct control of the Independent School Movement.[33] Thus, the Movement considered itself equally Christian with other Christian missions--entitled to, presumably, all the governmental rights and privileges accruing to a Christian society. For example, the African Pentecost Church could, like the other Christian missions, theoretically appoint local supervisors, obtain licenses for new schools, and levy fees in conjunction with the Government regulations. These regulations were codified by the 1931 Education Ordinance which stipulated that the settler-government policy of co-operation with missions and local native councils would be embodied in "all branches of African education."[34]

In the belief that requirements for Government recognition had been met, and having defined the objective of the Movement as well as establishing organizational machinery in the colony, the Africans felt ready to start their own

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[33]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1937, pp. 58, 59.

[34]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Ordinance, 1931 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1932).

Independent "Christian" schools in late 1929. However, the Government withheld recognition, and, automatically, grants-in-aid, and other services such as supervision and curriculum planning. Accordingly, the Movement severed all relations with the Orthodox Church and continued to practice African customs. The break-away was particularly hastened by the issue over a rite connected with puberty of girls and considered essential to their moral maturation. The missionaries took strong exception to the custom of clitoral excision. Hence, it would seem that the break-away from the Orthodox Churches was an ". . . inevitable development which was only precipitated by the /female/ circumcision issue and the resultant confusion in native minds."[35]

Nevertheless, the Independent School Movement started its own schools and invited all African children--circumcised or not--to join their schools. "The immediate action was to empty the out-schools of all the Protestant Missions that insisted on repudiation of circumcision as an article of faith."[36] Attendance at mission schools dwindled "to one-fifth" in some areas, while none had more than "half the normal figure."[37]

In 1938, the Local Native Councils voted £20,000

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[35]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Native Affairs Department Annual Report, 1930 (London: H.M.S.O., 1931), p. 43.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

(U.S. $60,000) for the establishment of Independent Schools. Africans offered to provide for their entire maintenance as well as the capital cost. The Director of Education observed:

> That the demand for non-Mission education is genuine and widespread is provided by the large sum voted by the Local Native Councils. The demand comes from both pagan and Mission-educated natives--nor can it be attributed entirely to propaganda by political agitators or hostility to the missions.[38]

The 1930 Native Affairs Department Annual Report asserted that the Local Native Councils had "seriously" embarked on the "betterment of conditions in the Native Reserves." The African funds had built schools, hospitals, dispensaries, Council Houses, rest houses, tree nurseries and roads. The Chief Native Commissioner added that:

> The spirit of independence, to which reference has been made elsewhere, has manifested itself perhaps more in the sphere of education than in any other and has taken the form of a demand for the establishment of schools independent of mission control.[39]

The almost total break with the settler-government and the missionary churches was not only for the purpose of local school control, but also for establishing a new educational philosophy, which the natives felt was necessary, if they were ever to prepare themselves effectively for competing with the Europeans in the Kenya colonial affairs. To wit, in the same 1930 Native Affairs Annual Report, the

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[38]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Native Affairs Department Annual Report, 1930, p. 43.

[39]Ibid.

District Commissioner of Nyeri pointed out that ". . . the natives have been asking and subscribing for years for secular or government education as opposed to mission-controlled education." The Commissioner stressed that Africans desired an education that was "more effective in practical life" to "enable them to deal with the new conditions of life resulting from contact with the ideas and methods of Western Industrial civilization." The natives demanded an education which would "put them on more equal terms with the more civilized communities." They felt "they must educate their sons soon" if they were to "face and survive" these challenges.[40]

By 1935, the Independent School Movement had 43 schools. In 1936 and 1937, respectively, 6,000 and 7,223 students were attending these schools.[41] When Kenyatta returned from Europe in 1940, according to Eells, ". . . he found over 300 such schools educating over 60,000 Kikuyu children. . . ."[42] By 1946, more than 100 such schools were educating over 200,000 pupils. At the same time (1946), combined missionary and government school enrollment was 134,185

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[40]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Native Affairs Department Annual Report, 1930, p. 44.

[41]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1937, pp. 123, 127, 129-30.

[42]Walter C. Eells, Communism in Education in Asia, Africa and the Far East (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1954), p. 154.

out of a school-age population of 718,000.[43]

By 1937, the Independent School Movement had greatly increased in numbers and influence among the African peoples. It had thus become a real threat for the Government and Christian mission schools. We see evidence of this settler concern in the disparaging remarks made by the Director of Education in 1937 about Independent Schools, and in subsequent Education Ordinances and policy which severely curtailed the expansion of the Independent School Movement.

In the 1937 Education Department Annual Report, the Director of Education criticized the non-accredited Independent African schools. He said the Africans had refused to obey orders of the Education Department officials. Some "schools did not close even though ordered to by the Government." The schools had only a few qualified teachers and the "bulk of the teaching was done by pupil teachers." There were no fixed salary scales "for qualified and unqualified teachers." Thus the class work was very poor. Students who failed were "pushed" from year to year.

The first grades used neither blackboards nor "double-line exercise books and pencils." In Physical Training, the children danced following "barbaric" music under a pupil leader, which was "not scientific physical training."

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[43] S. and K. Aaronovitch, Crisis in Kenya (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1947), p. 135.

Out of all the "several schools," only "one has a scout troop." "Two have bands" which were trained by ex-soldiers of World War I.

The school buildings "are filthy." They "consist of one main room only." The school buildings were "also used as churches." They "are mud and wattle--some plastered and some rough." They were "too dark inside and the windows badly placed."

The system of "seating is badly arranged," actually designed for a "church congregation rather than different school classes." The "seating is a fixed bench made by fixing two posts in the ground and fastening a long plat on the top."

In sports, "schools have football grounds but only a few footballs." No other sports were available under such "backward circumstances."

In examinations "they are very bad." Of 141 pupils given the Common Entrance Examination (fifth grade examination) only 13 passed. The pupils could not "pass the approved examinations." They just waited to be "pushed" every year to a higher grade.

The Director of Education called the African Independent Schools Association a "wide target" suggesting "that political ammunition is to be fired with the educational gun." But he concluded:

> They are immensely proud, and not without justification, of having started over fifty schools entirely

> on their own initiative and with their own funds . . . they regard Government supervision as . . . an intrusion. They welcome the appointment of Kikuyu itinerant teachers as being of themselves, but not of alien European.[44]

Muga Gicaru, a Kenya novelist who himself attended the Independent Schools, rebuffs the Director's remarks, viz: "Teaching standards, not only in the Independent Schools but in all the schools in the country, were exceedingly low." He adds that the Independent Schools were "slandered as the schools with the worst teachers" and standards because they refused the Christian Orthodox Church, and they "challenged the slowing down of African education development," which was the official policy of "the authorities." In fact, the first African to obtain a degree from the University of East Africa was also a graduate of an Independent School. The author relates of "voluntary subscription" and "tremendous sacrifices" to support these schools.[45] (I attended a missionary school between 1944 and 1949. This school was the type of school that the Director made remarks about in 1937 as recorded on the previous page.)

