

**A STUDY OF THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL
TRADITION IN THE FORMER GOVERNMENT
EUROPEAN SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS
IN KENYA AND ITS INFLUENCE ON OTHER
SECONDARY SCHOOLS.**

by

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

The thesis traces the English public school tradition in Kenya and notably in the former European Secondary Schools. It is the author's hypothesis that aspects of the English Public Schools were apparent in these European schools, to a higher degree than other secondary schools. Undoubtedly, it was natural that English settlers and administrators wished to provide an education comparable to the very best they could find in England - the English Public Schools.

What were and are these aspects of the English Public School? If an alien transplantation of the English public school did take place (and it is the author's hypothesis that this was so), to what extent was it planned government policy? Did individuals, private institutions or organisations play a significant role? If so, how did they achieve their goals? It is to be remembered that prior to political independence in Kenya, there were four sectors of education - European, Asian, African and Arab representing the main strata of society. How far did the English public school tradition dominate the European sector and perhaps influence the other sectors? How has the tradition fared with independence and the new Kenya government policy of African Socialism which embraces an entirely different philosophy? Lastly, what of the future? Should the English public school tradition be allowed to continue in its present form and function?

The foregoing are the questions the author attempts to answer in his thesis. Numerous schools

are taken as a basis for study; the closest study is naturally made of the former European Secondary Boarding Schools because on these the author's hypothesis rests. In 1861 in England, the Clarendon Commission inquired into "the Nine"*¹ so too, I propose in my thesis and the Kenya context, to establish "the Three" - the Prince of Wales School (renamed 1966 Nairobi School), the Duke of York School (renamed 1969 Lenana School) and the Kenya High School. It is significant that the Ominde Report selected these high cost schools and compared them to the two most prominent African schools, Alliance High School and Alliance Girls' High School.*² It was also significant that these three schools met together regularly, concerning common educational issues, and instituted among other things "The Three Chapels Fund". The Chapel with its Chaplain is an important aspect of the English public school tradition. Lastly, "the Three" are the oldest schools of the former Colonial Government European Secondary Boarding Schools.

The main method of study has been by personal interview of individuals, organisers, administrators, teachers and students (a list of people interviewed both in the United Kingdom and East Africa is appended); furthermore the author has been involved as Teacher,

*¹ The Clarendon Commission was a Royal Commission in England inquiring into "the Nine": Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylor's.

*² Page 17, Kenya Education Commission Report Part II, July 1965, Kenya Government.

Head of Department, Housemaster, Deputy Headmaster and Acting Headmaster in one of the schools under study from 1962 - 1972. Thus if any method is dominant, it is the observational and historical method. At times, I may use scientific concepts e.g. 'type' or trait but these are only empirical to the extent they rest on experience and observation rather than experiment and rigorous correlation, and should therefore be treated from an unstructured viewpoint and qualitatively. The value-judgements and interpretations expressed are purely personal, and so too at the philosophical level of what ought to be in education.

Colonial Reports, Education Department Annual Reports, Education Commissions and other documents are examined: in addition newspaper reports^{*1} and educational magazines indicate the climate of opinion from year to year in the schools and the author believes furnish evidence of use to this thesis. There is a wealth of material on English Public Schools: most schools have their own written history. It is a great pity there is little evidence at Kenya schools although Ministry of Education Inspection Reports help. In Kenya, use was made of the Macmillan Library, the archives of the University, and individual school

*1 "Original sources may range all the way from oral tradition to a birth certificate, and newspaper cuttings". Page 36, Educational Investigations, Report of a Seminar in Research Methods in the Institute of Education, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda, by Professor C.A. Rogers, Professor of Education, University of Zambia. August 10th - August 12th, 1967.

school libraries and offices. In the United Kingdom, the author examined material from the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the libraries of the Universities of London, York, Edinburgh and Glasgow; and the library of the Royal Society of Medicine, London. Various organisations were approached:- the Governing Bodies Association, the Ministry of Overseas Development, representatives of Parents Associations, Old Boys and Old Girls Societies, and I wish to thank especially the Headmasters' Conference, England, for allowing perusal of documents and a three day attendance at their annual conference 1970 - 1971 at St. Edmunds Hall, Oxford.

The thesis is divided into four parts. Part I defines the English public school and examines the English public school tradition. Part II traces the establishment, rise and prominence of the European government secondary boarding school in the context of secondary education in Kenya. It examines in detail "the Three" - Nairobi School (formerly the Prince of Wales School POWS); Lenana School (formerly the Duke of York School DOYS); and the Kenya High School KHS, as a case-study of the former European government Secondary boarding schools. Comparisons are made with other secondary schools in Kenya in order to emphasise and highlight certain characteristics indicative of the stronger influences of the English public school tradition. Part III regards the transplantation of the English public school tradition as an aspect of colonialism, its effects on other Kenyan schools, and notes the conflict with African aims at Independence and after. Part IV looks at the future for these high cost schools in the context of Kenyan secondary education.

PART I

CHAPTER I. WHAT IS THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL?

The present day English Public School is an institution varied and complex - the result of diverse backgrounds, of individual initiative, and religious and social influences stemming from English history itself. It is not the scope of this thesis to trace the full history of the English Public School but to note that many have a common origin in the mediaeval grammar school and that they became separated from the grammar schools, first in public opinion, and only later in administration. The original great foundations such as Eton and Winchester have been the models for many of the newer public schools, especially in the nineteenth century, although innovations and certain individuals have in turn influenced the model.

To define the English Public School is no simple matter and many authorities believe there is no such thing as a typical English Public School. Weinberg believed "it was even treacherous to try to define the term public School".*¹ Personally, I believe this to be expedient in the sense of the easy way out and just as there is national character, realising the differentiation and variety owing to class structure and other allegiance groups, so too, are there English Public Schools - an English institution

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*¹ Preface. The English Public Schools - The Sociology of Elite Education, by I. Weinberg, The Atherton Press, New York, 1967.

reflecting typically English characteristics. Public opinion varies in time and place but the stereotype of the ancient foundations has for centuries been closely allied to what the English people expect of public schools.

It is the sociologist and the psychologist who have utilised the type approach most consistently. Professor T.H. Pear for example states "there is a public school type, even types from particular schools, can often be recognised after a brief acquaintance".^{*1} I believe this type changes as societies change, for example the public school type of the 18th century or 19th century differs from today, although a common tradition unites all three. I propose to say more about this in Chapter 2 - the English Public School tradition.

What is the English Public School? Firstly, they are English. Kalton in his survey^{*2} omitted overseas schools, public schools in Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Channel Islands. Kalton, Bamford and Wakeford restricted the term public school not only on a geographical basis but also on the criteria of independent boarding membership of the Headmasters' Conference and even sex (boys' only).

*1 Page 293, English Social Differences, by Professor T.H. Pear, Professor of Social Psychology, University of Manchester, Allen and Unwin, London, 1955.

*2 The Public Schools - A Factual Survey, by Graham Kalton, Longmans, London, 1966.

This academic and restricted viewpoint brings the number of Public Schools down to approximately 85. These expensive and independent boys boarding schools in England are undoubtedly the heart of the Public School concept and are closely allied to the general public viewpoint and stereotype of Eton and Winchester at the crown of the system. However the word English and England, can be interpreted from a wider symbolic sense, as Winston Churchill the statesman, Shakespeare the dramatist, and Swinburne the poet used the word. England from this wider viewpoint - 'this precious stone set in a silver sea', comprises all the common national feelings of those ancient peoples whose loyalty and allegiance is to the historic English crown: the crown worn by Alfred and Elizabeth I, and for the past three centuries by the princes of a Scottish descended dynasty.

Secondly, the English Public school is 'public' to the extent it possesses esteem and influence, which attracts pupils from a wide geographical area; this is probably the reason why the public schools are mainly boarding institutions. They are also 'public' to the extent they are endowed institutions, charitable trusts, and non-profit making. Of course, they are not public from the point of view they are open to the general public, through the maintenance of State or Local Authority financial aid.

British government interpretation of public schools has tended to vary; in the 19th century their viewpoint was restricted. In 1861 the Clarendon

Commission^{*1} inquired into "the Nine", whilst the Public School Acts of 1868, 1871 and 1873 narrowed the term to "Seven", eliminating the two day schools. This shows that the boarding concept was a major differentiating factor at that time. Even the Bryce Commission of 1895, still referred to the "Seven great public schools".^{*2} In the twentieth century, the reverse seems to be the case. In 1942, Mr. R.A. Butler, then President of the Board of Education, appointed the Fleming Committee; and he defined public schools in his terms of reference as "schools which are in membership of the Governing Bodies' Association or Headmasters' Conference".^{*3} This wider administrative viewpoint took in 99 boys' schools which were aided by grants from the Board of Education and Local Education Authorities as well as 89 independent boys' schools; furthermore, girls' public schools were taken into account but only incidentally, as "comparable schools for girls".^{*4} The Association of Headmistresses had been founded in 1874 by Miss Buss (north London Collegiate School) and Miss Beale (Cheltenham Ladies' College), and when the Association of Governing Bodies of Girls' Public Schools (G.B.G.S.A.)

*1 The Clarendon Commission (1861) was a Royal Commission; see introduction to this thesis concerning "the Nine".

*2 Page 37, Report of Secondary Education Commission. (Bryce Report) H.M.S.O., London, 1895.

*3, *4 Preface, Page 1, The Public Schools and the General Educational System. (Fleming Report) H.M.S.O., London, 1944.

was formed in 1942, Girls' Public Schools could be enumerated. The Fleming Committee stated "there were 80 Independent Girls' Schools and 59 Direct Grant Girls' Schools",^{*1} comparable to the English Boys' Public Schools. The purely arbitrary nature of the definition of public schools at the time of Fleming, is reflected in the absurd decision that the Boys' Public Schools only applied to England and Wales, whereas the Girls' Public Schools included Scotland. The reason for this, was possibly the fact of St. Leonard's Girls School, St. Andrews (1877), which was the first girls boarding school to be run on the lines of a great public school.

In 1968, the Public Schools Commission, chaired first by Sir John Newsom, and within their terms of reference, restricted the term 'public schools' to independent schools in membership of the Headmasters' Conference (H.M.C.) and the Association of Governing Bodies of Girls' Public Schools (G.B.G.S.A.). It did not take into account the direct grant, aided, and maintained schools, which were members of the H.M.C. or public schools overseas, yet it widened to include girls' schools specifically and 8 boys' schools in Scotland:- Fettes, Gordonstoun, Glasgow Academy, Edinburgh Academy, Glenalmond, Loretto, Merchiston and Strathallan. This provided a total number of 288 public schools.

*1 Page 85, The Public Schools and the General Educational System. (Fleming Report) H.M.S.O., London, 1944.

Overall, the word 'Public School' means different things to different people, and if we take Lord Butler's or Sir John Newsom's definition, there are always schools becoming or ceasing to be members of the H.M.C., G.B.A. or G.B.G.S.A. As well as being a 'slippery word', public schools is also an emotive word: the attitudes, background and experience of the interpreter, colour its meaning. To a Shaw, Tawney or Wells, public schools would represent 'citadels of privilege', yet to a James, Howarth, Wolfenden or Livingstone 'temples of excellence'. It is in this knowledge, we further explore the English public schools.

To obtain characteristics which apply appropriately and exactly to all accounts of English public schools is impossible, although many authors and commissions with their own definitions have attempted this complex task. If asked, I would reply SELECTIVITY, INDEPENDENCE and BOARDING as the main characteristics. They are the major aspects of the English public school tradition and so important are they and the results and influences they lead to that I deliberately discuss them in the first chapter. Selectivity can be attained on the basis of several criteria but in England, it has been of wealth, or birth, or ability. Undoubtedly, the present-day fees in many of the public schools are very high (e.g. Rugby £760 per annum, Wycombe Abbey £660 per annum)^{*1} and then there are the

*1 Source for a full list of current fees: The Public and Preparatory Schools Year Book. A and C. Black, London: The Girls' Schools Year Book. A. and C. Black, London.

the overheads as any public school parent realises of uniforms, societies, pocket-money, travelling, books, etc. As the G.B.A./H.M.C. Joint Working Party admitted in their evidence to the Public School Commissioners "only the better off can afford to send their sons to us, and our parents therefore nearly all come from the upper income brackets".^{*1}

Both Leach^{*2} and Ogilvie^{*3} believed the public school was a 'class school' and 'aristocratic school'. Aristocratic implies titled people and the upper classes of society sending their children to these schools. In the H.M.C. schools surveyed by Kalton, 81% of the day boys and 84% of the boarders were in the two highest classes of a five point scale, denoted as professional and managerial by the Registrar-General's social categories.^{*4} On examining Debrett,

*1 Page 55, Public Schools Commission, First Report Vol. 1. H.M.S.O., London, 1968.

*2 Preface, History of Winchester College, by A.F. Leach, London, 1899.

*3 Page 7, The English Public School, by Vivian Ogilvie, Batsford, London, 1957.

*4 See Appendix 1. The five point scale of social categories is defined by the Registrar-General, London:-

I and II	Professional and Managerial
IIIa	Non-Manual
IIIb	Manual
IV	Semi and Unskilled

The Armed Forces is not included in the percentages.

Burke and Kelly^{*1} it is apparent of the dominance of Eton in the life of titled people, with a secondary group of public schools - Winchester, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, and Charterhouse. Spencer agrees with this, when he states "the British aristocracy whether of blood or wealth, sends its sons (and daughters) to a small number of public schools",^{*2} though he does not have the temerity to specify them. The fact of Royalty or V.I.P.'s attending certain public schools, raises the social esteem and prestige of that school in a hierarchical pattern; for example, Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, was head-boy of Gordonstoun in 1939 and Prince Charles, the heir-apparent to the British throne went there in this last decade: as a result, Gordonstoun's educational methods today are greatly admired and entrance to this Scottish Public School is much sought after. The same may be said of Benenden School, in Kent, where Princess Anne attended.

Many public schools recruit and select their pupils from some other social criteria, which may or may not be established in their foundation:- Christ's Hospital (1533), Dulwich College (1619), Bromsgrove (1693) and even Eton (1443), catered for 'poor and needy children' originally, although many have changed

*1 Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionship by Debrett, London, 1965.

Landed Gentry, by Burke, London, 1965.

*2 Titled, Landed and Official Classes, by Kelly, London, 1964.

*2 Page 5, The Public School Question, by F. Spencer, Pitman, wartime edition, London.

through time some more than others: Cheltenham College (1840), Malvern College (1862), Eastbourne College (1911) preferred 'the sons of gentlemen'. Many public schools had a religious foundation, especially those established in the Middle Ages as grammar schools, Latin being the gateway to all professions with Greek added at the Renaissance. As regards the religious foundations, each denomination or sect had their own schools - the Church of England foundations such as Marlborough College (1843), Hurstpierpoint (1849), Ardingly (1858), Dean Close (1884); Methodist foundations such as Kingswood School (1748); Roman Catholic foundations Stonyhurst (1593), Downside (1606), Ampleforth (1802) and Douai (1818). Certain trades and professions founded public schools and orientated their children to a particular school e.g. Epsom College (1855) for the sons of medical practitioners and dental surgeons: Merchant Taylors' (1561), Haberdasher Asks's (1690) and Haileybury and Imperial Service College (1862) indicate their social preference in the school names themselves. Some grammar schools served a certain locality and developed later into great public schools serving a nation - Rugby (1567) and Harrow (1567) fall into this category: others especially those founded in Victorian times for the industrial middle classes, catered for a town and still do to this day e.g. City of London School (1837), Liverpool College (1840), Plymouth College (1878) and Hymer's College, Hull (1888).^{*1}

*1 The foundation and history of English public schools is a fascinating study. I have deliberately been eclectic and not provided an historical evolution because so many sources use this approach. Own source The English Public School, by V. Ogilvie, Batsford, London, 1957, and "Handbooks" to the Great Public School Series".

Economic and social criteria of selection are reinforced by academic examinations. The Common Entrance Examination whose papers are set in accordance with the recommendations of the Joint Standing Committee of the H.M.C. and the Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools, provides a selective mechanism as does the Headmaster's interview. The Preparatory School is intimately linked with specific schools. Thus for a child to enter a major public school in England, his parents must at an early age place his name on the waiting list; select a preparatory school not necessarily in close proximity to the public school; be prepared for the payment of high fees for several years, and the child must pass the Common Entrance Examination and the Headmaster's interview. This is indeed selectivity. The degree of selectivity varies from school to school, even in the Common Entrance Examination pass mark: Winston Churchill admits this in his autobiography.^{*1} As in most independent educational matters in England, competition, supply and demand, are key factors in selectivity.

Independence is the major characteristic of public schools and it is not only the backbone of the English public school tradition, Western civilisation and democracy, but it permits selectivity to take place. This major facet is reflected in the British education system as the Independent sector of which

*1 Pages 16 - 20, My Early Life, by Winston Churchill, Odhams, London, 1947.

the English Public Schools in their stricter sense are a part. It was legislated for in the 1944 Education Act, Part III, which laid down conditions for the regulation, registration and recognition of independent schools. Besides membership of the G.B.A., H.M.C. and G.B.G.S.A., the public schools are charitable trusts and as Sir Desmond Lee (Headmaster, Winchester College) states "in the charitable trust you have recognition by public authority that one of the best ways to get socially desirable things like education done is to entrust them to independent corporations operating on agreed terms. It is from this principle and our status under it that we drew our older title of public schools, because the status given us by public authority distinguished us from schools that were private in the full sense".*1

In order to be a member of the H.M.C. the Committee 'have regard'*2 to the degree of independence enjoyed by the Headmaster and his school. The G.B.A. and the

*1 Chairman's address to the H.M.C., September 24th 1969, by Mr. T. Howarth (Headmaster, St. Paul's).

*2 "Headmasters of public secondary schools which are independent of financial aid from government funds or which receive financial grants by direct payment from the Ministry of Education are independent of financial aid from local education authorities, are eligible to apply for membership of the Conference. In considering an application, the Committee shall have regard to the scheme ... with particular reference to the degree of independence of action reserved to the governing body ... Article 5, Page 17, Memorandum and Articles of Association of the H.M.C. 1962.