However, the following year (1938) the Independent School Movement applied "to open thirty-eight new schools." The same Director who spoke about the worthlessness of the

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[44]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1937, pp. 59-66 (for quotations and summary).

[45]Muga Gicaru, Land of Sunshine (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1958), p. 73.

Independent Schools (above) rejected the application. Reason? "It is hard to treat these new applications seriously except in the light of a political move."[46]

Meanwhile, the Native Affairs Annual Report, 1937 had stated that African enthusiasm for education could not be entirely financed by the Government. The Chief Native Commissioner pointed out that "the present demands for education already exceeded the money available."[47] Yet, as shown in Table II, the Independent Schools were financing a school population twice the size of that in Government schools. Simultaneously, the Government had allocated minimal sums of money for African education (see Tables III and IV).

In 1938, Kenyatta published his classic book on African customs--Facing Mount Kenya. In it he attacks European "friends" who had hitherto spoken for Africans only to keep them in a "savage status." He deplores European imposition of their music on Africans. Africans got no formal schooling, and the teaching was generally ineffective. European education was useless unless it had relevance to African environment and customs, such as personal relationships which the African child is taught at home. The only solution was to press for more Independent Schools, and he did.

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[46]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1937, p. 67.

[47]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Native Affairs Annual Report, 1937, p. 32.

TABLE III

GOVERNMENT, MISSION AND INDEPENDENT SCHOOL ROLLS--1937

Government Schools average totals in 13 central and 39 village schools	4,261	boys
	132	girls
	4,393	TOTAL
Number in Missionary schools, reserves and European shambas (farms)	72,404	boys
	33,432	girls
	105,836	TOTAL
Independent Schools	5,219	boys
	2,004	girls
	7,223	TOTAL
Alliance High School (no girls)	125	boys
Holy Ghost High School, Kabaa (no girls)	148	boys
GRAND TOTAL	116,625	
Number of Government Teachers in Training (Elementary, Lower Primary and Primary) in 5 schools	63	boys
	9	girls
Same category of teachers in Missionary schools	331	boys
	44	girls
	438	

Source: Kenya, Education Department Annual Report, 1937, pp. 123, 127, 129-30.

TABLE IV

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT EXPENDITURE 1935, 1936 and 1937

Race		Amount 1935	1936	1937
European	£	44,041	46,529	49,255
Indian and Goan	£	34,060	37,341	39,140
Arab	£	5,550	5,194	5,251
African	£	74,097	70,154	77,193

Source: Education Department Annual Report, 1937, p. 18.

TABLE V

GROSS COST PER PUPIL IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS, 1937

	Total Cost	Net Cost Met by Government
European	£ 29/13/0	£ 25/15/0
Indian	£ 8	£ 5/10/0
Arab	£ 12	£ 9/8/0
African	£ 5/16/0	£ 4/10/0

Adapted from: Kenya, Education Department Annual Report, 1937, pp. 19-21.

D. Evaluation

It is evident that the settler-government could not tolerate the Independent School Movement--and particularly its political character. And so the settlers made efforts to prevent, to discredit, and to destroy the Movement.

We have seen that the period covered in this Chapter (1921-1940) is characterized by the formation of actually one political movement which appeared in "three shapes," and which was always repressed by the settlers. The same pattern existed throughout the School-Movement period (1925-1940).

Educational development for Africans can only be understood in terms of these political events, which were inextricably bound up with these general complex patterns of group action and reaction.

However, one must wonder why the settlers never used enough force to crush the School Movement, since they had

the power to do so. I suspect it was because the Movement never really had a direct confrontation with the settler's basic economic and political interests, and, secondly perhaps, the British lip-service on "native paramountcy" (for as long as the natives kept their place) checked a more forceful action on the part of the settlers. Once the Africans "left their place," however, both the British and their cousins--the settlers--would use brutal force to liquidate African organizations. We see evidence of this in the constant ban on African political activity (with London's approval), and in the total destruction of Independent Schools in 1952 (with London's troop participation) when the Mau Mau War of Independence broke out.

In any case, the existence of Independent Schools in Kenya has had significant accomplishments and influence among my people. The Movement increased literacy by availing opportunities to children who were otherwise doomed to lead illiterate lives simply because they were non-Christian. This was a basic shift towards a non-Christian education--which is only right and proper in a land where the majority of the people are not Christian.

The Independent Schools made us more aware of the nature of the European oppressive political and economic policies. In this way, the schools prepared us for political, as well as for educational, leadership. The Movement, which was deeply entrenched in the politics of survival against a common enemy, developed the African social and

nationalistic solidarity--at least until we became free of foreign rule.

And, lastly, it seems to me that the Africans were, in effect, reaffirming their own "paramountcy" on their own land, through their own political and educational institutions--all of which was too bitter a pill for the alien imposters to swallow.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Synopsis

In the course of this study, I have presented an analysis of the development of an educational system for Africans in Kenya during the period 1846-1940.

Since the social context of this development was a system of European colonial domination, I have interpreted this development by examining it in relation to the structure and dynamics of that colonial system.

The main theoretical ideas utilized in the analysis identify the different interest groups whose presence influenced the history of the educational system; they identify the relative power of each group, and the structure of power existing among these groups at different times; and they point to the relationship between specific developments within the educational system and the power positions and interests of these groups. I have interpreted educational development largely from the point of view of these groups' instrumental function in advancing their social, political and economic interests.

B. Summary

During the period before the coming of the Europeans,

the major social characteristic of relevance in this study was that African life in Kenya was organized on a tribal basis. The power situation was one of self-determination. As is generally true among tribal peoples, education was not organized through a formal school system; it was carried on informally in the conduct of everyday tribal life. Hence the educational process was integrated with the other aspects of native life and, most importantly, it was mediated through native African cultural traditions, beliefs, values and world views. Thus, the educational system, although informally structured, produced individuals well-prepared for conditions of life in African tribal societies, and by virtue of the native cultural matrix of the educational process, these were also individuals inculcated with African identities and outlooks on life.

During the period between 1498-1846, Europeans were engaged in their first explorations of the East African territories. Their contacts were limited primarily to the large coastal settlements inhabited by the Arabs. This period witnessed little result in the development of relationships between Europeans and Africans in East Africa, and consequently, no significant developments in education.

European missionaries began their work in East Africa in 1846--this date marking the beginning of the first period of development of a European educational system for Africans. The missionaries were able to make effective progress in penetrating beyond the coastal areas, and in working with the

African populations, only after the establishment of British power in 1498, at which time Kenya legally came under the British "sphere of influence"--a euphemism for "colony." Working under the aegis of British-imposed "law-and-order," missionary societies achieved considerable success in establishing numerous field centers in Kenya among the tribal groups and, in this social context, they established the first schools.

The missionaries taught the essentials which were of considerable practical value: for example, the Three R's, animal husbandry, agriculture, health and hygiene. They placed great emphasis on instruction in Christian religion and the Western values and traditions that for them were inextricably bound up with Christianity. The advent of the missionaries marks not only the beginning of a formal educational system, but also the beginning of education in an alien cultural and social context. Given their attitude of general European racist superiority, the missionaries largely ignored (and indeed denied) the validity of native cultures; instead, they sought to "civilize" a people who were in a state of "savagery," in their view. In this way, the formally instituted educational operation also began a process of acculturation. The educated African was to be not only educated but Christian, and, essentially, European in his outlook.

The missionaries remained the only European interest group engaged in education for Africans until 1909--at which

time a constitutional government was established by the European settlers who had been flowing into the bountiful rich "White Highlands" of Kenya since 1901.

The settlers achieved power over the further development of education in 1911; this being but one aspect of their over-all assumption of power in Kenya through the establishment of their own Government.

This development, however, did not alter the essential character of the education system for Africans. The interests of the settler group were not identical with those of the missionaries, but they were highly compatible. There were no interests of either party that formed the basis for serious conflicts, or competitition, between them with respect to African education.

During this period, formal education for Africans still was carried on almost exclusively by the missionaries, now working under the control and sponsorship of the settler-government Education Department.

The major educational innovations during the settler hegemony were changes aimed at the development of a more highly organized and centralized system of administration. The curriculum, too, became more standardized, and with more explicably formulated directives governing curriculum--all emanating from the settler-government's Director of Education.

The next significant period of development was initiated by the British Government through its Colonial Office.

This occurred in 1925 when the Colonial Office issued a policy document entitled Educational Policy in British Tropical Areas. The document represented a commitment by the British Government that, by implication, challenged the total power of the settler-government to determine educational policy and practice for Africans in the school system.

In the following years, British policy was further articulated under the pressure and influence of missionary groups outside Kenya, who were deeply concerned about the inadequacies and injustices of the existing colonial education systems.

Although the British Government's actions represented significant policy shifts and developments, they had little impact on the actual educational system in Kenya. The British main effect was to legitimize the newly developing demands of Africans in Kenya for improvements in their schools.

The final historical period dealt with in this thesis began in 1921. From that time on, the major development was the emergence of an African independence movement--first organized in the form of the East African Association. From the beginning, the leaders of the Association viewed education as an important instrument, as well as a weapon, in their struggle for independence. They recognized clearly that the schools could not, and should not, be isolated from other areas of experience.

Thus, political activism was responsible for the

formation of the Independent School Movement in 1929--which immediately started the first African schools, by Africans and for Africans. The Movement was quite successful in terms of the numbers of schools that were established, and their effects in promoting the African political aims. In their curricula, for example, the African Independent Movement's schools broke sharply with the existing pattern of education in a European cultural context. They introduced "native African" subject matter such as religion, folklore, and tribal traditions, and by so doing, they sought to return the educational process to an African cultural context.

This period was characterized by a repetitive pattern of political activism by Africans, followed by prompt and repressive settler-government measures. The period of World War II brought about a fundamental alteration of the power relationship between the settler-government and the African independence movement. The War's over-all impact was to greatly enhance the power of the independence movement, and the long-range result was, in fact, the attainment of national independence in 1963.

The African Independent Schools continued to grow in numbers and influence as the power and momentum of independence grew. The settlers' savage and total destruction of the Independent Schools in 1952, when the Mau Mau War of Independence officially started, reflected the close ties between the development of these schools and the political independence movement.

C. Conclusions

Colonialism in Kenya, as my study suggests, has left as part of its legacy an educational system that is very deficient for meeting the needs of modernization.

Undoubtedly, the most serious manifestation of the situation is the lack of educational facilities for training skilled workers and professionals. Perhaps colonial rule as such cannot be held completely responsible for this over-all deficiency.

However, in a colony ruled by Europeans (who called themselves civilized) for almost three quarters of a century, one would expect that the benefits of European civilization would have been spread somewhat more broadly, and evenly, among the native population than was the case. The disparity between expectation and reality cannot be accounted for except in terms of "the system of colonial domination" that was maintained for the benefit of the ruling European group and was intended to benefit the subordinated African group only in a very limited way.

The Kenya Government today is engaged in an intensive effort to overcome the deficiencies of this heritage. But it will undoubtedly take at least several decades before the minimum aims of universal literacy and a skilled working population are achieved.

Beyond this consideration of the more pressing practical problems of education that are at least partially the

outgrowth of colonialism, there remains a cultural issue that I will examine briefly in concluding this study.

I have observed that the pattern of education before the coming of the Europeans was imbedded in a native African cultural context. Knowledge of the world was crystallized and transmitted through the vehicles of African languages, and it was encased in a matrix of attitudes, beliefs and meanings that were native to the teacher and pupil alike.

The system of European acculturation operated to produce individuals who were not at home in African societies, and who were un- and anti-African in their personal identity and outlook in life.

I have indicated also that the advent of European schools brought to the African an educational process encased in a European cultural matrix. The African pupil learned not only "facts" but also more profound elements of European culture--such as European attitudes, manners, dress, fashions and other values. This situation also had its impact on the African personal identity and world view. The result can be summed up in an observation which has become quite evident among educated Africans in Kenya; that is, the European colonial system operated to produce not only an educated African, but a "civilized black European." This cultural type, a direct creation of the colonial spirit and institutional system, has disdain for his own tribal culture, and a definite megalomania of superiority to the masses of

non-educated and, therefore, "non-European" Africans. The "brain-washing" he has undergone is imbued with the spirit of European individualism which runs counter to the African sense of familialism and collectivism. The "black Europeans" have thus been indoctrinated into the values of material possessions for the enhancement (and maintenance) of his own personal status and superiority.

Although some elements of the European value system unquestionably are needed for life in the modern world, a major effect of this blind embracing of European culture has been to alienate the educated Kenyan from the masses of his fellow countrymen, socially and culturally. It is questionable whether an educated political leadership consisting of "civilized black Europeans" can secure, and maintain, the kind of rapport with the masses that is essential to effective leadership in a developing nation. (It will be recalled that the Independent School Movement sought to reverse this situation, and to again create an educational system in an African cultural milieu. President Kenyatta himself has persistently encouraged an Africanized education since he took office after independence.)

However, if these considerations are valid (and I believe they are), they suggest that a fundamental change of the educational system is a requirement for meaningful progress in the future. Education must be carried on in a context that will reduce, rather than increase, the cultural and social gap between leaders and followers.

At the same time, if Kenya is to become a truly unified nation, the educational system must operate to produce a common sense of identity as a basis for this unity. I cannot foresee the kind of cultural matrix that will provide for this development. The European influence has been so strong that the "new" society will certainly contain European as well as African cultural elements. Thus, for example, it is unlikely (and certainly unrealistic) that the English language will be abandoned out of nationalistic and cultural pride. No thinking Kenyan would ignore the international English usage in diplomatic forums as well as in the search for knowledge from other cultures in the world.