G.B.G.S.A. also stipulate independence and freedom in their membership:- "an independent governing body and chairman", "freedom to maintain a school's religious tradition", "freedom to appoint staff", "freedom of admission and selection"; these are the essential conditions of the G.B.A.*¹

It can be seen that independence, freedom and selectivity are interwoven and permeate the public schools; it is significant that Mr. Crosland's terms of reference for the Public Schools Commission in 1966 - 1968 restricted the term 'public schools' as "those Independent Schools now in membership of H.M.C., G.B.A. and G.B.G.S.A!"² Most public schools are independent and those that are not, have an independent outlook and approach. The independence is essential and the *raison d'être* for the Boards of Governors and respective Headmasters to educate and experiment for some essential purpose whether the aim be religious, social, or individual. It accounts for the extreme diversity from the traditional to the progressive, and to the great influence the public schools have had on British and world education as a whole.

The 'need for boarding' and the recent Public Schools Commission, raises our third main characteristic of the public schools: BOARDING. We saw earlier that many authorities restricted the term 'public school'

*1 G.B.A. Paper 105, *ibid*.

*2 Terms of Reference of Public Schools Commission, Page VII, Public Schools Commission, First Report, H.M.S.O., London, 1968.

to independent boarding schools: as Woolfe of the Boarding Research Unit states "boarding in this country has always been largely synonymous with the public schools".*1 This is verified statistically by studying returns of the Department of Education and Science. In 1967 public schools defined as independent schools in membership of H.M.C., G.B.A. or G.B.G.S.A., consisted of 146 girls, 139 boys and 3 mixed schools; of these, only 8 boys and 21 girls schools were completely non-boarding.*2

The boarding concept is that essentially English feature of education which imbues the public schools with a uniqueness that never ceases to amaze foreign observers. This is because this facet of the English tradition rests on certain assumptions concerning the relationship between formal education and family upbringing which we shall regard in Chapter 2.

Overall then, my definition of an English public school would be an essentially English secondary school of esteem which is predominantly independent and boarding, and now in membership of H.M.C., G.B.A. or G.B.G.S.A.

*1 "Need and Demand for Boarding Education", by R. Woolfe, King's College, Cambridge: Appendix 9, Public Schools Commission, First Report, Vol. 2. H.M.S.O. 1968.

*2 Department of Education and Science Returns for January, 1970.

CHAPTER 2. WHAT IS THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL TRADITION?

We have seen the importance of independence and selectivity to the English public schools in Chapter 1, and, together with boarding, are the main elements of the public school tradition. A tradition implies something that is transmitted from generation to generation, something that is valued by each succeeding generation, and is worthwhile in handing on. For instance, independence and freedom can be traced to its seminal stages in Athenian Greece where 'school' meant 'leisure'; and its continuance in the English tradition with Alfred, Drake and Raleigh, and the thought of Locke and J.S. Mill. Despite the 20th century, when the State seems to rest supreme and Karl Mannheim and Sir Fred Clarke have explained 'planning for freedom', it is true to say, the Englishman values his independence and freedom above all else; and the individual has always counted for more than the State.

The English public school tradition embraces those customs and residues from the stream of ideas, aims, values and techniques which have moulded the lives of Englishmen and English public school boys down through the ages - Benedict^{*1} would call it a cultural pattern. And besides the main elements of independence, selectivity and boarding in the tradition, there are additional ones which may be

*1 Source: Patterns of Culture, by Ruth Benedict, Routledge and Regan Paul, London, 1935.

summarised as follows:-

- (a) A belief that the main purpose of education is character training and that it should be primarily based on religion.
- (b) A conviction that the function of a public school is education for leadership which in turn stresses the importance of service.
- (c) The qualities of character training, leadership and service, can best be developed in the communal life of a boarding school.
- (d) Close associations of family, school, and university should be preserved.

Let us first examine the belief that the main purpose of education is character training and that it is primarily based on religion. By the last Middle Ages, England possessed a considerable number of grammar schools founded mainly by religious people in connection with churches, monasteries, cathedrals, chantries and hospitals. All Mediaeval education came under ecclesiastical jurisdiction and this was not officially abolished until 1869. This mediaeval legacy lies deep in the English tradition, regardless of the humanism of the Renaissance: 'godliness and good learning' was an important feature of the ancient foundations. Dr. Arnold, at Rugby School in the mid 19th century, merged the mediaeval tradition and the classical humanism of Sir Thomas Llyot, when he stressed the character training of the English Christian gentleman: "what we must look for here is, first, religious and moral principles; secondly,

gentlemanly conduct; thirdly, intellectual ability".*1

Arnold's liberal views had a considerable influence on the "reform of the public schools"*2 in the 19th century; the narrow classical curriculum was widened; standards of feeding and housing were improved; the savagery and bullying of the 18th and early 19th centuries were almost totally eliminated and in fact the whole moral tone was raised. It was raised by religion and a strong *esprit de corps*. Using personal example and a profound belief in God, Arnold through his prefects changed the character of Rugby School and the movement spread. It expanded and circulated qualitatively and quantitatively. The quality of the more ancient existing public schools was affected and heightened; and the mid and late 19th century saw the proliferation of a large number of public schools on the Arnold pattern for the youngsters of the rising middle classes. Wymer puts it succinctly, "Arnold's disciples began to found colonies".*3 Many of Arnold's followers became head-masters of large public schools: Cotton at Marlborough, A.G. Butler at Haileybury, Benson at Wellington, Percival at Clifton.

*1 Page 100, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold D.D., by A.P. Stanley, Fellowes, 8th edit., London, 1858.

*2 Sources: Ch. XIV, Landmarks in the History of Education, by T.L. Jarman, John Murray (2nd edit.), London, 1963. Tom Brown's Schooldays, by T. Hughes, Bancroft edition, 1966.

*3 Page 148, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, by N. Wymer, R.H. Hale, London 1953.

In Victorian times there was an intimate link between public schools and the Church, notably the established Church of England. At least three Victorian public school headmasters became Archbishops of Canterbury: A.C. Tait (Rugby), E.W. Benson (Wellington), F. Temple (Rugby), and many obtained bishoprics and lower church posts. The reason for this situation was the fact that most headmasters were in holy orders. A layman headmaster is a new feature of the public schools of the 20th century. Like many public schools, Arnold's Rugby has changed in the present century^{*1} but the religious element the chaplain and the chapel are still central features. I believe Wolfenden, an ex-Headmaster of Uppingham and Shrewsbury, as well as an ex-Chairman of the H.M.C., was right when he described the school chapel as "the heart and powerhouse"^{*2} of the public schools. Moreover, even in the 20th century, at least two public school headmasters have become Archbishops of Canterbury: W. Temple (Repton) and G.F. Fisher (Repton).

If the basic philosophy of public school education is religious, another point is raised and that is - it does colour the whole attitude of the school in character training and pupil/teacher relationships. The strong belief in authoritarian discipline especially corporal punishment is an example of this,

*1 Pages 244-245, Rugby since Arnold, by J.B. Hope-Simpson, Macmillan, London, 1967.

*2 Page 66, The Public Schools Today, by J.F. Wolfenden, University of London Press, London, 1948.

because the Christian religion has one of its main tenets the belief of Original Sin; Bertrand Russell states^{*1} how Dr. Arnold justified corporal punishment on this basis. Although public school headmasters today, are far more liberal and removed from the merciless Dr. Keate who is said to have flogged 80 Eton boys in a night^{*2} most of them still retain the cane.^{*3}

Another significant method of character training in the public schools is through the predominance of organised games. Cotton (1851-1858) of Marlborough is believed to have developed this system in order to discipline a mutinous school. The English public schools have given at least two major organised games to the world which have become legends of the English national character and particularly the 'gentleman class': cricket and rugby football. They are assumed to develop team spirit, co-operation, a sense of fair play, tenacity and endurance. all excellent qualities in character training at the time of Charles Kingsley and 'muscular christianity'. This movement, in the late 19th century, stressed the manly attributes of the

*1 Page 30, On Education, by Bertrand Russell, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1926.

*2 Source: Eton, How it Works, by J.D.R. McConnell, Faber, London, 1967.

*3 Page 25, Report of the Committee of the H.M.C., 1908. This was a meeting of the N.E. division at Bootham School. I quote "After an exchange of views as regards corporal punishment, it was agreed with one dissentient that corporal punishment by Headmasters was, in certain circumstances, necessary and proper".

Christian gentleman. Matthew Arnold's 'barbarians' ^{*1} had always enjoyed sport from the hunting and shooting days of the Middle Ages, and therefore they, and the 'Philistines' ^{*2} embraced these organised sports readily. The attitude of 'muscular christianity' was in essence anti-intellectual because, as with the Spartan over-indulgence of physical culture, it led to a deterioration in scholarship. However, it did foster team spirit, "one of the greatest English contributions to the methods of true education" ^{*3} as Norwood, Headmaster of Harrow describes it. During the 20th century, compulsory team games evoked many criticisms from such distinguished authors as Gray, Pekin, Wells, Shaw, ^{*4} and most present day public school headmasters would agree with the Newsom Commission findings that there should ^{be} "more choice and variety of games". ^{*5} One wonders if this is not the result of the antithesis to late 19th and 20th century 'muscular christianity' from a mid 20th century viewpoint of permissiveness and 'scientific humanism'.

*1 The upper classes in Victorian England.

*2 The middle classes in Victorian England.

*3 Page 101, The English Tradition of Education, by C. Norwood, John Murray, London, 1929.

*4 The Public Schools and the Empire, by H.B. Gray, Williams and Northgate, London, 1913; Public Schools: Their Failure and Reform, by L.B. Pekin, London, 1932; The New Machiavelli, by H.G. Wells, Tauchnitz, London, 1912; Everybody's Political What's What, by G.B. Shaw, Constable, London, 1944.

*5 Page 116, Public School Commission, First Report, Vol. I, H.M.S.O., London, 1968.

Although the cult of organised games may only reach back to the 19th century, the training of character has its stem extending back to the paidea or the liberal education of a free man of Greece. The training for the good life depended on the development of the whole personality, in a balanced relationship, which was physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral. Winchester, "the oldest of the public schools", according to Warner^{*1} and developed by William of Wykeham in the 14th century, chose a motto, which has reverberated down the ages: 'Manners Makyth Man'. The college arms of Winchester also have the words 'Noni Soit Qui Mal Y Pense' and indicates the influence of the Norman chivalric code. If Warner is correct in calling Winchester 'the mother of schools', then it is small wonder that chivalry has become another strand of the English public school tradition. The aristocratic education of a page to a knight was grounded in the seven free arts (swimming, archery, chess, verse-making, riding, boxing and hawking), instead of the seven liberal arts. Although this type of education was orientated to the formation of an élite in a feudalistic society, it is apparent in such 20th century enterprises as the Boy Scouts and the Outward Bound movements. Baden-Powell was at Charterhouse in the late 19th century and his book

*1 Page 3, Winchester, by R. Townsend Warner, George Bell, London, 1900.

"Scouting for Boys" has close analogies and references^{*1} to the Knights of England. The Scouts' Promise and the Scouts' Law are almost identical to the Knights codes and regulations, and the Scouts' motto 'Be Prepared' is allied to the Knights' motto 'Be Always Ready'.

Gordonstoun, Outward Bound and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme also show the influence of chivalry in character training, as well as the Hellenic tradition. Gordonstoun is a public school in Scotland founded in 1934 by Kurt Hahn. The characteristic activities at Gordonstoun are outdoor pursuits, especially seamanship and mountaineering; and it was from these activities the Outward Bound Movement evolved. As Hahn states, "character training is stressed"^{*2} in the Outward Bound Ideal^{*3} and their

*1 See Camp Fire Yarn No. 2, Page 11, Scouting for Boys, by Lord Baden-Powell, C.A. Pearson Ltd. London, 1932 edit. "In the old days the Knights were the Scouts of Britain, and their rules were very much the same as the Scout Law which we have now ... You Scouts cannot do better than follow the example of your forefathers, the Knights, who made the tiny British nation into one of the best and greatest the world has ever known".

*2 Page 436, Outward Bound, by Kurt Hahn, Year Book of Education, London, 1957.

*3 Page 25, Outward Bound - A Challenge, a collection of essays edited by D.J. James, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1957. I quote: "they must present each boy with a set of conditions and give him possibly for the first time, the opportunity to discover himself ... they must endeavour to develop through training".

motto 'To serve, to strive and not to yield', is certainly chivalric in tone. The Duke of Edinburgh, an ex-head boy ('Guardian') of Gordonstoun, founded the award scheme named after him, and whereby boys pit themselves against Nature and certain standards in order to obtain a gold, silver or bronze medal: the influence of Plato's 'Republic' in the character training of the Socratic ideal and the myth of the metals, are seen here. This raises the whole question of élite training, hierarchy and privilege, and leads on to our second assumption of the public school tradition (b) a conviction that the function of a public school education is one for leadership which in turn stresses the importance of service.

English public schools are noted institutions for leaders, or as Weinberg states, "the public schools train for élite status and provide the socialisation for élite role behaviour".*¹

Although from a philosophical point of view, we may semantically disapprove of the word 'train', nevertheless, they are leaders to the extent that public schools have provided and do provide an unduly large proportion of important and responsible posts in commerce, industry, the services and the professions (i.e. 'the Establishment').*² Tawney stated in 1928,

*1 Page 25, The English Public Schools, by I. Weinberg, Atherton Press, New York, 1967.

*2 Source: Pages 662-663, "The Establishment". Anatomy of Britain, by Anthony Sampson, Hodder and Stoughton, London 1962.

"152 out of 225 senior civil servants, and 52 bishops out of 56, were old public schoolboys."^{*1} The Public Schools Commission under Newsom in 1968 published interesting statistics (1963-1967) and questionnaire replies from employing and professional bodies.^{*2} Though only approximately 5% of British secondary school children attend public schools, the %'s for staying on at school and university are much higher (a part of the tradition?) and they continue to dominate the upper echelons of society; e.g. 75% of Conservative members of parliament, 52% of Admirals, Generals and Air Chief Marshals, 73% of Church of England Bishops, 79% of Judges and Q.C.'s, 71% of Directors of prominent firms, 76% of Governors and Directors of the Bank of England, were public school products (not including the Direct Grant Schools). In the years 1963-1967, there were 88 successful candidates from public schools for the senior branch of the Diplomatic Service, 27 from maintained schools and 26 from other schools. Even in recent years then, statistics verify the leadership of the public schools and one must agree with Bishop and Wilkinson, "It is a commonplace that the top jobs and top social status in Britain have long been dominated by a gentlemen elite, a small circle of individuals who spend their boyhood at public schools".^{*3}

*1 Page 300, Equality, by R.H. Tawney, Allen and Unwin, London, 1922.

*2 Page 59, Public Schools Commission, First Report, Vol. 1. H.M.S.O., London, 1968. See also Appendix 8, Vol. II.

*3 Pages 15, Winchester and the Public School Elite, by T.J.H. Bishop and R. Wilkinson, Faber and Faber, London, 1967.

As regards the qualities and methods which determine leadership, we once again return to character training. Though the Confederation of British Industry in their questionnaire reply to the Newsom Commission believed the public school qualities of leadership were 'self-reliance', 'self-confidence', 'self-discipline', 'poise and ease of manner'*1 it would be true to say, these qualities are mainly dependent on SERVICE. In order to serve in its fullest sense, one must be self reliant, confident, disciplined, and through service, poise and ease of manner will develop. We have already noted Arnold and his 'Christian gentlemen' ideal at Rugby. Service is a religious concept in the sense that 'service is perfect freedom' and the religious influence in the public school is a predominating one.

Another early 20th century method to instill service and discipline in the public school was the militaristic one of the Combined Cadet Force (C.C.F.), originally the Junior Training Corps (J.T.C.) or Officers Training Corps (O.T.C.). An officer and a gentleman are two allied terms in English vocabulary. Marching and drilling, wearing uniforms are traditional methods of discipline, but at the same time the C.C.F. provides preliminary training in branches of the Armed Services. It is the modern public school which emphasises the latter feature rather than the former; nevertheless, the paths to leadership can still

*1 Pages 229, 233, Appendix 8, Public Schools Commission, First Report, Vol. II. H.M.S.O., London, 1968.

be shown by promotion and a system of stripes and badges, reminiscent of the Boys Scouts and school uniform. This brings us to a far more important and all pervading method of character training and leadership in English public schools which I can only term seniority.

Seniority rests on the assumption that certain boys are either older or more able than others and that they should be given responsibility, privilege and status: the youngest recruits to the School are the least senior. Thomas Hughes epitomised the system, when Tom Brown goes to Rugby, in his book 'Tom Brown's Schooldays'. Certain initiation rites have arisen for new boys entering public schools: junior boys are only allowed to enter certain buildings, walk in specific parts of the school, and use certain facilities. Pitcairn states how "junior boys at Harrow are not allowed to enter other Houses, uninvited".^{*1} At the apex of this stratification are the Prefects, who have evolved on the basis of seniority. Although Warner^{*2} believes the prefect system was initiated at Winchester in the 14th century, other names have been used, for example 'praepostors' or 'monitors', and surely, even the 'Spartans' and their 'Eiren'. Prefects are delegated

*1 Page 288, Unwritten Laws and Ideals of Active Careers, by E.H. Pitcairn, Smith Elder, London, first edition, 1899.

*2 Winchester, by R. Townsend Warner, George Bell, London, 1900.

powers of discipline, and duties of organisation and administration which provides them with status in a school. Wilkinson writes of "the gentlemanly elite trained to public leadership in the public schools", and of their "gentlemanly power". He stresses that, "in the little world of the public school as in the adult world of the English gentry, social status and community service were intimately linked".*1

Service also results from the privileged status of the prefects. The younger boys provide services to the prefects (personal fagging), or to the school (communal fagging). According to the Kalton survey, 54 out of 88 independent boys' boarding schools reported there was still 'fagging' in their schools.*2 In girls' schools 'personal fagging' does not appear but "chores are shared by all residents"*3 The type and kind of 'fagging' varies from school to school, and McConnell states at Eton, "it is organised differently in each House".*4 At Blundell's, personal fagging involves sweeping and tidying prefect's study, cleaning games clothes and C.C.F.