However, it seems unlikely that a satisfactory cultural foundation for a new education system in the future can be one that operates to create a "civilized black European." For the reality of cultural life for the masses of Africans in Kenya has been, and for some time will continue to be, distinctively African.

As the educational system draws increasing numbers of these masses into its realm, it will have to find a cultural setting that is more consistent than is the European culture with the everyday life experience of these individuals. Otherwise it is likely to create a condition of cultural discontinuity and disorientation that may seriously undermine the formal educational system.

This issue, as I have indicated, is one of the legacies of the colonial system of education analyzed in the study. Its resolution is one of the major challenges facing my people of Kenya today.

APPENDIX I

A CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS AFFECTING EUROPEAN EDUCATION FOR AFRICANS IN KENYA FROM FIRST EUROPEAN CONTACT TO 1940.

Pre-Christian Era	Arabs, Indians, Malays, Chinese and Phoenicians visit the East coast of Africa. Arabs settle on the African coast and Arab sultans have Empires; Arab slave trade flourishes.
1441	The ghastly slave commerce by Portuguese begins. First ten African slaves sent to Portugal and presented to the Pope.
1486	First African export of gold is sent to Europe.
1491	First Portuguese priest missionary to the Congo followed by the influx of European traders.
1497	Vasco da Gama is first European on East coast of Africa en route to India. Inland penetration by missionaries, traders, adventurers, etc., follows.
1574	First school in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) is founded by Portuguese missionaries.
1652	Boers land on Cape of Good Hope and later claim the southern tip of Africa.
1806	Britain seizes the Cape and controls South Africa until 1910.
1807	British Parliament abolishes slave trade.
1844	Krapf lands at Mombasa in May.
1846	First missionary school in East and Central Africa is established at Rabai, Kenya, by Krapf and Rebmann.

1846-90	Christian missionaries conduct education in Kenya with the aid of non-monetary grants, such as land.
	Period of non-active British occupation.
1846-1911	No grants-in-aid to missionaries for African education. Government mainly interested in keeping "law and order" through "treaties," slaughter and conquest.
	Krapf declares the Wakamba are "lawless, capricious, greedy, idle and faithless" and urges the spread of "the Gospel alone to save Africa."
1847	Krapf "discovers" Mt. Kenya.
1848	Rebmann "discovers" Mt. Kilimanjaro.
1860's	Livingstone's Journals depict Africans as "barbaric, heathen and inconceivably vile."
1873	Britain abolishes Arab slave trade in Eastern and Central Africa.
1875-1964	Albert Schweitzer, the missionary doctor, reveals racist bigotry in his writings.
1877	British missionaries arrive in Uganda.
1877-1924	Education in Uganda for Africans is "entirely in the hands of the missionaries."
1878	First International Agreement on the protection of "Minorities" is signed in Berlin.
1879	The White Fathers Mission is established in Uganda.
1880	Compulsory education in Britain becomes required by law.
1882	Blyden, U.S. "Negro," condemns Christian nations' un-Christian activities towards the black race.
1883	H. M. Stanley testifies at Berlin Conference that he found no "civilized" powers in Africa because he "found neither flags nor emblems."
	Africa is fragmented into "spheres of European influence," at the close of the Berlin Conference, "in the Name of the Almighty God."

1884	The Islam vs. Christian religious conflict takes place in Uganda.
1888	Thompson, en route to Uganda via Kenya, views his Waswahili porters (and the Wakikuyu) as "atrocious, savage, monstrous, cruel, murderous, troublesome and thievish."
1890	Less than 50% of British children of school age go to school.
	Lugard sardonically refers to the Wakikuyu as "the best-mannered savages" in East Africa.
1891-1910	Active British occupation in Kenya.
1893	Portal sees Africans as "treacherous" and an "untrustworthy crowd."
1890's	"Treaties" between Europeans and Chief Waiyaki wa Hinga of Kenya are constantly violated by whites, culminating in African vengeance.
1894	Present-day Kenya is declared a British East African Protectorate.
1895	First coffee seeds are planted on East African Highlands in Kenya by missionaries.
1896	20,000 Indian coolies arrive in Kenya for the construction of the Indian Ocean to Lake Victoria railway--about 600 miles distance.
1900	Grogan declares the "native" is fundamentally inferior to the white man and promises "to ignore the Biblical platitudes as to the equality of men."
1901	Eliot, London's second High Commissioner, vows to "spread civilization" and to wipe out "native apathy and indolence."
	"Native" Hut Tax, at two rupees (U.S. 38¢) per hut, is introduced.
	Eliot issues a statement on land settlement: "Kenya must be a white man's country and the interests of the white men must be paramount."
	Railway line touches Lake Victoria in West Kenya transversing entire colony from coast.
1902	The "Kavirondo" area is separated from Uganda.

1903	Eliot repeats his pledge of founding a white colony, stressing that he is only "introducing order into blank, uninteresting, brutal barbarism."
	Waves of settlers arrive from South Africa and Europe on Eliot's invitation.
	First European school at Kijabe is started.
1906	First Indian school by Uganda Railway started at Nairobi (taken over by Education Department in 1912).
1908	Elgin urges that non-European land ownership be curtailed for "administrative convenience." Asians and Arabs protest.
1909	Government issues sim sim, maize, ground nuts, cotton seeds for "native" planting in "Kavirondo."
1910	Nairobi European Government School started.
	Boers take control of South Africa from Britain.
	The European Convention of Associations is formed to prevent Kenya from "degenerating into a black man's country."
1911	Kenya's Department of Education is established. J. Orr is first Director of Education.
1911-1925	Government offers grants-in-aid to missions. Education is "technical" in African schools, as opposed to "literary" in European schools.
1911	Indian Boys High School, Nairobi, is started.
	Nakuru European School opens.
1911-1948	Four Grants-in-aid Ordinances approved by the settler Legislative Council.
	Cooperation between Government and Missions in African education is eminent.
1911-1925	No secondary education for Africans.
1912	Cransworth castigates the "natives" as "ugly, sly, cunning, deceitful, cowardly, intensely lazy, devoid of all sense of honor and inveterate liars who must either be economically useful or perish."

1912	First Arab Government School started.
1913	First African secular Government School is opened at Machakos.
	Governor Girouard upholds taxing the "natives" in order to compel them to leave their reserves for work on European farms.
1914-1918	The Great War. Thousands of Africans fight and die for the British King.
1915	Government European School is started at Eldoret.
1917	The Leader (European) of June 23 declares it is not desirable to extend the franchise to "Asiatics" or "natives."
1918	System of inspection is started in all schools.
1918-1924	System of grants-in-aid is based on capitation and indentured apprentices.
1919	Foreign Missions of North America Conference stimulates the Phelps-Stokes Fund to appoint two Education Commissions to Africa.
	The Kenya Christian Bishops support legalizing "native compulsory labor which is clearly necessary."
	"Native" Registration Ordinance (Kipande Laws) is enacted to fingerprint all "able-bodied natives" of working age.
	Europeans elect first Representatives to the Legislative Council.
	Governor Northey threatens to dclare some "native reserves" (land) "Crown Land" and insists the "natives" must work for the settlers. He reiterates unqualified white paramountcy in the colony.
	Chief "Native" Commissioner's Circular on "Native" Labor endorses Northey's stand.
	The Masters and Servants Ordinance makes desertion from European farms or homes a crime.

1920 Kenya is declared a Crown Colony, with the ten-mile coastal strip remaining a Protectorate under the Arab Sultan of Zanzibar.

The European Vigilance Committee formed to safeguard the settlers' interests.

The Kikuyu Association appoints Chiefs as a buffer between African grievances and the Government.

1921 The East African Standard (Settler) of July 15 reveals that Government "had certainly informed" the chiefs to "deploy women and children labor in European farms."

The Supreme Court of Kenya holds "native" land rights to have "disappeared."

Phelps-Stokes Commission reveals education is poorly conducted in African colonies.

First Government African Technical School in Uganda (becomes Makerere College in 1922) is started.

The Young Kikuyu Association is formed and sends grievances to Nairobi and London.

The "Kavirondo" Taxpayers and Welfare Association (Western Kenya) is launched.

1922 Churchill, as British Colonial Secretary, pledges to preserve the highlands exclusively for Europeans, adding "Britain will regulate the immigration of Asiatics." He continues that: "Kenya must become a characteristically and distinctly British Colony" applying the principle of "equal rights to all civilized men who attain European standards."

According to Leys, Europeans (about 1% of the population) spend £150,000 ($450,000) on alcohol, while the settler-administered Government spends £24,000 ($72,000) on African (97% of the population) education per year.

Government African Technical School in Uganda is expanded into Makerere College as East Africa's first High School.

The East African Association (sole African political body) is banned.

1923 Advisory Committee on Kenya "Native" Education established but without African committeemen.

The European and African Trades Organization is formed by Delamere, the settlers' mentor, to combat "Asiatic" power and influence.

Alladina Visran High School for Asians started at Mombasa.

Education Department continues to subsidize European children's holiday expenses to coast at public cost.

New Indian Schools at Kisumu, Machakos, Fort Hall, and Lamu are opened.

European High School at Limuru is established.

Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, June 6, draft recommendations that lead to Colonial Secretary's appointment of Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

First British Advisory Committee on "Native" Education in British Tropical Africa appointed November 24.

The Devonshire White Paper proclaims "native" paramountcy in affairs pertaining to conflict of interests with all immigrants. Higher intellectual training is stressed.

1924 Delamere is "determined not to agree to the slightest risk of future native domination."

An Education Ordinance establishes school areas with local committees to levy local education rates.

Same Ordinance provides for three Advisory Education Committees--European, Asian, and "Native." The last mentioned is comprised of Delamere, nine priests and five Europeans.

Education Department created in Uganda.

The Native Industrial Training Depot started at Kabete, Kenya.

European Kento College, Kijabe, is started.

1924 The Kikuyu Central Association is formed from the Young Kikuyu Association and immediately presents demands on African rights to a British Commission touring the Colony.

1925 The second Phelps-Stokes Fund Commission--supported by Delamere--recommends a Jeanes School for Kenya.

First fee payment for all pupils introduced.

Weller, Superintendent of Technical Education, announces that "literary education" for "backward people", "leads to dangerous activities such as sedition and rebellion."

The Bible is available in all main "native" languages.

Advisory Council on African Education is created in Uganda with some African members (cf. Kenya, 1924).

District Education Boards and Provincial Education Councils are established (with African members) in Uganda.

Tabora (Tanganyika) School is founded for the sons of Chiefs. (Plans for the same previously failed in Kenya in 1911.)

Other Tanganyika Schools are situated at Native Administration Headquarters.

First Jeanes School in East and Central Africa opened at Kabete, Kenya, and attracts students from Uganda, Tanganyika and "Northern Rhodesia."

European schools at Kitale and Nanyuki are established.

The Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa published as memo #Cmd. 2374 (See 1923).

1925-1935 Need for teacher training institutions emphasized by London but still none is available in Kenya.

1925-1937 Parents of pupils in Native Administration Schools (Tanganyika) attended same schools in the evenings to learn the Three R's.

1926 Grants-in-aid Rules Ordinance increases European salaries and extends grants for building and equipment maintenance.

An Education Department official Report advises that "Europeans remain the leading race," and compulsory education be introduced.

The same Report "merely proposes to outline the chief difficulties" encountered in educating "primitive races." "Natives have no thought and power required for a high standard of literary education. Handicrafts and technical education is more useful just as 'handwork' has been found useful in training of mentally defective children. . ." "Military or semi-military discipline makes a strong appeal to primitive peoples."

First African High School, Alliance High School, with grades 9-10, at Kikuyu, is built from the balance of War Relief Fund for Africans, to be financed by the Government, but run by the Church Missionary Society.

La Zoute (Belgium) Conference of International Missionaries in African education and Evangelization.

1927 Labor Commission report recommends "native juvenile labor to provide discipline and training."

European Officers Pensions Ordinance enacted.

First African representation in Legislative Council (Parliament) by a European.

Second African High School is opened by The Holy Ghost Mission at Kabaa (later moved to Mang'u).

The Missionary Conference of Kenya and Uganda recommends co-education embracing physical proximity, but different classrooms.

Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza calls growing African demand for education "danger signals."

1928 Domestic Servants Registration Act passes, requiring "native" servants to be finger-printed, and to carry character certificates.

The Manchester Guardian, of December 6 reports forced labor in Central "Kavirondo."

1928 First municipal housing for "natives" in Nairobi.

Governor Grigg declares "Africans, of course, have no view at all" to The Hilton Young Commission on land grievances.

First Government African Elementary Schools in the reserves established.

Local "Native" Councils' voluntary cess for education is well accepted by Africans.

The Jerusalem Conference of Christian Missions on "native" education and Christianity.

The Leopoldville (now Kinshasa), Congo Missionary Conference resolves, among other things, to institute "native" teacher-training.

The "Sub-Committee on African Education, Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa," is created.

The Manchester Guardian of August 9 expresses concern over a possible African retaliation regarding land deprivation.

1929 The Hilton Young Commission reports settlers' wish for partnership with Africans under direct control by the Imperial Government.

Guarantee on "native" education, land, and rights are once more recommended by Britain (Cf. 1923).

Mzee Kenyatta's appeal in London for restoration of African land is dismissed by His Majesty's Privy Council.

Advisory Council on Native Education in British Tropical Africa becomes Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, without reversing the 1925 principles.

Colonial Development Committee gives £1 million ($3 million) for education in colonies.

Provincial Commissioner in Kikuyu Province reports vigorous "native" demands and plan for increased secular education--adding it is from all the tribes in the colony.

1929 The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA) formed.

The Karinga Schools Association (KSA) breaks away from KISA. Both KISA and KSA emphasize and start Africanized independent and secular education.

1929-1933 Depression--no central government subsidies for primary education.