*1 Page 15, The Prefects - British Leadership and the Public School tradition, by Rupert Wilkinson, Oxford University Press, London, 1964.

*2 Page 124, The Public Schools, by G. Kalton, Longmans, London, 1966.

*3 Page 140, The Girls Schools, by K. Ollerenshaw, Faber and Faber, London, 1967.

*4 Page 62, Eton, How it Works, by J.D.R. McConnell, Faber, London, 1967.

equipment, running errands, but the School Rules^{*1} expressly forbid shoe cleaning, making beds and waiting at table. At Charterhouse according to the boys, there are two classes of 'fags' - 'running fags' in the first year, and 'special fags' in the second year who are 'personal butlers',^{*2} their services being paid for (between 15/- 35/- per term) by their fag-master. The payment of services by the prefect to the fag does involve another factor in service, and clarifies Wilkinson's statement, "the gentleman idea did not rely solely on altruism to produce a spirit of public service ... but within the appeal to altruism, the gentleman ideal, lurked hidden appeals to egoism - the egoism of the patron".^{*3} Patronage is an important by-product of the Victorian public school tradition, especially when, we see its transplantation to Kenya via Colonialism in the late 19th century. I believe it also underlays the service that many public schools provide for slum areas in England. This idea originated in 1869 with another great Victorian innovator, Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham 1853-1887, (the organiser of the H.M.C.)^{*4} in the setting

*1 Source: School Rules, Blundell's School, Tiverton, Devon, 1953.

*2 Pages 83-84, Charterhouse, an open examination written by the boys, by K. Mason, London, 1964.

*3 Page 16, The Prefects - British Leadership and the Public School tradition, by Rupert Wilkinson, Oxford University Press, London, 1964.

*4 Source: Edward Thring, Teacher and Poet, by H.D. Rawnsley, London, 1st edition, 1899.

up of 'missions' to the east end of London. Most public schools have copied this system and called it community service. It is able to succeed if true fellowship exists between the participants, however, if attitudes of superiority are adopted then feelings of anger and contempt are engendered. Other by-products from leadership training (through the seniority system) occur such as hierarchy and privilege but I wish to discuss these at the end of the chapter. Let us continue with our third characteristic of the public school tradition which is a mere extension but an important assumption of the vital boarding concept (c) the qualities of character, training, leadership and service, can best be developed in the communal life of a boarding school.

Many 20th century public school headmasters have declared these aims for their boarding schools, for example Barker, Headmaster of the Leys School, Cambridge, "character, meaning by that the acceptance of standards of conduct and behaviour appropriate to a gentleman in the right sense, a willingness to take personal responsibility for decisions, a readiness to exercise authority and to participate in public life - these are the virtues a boarding school aims to encourage".*¹ The Headmasters' Conference in a publicity statement listed BOARDING as one of "the positive things the public schools have to offer", whereby staff can maintain, "firm but sensible

*¹ "What a Boarding School (Public School) Stands for", by Alan Barker, Times Educational Supplement, Friday, September 1st, 1961.

discipline, character building and training in a sense of responsibility".^{*1}

In studying the rise of the boarding school historically, it is apparent they arose through circumstances, not deliberate overall policy. The exceptions to this statement are the ancient foundations of Winchester, Eton, Charterhouse and Westminster where the foundationers lived together as a community, as by probably the influence of the mediaeval tradition of a common religious life. Many of the foundationers lived together with the Headmaster or his assistants principally as a source of income. According to the Fleming Committee, "it was Arnold of Rugby who first looked at the boarding houses as an integral part of the organisation of the School".^{*2} It was also Arnold who made the House system a reality, where each Housemaster was to be a 'pastor to his flock' and every House 'an epitome of the School'.^{*3} This corporate idea was the ideal of the college system in the ancient universities and though it may well have, as Trevelyan states, "brought about an improvement in morals and discipline",^{*4} it is still a parochialism

*1 Public Schools, a G.B.A. and H.M.C. Point of View, Public Schools Information Service, London, October 12th, 1967.

*2 Page 37, The Public Schools and the General Education System. (Fleming Report), H.M.S.O., London, 1944.

*3 Page 37, *ibid.* London, 1944.

*4 Page 54, English Social History, by G.M. Trevelyan, Longmans, 1944.

within a parochialism, at least for some.*1

With the revival of the public schools in early Victorian times through men such as Arnold of Rugby, it became the vogue for the rising Victorian middle classes dependent on the 1832 Reform Act, to send their children to boarding school. As Rodgers states, "In every age as soon as a new social class has come into being it has almost immediately made contributions to education and learning, and the rise of the Victorian industrial magnate proved no exception".*2 The Victorian period experienced the greatest expansion of the public school form of education. The reasons for this popularity and influence lie partly in English social and economic history and partly in the ethos of the times. The upper classes had sent their children to the ancient foundations since the Middle Ages, and now the Victorian middle classes wished to emulate this model. The growth of Empire and people travelling abroad made parents look to a boarding school education; and the Railway Age and the increasing wealth of the Victorian middle classes, dependent on the monetary rewards of the Industrial Revolution, enabled them to establish and foster boarding schools throughout the country. The 20th century has not experienced a diminution of boarding schools, on the contrary, as the

*1 For what boys and girls think of the House, system, Chapter V, "This tiny universe the House", The Hothouse Society, by Royston Lambert, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1968.

*2 Page 107, Old Public Schools of England, by John Rodgers, Batsford Ltd., London, 1938.

middle classes have become more numerous and transport more diversified with the invention of the motor-car and the aeroplane, so too, has the demand for boarding school places increased. The recent Public Schools Commission Reports merely reflect the attempted efforts of the State to widen the field of boarding schools to the whole population on a more equitable basis.

This brings us to the suppositions of what are the advantages of a boarding school over a day school? Sir Richard Livingstone calls the boarding school, "the best training ground for citizenship in the world",^{*1} and Lord James is in no doubt himself when he states, "there is little doubt that the boy from the boarding schools is often more socially mature than one from a day school".^{*2} James then lists their advantages, "boarding schools promote work and games, arts, crafts and hobbies, religious and social activities of all kinds. Boarding school replace other societies: home, club and peer-group. They give guidance in matters moral and intellectual, financial and vocational. They undertake to develop habits, tastes, attitudes, ambitions and even eccentricities. The boarding school provides opportunities for service, for co-operation, for leadership. Its social and organisational structure gives a focus for loyalty and a framework of security

*1 Page 42, The Rainbow Bridge and other Essays on Education, by R.W. Livingstone, Pall Mall Press, London, 1959.

*2 Page 89, Education and Democratic Leadership, by Lord James, Harrap, London, 1951.

- even to the rebel".*¹ It is understandable that the upper and middle classes of 19th and early 20th century England would pay for these advantages of boarding life and socialisation. Little was thought of the disadvantages: of the loss of the warmth and affection of home; of the lack of humility and comradeship in mixing with all strata of society including the aged and the very young, the rich and the poor, the handicapped and the other sex; of the need for an adequate scope for self expression, freedom of decision and choice; and the desire to be some time of the day absolutely on one's own to commune with Nature. It must be remembered that a boarding school involves a 'total environment' *² just as a prison or mental institution does. It may be a 'healthy pasture' as Socrates would say, "insensibly moulding them into sympathy and conformity with what is rational and right", *³ on the other hand, it could be an unhealthy pasture. One cannot help agreeing with Lambert that "the boarding school is a potentially more dangerous instrument than the day school." *⁴ I believe the boarding school is the

*1 Page 183, *ibid.*

*2 Sociologists and anthropologists use the term 'total environment' or total institution as a basis for their research. Source: The Patient and the Mental Hospital, by E. Goffman, Free Press, Glencoe, 1957; Asylums, by E. Goffman, Anchor Press, New York, 1961.

*3 Page 142, Plato, the Republic, trans. H.D.P. Lee, Penguin Classics, London, 1955.

*4 Speech given by Dr. Royston Lambert to the Boarding Schools Association in the Oxford Science Museum, July, 1966.

best way to influence character, leadership, and instilling a sense of service, because there is the involvement of a total environment. Much depends on the excellence of staff and the individual house-masters in seeing that a proper balance is kept between authority and freedom. There again, the individual needs of the pupil and parent should be kept in mind. There are the needs arising from parents living abroad, or the parents whose employment makes them excessively itinerant; there are the children who have a special aptitude e.g. for music or dancing; there are the deprived children, orphans and maladjusted children, whose needs are certainly great. It is pleasing to know that many public school headmasters and the State do realise this today, and are experimenting and trying to establish new patterns of boarding.*1 One doubts if this was always the case in the past, when one section of the community monopolised the boarding schools for social and economic reasons.

Our last characteristic of the public school tradition is the social one whereby, there is a close association between family, schools, and the ancient universities. These relationships, which are thought to preserve academic excellence, in reality, cause a divisiveness in English society. It provides what Disraeli called 'the two nations' or what the common man would state today as 'them' and

*1 Source: "New Patterns of Boarding Education", by Donald Lindsay, Conference, Vol. 5, No. 2, June, 1968.

'us'. Social class has always been an important factor in English society, and education has faithfully mirrored the English social system. The public schools have been the central feature of an upper-middle class and independent sector. Pedley^{*1} noted three routes in English education, each with its social ranking order: "route one on the inner track" is the preparatory school, public school, Oxford and Cambridge University track. It is true there are long-standing personal contacts and connections between the preparatory schools at the bottom end and the ancient universities at the upper end. The Public Schools Commission commented on this 'divisiveness', when they stated, "thus the hold of public school men on senior posts in many fields is the outcome of a process which begins in the home and leads through preparatory school and public school to the Universities and beyond".^{*2}

The contacts between public schools and the ancient universities are both explicit and implicit in the public school tradition. They are explicit, to the extent, they stretch back to William of Wykeham in the 14th century, when he established a preparatory grammar school to study Latin grammar for New College, Oxford, and thus became the prototype for the establishment of other famous grammar schools; they

*1 Page 12, The Comprehensive School, by R. Pedley, Victor Gollancz, London, 1956.

*2 Page 60-61, Public Schools Commission, First Report, Volume I, H.M.S.O., London, 1968.

are implicit, to the extent, they are a part of the same classical-religious tradition of the Middle Ages (Hellenism and Hebraism) of the liberal education of a gentleman and therefore hold similar attitudes and outlooks. This implicit relationship or kindred spirit is at base emotional. It explains many of the public school clichés: 'the Old Boy network' (an English type of tribalism), the 'Old School tie',^{*1} 'the Establishment', 'the Oxford accent' and is probably the reason why the majority of Staff of the boys' public schools are graduates of Oxford and Cambridge.^{*2} It may also explain why the majority of Headmasters are classicists as well. Wilson, Second Master at King's School, Canterbury, comments on the teaching staff, "nearly all of them must have been to Oxford or Cambridge and be well spoken. They must have savoir-faire and the ability to speak to parents without making the school look declassé".^{*3}

The open scholarship to Oxford and Cambridge is the greatest educational prize English education can offer - 'the blue riband of university selection', as Hutchinson and Young^{*4} describe it. Its prestige

*1 Source: Old School Ties - The Public Schools in British Literature, by J.R. Reed, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1964.

*2 83% of the Staff according to Kalton: Page 44, The Public Schools, Longmans, London, 1966.

*3 Page 79, Public Schools and Private Practice, by John Wilson, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1962.

*4 Page 166, Educating the Intelligent, by M. Hutchinson and C. Young, Pelican, London, 1962.

is so great that newspapers of high social repute in the country publish the names and schools of the recipients, and then compound a table as to which school heads the list. McConnell in his book^{*1} states the winners in 1965: 1st Manchester Grammar School, 2nd Winchester, 3rd equal Eton and Dulwich. This is one of the signs of excellence for the modern public schools, or maintained schools for that matter, although the latter are at a considerable disadvantage: public schools' sixth forms can be geared wholly to open scholarships with smaller classes, higher paid staff, and the superior social background of pupils who stay on longer for a third year sixth form.

The examination of the Oxford and Cambridge School Examinations Board is also another factor. Instituted in 1874, it provided an examination suitable for the VI Form of those schools which sent a large number of their students to the ancient universities. The examination enabled the public schools to have the benefit of the advice and ideas of university teachers, and it provided machinery for the ancient universities to influence the preparatory secondary education of undergraduates.

Statistically, there is still a predominance of public school students at Oxford and Cambridge, as there was at the end of the 19th century: the Bryce Commission (1894) found "that over half of the 4200

*1 Page 105, Eton, How it Works, by J.D.R. McConnell, Faber and Faber, London, 1967.

undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge came from the 89 schools represented on the H.M.C."*¹ According to the Public Schools Commission in 1966, 1 in 10 of all public school leavers went to Oxford and Cambridge, but only 1 in 320 of every maintained grammar school leaver.*² The chances are even higher from the major public schools, for example at Charterhouse, between March 1956 and July 1962, 1 in 4 of all leavers went to Oxford and Cambridge.*³

We see then, a continuing relationship between families, preparatory schools, public schools and the ancient universities, greater in some than others, and one that is interwoven into their very fabric, and difficult to unravel without wholesale abolition. I consider the understatement of the Franks Report, sums up the continuous relationship and attitudes involved (bearing in mind the public schools represent only 5% of the total secondary school population for England and Wales), "of the closed awards made for entry (to Oxford) in 1965 - 1966 only 45% went to boys from

*¹ Report of Royal Commission on Secondary Education H.M.S.O., London, 1895, quoted also Page 10, '15 to 18' Volume I, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, H.M.S.O., London, 1959.

*² Table 8, Page 38, Public Schools Commission, First Report, Volume I, H.M.S.O., London, 1968.

*³ There were 1159 leavers, 307 went to Oxford and Cambridge, and 163 to other universities: Page 117, Charterhouse by the Boys, by Kenneth Mason, London, 1964.

independent boarding schools".*1

This completes the main aspects of the English public school tradition. However, besides the evolution of patronage within the tradition, there are two further by-products - hierarchy and privilege.

There is hierarchy both within the public school system and the individual school. Weinberg believed, "there is a pecking order among the public schools of a formal and informal kind".*2 This belief stems from his own experience and sociological research, and probably the works and experiments of Lorenz and Tinbergen. To the extent that the behaviour of animals and birds can be applied to social organisations of human beings, so too, is it valid for the study of public schools. The hierarchy within the school is reflected sociologically in the different levels of prefecture and seniority at the school level, house level, games, societies and staffing; these different strata often wear distinctive dress to denote their status and rank within the hierarchy: the dress acts as a symbol of privilege and actual behaviour patterns may be elicited by these signs. From the psychological point of view, it leads us into the study of conditioning and Pavlov; from the philosophical viewpoint, it raises the question as to what extent, man is

*1 Para. 189, The Franks Report, Report of Commission of Inquiry, Volume I, University of Oxford, 1967.

*2 Page xii, The English Public Schools - the Sociology of Elite Education, by I. Weinberg, Atherton Press, New York, 1967.

free in his environment? And from the sociological viewpoint it again raises the studies of elites.

In my own observations of public schools in Great Britain, I believe many aspects of the tradition are changing and adapting, just as the structure of society and the concepts of elites are changing. Change seems inevitable in life. If there is not growth, development, and adaptability, then there is ossification, rigidity, decay, and death. In today's changing world community, there is increasing mobility of populations, dependent on twentieth century technological invention and man's restless urge to expand and extend his boundaries of knowledge. One example of the thirst for knowledge and man's rising aspirations, is the tremendous expansion in all stages of education - primary, secondary, and tertiary. We now speak of the affluent society, the acquisitive society, and the permissive society, indicating man's increased wealth and materialistic outlook on life: the process of industrialisation in a greater number of countries, the increased skills of hand and mind, and the rising levels of economic spending power appear to have influenced man's moral and philosophic outlook. Ob^e _^edience is questioned, and the religious dogmas are loosening: ours is a questioning age, and the balance between authority and freedom seems to swing full-weighted towards the latter. One exm^aple is the world-wide student unrest both in universities and schools. One facet reacts upon the other. Older pupils are impatient to obtain adult status whilst younger pupils attempt to procure standing in their community. Under such modern universal influences,

and where some small diplomatic incident in a distant country may produce within seconds far-reaching effects on the capital cities of the world, it is small wonder that English society has become far less stratified. Both cause and effect of the intermingling between English social strata, is the proliferation of new modern English universities, colleges of technology and further education; names such as York, Sussex, Surrey, Portsmouth and Battersea, vie with the older universities for the products of the public schools. With the expansion of higher education, there is a gradual blurring of the hitherto rigid distinction between the universities and other institutions; thus it is obvious, elites are, and will become, more numerous, functional and situational.*1 There are some so-called traditional public schools' which still possess many late 19th-early 20th century characteristics; but there are other public schools with progressive and forward-looking headmasters who are experimenting in order to break down the old conventions. The main aspects which are disappearing include the seniority system, 'fagging', corporal

*1 Sources for concepts of elites in changing society: The Mind and Society, by V. Pareto, J. Cape, London 1935. The Ruling Classes, by G. Mosca, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1939. The Power Elite, by C. Wright Mills, Oxford University Press, New York, 1956. Elites and Society, by T.B. Bottomore, Penguin, London, 1964. Leaders Groups and Influences, by E.P. Hollander, Oxford University Press Inc., 1964, especially Ch. 2. Emergent Leadership and Social Influence. Governing Elites: Studies in Training and Selection, edited by R. Wilkinson, O.U.P., London, 1969.

punishment, and the compulsory nature of chapel and extra-curricular activities. The independence, selectivity, character training, religion and service, are still essentially there; but it is the changing nature of leadership and led in an increasingly sophisticated, materialistic, and shrinking world, with concomitant influences on moral and philosophic outlook which seems to be having the greatest influence on the tradition. Yet, institutions with a long history know how to change or they would not have survived: the problem is how to adapt to society and the prevailing climate of opinion, while at the same time preserving the essential traditions. The English are very adept in pouring new wine from old bottles, and, when necessary, old wine from new bottles.