1929-1948 Independent School Movements apparently "practice" the doctrines of African Orthodox Church (South Africa) to meet a "religious education" requirement by the Government.

1930 Memo on "Native" Policy in East Africa urges "spread of education in the widest sense."

Offenses vs. Morality Ordinance makes rape punishable by death--a law which is never applied to European men.

The Times of East Africa of June 28 rejects a common roll in voting as "a death-knell to white settlement."

The Hilton Young Commission publishes a memo on "Native" Policy in East Africa stressing the need for the security of tribal lands.

No educational facilities yet for Kenya's Northern Frontier Province.

The Church of Scotland Mission officially imposes educational sanctions on all Africans practising female circumcision.

The Church Missionary Society Commission asks native scholars to study Church History and to prepare "simple books" in vernaculars in all areas.

African demand for secular education increases after Government backs the Church on the female circumcision issue.

African efforts to increase independent secular schools are marred by Government declaring some schools "redundant."

Chief Native Commissioner's Annual Report asserts the "native spirit of independence has . . . manifested itself in the sphere of education."

1930 District Commissioner, Nyeri, reports that "natives have been subscribing and asking for secular education for years."

1931 Colonial Directors of Agriculture Conference (London) recommend "an education with an agriculture and rural bias."

Advisory Council (formerly Committee) on African Education, still without Africans, started in Kenya.

Education Ordinance intensifies link between Director of Education and local school authorities.

Education (Examinations) Ordinance enforces colony-wide examinations at grades 5, 8, 10 (and later 12). Failures at all levels are forced out of school.

Education (Amendment) Ordinance puts Governor under direct control of education through his self-appointed Director of Education and Advisory Committees.

Director of Education empowered to close any school "conducted in a manner detrimental to the welfare of the pupils."

No Independent Schools were to be built "without the prior consent of the Director."

Mzee Kenyatta's appeal in London on African land hunger is again dismissed by His Majesty's Privy Council.

1932 The Religious Tract Society Circular reveals plans (and activities) for massive Christian literature for "natives."

Education Department Annual Report admonishes Government for ignoring value of Africans in responsible posts.

1933-1934 District Education Boards Ordinance puts Local "Native" Councils' educational endeavors directly under the European District Commissioners to enforce settler policies.

Grants-in-aid Ordinance classifies schools eligible for assistance--those under the Government.

1933-1934 Grants-in-aid for African "technical" training are discontinued.

1934 Europeans and Asians with school committees to advise the Director on all matters relating to their education.

£20,000 ($60,000) voted by Local "Native" Councils for secular education is blocked by the 1934 law's provisions.

African opposition to the 1934 ordinance is intensified.

1935 First five East and Central African full High School graduates (12-year schooling) at Makerere College.

July--British Council inaugurated as an educational body for colonial subjects.

First secondary school for boys started in Tanganyika.

Department of Native Education defines apartheid in education in South Africa.

British Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, Cmd. #103, is a re-statement of 1925 statement reviewed in the light of subsequent experience.

1935-1937 Over 43 Independent Schools have 7,223 pupils --more than in all Government schools.

1936 British Act on Education requires European teachers in the colonies to have degrees or teaching certificates.

Directors of Education from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar recommend close contact between Makerere and Governments.

Scott, Kenya Director of Education, calls "native" work on settler farms and houses a quick "education process."

The Kenya Report of Committee on Advisory Council in Native Education maintains the sole function of African education is to "enable native boys and girls to live happily under village conditions."

1936 Cripps, British Labor Member of Parliament, urges colleagues in the Commons to "liquidate the British Empire."

First African in Advisory Council on African education.

1937 "Native" Affairs Department claims there is no money to meet "native" demands for education.

The County Chief of Budaka, Uganda; The Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, Uganda; The Makerere College Trained Teachers' Society; Kayamba of Uganda; and Mathu of Kenya; all strongly underscore to London's Education Commission the need for African girls to receive education.

The Kenya Education Department criticizes Independent School teachers as "unqualified" and "disobedient."

Report of Commission of Higher Education in East Africa--H.M.S.O., Cmd. #142.

African Girls High School proposed to be built near Nairobi, Kenya (was built in 1948).

No commercial and law college courses for Africans anywhere in East and Central Africa until 1956 and 1962, respectively.

Clement Atlee rejects a colonial Empire and asks for implementation of the 1923 White Paper on "native paramountcy."

African Inland Mission (Church) Girls Primary School at Kijabe, Kenya, starts with 150 African students.

No secondary school in either 'Nyasaland' (now Malawi) or 'Northern Rhodesia' (now Zambia).

'Northern Rhodesia' has only five schools offering an eight-year primary education.

Fifty per cent of Kenya's pupils drop out of school after first grade.

The Daily Telegraph of July 6 related African chiefs' refusal to remain in the racist Union Government of South Africa.

First Kenya African to earn a University degree.

1937 — Sub-Directorate of girls' education established within the Education Department without African representation.

African and Arab (Certification) Rules for teaching specify loyalty and good character as prime requirements.

1937-1939 — The Wakikuyu are evicted from Trigor District by the Government to make room for settlers. The Wakamba are forced to contribute their cows to a settlers' meat firm; Muindi Mbingu, the Wakamba hero, is deported to Lamu Islands. The Wateita relinquish their land to the settlers. Mzee Kenyatta writes the Colonial Office strongly urging it "to release unoccupied land for Africans' use."

1937-1942 — Mzee Kenyatta to Europe to explain the African plight. Mbiu Koinange to U.S.A. for same purpose. Kenya African Union formed for independence and protection of "all other racial minorities," and for expanded African education.

1938 — Director of Education, Kenya, rejects African application to establish 38 new Independent Schools.

Mzee Kenyatta's letter to the New Statesman of June 25 promising African loyalty if settlers leave the Wakamba cows alone.

Third African High School at Maseno under the Church Missionary Society management.

1939 — The "Kavirondo" Taxpayers and Welfare Association, and the Kikuyu Central Association, send ultimatum to Colonial Secretary asking re-occupation of land by Africans in "Kavirondo" area.