The reason for this is that at heart is the image of authority, of power, of control, and the use of power and its effects must be accepted without question. Clearly today, education is given the vast majority of the world's people in the United States, and one admits to the role of a colonialist. It is not plainly obvious.

But Britain provided colonialism in the 18th and 19th centuries mainly with a moral basis. The British ideal of imperialism was the sense of trusteeship and benevolent domination. For instance, Sir Edward Grey was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and was instrumental in the

CHAPTER 3. COLONIAL ATTITUDES, AND THE RISE OF THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOL IN THE CONTEXT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN KENYA.

To appreciate colonial attitudes we must define the words 'colonial' and 'colonialism'. A colonial is a citizen or inhabitant of a colony according to Webster's New International Dictionary and Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, and a colony is a name applied to a State's dependencies overseas. Colonialism is the state, or quality of, or the relationship involved in being colonial; and it is the fact of 'relationship' which causes so many emotional overtones with the word, similar to Chapter 1 with English public schools. The reason for this is that at its heart is the image of dominance, of power asserted, and the use of power and its effects cannot be witnessed without emotion. Clearly today, colonialism is taboo for the vast majority of the world's peoples: as Thornton states, "no one admits to the title of a colonialist. It is too plainly abusive".*1

Yet Britain practised colonialism in the 18th and 19th centuries mainly with a moral basis. The British admit imperialism but in the sense of trusteeship and moral rectitude. For instance, Sir Edward Grigg who became Governor of Kenya and was instrumental in the

*1 Page 8, Doctrines of Imperialism, by A.P. Thornton, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1965.

setting up of European government secondary boarding schools stated, "Imperialism is the greatest power in the world today, for it combines with the force and inspiration of national needs and ideals a code of international conduct, aiming at the spread of law and the maintenance of peace".*1

Furthermore, even as late as the 1940's, a leading article in "The Times" stated, "many distinguished correspondents have lately protested in these columns against the fashion of using as a term of disparagement the word "Imperialism" charged as it is with magnificent traditions and a present content of hope for the emancipation of mankind ... The misuse seems to have begun with the Marxists, propagating their theory that the prime cause of war is capitalist exploitation and the pressure of the exploiters upon their Governments to seize the territory of backward peoples in order to protect their operations ... The sharp distinction that the medieval jurists drew between imperium and dominium, or ownership, is still valid today; it is the key to the very essence of empire, which is not the authority of a slave owner but a trusteeship for the bodies and souls of men".*2

It may well be that Imperialism to the influential classes of Britain meant a noble cause for the

*1 Page 171, The Greatest Experiment in History, by Sir Edward Grigg, New Haven, 1924.

*2 Leading article, The Times, April 22nd, 1940 and found also page 17, Commonwealth Challenge, No. 2, Volume 14, London, Winter, 1965.

"maintenance of peace" backed by "magnificent traditions" but so often it led to bitterness, skirmishes and violent reaction. The British as a nation practising Imperialism rarely in their initial contacts took into consideration the opinions and views of the colonised peoples because they considered their civilisation and technology so infinitely superior. On the other hand Marxists may have emphasised the economic motive in colonialism and for many in the twentieth century world, 'colonialists', 'capitalists', 'imperialists' are synonymous terms used in derogatory connotations. Some of these attitudes have stemmed from the popularisation of the works of Lenin, especially in his book, "Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism",^{*1} where he was influenced by such men as Hobson^{*2} and Karl Marx.^{*3} Lenin extended the word 'Imperialism' to include not only colonialism of the British type but to the transfer of surplus value from rich to poor countries and the drive to open foreign markets abroad. In this case, U.S.A. is the main imperialist nation. In this thesis I do not extend the term imperialism in this manner unless it is prefixed, e.g. economic imperialism. Imperialism comes from the Latin, imperium and means sovereignty or dominion which is essentially political.

*1 Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism, by V.I. Lenin, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1916.

*2 Source: Imperialism, by J.A. Hobson, George Allen and Unwin, first edit. 1902, 3rd edit. London, 1939.

*3 Source: Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist by Karl Marx, edited Engels, London 1887.

Although the economic motive is important and does much to explain materialist conceptions of modern history, I believe there were other factors as important as economic ones. There were psychological factors, for example, the motives of glory, adventure, and reverence. The English have always been great explorers because of their island position and relatively densely populated lands although many people have interpreted this as examples of expansionism. Some explorers were missionary orientated and one of the major areas of penetration was the so called 'Dark Continent'. It fitted in with the image^{*1} of Africa with negro populations living there in ignorance and primitive barbarity, whereas the explorer missionaries were to be the first to shine the light of Christianity and European civilisation. The image rested on the gullibility of peoples in Europe and elsewhere to the tales of many missionaries on reaching their home churches. Although many missionaries can be criticised for helping to build this image and for their lack of interest in African traditions, for example as Ajayi states, "they saw in traditional religions no more than fetishes, idolatory and juju",^{*2} some missionaries were opposed to colonialism. Crowder points out in West Africa that "in the Gold Coast the Basel Mission and in western Nigeria the

*1 Source: Page V, The Image of Africa, by P.D. Curtin Macmillan, London, 1965.

*2 Page 4, Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891, The Making of a New Elite, by J.F. Ade Ajayi, Longmans, Lagos, 1965.

Yoruba Mission were both opposed to colonial occupation".^{*1} Undoubtedly the missionary spectrum was very broad and reactions varied from tribe to tribe, nevertheless the overall effects of the missionaries was a form of religious imperialism. When Jesus Christ said to his disciples, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost",^{*2} a subtle form of imperialism was initiated.

Langer and Schumpeter^{*3} stress psychological factors and call Imperialism an atavism, and they may well be right especially the former when he states that the English are "still swayed by outmoded feudalistic ideas of honour and prestige".^{*4} This is certainly in line with the English public school tradition and is possibly the result of Monarchy and English social history. Even Hobson who stressed the economic factor in Imperialism realised there were "a medley of aims and feelings".^{*5}

*1 Page 9, West Africa under Colonial Rule, by Michael Crowder, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1968.

*2 Matthew, Chapter 28, v. 19, The Holy Bible, (1611 translation), British and Foreign Bible Society, London.

*3 Source: Imperialism and Social Classes, by Joseph A. Schumpeter, translated Heinz Norden, New York, 1951.

*4 Page 114, "A critique of Imperialism", by William L. Langer, Foreign Affairs, Council of Foreign Relations, Volume XIV, October, New York, 1935.

*5 Page 225, Imperialism. A Study, by J.A. Hobson, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1902.

Social factors are important because it was the influential classes of England that brought colonialism to Africa - for example, the 'gentlemen' of the English public school tradition whom we have seen in earlier chapters were raised in prestigious elite schools and with character training and leadership as the main aims of education. The protests to "The Times" concerning the use of the word 'Imperialism' were men such as Sir John Murray, Sir Frederick Sykes, Sir Norman Angell, J.A.R. Marriott - men of influence and power, predominantly titled, conservative in politics because "The Times" is a renowned newspaper of English conservative and gentry circles. It was these kinds of people that wielded political power out of all proportion to their numbers and influenced colonialism to its most ruthless aspects of oppression and racialism.

Now, some authorities believe there was an overall conspiracy of British Empire backed by the English working classes. This I would consider a myth. The working classes were alienated from the more privileged classes by birth and breeding. The working classes of England were intent on wrestling a living wage and political and social franchise from the influential classes in home affairs to be concerned with foreign influences. As Moon states, "Empire-buidling is done not by nations but by men".*1 I would add in East Africa men predominantly of the

*1 Page 58, Imperialism and World Politics, by Parker Thomas Moon, Macmillan, New York, 1935.

English public school tradition. Men, stirred on by 'gentlemen' like Sir John Robert Seeley, Professor of Modern History at Cambridge in the late 19th century who could write, "there is something intrinsically glorious in our Empire, upon which the sun never sets".*1 As if time stops still, and whose naivety can only be highlighted as a historian who has presumably studied the rise and fall of numerous empires. Another example is Darwin's 'Origin of Species' with its 'survival of the fittest' and 'evolutionary theory' which when applied to sociology implied that human progress depends on a struggle between races and nations. Obviously 'the fittest' in England were the influential upper classes and when they had exploited the other classes they established their supremacy over population in other countries. Much of the late 19th century and 20th century militarism and racism stemmed from this philosophy. Rudyard Kipling, the Victorian poet reflected much of the expansionism of England's influential classes in many of his poems.*2

*1 Page 295, The Expansion of England, by Sir John Seeley, London, 1883.

*2 "The White Man's Burden" from Collected Works by Rudyard Kipling, also page 87, The Imperialism Reader: Documents on Modern Expansionism, edited Louis L. Snyder, D. Van Nostrand, Princetown, New Jersey, 1962.

Take up the White Man's Burden -
 Send forth the best ye breed -
 Go bind your sons to exile
 To serve your captives' need;
 To wait in heavy harness,
 On fluttered folk and wild -
 Your new caught, sullen peoples,
 Half devil and half child.

Admittedly Rudyard Kipling became a popular poet in England with all classes - he had the support of many jingoists.

However, most western authorities would agree that the Europeans who came to East Africa in the 19th and early 20th centuries had predominantly differing aims - to the missionaries, there was a new kingdom to be won for God; to the trader, there were new areas to be opened up for the marketing of his products; to the government servant, there would always be devotion to service in a new country, and to the farmer there was his need for good soils and climate where he could grow his crops and pasture his livestock. European settlement in Kenya was not solely British, in fact Sorrenson reminds us, "most of the early settlers were South Africans".*¹ This fact stems from when, Sir Charles Eliot, Commissioner for the East African Protectorate (1901 - 1904), advertised for settlers, both in South Africa and Britain, in order to help pay for the Uganda Railway built in 1897 - 1901. The railway had been built to develop Uganda, prevent caravan slavery abolished officially in 1897, and to secure the strategic head-waters of the Nile. Undoubtedly, the call for South African settlers not only helped to strengthen the 'white Man's Image' but induced a strong farming element in Kenyan colonisation which was interpreted by many Africans as robbery of their land. Many colonialists, such as Eliot,

*¹ Page 1, Origins of European Settlement in Kenya, by M.P.K. Sorrenson, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1968.

thought, "the interior of the Protectorate as a white man's country",^{*1} as had Lugard, the soldier-administrator of the Imperial British East African Company, ten years earlier.^{*2} The reason for this attitude was the fact that altitude and amelioration of tropical temperatures combined to give a landscape most resembling the temperate regions of Britain. Even so, the only way to attract settlers was by giving them land at very low cost in the Kenya Highlands ('White Highlands') as it became to be known. The issue was to cause great bitterness among Africans and eventually civil disorders.

The first up country European school was the Rift Valley Academy, Kijabe, founded in 1903 by the African Inland Mission mainly for the children of missionaries. In 1904, a school for Europeans and Eurasians was set up in Nairobi by the Uganda Railway Authorities for the children of railway employees.^{*3} This school received government aid in 1907, and in 1910 the Europeans moved into buildings designed as police barracks in order to become a government co-educational

*1 Page 103, The East Africa Protectorate, by Sir Charles Arnold, Eliot, London, 1905.

*2 The Rise of the East African Empire, by Lord Lugard, Blackwood, London, 1893.

*3 Under the headmastership of Mr. A.J. Turner, who had seen service with the Indian Education Department. Page 295, Permanent Way, Volume 1, by M.F. Hill, East African Railways and Harbours, Nairobi, 1949. Also article written in the weekly newspaper, Leader of East Africa, April 3rd, 1909.

boarding (day children also attended).

In 1907, Professor Fraser from Bombay University in India, was asked to the Protectorate to advise on all matters relating to education. After reviewing the situation, Fraser submitted a report in which he recommended the appointment of a Director of Education^{*1} and made the colonial administration recognise the importance of education to a young colony and the responsibilities of government in this matter. Prior to this, practically all educational work was in the hands of the missionaries,^{*2} who used education as a powerful tool with which to break down African traditional society and to spread their own beliefs. The curriculum was reading and writing to establish a high degree of literacy for the understanding and transmission of the Scriptures.

In 1911, an Education Department was established and Mr. J.R. Orr was appointed the first Director of Education. He implemented many recommendations of the Fraser Report, the most important and one which

*1 Page 32-33, Education Department, Annual Report 1909, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1909.

*2 Pages 116-119, "Educational Development in Kenya (with particular reference to African education)", by J.N.B. Osogo, timetables the openings of missionary schools in Kenya starting from the C.M.S. school at Rabai in 1847 and the United Methodist school at Ribe in 1862. Hadith 3, Proceedings of the 1969/1970 Conferences of the Historical Association of Kenya, edited by Bethwell A. Ogot, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1970.

would affect the Kenyan educational scene for the next fifty years - the separation of education into four divisions on a racial basis, European, Indian, Arab and African. The segregation of the races was similar to a South African Commission^{*1} in 1905, and again these recommendations were made in the first Education Commission of the East African Protectorate in 1919.^{*2} This segregated educational organisation reflected the British colonial attitudes to race and the administrative influence of Lugard in his ideas of 'indirect rule'.^{*3} At its best, indirect rule was a system by which the tutelary power recognised existing societies and assisted them to adapt to the function of local government; at its worst, indirect rule was separateness: 'apartheid'. There had been parallel development in English education based on wealth and social class, it was small wonder it developed and extended within the Empire to include race. Lord Cranworth was quite explicit when he stated, "East of Suez, as all the world knows, between the two colours a great gulf is fixed".^{*4} Cranworth puts this down to the Europeans themselves: settlers, traders, officials and missionaries - "Europeans refuse to

*1 Commission on South African Native Affairs 1903-1905, (Lagden Commission) Cmd. 2399, H.M.S.O., London, 1905.

*2 Report of the Education, East African Protectorate 1919, Swift Press, Nairobi, 1919.

*3 The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, by Lord Lugard, Frank Cass, London, 1922.

*4 Page 184, A Colony in the Making, by Lord Cranworth, Macmillan and Co., London, 1912.

send their children to any school where they may associate with Black or Eurasian children".*1

The segregation in East Africa was not as potent, at least in theory, as the Dutch form of 'apartheid' in South Africa. The South African nationalists viewpoint based on the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Creed was that the native was the son of Cain, and born to helotry for ever; the British government viewpoint was some mixing should take place socially but only to the extent that improvement might take place of the native by example. Sir Charles Eliot epitomised this viewpoint, when he stated, "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".*2

This attitude of superiority in East Africa and patronage towards other races was a typically 'gentlemanly' characteristic of the English public school tradition of late Victorian times. Mack had noticed that, "the Victorian public school ... was primarily a mint for coining Empire builders",*3 and

*1 Page 300, Profit and Sport in British East Africa by Lord Cranworth, Macmillan and Co., London, 1919. This is the 2nd edition of "A colony in the Making", by Lord Cranworth, Macmillan and Co., London, 1912.

*2 Page 241-242, The East African Protectorate, by Sir Charles Eliot, Arnold, London, 1905.

*3 Page 400, Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780-1860, by E.J. Mack, Columbia University Press, New York, 1941.

the European philosophy immortalised by Kipling of the 'White Man's Burden', also embraced these attitudes. Just as Thring and other public school headmasters expected their students to be leaders and serve their unfortunate fellow country-men in some industrial slum, so too, did the influential classes in England expect every gentleman to do his civilising duty to the natives of Africa. Most government officials possessed these attitudes, as did some of the missionaries, at least those who had imbibed the leadership and character training of the English public schools. However many missionaries were not from this background: some Englishmen were from Church and Local Education Authority schools, and the Scots, Irish, and American missionaries especially, seemed to possess greater empathy and sympathy with indigenous peoples.

Some of the settlers also had a public school background because as Lord Cranworth states, "the Highlands was eminently suitable for retired officers of the Crown and foot-loose aristocrats ... the whole aim of a public school education has been to fit a boy, not for work but for the overseeing of work ... and the Protectorate was essentially an overseer's country".^{*1} On the other hand, we have seen many early settlers were of South African origin and many were "rough and ready".^{*2} The settler point of view and philosophy

*1 Page 184-186, A Colony in the Making, by Lord Cranworth, Macmillan and Co., London, 1912.

*2 Page 191, East Africa through a Thousand Years, by G.S. Were and D.A. Wilson, Evan Bros., Nairobi, 1968.

tended to be more extreme than either the British Government or the missionaries, and closely followed the Dutch 'apartheid' attitude. The reason for this probably stems from the fact the settlers had come to stay in the country on a permanent basis and they were building a future for their children; whereas government officials and missionaries were liable to serve in other colonial territories. Lord Delamere, an old Etonian, was not the undisputed leader of the settlers because of the eccentric and flamboyant Colonel Grogan;^{*1} though Delamere was of the public school tradition, his experiences in Africa had undoubtedly made him an extremist by the 1920's, the key period in the establishment of secondary education in Kenya. Elspeth Huxley believed that Lord Delamere, and aristocrats like him, were trying to create "a replica of the feudal system of their fathers".^{*2} This may be so, but personally, I believe he adopted his outlandish dress and behaviour in order to identify and impress the pioneer settlers, including South Africans, as their overall leader. His public school background and extremist attitude to life and politics is reflected in his electioneering manifesto, at Kenya's first elections in 1920, when he made a special point for the need of a secondary education, "to procure judgement and balance in a ruling race".^{*3}

*1 An Irishman from South Africa who had flogged three Kikuyu servants outside a prominent Nairobi hotel.

*2 Page 20, Settlers of Kenya, by E. Huxley, Chatto and Windus, London, 1948.

*3 Election Manifesto 1920 of Lord Delamere, Source: Pages 83-85, White Man's Country, Volume I, Chatto and Windus, London, 1935.

Lord Delamere's 'ruling race' philosophy initiated the formation of the Central Advisory Committee on European Education (1924), with himself as member for Rift Valley.*1

These extremist viewpoints and settler attitudes, which closely followed the Dutch 'apartheid' attitude, can be seen reflected in practice over segregation and the schools. The segregation of the races became effective in the schools. The recommendations of the 1919 Education Commission were codified in 1924 and the following year the system of grants-in-aid was stabilised. Economics and politics were interlinked in Kenya at this period; the whole problem of racial segregation and grants-in-aid influenced each other, ever since the Fraser Report of 1909. Fraser had recommended grants-in-aid for the mission schools, and in 1911 these grants were paid, but only to the extent of subsidising those mission schools which taught 'industrial education', not 'literary education': financial assistance was limited to a capitation grant for each indentured apprentice. This discriminating procedure continued up to 1918, when a revision occurred, and the payments were extended to the training of teachers and to assist 'literary education' in those institutions already receiving grants for courses in 'industrial education'. Through these grants, the colonial government could insist on qualifications of teachers, the nature of the curriculum, and inspection. By 1926, there was a non-native poll tax on Europeans

*1 Appendix 3, for full membership of the Central Advisory Committee on European Education.

and Asians, but in that year and through the influence of the Central Advisory Committee on European education, a European Education Tax Ordinance, an Asian Education Tax Ordinance, and a Wines and Spirits Consumption Tax Ordinance, were passed. This stressing of the different races and the taxes they contributed, was one of the main features in the Legislative Council, and Sir Edward Grigg showed the ethos of the period, when he stated, "the races are different; the system of education for each race must therefore be different. But each race will be serving not merely its own but the general interest, by providing itself with the best education it can afford. It seems desirable to me that each race in the Colony should finance its own education".*1

The outcome was disparities in educational grants to the different races as shown in Table 1, whereby expenditure per pupil was x48 greater for the European as compared to the African and Arab.

*1 Speech of Sir Edward Grigg (Governor), 28th October, 1925, Source: Page 786, Legislative Council Debates, Vol. II.

Table 1 School Population and Government Expenditure
1926.*1

<u>Race</u>	<u>No. of Pupils</u>	<u>Government Expenditure</u>	
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Per Pupil</u>
Arab and African	82,761	£ 53,465	13/-
Indian	1,947	£ 14,471	144/-
European	909	£ 28,815	634/-

After the first World War, there were differing attitudes between missionaries and settlers over the question of African labour. The settlers associations believed the government should legislate in order for Africans to work on the farms. We have seen how government grants-in-aid from 1911 to 1918 were only provided for 'industrial education' in the mission schools. Moreover, it was significant that the first government 'secondary' school for Africans, was a technical-teacher training central school at Machakos, founded in 1913. The colonial government here reflected settler attitudes because there was a deep mistrust of missionary 'literary education' for Africans; the settlers wished educated labour only to the extent of being trained in individual apprenticeships: education in the deeper sense was not for Africans. The missionaries objected strongly to

*1 Source of statistics: Page 11 and 66, Annual Report of the Education Department, 1927.
 Government Printer, Nairobi.

these beliefs, and when the Governor, Sir Edward Northey passed a series of circulars backing the settlers claims, the missionaries approached the Imperial Government in London. The result was that Sir Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, issued a white paper^{*1} prescribing officials to take no part in recruiting labour for private employment. The gulf between missionary and settlers continued to widen because by the early 1920's many new European settlers were coming to Kenya under what was known as the ex-soldier settlement scheme and they required labour. The Kenya Government (East African Protectorate became Kenya Colony in 1920) persuaded by the settlers, compelled all African males to register and carry a card (kipande) with their fingerprints. All Africans resented this^{*2} and African politics dates from shortly after this event.

Though the question of labour and type of education could divide the Europeans, the question of race often united them. A good example of this, and one which further laid the seed of African independence, was 'the Indian Question'.^{*3} In 1921, there were

*1 Despatch to the Officer Administering the Government of Kenya Colony. Cmd. 1509, H.M.S.O., London, 1921.

*2 "The kipande system is hated by every African in this land". Mr. Eliud Mathu, Kenya Legislative Council, January 11th, 1946.

*3 Source: History of East Africa, Volume II, edited by V. Harlow and E.M. Chilver, Oxford University Press, London, 1965.

approximately 10,000 Europeans, 23,000 Indians (Asians) and an estimated $2\frac{1}{2}$ - 3 million Africans.*¹ Europeans for the first time were allowed to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Council but the Indians wished to do likewise on the basis of a democratic vote; they also demanded no segregation in the townships, the right to tenure of land in the White Highlands, and promotion to the highest ranks of the Civil Service. This the Europeans could not tolerate because it would mean the end to a white minority political supremacy. The governor backed the European viewpoint, "European interest must be paramount throughout the protectorate".*² The Indians sent deputations both to India and London, whilst the European settlers demanded Indian immigration be controlled and they would still continue to abide by the 'Elgin pledge'.*³ In the representations to London, the Indians claimed they alone were educating the African in learning his language and teaching him trades. The European

*¹ Source: Kenya, a political history, by G. Bennett, U.U.P., London, 1963.

*² Correspondence regarding the Position of Indians in East Africa. Cmd. 1311, H.M.S.O., London, 1921.

*³ 'The Elgin pledge': Lord Elgin was the Secretary of State for the Colonies 1905-1908. In 1906 when the Indian community had appealed for equal rights, the Commissioner consulted the Imperial Government and Lord Elgin replied: "I have to inform you that I approve of your adhering to the principle acted on by your predecessors viz. that land lying outside municipal limits, roughly lying between Kiu and Fort Ternan, should be granted ONLY TO EUROPEAN SETTLERS."

settlers and missionaries asserted the reverse. So strongly, did the European settlers feel over the issue, that a Vigilance Committee was established and plans discussed for a military rebellion against the government. The struggle between European and Indian interests ended in 1923 with the Devonshire White Paper which established the 'paramountcy' of the Africans: "Primarily, Kenya is an African territory and H.M. Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail".*1 The settlers won their case over the White Highlands but 5 members of the Indian community were to be elected to the Legislative Council along with 11 Europeans, and one member represented African interests: the policy of segregation in the townships was abandoned and immigration of Indians should be controlled, although the latter was never implemented.

The different attitudes in Kenya at this time were again reflected in the educational system, especially the birth of secondary education, which in most schools was a mere extension of primary education. In 1921, the Institute of the Blessed Virgin, opened Loreto Convent, Msongari, for all-age European children. In 1923, an Anglican, Mr. A.B. McDonnell, erected buildings for the education of his

*1 Page 10, Indians in Kenya, Cmd. 1922, Devonshire White Paper, H.M.S.O., London, 1923.

daughters at Limuru, and in 1926, the Kenya Schools Ltd., a connection of the Church of England Trust which founded Stowe (1923), a public school in England, built the Hill School, Limuru,^{to be} for European girls. A similar school for boys was mooted by Bishop Heywood but the scheme was dropped. Lord Delamere strongly urged the expenditure of £80,000 on a European secondary school for boys at Kabete but the Director of Education opposed the idea on the question of adequate boarders to fill it. Secondary pupils had been extended from the primary stage at the old government Nairobi European School on a co-educational basis during the war years in order to take the College of Preceptors Examination.

In Indian education the Allidina Visram High School, Mombasa, was opened in 1923, a rehousing and secondary extension of the Indian School, Mombasa (1912).^{*1} The Government Indian Boys School, Nairobi (1906), extended primary education to secondary and produced its first students for matriculation in 1929. Miss S.R. Shah believes, "Ismailli and Goan schools in the main towns were also likely to have a full-time secondary school course",^{*2} at this time.

*1 Source: Allidina Visram High School, Mombasa A 300/III Coast Provincial Education Office.

*2 Page 123, A History of Asian Education in Kenya, 1886-1963, by Miss Snehlata R. Shah, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of East Africa (Nairobi), 1968.

In African education, the missionaries provided some secondary education as an extension to the primary system at Buxton High School and Maseno (C.M.S.), Kikuyu and Tumutumu (Church of Scotland) and Kabaa (Roman Catholic), but it was not until 1926 that the first African secondary school at Kikuyu, Alliance High School, was opened. The type of education started at Alliance High School was a junior secondary education with an adapted literary basis. It was an introductory two year cultural course with agriculture and Bantu studies as subjects which led on to either a one year teacher training or a year commercial course. Mr. G.A. Grieve from Edinburgh, the first headmaster had toured the Southern U.S.A., and been impressed with the Tuskegee Institute. This was founded by Booker T. Washington^{*1} from the well-known negro college at Hampton, Virginia, who believed in contrast to Marcus Dubois^{*2} that education possessed primarily a practical value. This kind of education fitted in with the political and racial views of the U.S.A. at that time. As King states, "for Southern whites it signified disavowal of all political ambition" and "Northern whites of missionary and philanthropic disposition were

*1 Working with the hands, by Booker T. Washington, New York, 1904.

*2 The Souls of black folk, Essays and sketches, by W.E.B. Dubois, Chicago, 1903.

gratified by the insistence upon the morality of the Hampton industrial work".*1 In Kenya the newly transferred Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon believed in 'native agriculture' education and Bantu studies based on the Hampton experiment and South African policies. Furthermore his viewpoints influenced educational opinion in the country, thus it was not surprising that Grieve of Alliance High School visited the Southern part of the U.S.A. Moreover Coryndon's views influenced the 1919 Education Commission and were strengthened by the newly created American Commission to Africa.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa had been primarily influenced by Jones and Oldham in their beliefs*2 in a different education for Africans. These policies again dovetailed with the English public school tradition and South African 'apartheid' ideas. A major conference in London in June 1923 to discuss Oldham's memorandum was attended by English 'gentlemen' of the stature of W.A. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Lugard, Sir James Currie, the Bishop of Liverpool, who was the former headmaster of the large and

*1 Page 8, Pan-Africanism and Education, by Kenneth James King, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971.

*2 "Christian Missions and the Education of the Negro", by J.H. Oldham, Pages 242-247, International Review of Missions, Vol. vii, London, 1918.

"An educational policy for African Colonies", by T.J. Jones, Christian education in Africa, September, Edinburgh House, 1924.

influential English public school, Rugby, and Sir Michael Sadler. The latter had made a specialised study of Negro and Indian education. The outcome of the conference was the establishment of a permanent advisory committee to supervise progress of education in British Africa.*1 The advisory committee met immediately to discuss the two Phelps-Stokes reports and issued its own policy statement which influenced Colonial Office thinking in the inter-war period. Among its more important conclusions were the principles that the British government reserved the right to direct educational policy: missionary efforts in the field of education were to be encouraged with a system of grants-in-aid: religious training and moral instruction should be regarded as fundamental to the development of sound education: technical and vocational training should be carried out with the help of government departments: and education should be as far as possible be adapted to local conditions.

When the Phelps-Stokes came to Kenya in 1924 they did not question the fact of white settlement but men such as Dillard, Aggrey, and Jones gave settlers satisfaction in complementing them on their civilising mission.*2 Aggrey was a West African

*1 Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, Cmd. 2347, H.M.S.O., London, 1925.

*2 "First Impressions", article in East African Standard, (weekly edition), March 8th, 1924.

Lord Delamere also felt that the Phelps-Stokes views of education accorded with his own. Pages 383, 400-401, The Scottish Mission in Kenya, 1891-1923, by B.G. McIntosh, Ph.D, thesis,

educated in the classical tradition,*¹ tactful of British colonialism and a protégé of Jones in his belief in industrial education for Africans similar to the Negroes of Southern U.S.A. Though Aggrey stressed loyalty and patience he was admired by many Africans because he showed in his personality how a Western literary education could influence a negro. For instance, Mbiyu Koinange, the present Minister of State, stated of Aggrey, "when I heard that man speak, I quit my job in Nairobi and walked twenty five miles to my home in one day and told my father, I must go to America where that wonderful African was educated".*² Views such as this stimulated African ideas of going abroad for their education. That this enthusiasm could only be contained by providing locally secondary education was one of the main reasons the Director of Education allowed the opening of Alliance High School. Thus African pressure together with missionary enterprise stimulated this type of education.

Dr. J.W. Arthur, head of the Church of Scotland mission was the main guiding light behind Alliance High School according to Smith in his "History of Alliance High School". Arthur was keen on a college

*¹ Source: Aggrey of Africa, by E.W. Smith, Student Christian Movement, London, 1929.

*² Page 233, Pan-Africanism and Education, by Kenneth James King, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971.

of higher education^{*1} for Africans but his recommendation was overruled by the Conference of British Missionary Societies and Oldham suggested to Arthur his plans be changed and ~~the~~ buildings be converted to a junior high school. Thus Alliance High School opened in 1926 with a roll of 27 pupils each paying 42/- per annum. The agriculture did not last long in the course before it became biology (1932 according to the man who taught agriculture and biology).^{*2}

One year before the beginnings of Alliance High School, the Jeanes School, Kabete, opened under the headmastership of J.W.C. Dougall who was the secretary to the Phelps-Stokes Commission. The school reflected the ideas of the Commission in providing a healthy education through agriculture and village community. Teachers, their wives and children were regarded as members of the community and the needs of the school-village were primary in much of the instruction given. The scheme, namely the Jeanes Industrial Teacher system had originated

*1 The Alliance Medical College was under consideration as early as 1915 by the Church of Scotland Mission and then Alliance of Protestant Missions took up the theme in 1918. In 1924, Dr. Arthur reported that the Medical College had been built (cost £4,500) and it was actually opened but only 8 students could be found who had reached the minimum standards of passing Standard VIII.

*2 Page 66, The History of Alliance High School, by J.S. Smith, Meinemann, Nairobi, 1973.

from the Southern States of the U.S.A.*¹ That the Colonial Government recognised the importance of this type of schooling for Africans can be appreciated from the preponderant amount of space devoted to the Jeanes School in the Educational Annual Reports 1926-1932 and to specific annual reports from the headmaster which were published by Government. However, the majority of Africans were opposed to this kind of education. This was recognised by Dougall as early as 1927 in his report when he stated that the students consider the education of an "inferior kind".*² It was once again the English public school tradition of a different education for other people to what their own children were receiving. The missionaries sent their own children to European Nairobi schools, later the Prince of Wales School to obtain an academic literary education.

Sir Edward Grigg, the Governor of Kenya Colony 1925-1930, was one of the greatest innovators of European education. Grigg was a Wykehamist and imbued with the Empire and the public school tradition. He asserts in his book how "potent and salutary the influence of the Old School Tie," was in his time, and how "characteristic it was of Kenya in that age".*³ Grigg was appalled by the

*¹ The Jeanes Teacher in the United States 1908-1933, by Lance G.E. Jones, Chapel-Hill, 1937.

*² Page 3, Annual Report on the Jeanes School 1926, by J.W.C. Dougall, Government Printer, Nairobi, 3rd February, 1927.

*³ Pages 74-76, Kenya's Opportunity, by Lord Altrincham, Faber and Faber, London, 1955.

frontier-like conditions of Kenyan buildings of iron and wood; in his education he had been used to the antiquity, magnificence, and beauty of Winchester and New College, Oxford, with their inspiring chapels, impressive tracery and icons. Grigg obtained the services of the best architect in Africa - Sir Herbert Baker who had worked with Lutyens on New Delhi and had transfigured Pretoria with new governmental buildings. Baker designed Government House and the Law Courts, Nairobi. The colonial type of architecture as it became known, expressed itself in white-washed walled stone, impressive Greek columns, cool open balconies, lofty rooms and roofs of red close-socketed tiles. In the same tradition was established the new European primary schools at Nairobi, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nyeri and Kitale, and the first European secondary boarding school for boys at Kabete, named the Prince of Wales School (1929).^{*1} Grigg's colonial attitude to European education is expressed in his opening speech of the Nairobi European School, "the great duty of this school is to make you worthy citizens of the Empire - your Empire; and worthy subjects of the King - your King. It is to make you fit and ready to help in upholding British standards here in Africa, in fulfilling British ideals and thus enriching the destiny of the

*1 The school was originally known as the Kabete Secondary School; in 1931 it became the Prince of Wales School and in 1966 Nairobi School.

Empire into which you were born".*1 Sir Edward Grigg was especially influential in the establishment and erection of the new European Secondary Boarding School and he together with Sir Edward Denham (then Colonial Secretary) and Lord Delamere, personally chose the site.*2 It was also Grigg who influenced the Prince of Wales to visit the Colony and give his name to the new secondary school. The connection between the heir to the British throne and Sir Edward Grigg was that Grigg had been Military Secretary to the Prince of Wales in Imperial India.

The Prince of Wales School was to be run on public school lines and the Director of Education intimated there would be links with the English public schools and the Empire.*3 The first headmaster was Captain B.W.L. Nicholson whose wife was related to the Governor and shows the importance of family ties. He was also a lecturer at Dartmouth, the elite

- *1 Speech by H.E. the Governor, Lt. Col. Sir Edward Grigg at the opening of the European School, Nairobi, on Empire Day, 1928, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1928.
- *2 Source: Private letter from Captain B.W.L. Nicholson to P.F. Fletcher, dated 12th September, 1949, Ockley, Surrey. Administration 8 File. School Log Book, Prince of Wales School.
- *3 Page 10, Educational Department Annual Report, 1926, viz. "The Director of Education whilst on leave in England found the greatest enthusiasm displayed by the great public schools, not only towards European education generally in Kenya, but especially towards the foundation of a great public school at Kabete".

college for naval officers in England, Nicholson shaped and organised the school on naval traditions and from what he knew at Dartmouth; his influence, especially on school dress, uniform, badges and insignia, was copied by all large boys' schools in Nairobi over the next thirty years.*1

The majority of staff chosen for the Prince of Wales School were civil servants of the Colonial Education Service. In 1925, the British Government, as a result of consultations with the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies,*2 had issued a White Paper which led to the establishment of the Colonial Education Service. Many of these civil servants were from the English public schools and the ancient universities, as was the administration. Margery Perham states, "in the administrative service especially, the desired type was the product of the public school and the older universities, a young man with a sense of discipline and service, all round athletic and enterprising rather than highly intellectual. The

*1 Other schools using exactly the same pattern: Duke of York School (1948), Delamere School (1959), Starehe (1960).