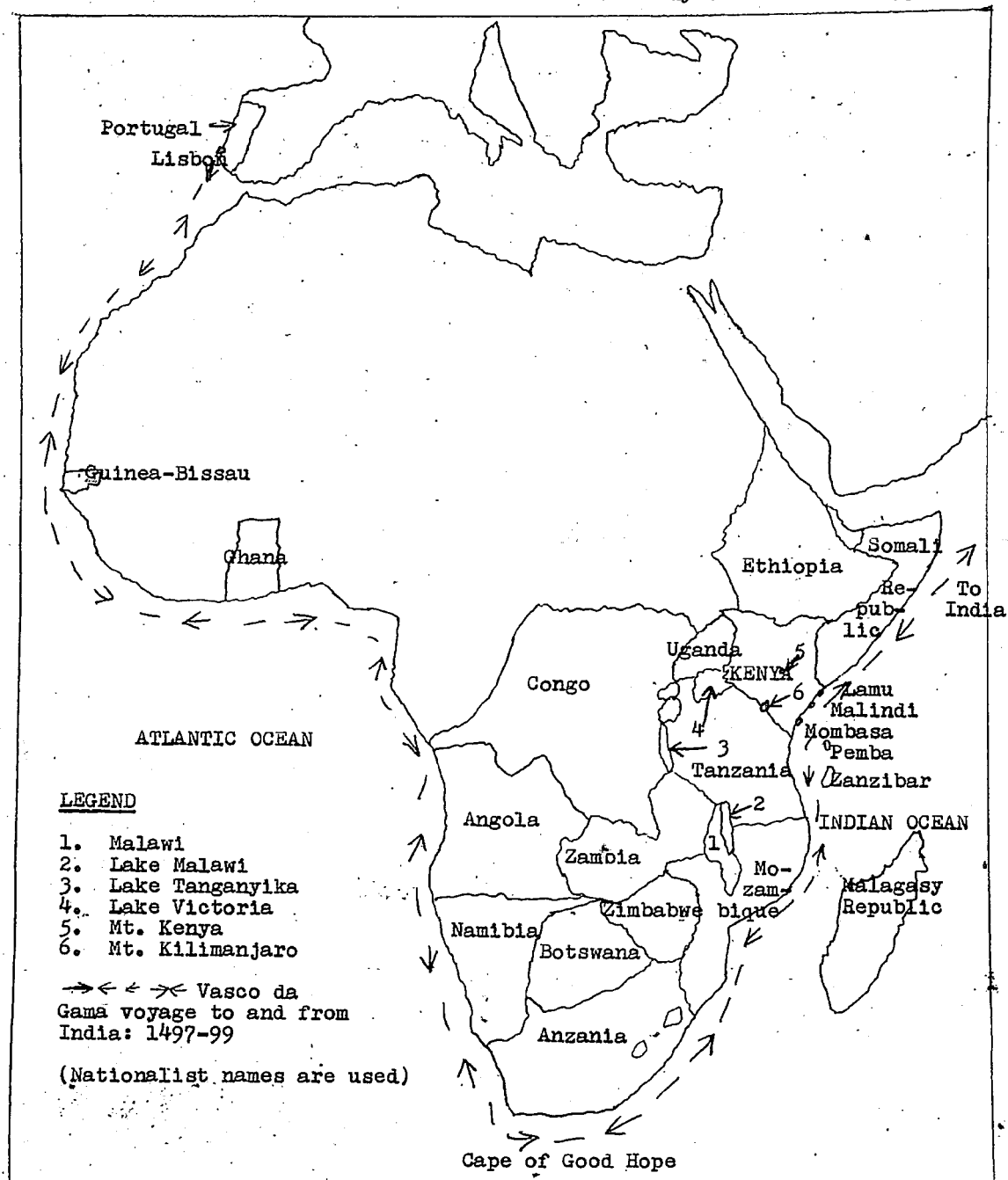
"Report of Committee Appointed to Inspect Achimota College by Gold Coast Government."

"Report of Committee Appointed to Inspect Fourah Bay College. H.M.S.O., Cmd. #169."

"Report of Committee Appointed to Inspect Higher Education in Malaya. H.M.S.O., Cmd., #173."

The Madras International Christian Conference on Native Education and Christianity.

1939	Fourth African High School at Yala under Roman Catholic management.
	System of indentured apprenticeship in African primary schools discontinued.
1939-1945	World War II: Development of Teacher Training and Secondary Education restricted, due to lack of funds. Thousands of soldiers learn trades and skills in the army and abroad.
1939-1948	Government African Secondary Boys' Schools at Kagumo, Machakos, Kisii, Kakamega and Shimo-La-Tewa. African Girls' High Schools at Kikuyu and Limuru.
1940	District Education Board (D.E.B.) (Amendment) Ordinance empowers D.E.B.'s to open, to improve, and to run all African schools below secondary level under the Director's supervision.
	First British Survey of Vocational, Technical Education in the Colonial Empire. H.M.S.O., Cmd. #177.
	Colonial Welfare and Development Act to subsidize African development.
	The Kikuyu Central Association, Africans' sole political body, is proscribed.
	The Kenya African Union formed but frustrated by a myriad Government restrictions. Union goes underground and prepares for a nationalist war of independence.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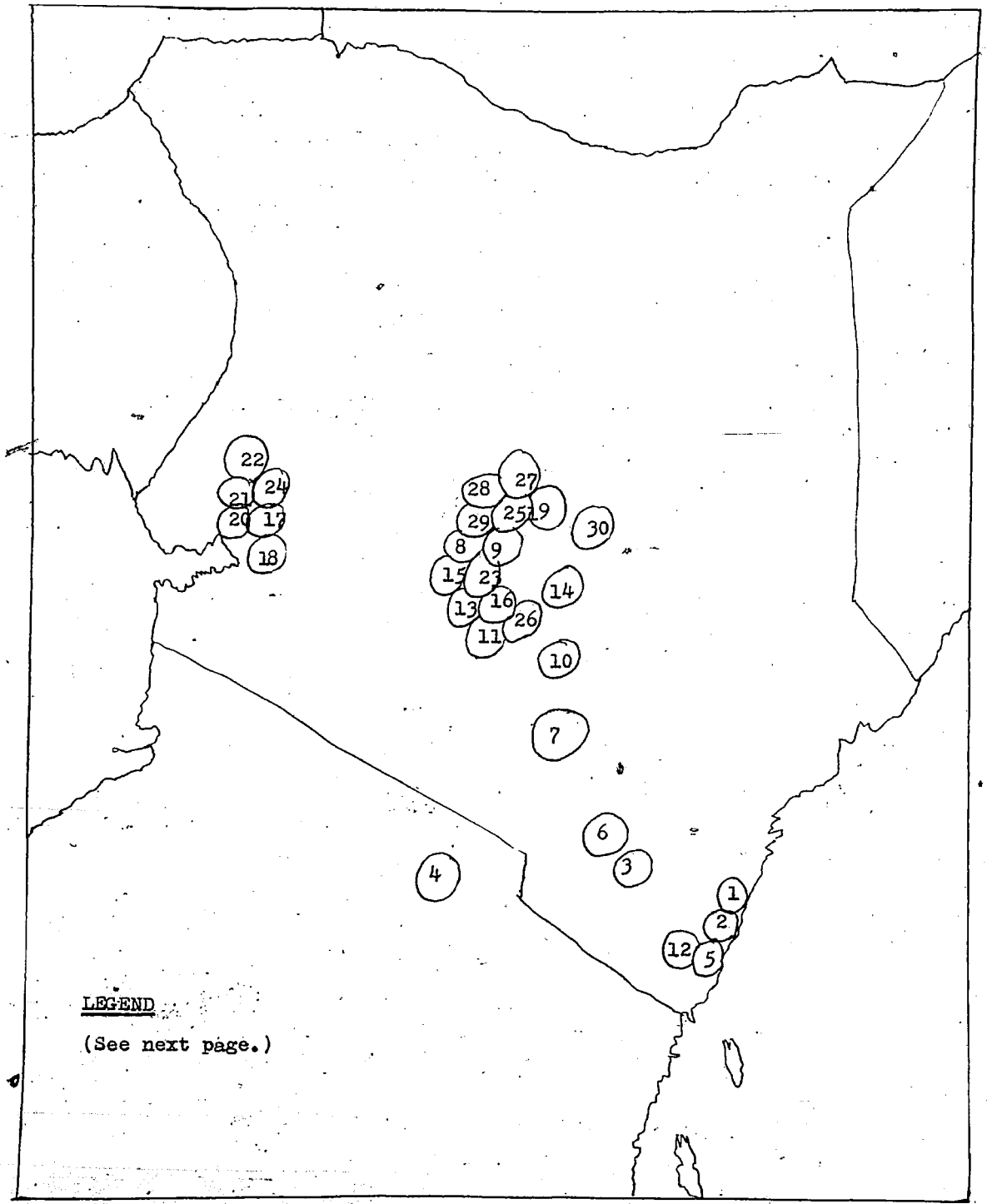
Tanzania
Angola
Zambia
Zimbabwe
Mozambique
Namibia
Botswana
Anzania
INDIAN OCEAN
Malagasy Republic
Cape of Good Hope
LEGEND
1. Malawi
2. Lake Malawi
3. Lake Tanganyika
4. Lake Victoria
5. Mt. Kenya
6. Mt. Kilimanjaro
Vasco da Gama voyage to and from India: 1497-99
(Nationalist names are used)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LEGEND
(See next page.)