*2 The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies was originally the Advisory Committee of Native Education in Tropical Africa. It discussed 1923-1925 Reports of the American sponsored Phelps-Stokes Commission and then issued the following White Paper: Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, Cmd. 2347, H.M.S.O., London, 1925.

type was desirable in the technical services also".*1

There was little doubt, this late 19th, early 20th century type of the public school tradition had a tremendous influence on the Prince of Wales School in its organisation, administration and general philosophy, and via Staff on later educational establishments in Kenya. Captain Nicholson chose the motto 'to the uttermost' for the Prince of Wales School, just as had chosen, 'Servis est Regnare' for the European Nairobi School in 1925, and Julian Huxley had criticised him for it and other religious and chauvinistic mottoes.*2 The Prince of Wales School became noted as a strong games-playing and character building school rather than an intellectual grammar school: games and extra-curricular activities took precedence over academic studies. The House system was instituted and the prefects reigned supreme through a strict seniority system.

The Government in 1930 used the classification system of primary and secondary education for the first time.*3 An analysis was made of European

*1 Page xxxvii, History of East Africa, edited by V. Harlow and E.M. Chilver, Oxford University Press, London, 1965.

*2 At the present day Nairobi Primary School which was the European School, Nairobi, Nicholson inscribed mottoes: e.g. "Love of England, gratitude to one's country, is the happy duty of us all". Page 152, Africa View, by Julian Huxley, Chatto and Windus, London, 1931.

*3 Page 24, Educational Department Annual Report 1930. Government Printer, Nairobi, 1930.

children and the Director of Education, Mr. H.S. Scott, adopted a compromise system of age and attainment. A boy or girl who had completed either their 14th year in age or passed the standard of the Cambridge Preliminary Examination, was to attend secondary school. Only the Prince of Wales School for boys and the European Girls School (nucleus of the Kenya High School), which occupied the upper floor of the European Nairobi School, were designated as secondary schools; all other European government schools e.g. Nairobi, Eldoret, Kitale, Nakuru, etc., were designated as primary schools and 'feeders' for the secondary schools.*1

In 1932, with the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, experiments were performed by Oliver*2 whereby intelligence tests were given to boys at the POWS and the AHS. According to Oliver the tests were standardised and validated for Africans and there emerged what became known as the 'General Intelligence Test for Africans': component tests which were non-verbal and consisted of problems dealing with pictures, numbers, letters, and other symbols. The pupils were not required to write but

*1 The Indian educational system was similarly divided but the African system was not, probably because of the age factor, and that the great majority of African schools were missionary.

*2 "The Comparison of the Ability of Races with special reference to East Africa", by R.A.C. Oliver, Pages 160-204, The East African Medical Journal, Volume IX, September 1932.

make crosses or other marks. Oliver found that (1) the average African score at AHS was 85% of the average European score at POWS, (2) only 14% of the African boys reached and exceeded the European score at the POWS. Moreover, Oliver quoted the infamous physiological findings of Dr. Vint^{*1} to substantiate the superiority of the European race. These quantitative matters of so-called scientific validity reinforced the basic racial assumption that the African was innately less intelligent than the European, and the notorious Dr. Vint at that time, even believed, "that the stage of cerebral development reached by the average native is that of the average European boy of between 7 and 8 years of age".^{*2}

We recognise here the transferred English public school attitude of superiority. As Moumouni, states, "by trying to effect a veritable 'depersonalisation' of Africans, using every possible means to imbue students with an inferiority complex and the idea of

*1 Dr. F.W. Vint measured the weights of the pre-frontal brain cortex of deceased Europeans and Africans and found the average weight of male natives to be 1276 gms. and the average weight of male Europeans to be 1453 gms. "A preliminary note on the cell content of the pre-frontal cortex of the East African native". Pages 30-49, The East African Medical Journal, Volume IX, June, 1932.

*2 "The Comparison of the Ability of Races: with special reference to East Africa", by R.A.C. Oliver, Pages 160-204, The East African Medical Journal, September, 1932.

the congenital incapacity of the Black, colonial education sowed a seed pregnant with consequences".*1 Sir Julian Huxley, the distinguished English biologist, had adopted in part this current assumption when he stated in 1931, "I am quite prepared to believe that if we ever do devise a really satisfactory method of measuring inborn mental attributes, we shall find the races of Africa slightly below the races of Europe in pure intelligence and probably certain other important qualities".*2

Huxley was a man ahead of his times to the extent he realised the difficulty of assessing 'pure intelligence' or 'innate intelligence', however he failed to appreciate the lack of validity in comparing children from different cultures and races. The fact that the cultural and social environment induce psychological barriers to the processes of cognition and conation, perception and motivation, is a far more important factor than comparing 'intelligence' on a racial basis. Even today, there are psychologists such as Jensen*3 and Eysenck*4 who mathematically

*1 Page 54, Education in Africa, by Abdou Moumouni, Andre Deutsch, London, 1968.

*2 Page 389, African View, by Julian Huxley, Chatto and Windus, London, 1931.

*3 "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement", Harvard Educational Review, Vol.39, Winter, 1969.

"Reducing the Heredity - Environment Uncertainty: A Reply", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 39, Summer, 1969.

*4 Race, Intelligence and Education, by Prof. H.J. Eysenck, Temple Smith, London, 1971.

overstate the hereditarian view of intelligence and emphasise the differences between races, whereas the reverse should be the case; it is the similarities that count. If differences are to be stressed it should be on a minute scale of a small group because the environment is complex. One cannot magnify small-scale experiments and apply it to a race or a continent. Overall then, Oliver's tests reflect current racial assumptions in the early 1930's and the inequalities of opportunity for African boys. And as regards Vint's infamous experiments the average size of the pre-frontal cortex is not an adequate assessment of intelligence.*1

During the 1930's and after in Kenya, secondary education was limited and elitist. It was possibly designed so, firstly, because of the numbers involved, and secondly, the Cambridge School Certificate was the gateway to the universities and professions. Not even Europeans attended school. Weller writing in the early 1930's stated, "it is by no means unknown to find on some remote farms, Dutch children up to 18 years old who can neither read nor write".*2 Even

*1 Source: Intelligence: Some recurring issues, edited by L.E. Tyler, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., New York, 1969.

*2 Page 133, Kenya without Prejudice, by H.O. Weller, East Africa Ltd., London, 1931.

by 1937-1938, there were only 303 European children at secondary school^{*1} (188 of these were government - 148 POWS, 40 KHS, and 150 private at Limuru Girls School and Loreto Convent).

On the retirement of Captain Nicholson from the POWS in 1937, there were only 148 boys, but by the time P. Fletcher took over control in 1945 from B. Astley, the intermediate headmaster, there were 355 boys and this increased to 593 boys in 1948. There were several contributory factors for this statistical increase: firstly, compulsory education was introduced for Europeans between the ages of seven and fifteen years in 1942; secondly, there was an unprecedented wave of European immigration to Kenya after World War II; thirdly, the esteem and prestige of the POWS and KHS attracted children from neighbouring territories as well as the private preparatory schools e.g. Kenton College, Pembroke House and St. Andrews School, Turi. Parents, who normally sent their sons and daughters to English public schools had used local schools during the War years because of the safety factor. After the War, they continued to use these

*1 Compare these figures with 375 Asian children, 173 African and 85 Arab children to show the disparity between the numbers and the races in Colonial times. It reflects the inequality of secondary educational opportunities which is further heightened when one realises that Alliance High School did not enter for Cambridge School Certificate until 1940 (a 4 year secondary course). Statistics from Educational Annual Reports, Government Printer, Nairobi.

schools having realised the European government schools followed closely the English public school tradition.

The demand for secondary educational places was at a premium in the late 1940's, and this was not satisfied until the Duke of York School, a new government secondary boarding school for European boys, was opened in 1949 and within another year, the Kenya High School for girls moved into new buildings at Kileleshwa, Nairobi. Thus was established "the Three" that the author recognises as a main thread of the English public school tradition in Kenya. The reader may ask - what did these schools have in common which other secondary schools did not possess? I enumerate the following:

- (1) They were essentially European secondary boarding schools, supported and favoured by a European colonial government*1 and catering for one sex and one race.
- (2) All three stemmed from the old European Nairobi School of 1910.
- (3) They possessed first class buildings, extensive playing fields, and other excellent amenities typical of the English public schools.

*1 One example of how the colonial government favoured these schools is that in 1949, the DOYS started its life in the Governor's residence (present State House) because their new buildings on the Ngong Road, Nairobi, were not completed.

Source: "Government House becomes a school", Lady Magazine, May, 1949, London.

- (4) All were staffed by the cream of the European Colonial Education Service (civil servants).
- (5) They were headed by outstanding men and women with experience of public schools in England and the ancient universities, e.g. Mr. P.F. Fletcher (Highgate School and St. John's College, Cambridge) had been teaching at Marlborough College, Geelong Grammar School, and Cheltenham College before the POWS; Miss J.M.A. Stott (Berkhamsted School for Girls and St. Anne's College, Oxford) had been teaching at Westonbirt before coming to the KHS; Mr. R.H. James (Lancing and Brasenose College, Oxford) had been teaching at the POWS with Captain Nicholson before going to the DOYS.
- (6) All three tended to meet periodically for concerted action over common problems, on their own initiative and without government sanction, e.g. 'the Three Chapels Fund',^{*1} Bursars' meetings, Governors' meetings and Principals' meetings. Even as late as 1971 "the Three" instituted a common religious and service book.^{*2}

*1 Sources: Pages 15-20, "The Chapel Story", The Yorkist Magazine, 1960; Page 15, "Charles Kitchener, an appreciation," The Yorkist Magazine 1962. Mr. C. Kitchener (Winchester and Trinity College, Cambridge) a nephew of General Kitchener, was the foundation secretary of the Three Chapels Appeal Fund.

*2 Source: "Worship the King" compiled by Rev. P. Ward (KHS), Rev. P.R. Davies (POWS), Rev. G. Bennet-Rees (DOYS), Evangel Publishing House, Nairobi, 1971.

- (7) Right from the beginning, European government schools possessed a high degree of independence^{*1} typical of the English public school tradition.
- (8) Their aims and values were similar and their mottoes reflected English public school aspirations: POWS 'to the Uttermost', DOYS 'Nihil praeter optimum', KHS 'Servire est Regnare'.
- (9) They charged higher fees than most other schools (high cost schools).
- (10) Their house systems, internal structure and ethos were typical of the English public schools.

There were European secondary schools (boarding) of religious foundation which could rank with "the Three" in prestige and esteem at this time of the post war period:- St. Mary's School for Boys, Nairobi (1939), Loreto Convent, Msongari (1921), and Limuru Girls School (1926). The former instituted a Combined Cadet Force in line with the POWS and the DOYS. The latter - Limuru Girls School, had had two influential headmistresses of the English public school tradition: Miss Waller (1931-1939) from Cheltenham Ladies College and Miss Fisher (1949-1956), the daughter of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

*1 Source: Page 11, Speech of the Director of Education, Mr. J.R. Orr, Proceedings of the First Annual Conference on European Education, held at the European School, Nairobi, 21st-22nd April, 1925: "I do believe that the high standard of education in government schools is due to the reduction of restriction to a minimum."

Furthermore, Limuru Girls School became colonial government grant-aided in 1947 and on par with "the Three" recruiting highly qualified and experienced staff.

In other Kenyan secondary schools there were many facets of the English public school tradition, evolved by English public school minded principals and teachers. James of the DOYS for instance, had been Headmaster of Allidina Visram School, Mombasa, and Shimo-le-Tewa Secondary School.^{*1} Carey Francis, the CMS missionary with English public school traits,^{*2} was headmaster of Maseno and Alliance High School. Before World War II there were only 4 African secondary schools - Maseno (1938), Alliance (1926), Mangu (1938) and Yala (1939) although some of these schools were primary schools at the beginning of the century. The late 1940's saw the growth of government secondary boarding schools for Africans: e.g. Kagumo, Kisii, Kakamega, Kapenguria, Shimo-le-Tewa, Kapsabet, Tambach, etc. At this time the trade schools, Kabete (1948), Thika (1949), and Sigatagala (1950) were built providing two year courses (later four year) in building trades, tailoring and metalwork. Much of the original

*1 See Appendix 2, showing the Headmasters who had developed their teaching techniques but also imbibed the traditions of a high cost school (e.g. POWS), and then transferred to other Kenyan secondary schools.

*2 For an analysis of these traits see Chapter 4.

stimulus for this interest in African education had arisen with the two British Colonial Reports of 1935, 1943^{*1}, and donations from the Commonwealth Development and Welfare Act of 1944 provided funds. Furthermore in Kenya, the Beecher Committee (1949)^{*2} was appointed by the Governor and one of its main recommendations was to provide the country with sixteen African secondary schools by 1958. From an African viewpoint much of this building was too little and too late. Even a pro-English historian as Fieldhouse of Oriel College, Oxford admits that Imperialism "lacked the self-confidence to institute major changes. In fact the common defect of all alien rule was its cautious conservatism".^{*3}

The 1950's were a time of political instability in Kenya with the Emergency lasting from 1952-1960, the outcome of feelings of repressed African nationalism.^{*4} Though Mr. Macmillan's 'wind-of-

*1 Memorandum on the Education of African Communities. Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Colonial Office, Col. 103, H.M.S.O., London, 1935.
Mass Education in African Society. Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Colonial Office, Col. 186, H.M.S.O., London, 1943.

*2 African Education in Kenya. (The Beecher Report), Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1949.

*3 Page 377, The Colonial Empire - A Comparative Survey from the 18th century. by D.K. Fieldhouse, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1966.

*4 Source: The Myth of Mau-Mau, by Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1966.

-change' was blowing strongly through the countries of East Africa at this time, the English model of education, reflected most forcibly in the European sector of Education, continued paradoxically to expand in Kenya.

In 1955, the Highlands School, Eldoret, became a full secondary school for European girls and on par with "the Three"; prior to this Highlands School was a mixed school dominated by Afrikaners.*1 In 1956, the Delamere School for European secondary day children opened, and in 1959 this became a separate boys' secondary school with the establishment of Delamere Girls' High School; even as late as 1961, a government secondary boarding school for boys and girls opened at Nakuru - the Francis Scott School with Mr. J. Say (Bromsgrove and Brasenose College, Oxford) a master from the Prince of Wales School as the headmaster. This latter school and the Nakuru Girls' Secondary School (1961), built for one race, and one stage of education, lasted but a year before the new forces of political independence changed the whole concept of education in Kenya.

*1 Source: "Education as a means of preserving Afrikaner Nationalism in Kenya", by Gerrit Goen, pages 148-161, Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya, edited by Bethwell A. Ogot, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1972.

their schools, and the new national Ministry of Education with its egalitarian viewpoint stemming from African Socialism.

One example is sufficient to indicate the different philosophies:- Miss A.A. Leever, Headmistress of the Kenya High School in 1964, wrote to the Ministry of Education to request the Ministry to upgrade allowances for Housemistresses from £40 to £50, so as to bring them in line with the Housemasters' allowances at the Prince of Wales School and the Duke of York School. The Ministry replied^{*1} to the effect that these allowances were only being paid in some but not all the boarding schools of Kenya. In actual fact, they had only been paid in the former European boarding schools,^{*2} not the African. The Ministry continued that as from the end of the financial year, Housemasters' and Housemistresses' allowances would be discontinued. The Ministry's reasons for this reply was, "to bring all schools into the same pattern".^{*3} The matter was raised to the Council of Chairmen who discussed the issue and decided a letter should be written by the Chairman at that time, Sir Charles Markham, to the effect that these

*1 Ministry of Education letter, Ref. S/4/29/11/(35) dated 2nd January, 1965.

*2 See pages 109-110 of this thesis for the different concepts of housemastering and housemasters in the formal racial sectors of education.

*3 Ministry of Education letter, Ref. S/4/29/11/(35) dated 2nd January, 1965.

allowances should be continued by the Ministry.*¹ No reply was received and the government allowances were duly stopped at the end of the financial year.

The year 1965 saw the abolishment of the Council of Chairmen because of the reconstitution of the Boards of Governors and the Kenyanisation of its members. In 1964, the Education (Boards of Governors) Order promulgated a classification of schools into 'First Schedule' and 'Second Schedule': the former were government schools established by any former Regional Education Board and the latter were schools which were managed by voluntary bodies.*² The Minister for Education, Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, then, by two further legal notices, revoked all earlier Orders under which Boards had previously been established.*³ A letter of explanation and advice was then issued by the Ministry of Education*⁴ specifying that all Chairmen were appointed by the Minister of Education and should be Kenya citizens. It also laid down an explanation of how the new Boards were to be reconstituted and on what basis, e.g. Community Representatives, Representatives of Bodies

*¹ Letter from Council of Chairmen to Mr. J.K. Njoroge, Permanent Secretary for Education, dated 11th March, 1965, and signed by Sir Charles Markham.

*² Legal Notice 353/1964.

*³ Legal 43/1965 and Legal Notice 204/1965.

*⁴ "Secondary Schools: Board of Governors", Ministry Letter, Ref. S/22/1/88 dated 23rd November, 1965, signed by Mr. G.C. Knight.

and Organisations, Co-opted Members and ex-Officio Members. An additional note added that the majority of all Boards besides the Chairman should be Kenya citizens. The irony of the situation was that the Ministry of Education official responsible for the drafting of the reconstitution of Boards of Governors (the Senior Education Officer i/c Secondary Education) was Mr. G.C. Knight, a former housemaster of the Prince of Wales School.