LEGEND

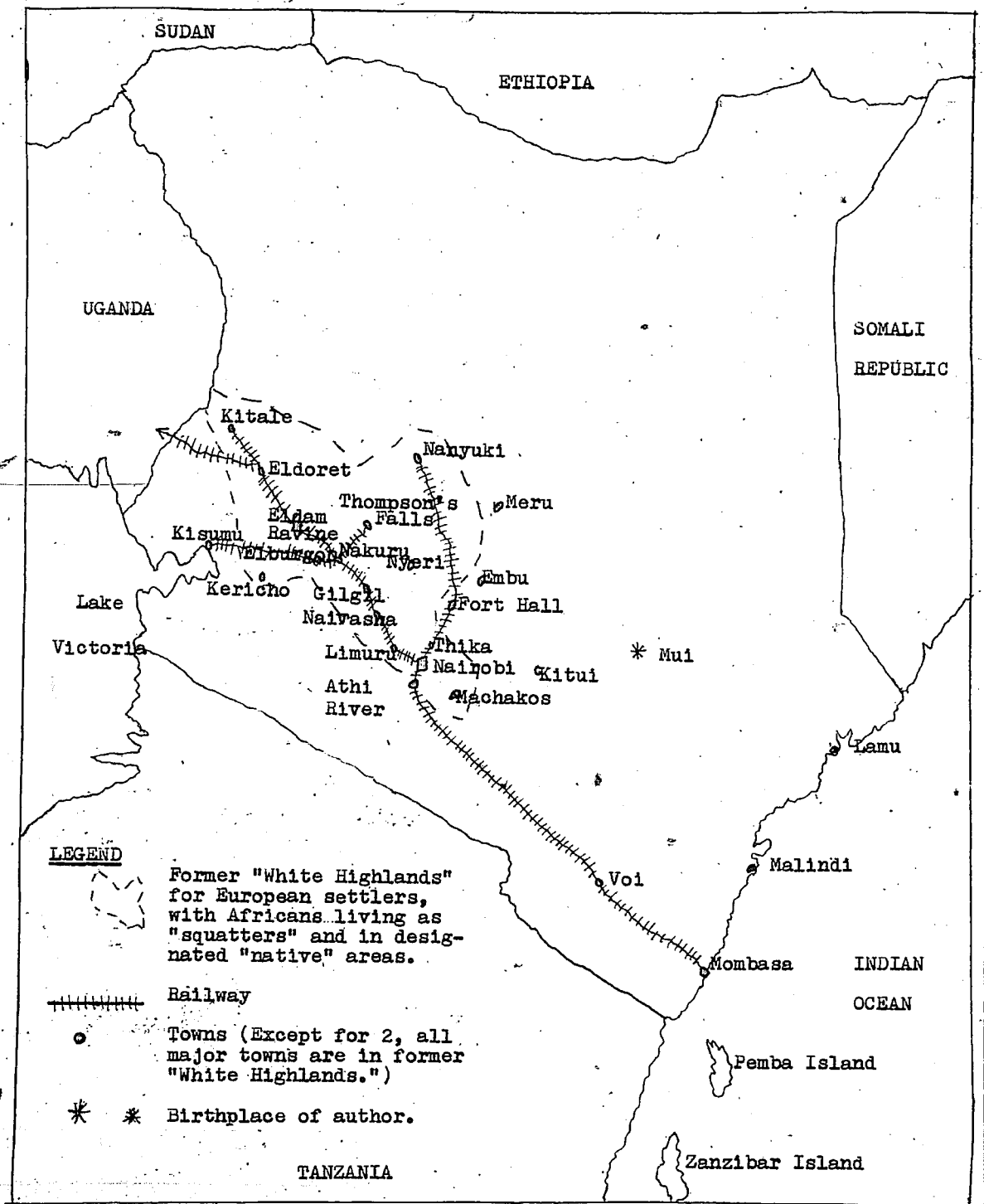
Kenya: Earliest Missionary Stations

1844-1911

No.	Station	Mission	Year
1	Rabai	Church Missionary Society (CMS)	1844
2	Ribe	United Methodist Free Churches	1862
3	Teita Country	CMS	1885
4	Chagga Country	CMS	1885
5	Mombasa	Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF)	1890
6	Voi	HGF	1891
7	Kibwezi	Imperial British East Africa Company	1891
8	Kenya Highlands	Church of Scotland Mission (CSM)	1891
9	Kenya Highlands	Mill Hill Fathers (MHF)	1895
10	Nzaui	Africa Inland Mission (AIM)	1895
11	Nairobi	French Fathers of St. Austin's Mission	1896
12	Mombasa	CMS	1899
13	Kikuyu	CSM	1900
14	Kiburuko	CMS	1901
15	Kijabe	AIM	1901
16	Kiambu	Italian Fathers (IF)	1902
17	Nyanza Province	American Adventists	1902
18	Nyanza Province	American Quakers	1902
19	Weithaga	CMS	1903
20	Kisumu	MHF	1903
21	Kakamega	MHF	1903
22	Mumias	MHF	1903
23	Limuru	IF	1903
24	Nyanza Province	CMS	1905
25	Kahuhia	CMS	1906
26	Mang'u	IF	1906
27	Nyeri	Consolata Fathers	1907
28	Mahiga	CMS	1908
29	Tumutumu	CSM	1908
30	Embu	CMS	1910

APPENDIX IV

KENYA: Former "White Highlands"



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