Though Kenyanisation of Boards of Governors occurred 1965-1966, it was noticeable that Kenyans of distinction and esteem tended to replace titled Europeans on the high cost schools' Boards of Governors. This effects the educational system in that it tends to *differentiate* the system into one group of schools for the wealthy and another for the poor. In the early 1960's, titled people such as Sir Charles Markham, Sir Charles Mortimer (KHS), Lord Delamere (Delamere School), Sir Philip Mitchell (Francis Scott), Lady Sidney Farrar (Highlands School), Colonel Dunstan Adams (POWS), Colonel Croft-Wilcock (DOYS) sat on the Council of Chairmen. By the late 1960's, it was mainly Kenyan Ministers and High Officials who had replaced them: Mr. Nyamweya, formerly Minister for State, now Minister of Works (POWS); Mr. Charles Njonjo, the Attorney General (KHS); and Sir Humphrey Slade, Speaker in the National Assembly (DOYS).^{*1} Other schools in Kenya rarely

^{*1} In 1970 Mr. Gecau, Chairman of British-American Tobacco, replaced Sir Humphrey Slade as Chairman of the Board of Governors, Lenana School.

obtain such illustrious national figures on their Boards of Governors, providing prestige and esteem. This emphasis produced a constitutional anomaly in the late 1960's. In 1966, Dr. J.G. Kiano, the Minister for Labour, was appointed to the Board of Governors at Lenana School (BOYS), as an ordinary member; but he became Minister for Education in 1967 and he was not withdrawn from the Board of Governors until 1969. He signed in fact the new Education Act 1968 and the Education Board of Governors Order 1969 which governed his own Board of Governors and the running of Lenana School, as well as all other Boards of Governors and schools in Kenya - indeed a powerful member of a Board of Governors.

Another feature of the Boards of Governors in "the Three" which differentiates them from other schools is the staff employed by them. Up to 1967, these Boards employed locally recruited teaching staff until the Teachers Service Commission noted that "the staff costs for administrative purposes (in high cost schools) were twice as high as those in the former African schools".^{*1} This remained the same at the time of my survey in May 1970, six years after the Commission's survey, and the overall numbers of staff

*1 Para. 588, Kenya Education Commission Report Part II, Government Printer, Republic of Kenya, Nairobi, 1965.

had not fallen in that period.*1 The Board of Governors staff which include Bursars, Secretaries, Accountants, etc., in all three schools are mainly expatriates on high salaries. The quality of Board of Governors Staff and the excessive number of subordinate staff in these schools is incompatible with African Socialism but not for the complex administration and running. If the size of grounds are large and the students do not maintain the gardens, lawns and hedges, then it is axiomatic that the number of groundsmen will be high. So too, if the students do not clean their own dormitories and classrooms, the number of cleaning staff will be high. At all three schools the size of the grounds are large varying from 165-200 acres and the students have followed the colonial legacy of an élite and privileged class which was not required or expected to participate in manual labour. It is small wonder the KHS has 12 groundsmen for instance, or that each school has five times the number of administrative and subordinate staff as compared to former African secondary schools. For instance, in comparison to three older African secondary schools - Maseno, Mangu, and Kagumo: the latter is the largest, a three stream boarding school for boys from Forms 1 - 6 (approximately 550 boys), possesses only 6 administrative professional staff:

*1 Boards of Governors staff are those people given a contract with the Board, whereas subordinate staff are those employed by the school weekly and monthly. The former include bursars and secretaries, the latter cleaners and workmen.

Maseno, a two stream boarding school for boys from Forms 1 - 6 (approximately 410 boys), five administrative staff; and Mangu, a two stream boarding school for boys Forms 1 - 4 (approx. 310 boys), four administrative staff. The subordinate staff in each of these former African secondary boarding schools varies from 10 - 20 and the boys themselves sweep the classrooms and dormitories, and wash their own clothes. All the grounds are less than 50 acres. Here indeed, are vast differences between "the Three" and other schools. The overall effects on the educational system is again to differentiate and stratify so that Kenya does not possess one unified educational system but different levels influenced by the history of the schools, the wealth of its parents and the power and esteem of its governing bodies.

Table 2. Staff at "the Three"

	<u>Board of Governors</u>	<u>Subordinate</u>
BOYS	13	105
KHS	13	111
POWS	13	101

Statistics, May 1970 and does not include Tripartite Agreement figures.

Headmasters, Headmistresses and Academic Staff.

In earlier chapters we noted that teaching staff are key members in the transmission of culture whether it is in the English public school type or a more African orientated culture. The Headmaster or Headmistress of a school is a V.I.P. (very important person): he (she) is like the captain of a ship, responsible for the internal organisation, administration and running of the school, at the same time being the chief representative to outside command, groups and individuals. The position calls for great powers of leadership and ability to maintain high morale and good public relations amongst the involved educational partners - children, staff, parents, boards of governors; above all, and especially in a boarding school atmosphere and through the quality of personal relationships, the Principal can stamp his own personality on the school. There again, each school has its own individual personality that distinguishes it from all other schools - the result of tradition formed by earlier communities and Principals in their relationships with the educational partners and participants. Much of this tradition is governed by the philosophy of the Principal, his goals and attitudes to life and the view he holds towards the main purposes, of education.

In colonial days, most Principals were European and they received their own education in some foreign country, usually England. The dominant educational influence in English secondary education was the English public schools with their traditional stereotypes of Headmaster educated in a similar

pattern - preparatory school, English public school, Oxford or Cambridge University and the Colonial Teaching Service. The type of Headmaster tended to be ritualistic in the true Arnoldian tradition. By ritualistic, I mean a Headmaster who derives his authority from traditional sources and is likely to be formal in his relationships with his staff and pupils, practising a good deal of social distance. We have seen in Chapter 2 with Victorian education in England, names such as Arnold of Rugby and Thring of Uppingham - both good examples of ritualistic headmasters. There were many others of lesser fame.

Another type of Principal which was quite common in the English public school tradition of the early 20th century was the charismatic headteacher. Charismatic authority refers to the use of the power of personal qualities in influencing the action of others, where the influence is direct between the leader and his followers. This charismatic type of headteacher is most effective in small schools and is more applicable to the English type of housemaster. The English tradition of independence and delegation allowed the unusual personalities of these people to make an impact on staff, pupils, and parents.

In early Kenyan education, there were some great names: Carey Francis and Grieve of Alliance, Fletcher of the POWS, James of the DOYS, Mayor and Bowers of Maseno, Lockhart of Kagumo, Bradley of Kamusinga, Miss Stott of KHS, Miss Appleton of Butere, Miss Bruce of Alliance Girls, and many others of lesser fame.

Let us examine some of these outstanding names in early Kenyan education especially in "the Three",

assessing their goals and attitudes to life, so important in the shaping of their students. Firstly, Mr. P. Fletcher who was Headmaster of the POWS 1945-1959. Fletcher had the normal educational pattern of the English public schools (Highgate School) and the ancient universities (St. John's College, Cambridge).^{*1} He taught at Marlborough College, Geelong Grammar School and Cheltenham College - all schools of high repute and esteem, fee-paying, independent boarding and represented on the H.M.C. On coming to the POWS in 1945, he coped with the tremendous influx of European boys into the school dependent on massive European immigration to Kenya after World War II. It was Fletcher who approached the Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell in 1948 to almost demand another European boarding school - the DOYS, to assist in the secondary education of European boys. Fletcher's relationships with staff and boys were abrupt, brusque and decisive, and he tended to avoid social intercourse. To that extent he was ritualistic and many would interpret his 'standoffishness' as snobbery. Fletcher was a religious man, he emphasised the public school traits of SERVICE to country and Christian ENDEAVOUR. A typical speech of his in 1949 reflects these attitudes, "Our School Motto is 'to the Uttermost'. What, to the uttermost? Self-seeking, self-interest, self-admiration, self-gratification? I trust not. I trust endeavour to the uttermost. Unselfish, humble, devoted service to

*1 Source: "Aminent Educationists", Page 31, Kenya Education Journal, No. 5, Volume 1, May, 1960.

the uttermost. Service to our country and the people in it; to our Empire; to our God".*1

These words and the attitudes expressed, affected many European boys of the 40's and 50's in Kenya. G.W. Griffin, the present Director of the National Youth Service is a good example. Griffin was a prefect at the POWS at the time of this speech; he became a King's Scout and later a Scoutmaster. He founded the famous Starehe Boys School for African orphan boys in 1959 and one is reminded of the 'poor and needy' (pauperes et indigentes) of both William of Wykeham's and Henry VI's Statutes for Winchester and Eton respectively. Starehe's motto 'Natulenge Juu' (Aim High) and the school magazine 'Endeavour'*2 reflect Griffin's aims in life and those of Fletcher at the POWS, with their badges and insignia for school boys showing the influence of ritualistic headmasters. It was significant that Griffin appealed to the H.M.C. in London to send two masters per year from public schools in England to Starehe.*3

*1 Page 27, Impala Magazine, December 1949, Reported speech of Mr. P.F. Fletcher on King's Day, 1949.

*2 Source: Endeavour 1969, the 10th anniversary magazine number.

Also, "Starehe and the Man who got involved", Page 11, Sunday Nation, June 8th, 1969.

*3 Page 77, Bulletin No. 5 Headmasters Conference November, 1965. An appeal to the H.M.C. to send two masters per year to Starehe, "to establish standards and traditions that will influence countless other boys in years to come".

Today, the Kenya National Youth Service is directed by Griffin and we see the strands of a long ritualistic public school tradition through Griffin, Fletcher and Captain Nicholson, as these young men and women march by smartly in their uniforms on auspicious occasions of ceremony.

Another Headmaster who made a significant impression on Kenya education was Mr. R.H. James, the first headmaster of the DOYS 1949-1960. James was educated at Lancing College, the large Anglican public school, and Brasenose College, Oxford. He served with Captain Nicholson at the POWS in 1931, and was Headmaster at Allidina Visram School and the Arab Secondary School, Mombasa. He returned in 1942 to the POWS and started the school band. Today, the two school brass bands in the country are Starehe and Nairobi School (POWS), and both owe much to James. His attitude to life and education were similar to Fletcher's in that he was a religious man and believed in the Empire and education for leadership. Perhaps he was right in Colonial days when he stated, "Every Englishman who comes East of Suez is an ambassador for two things - the Christian faith and the British way of life".*1 Many British links and traditions were established by James for the School: in its opening year, the DOYS received a magnificent bible bound in leather with the royal crest in gold-leaf on the front

*1 Speech Day 1950 at DOYS, Page 3, East African Standard, 12th December, 1950.

and personally signed by King George VI^{*1}; later, James adopted the tune of 'Domum' for the School after requesting the permission of the Headmaster of Winchester, at the same time informing him that a Wykehamist was on the DOYS staff; and in April 1950, he received a ship's bell engraved H.M.S. Duke of York, the property of the British battleship of the same name.^{*2} Like Fletcher then, James was a ritualistic headmaster and in 1960 he received the Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.)^{*3} because consciously or unconsciously, they had both been instruments and influences of the Empire, British culture and the English public school tradition.

Probably the Headmaster who made the greatest impression on Kenyan education was Carey Francis ('Father of Kenyan education'). He was the example par excellence of the charismatic headmaster because of his great and dominant personality and because he was like a Father to his boys. Carey Francis came to Maseno in 1928 and stayed 12 years, moving to the Alliance Boys High School in 1940 for a further twenty-two years. Educated at the William Ellis School,

*1 Ceremony of the Presentation of the Bible given by H.M. King George VI, 12th June, 1949.

*2 Page 3, East African Standard, 10th April, 1950.

*3 Page 28, "Eminent Educationists", Kenya Education Journal, No. 6, Volume 1, November, 1960.

London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, he was a follower of 'muscular christianity',^{*1} Francis was principally a missionary, he must have been in order to reject a career as Lecturer and Director of Mathematical Studies at Peterhouse, Cambridge, to venture to Maseno C.M.S. School in 1928. Dr. Leonard Beecher^{*2} who was a missionary teacher in 1928 at Alliance and who met Carey Francis at Nairobi on his way to Maseno, believes that Carey Francis could have become Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge.

Francis possessed some of the attitudes of Fletcher and James in the love of school, country and Empire;^{*3} however, all his life in Kenya was spent in African education and it was in that realm he made his greatest contributions. Carey Francis influenced African education by the House system - a typical

*1 Anyone who knew this 'Father of Kenyan education' could not mistake his philosophy of life. Source: Carey Francis of Kenya, by L.B. Greaves, Rex Collings, London 1969, e.g. Page 70, "I dislike many of the hymns we sing as I don't believe they can be sung honestly by most boys. Choose good, healthy, wholesome hymns: 'Soldiers of Christ arise'; 'Rise up, O men of God'; 'O Jesus I have promised'; 'Father, hear the prayer we offer' - that is a good manly hymn".

*2 An interview in 1970; Dr. Leonard Beecher was a great believer in the African cause and author of "African Education in Kenya". - the Beecher Report, Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1949.

*3 Mr. D. Ndegwa, now Governor of the Central Bank of Kenya, said of Carey Francis on V.O.K. television, 30th July, 1966, "To him the British Empire and the English Public Schools systems were good institutions".

organisation of the English public schools but he adjusted it to African conditions on the basis of the African family and Spartan life. As we shall see in the next chapter, this belief in 'a boarding education with no frills', as Carey expressed it, became the norm for African secondary schools and it is the model held up for example by the Ministry of Education Inspectorate for all Kenyan boarding schools today. Again, in the true English tradition, he stressed character training and service with the emphasis on religion. His notes on 'Character Training in an African Secondary Boarding School in Kenya',^{*1} reflect the English public school tradition plus the adaptations he believed necessary. For example, "character and service must rank above cleverness and success", and "the school's primary duty is to build men of character",^{*2} are typical English public school traits of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The emphasis on the religious side comes through when he states, "I am a Christian and to me there is little hope without Christianity".^{*3} At the end of his career, Carey Francis believed he had failed^{*4} in the

*1 Character Training in an African Secondary Boarding School in Kenya, by E. Carey Francis, undated, article kindly lent by Dr. F. Indire, Dean of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi.

*2 *ibid* Page 2.

*3 *ibid* Page 3.

*4 Page 196, Carey Francis of Kenya, by L.B. Greaves, Rex Collings, London, 1969.

character training of the Christian gentleman and he states, "Somehow the changeover to Western ways has gone wrong. We Europeans like to think we stand for, and put first, the qualities of a gentleman, but the Africans, who have watched us as well as listened to us, have singled out other matters for envy and imitation".^{*1} Now it is true to say that Alliance High School for Boys is noted for its outstanding academic successes and excellence rather than any other quality. I believe Carey Francis was wrong in his priorities, Carey Francis was a missionary and he was honest enough to appreciate his own aims and failures; but he and his fellow missionaries of like mind, must be criticised for using the word 'changeover' if that was their intention, because there was a great deal in African tradition and culture that was good: 'indirect rule' in its best sense meant recognising the existing traditions and culture of the country. Secondly, they failed to notice the point that a hungry man clutches those things in life that assuage and satisfy his basic needs. Francis believed it was money and 'the examinations that lead to money', that Africans put first in life. For a man as sympathetic to the African cause as Carey Francis, it is surprising he failed to realise and appreciate that before one is a gentleman, with all the attributes and refinements of a gentleman, one must live above starvation level; furthermore, one must have dignity

*1 Pages 1 - 2, Character Training in an African Secondary Boarding School in Kenya, by E. Carey Francis, undated, Alliance High School.

as a man and respect from fellow-men. This was impossible with a colonial system where there was no freedom for all its peoples, ~~only some~~. Many Africans felt inferior politically, socially and economically; there was poverty of both body and mind. In these circumstances, it was natural that most African students stressed and over-emphasised the examinations because in passing them, they not only initiated a better chance for employment, but the possible process of a scholarship to another country which was free and where the black man was generally treated as an equal. After the equality of manhood, human dignity and respect would appear, and then such values as diligence, trustworthiness, a sense of duty and responsibility, etc. could be engendered. Nevertheless, for all his faults, Carey Francis expressed a great personality which influenced people and boys who came in contact with him; they loved him and forgave him when he fell from Grace, and this is the hall-mark of the charismatic teacher.

It is possible to have charismatic qualities in a ritualistic headmaster or headmistress. For example it can be argued that Carey Francis was at one and the same time both a ritualistic headmaster and charismatic one. Missionary principals tended to possess this dualism more than most government principals, especially if they were from the English public schools and/or the Oxbridge universities. Carey Francis for example had been to Cambridge University and Stabler, for instance, believed Francis exemplified ritualistic qualities when he states, "he (Francis) brought with him to Kenya many

of the traditions of the English public school".*1

Let us take for our fourth example another missionary, Mr. G.A. Grieve who was a Scotsman. Now, it may be thought that being raised in a country which throughout its history has had periodic animosity and even wars with its richer and larger Southern neighbour would have provided few traits of the English public school tradition. This was not so in many of his speeches. Perhaps his military training in the British Army or working under the aegis of the Colonial system in Kenya induced many traits of the English public school tradition into this first headmaster of Alliance High School. Grieve laid the foundations of Alliance from 1926 - 1940 and he utilised the English public school traits of leadership and devotion to serve in many of his speeches. For instance, in Grieve's first annual report he states, "Training in service through leadership is, briefly, the function of the school, and the aim of Alliance High School is to influence its students, by means of its activities, that they may be men of strong Christian character, of wide knowledge, and of initiative in action".*2

That he followed closely the dictates of Government can be ascertained in his 1932 school speech by

*1 Page 103, Education since Uhuru. The Schools of Kenya, by Ernst Stabler, Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Connecticut, 1969.

*2 Reported pages 28-29, Education Annual Report, 1926, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1926.

stating, "In 1925 the Advisory Committee for African Education laid it down as a principle that the greatest importance be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. History had shown that devotion to some spiritual ideal was the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty. Such influence should permeate the whole life of a school".*1

The motto of Alliance High School, 'strong to serve' and its badge of a cross representing Christ exemplifies the part that Grieve believed Christianity should play in the life of a school. Grieve represented ritualistic qualities in his overall concern for religion and service.

Let us take for our fifth example, a headmistress of the English public school tradition - Miss J.M.A. Stott, who was at the Kenya High School 1942 - 1963.*2 Miss Stott was educated at Berkhamstead School for Girls and St. Anne's College, Oxford. After a period as housemistress at Westonbirt, the large English girls public school in Gloucestershire, England, she became headmistress of the Kenya High School. It was Miss Stott who was responsible with important European gentry (Sir Geoffery Northcote, Sir Philip Mitchell,

*1 School Speech Day of Alliance High School, Speech of Headmaster to Boys. Page 68, The History of Alliance High School, by J.S. Smith, Heinemann, Nairobi, 1973.

*2 Source: Page 31, "Eminent Educationists", Kenya Education Journal, No. 9, Volume I, May 1962.

Sir Charles Mortimer), in the planning and outlay of the new Kenya High School after World War II. The total cost of the building and laying out of the grounds reached £700,000 (not including the Chapel, library, and swimming pool) and reflects the large amount of money the colonial government spent on this elite school for European girls. The educational organisation of the school was typical of the Edwardian English school tradition with the girls wearing 'boaters', white blouses, striped ties, grey skirts, and living in ten traditional Houses. That Miss Stott orientated the School towards the British universities and continually emphasised the English tradition, can be seen in her speech to the girls in 1962 when she stated, "Remember that you belong to a great tradition; not only to the small tributary of tradition which goes back through this School, but to the great traditions of the countries of your fathers and mothers; and particularly to the English tradition of whose qualities a great Eastern writer has said, "Never since the days of the Greeks was there such a sweet, such a boyish master as the English". You are the daughters of that tradition and it should be safe in your hands".^{*1}

Miss Stott was a ritualistic headmistress and she believed in strict discipline and etiquette; she instituted rigorous rules and regulations; for instance, parents of girls submitted not only the names of

*1 Principal's Report, Miss J.M.A. Stott, 1962 File, Kenya High School Administration Files.

approved visitors for exaats but a list of names of people with whom the girls could correspond. Nevertheless, the examination results of the KHS under Miss Stott compared favourably with any other school in Kenya including the Alliance High School. A long line of spinster headmistresses are reflected in Miss Stott, stretching back through Miss Lawrence of Roedean to Miss Buss and Miss Beale. It seems an English tradition that for headmistresses their schools or colleges are their husbands. Miss Stott also received the O.B.E. (Order of the British Empire) and joined those colonial headteachers in Kenya and other territories for that matter, who were rewarded by the British Crown for transferring and transplanting English culture and traditions so effectively.

The methodological contribution these principals made to the English public school tradition was immense and far-reaching essentially through character training and religion, whilst the boarding school environment was instrumental in maximising these effects. English culture and traditions were transmitted and in the case of Grieve even by principals who were not from England. Christianity is part of the European civilisation and most missionaries from Europe can be said to transmit European cultural values.

The academic staff in 'the Three' in most cases exhibited similar values and attitudes to the principals. At the Housemaster level, for instance, were teachers with several years experience; and working in schools with the predominant English public school tradition, the housemasters would of necessity

practice the methods and inherent values of these schools. It is at the Housemaster level, where each house is a community within the total community of the school, that the greatest impression are moulded into the minds of youth. Prior to Independence, a large proportion of colonial education officers were educated in English public schools and the ancient universities, especially at "the Three"; but after Independence, when short-term contract teachers were recruited from Britain and other countries, the tradition began to diminish.

Table 3. Oxford and Cambridge University Graduates, 1959, 1969, at DOYS and POWS.

	<u>1959</u>	<u>1969</u>
DOYS	50%	24%
POWS	34%	12%

Source of statistics: School Magazine staff lists.

Many of the short-term contract teachers had taught in State schools where the term 'public school' merely signified (as it does by the 1968 Education Act in Kenya) "a school maintained or assisted out of public funds".*1 So too, in the African secondary boarding schools, prior to

*1 Page 3, Education Act 1968, Government Printer, Republic of Kenya, Nairobi, 6th February, 1968.

children, and they have experienced the difficulties and problems of adjusting to modern methods of education and life. Most Africans are products of two worlds, the African traditional past and the modern world with all its innovations, inventions and new techniques. The result is often bewildering, and it is at this level the African teacher can appreciate and sympathise to a far greater extent than the expatriate teacher.

At "the Three", the number of African teachers has been limited and it has led to certain comments: for example, the Secretary of the K.N.U.T., Nairobi branch, has stated, "the greatest drawback in our education today is the fact that there is discrimination in the recruitment of teachers in the so-called ex-European schools. Despite the fact that Kenya is independent, it is difficult to find an African or Asian teacher in these schools, because they are controlled by racial Board of Governors".*1 Although this was stated in 1965 and Africanisation of Boards of Governors occurred within several months of this statement, it is true to say even today, there are less than 10% Kenyan citizens in these schools in contrast to 43% Kenyan citizens national average.*2

*1 Page 20, "Africanise Now", by K.A. Bhatt, Secretary, Kenya National Union of Teachers, Nairobi Branch, No. 58, Pan-Africa, June 25th, 1965.

*2 These figures are for 1967 when there were 1,728 Kenya citizens out of a total secondary school teaching force of 4,053 teachers. Source: Page 147, Economic Survey 1968. Statistics Division Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, Nairobi, 1968. In 1972 there were 4,444 Kenya citizens out of a total secondary teachers equal to 63%.

However, I cannot agree that the reason is due to the Boards of Governors. The reasons I consider important are firstly, the staff turn-over is not so rapid in good schools, especially those like the high cost schools which provide high grade housing; secondly expatriate staff, especially those with children, prefer the educational, medical and social facilities the capital of the country can provide; thirdly, high staff turn-over is also a psychological question: when there is a good nucleus of long staying staff, it does provide stability to the whole school and staff morale is higher than average. The staff of "the Three" tend to be older expatriate staff with many years of experience; and though they may possess the qualifications and experience for headships elsewhere, they prefer the additional amenities and congenial surroundings of a Nairobi-based high cost boarding school. All these factors add to a lingering predominance of the English public school tradition in the high cost schools via the teaching staff. There is the additional factor that older staff tend to remain more conservative, more set in their educational habits, and therefore more resistant to change. Unfortunately, it further enhances the inequality of opportunities between the urban and rural areas and is an additional influence in the 'urban crisis' and rural depopulation. If one of Kenya's aims is to bring the greatest good to the greatest number of its citizens as far as teachers, money, and material can be harnessed to this end, then it appears changes are needed in the present state of affairs. Possibly, an initial tour, up-country in the rural areas, for all incoming expatriate teachers may assist cultural adaptation to the current Kenyan

correct

Dated

scene at the same time stressing where the priorities of educational underdevelopment lie in Africa.

Secondly, a greater number of African teachers is required in "the Three" but they leave within one or two terms for promoted posts in other schools or government and private sector positions. This was the case before the Ndegwa Salary Commission Report^{*1} where there was a discrepancy between teaching salaries and the government and commercial sectors, but now this factor has been remedied more African teachers are likely to remain in the schools. However a new nation needs administrators and much depends on where the individual fits in best. The University and Teacher Training Colleges bear a great responsibility in inculcating right attitudes of mind in their teachers as to a sense of teaching vocation in a developing nation. On the other hand, the difficulties of transmitting this quality in an increasingly materialistic world and with classes of excessive numbers in order to feed the country's expanding educational system, are by no means negligible. The whole situation calls for a spirit of sacrifice, dedication, and a sense of service.

*1 Report of the Commission of Inquiry (Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission) 1970-1971. Chairman, D.N. Ndegwa, Republic of Kenya, Government Printer, May 1971.

CHAPTER 5. COMMUNITY LIFE. THE HOUSE SYSTEM AND PREFECTS.

Many sociologists use the term 'community' from the wider sense meaning everybody - adults, children and the different social classes. In this chapter, the word 'community' is used in an historical and general context, denoting the narrower geographical viewpoint whereby there is a common set of values and attitudes in life within a small group.

In Part I, we noted that the House system and the 'gentlemanly power' of the prefects are essential elements in the English public school tradition because by means of this, community life is established so that character training, leadership and service can be influenced and stressed. Both "the Three" and the former African secondary boarding schools accepted these assumptions but their outcome in reality were at different levels. That Carey Francis attempted this traditional English public school method at Alliance High School and Maseno cannot be denied, when he states, "So far as possible, I delegate authority to Housemasters who have complete latitude in the manner in which they manage their Houses ... A housemaster must make it his business to know all his boys really well, and the dealing with pocket-money, clothes, end-of-term reports, railway tickets can all contribute to this end. Except in an emergency he is referred to in all 'shauris' concerning his boys; he is their father".*1

*1 Page 4, Character Training in an African Secondary Boarding School in Kenya, by E. Carey Francis, Alliance High School, undated.

Although the aim was explicit, the paradoxical outcome was that Carey Francis himself appeared as the 'father figure'*1 and so too, did many of the headmasters in other African secondary boarding schools. The community spirit in these schools rested in the whole school whereas in "the Three" it was the house. Why this divergence arose I propose to examine here, and I write of the time of the early 1960's unless specified, because from the mid 1960's some changes have been occurring in "the Three" as regards ethos, organisation and administration.

In the former African secondary boarding schools, the housemaster lives apart from the students usually on opposite sides of the compound. When the boys rise in the morning, they wash, sweep their rooms, clean their classrooms and school office blocks, partake of their breakfast (usually two slices of bread and jam, and a mug of tea) in a central dining hall, and then proceed, either to chapel or to registration in their classrooms. After lunch (mainly stews), there are classes in the afternoon, and in the late afternoon they have sports or 'shamba work' i.e. the boys cut the grass and attend to the gardens. A competitive element is introduced into the keeping of most school gardens because a shield may be given for

*1 Carey Francis always attempted to retain the 'father figure' approach and he refused numerous invitations to expand the school in numbers because he felt there would be a loss in this field of human relations. Source: Interviews with Mr. F.W. Dollimore and Mr. J. Smith, former deputy headmasters of Alliance High School.

the House which contributes the best kept garden. Preparation is again in the classrooms in the evening after supper, as are the clubs and societies. The House system is utilised mainly as a method for the organisation of competitive sport. If a boy is ill, there is no sanatorium, nurses or doctors: the boy rests in the dormitory and may be attended by another boy with the aid of a first-aid kit. The prefects are normally the most senior boys of Form IV or VI, depending whether the school possesses a higher school leaving certificate class or not. They are school prefects possessing jurisdiction throughout the whole school, and it is the headmaster who has meetings with them to discuss routine matters and decide courses of action. The boys wash their own clothes and have no matron or tailor attached to the house to cater for darning, ironing, pressing, and marking clothes. There is no junior house or intermediate house for younger boys to adjust to boarding life and the traditions of the school. The houses are solely dormitories and based on the African family system, the young boys sleep in the next bed to older boys and there is little sense of seniority except that the older boys look after the younger boys and the prefects may have an end bed and be able to stay up later at night. The prefects may be allowed to wear a different uniform, for example long trousers and a blazer, whereas the rest of the boys wear shorts, shirts and jerseys provided by the school. Footwear is optional.

At "the Three" high cost schools the facilities are far greater in quality and quantity. At the Kenya High School the housemistresses are non-teaching

whereas at the POWS and the DOYS the housemasters teach but on a reduced time-table. The following description is based on the two boys schools (POWS, DOYS). The housemaster lives with the boys in an adjoining flat or house, and he or his assistants, cover the 24 hours duty each and every day. The housemaster participates with the boys of his house and they go to their own dining-hall (in some cases shared with another house: at POWS there are 4 dining-halls and the DOYS there are 5 dining-halls). At one time the family of the housemaster was allowed food and dined at the high table. The boys wake in the morning, wash themselves, but do not have to clean or sweep the dormitories and classrooms, etc. They may 'fag' for a senior boy or prefect by making his bed or cleaning his shoes. Each prefect has three junior 'fags' at his beck and call, and for these services payments may be made.*1 There is a junior house for younger boys to become initiated to the school mores and folkways, as well as the school argot,*2 before

*1 Payments range from approximately 5/- to 15/- per term depending on the quality of the 'fags' and the relative wealth and generosity of the prefect. In the early 1960's this custom of payment for services rendered, drifted into disuse.

*2 The most common word in this argot at all three schools is 'rabble', used for any student lower than the caller in the hierarchical ladder of seniority. Prefects and seniors are allowed to call 'rabble' in the dining-hall when they wish water, a clean plate, another spoon, etc. This term was still being used at all three schools in the late 1960's.

proceeding to the senior houses. In the senior houses, the boys are ranked in dormitories based on seniority, and there are studies attached where boys can work on their preparation in the afternoon and evenings. The largest study, usually for the most junior boys, has the house photographs, honours boards, and a mantelpiece full or not so full of trophies depending on the fortunes of the house. The number of boys in each study depends on seniority. There are cleaners attached to each house as well as a matron and tailor. A laundry washes and irons the boys' clothes and the tailor mends them. A special sanatorium, a doctor and two nurses, cater to the medical and health needs of the boys. Prefects are house prefects abiding by house rules under the chairmanship of the housemaster. The head-boy of the house is the school prefect. The prefects wear the same uniform as other boys but there are three types of dress: Sunday dress - blazer, long trousers, ties, shirts and shoes; Town dress - blazer, shorts, shirts and shoes; School dress - jerseys, shorts, shirts and shoes; the prefects are differentiated by insignia on blazers or cravats and tabs on their stockings. Prefects possess extra privileges besides those of 'fagging'; for example, staying up later at night, own studies and extra leave-outs at week ends. The head-boy of each house is allowed to use corporal punishment (abolished 1966 at POWS, and at the DOYS permission is required from the housemaster) in order to discipline the boys.

In comparing "the Three" with the former African secondary boarding schools, there are considerable differences in ethos, internal organisation and administration, dependent mainly on the structural

lay-out of the buildings, and the size of the schools and additional facilities of "the Three". It is a difference similar to the ancient foundations and other public schools in England. In "the Three", the house means far more than the school and the feeling of community spirit, 'oneness' and familyhood, is in the house. The only outward sign of this orientation to the House, is that each boy has emblazoned under the school crest on his blazer, the name of his house. Even as late as May 1970, the Ministry of Education Inspectorate at Nairobi School (POWS) commented, "the boarding houses are far from being merely dormitories and a convenient way of organising competitive sport as boarding facilities are in most Kenya secondary schools such as the two Alliances. They are the very essence of pupils existence, academic, sporting, social and spiritual".*1

The Housemaster in such a system as the high cost school is consequently the 'father figure'. His powers are greater and his duties are more diverse than his counterpart in the former African secondary boarding schools. He lives under the same roof as the boys, eats with them, supervises their preparation with the help of house prefects: punishes the boys for misdemeanours brought by the head of house: coaches them at games: maintains detailed files on each boy: completes the Form A's (for Form V entry), the Form X's (for VI Form leavers), and the U.C.C.A. forms

*1 Ministry of Education Report on the inspection of Nairobi School (POWS), May, 1970.

(university entry forms) and testimonials: advises the taking and dropping of academic subjects: regards the boys' personal problems: corresponds with parents: prepares and participates via the school chaplain for boys' confirmation: deals with the boys' welfare and organises house functions e.g. films, dances, barbecues and other entertainment. In fact, the housemaster in the high cost school, is in full 'loco parentis' and advises the parents on all matters concerning the students physical, moral, economic and spiritual welfare. Admittedly he receives material rewards for these services not received in other schools.

In the low cost boarding schools which were formerly African boarding schools, it is the headmaster that embraces many of the above functions of the housemaster: it is the headmaster who corresponds with parents, if need be, and organises dances, outings and films on a school basis: it is the headmaster who regards the welfare of the students, spiritually, physically, and morally, but on a centralised basis not a house basis.

In the high cost schools and especially "the Three" the students are mollycoddled by their housemasters and housemistresses, at least from an indigenous viewpoint. By the term 'mollycoddle', I mean the students are looked after and catered for to a much higher degree than in the low cost schools. Further examples of this aspect are rife: the staff escorts on long distance trains ("the Three" combine on this duty): the leave out passes at week-ends signed by the housemasters which only allow students out with people

the parents have stated by letter: the quality and cost of food and catering; and the greater number of subordinate staff catering to the needs of the students. The difference between "the Three" and the low cost boarding schools as regards community life, the house system and prefects raise interesting philosophical questions. If the house is more important than the school in "the Three", then it means there are several levels of behaviour and discipline within the same school. For example, Housemaster A may be a naturalist, a follower of Rousseau, Wordsworth, and the teachings of A.S. Neill. This internalist philosophy which believes the main task of education is to bring out in the student what is already there by natural growth, colours the housemaster's behaviour to his house: he sympathises with his students and allows them a greater latitude of behaviour. Housemaster B, on the other hand, may be a social realist and believes that his students must adjust to the values of society and the current social environment. This externalist philosophy would certainly be more in keeping with the realities of modern Kenya if the Housemaster was an African in touch with the majority of the people and not an expatriate of the English public school tradition. Housemaster C, may be an idealist and a believer in what Whitehead calls 'the vision of greatness'; Plato and his views of excellence and the immortal things of life rank high in this housemaster's life. Thus within the same school for a single incident, students may be treated differently by their housemaster based on different values and attitudes. It raises the question, what is the good? If the good is what is right for the building of a unified nation based on the principles of African Socialism,

then this is a great disadvantage. So too, if "the Three" mollycoddle their students more than the low cost schools, and the student leavers from the high cost schools expect people and society to provide them with a living, this is a disadvantage. The ethos of "the Three" cannot be said to inspire the spirit of 'self-help' in a newly developing nation.

The ethos of "the Three" is still colonial and backward-looking; the culture lag has been eight years at least now in the house system image. By image I mean what figure or person is held up for copying and imitation and that is reflected in the name of the house. Despite the President's warning^{*1} of foreign names and a Ministry of Education letter to this effect^{*2} there are still the following anomalies in 1972:- POWS with its Rhodes and Clive Houses: Cecil Rhodes the founder of the British South African Company in the late 19th century, and Clive the 18th century soldier - administrator of Imperial India: one may ask whether these are suitable models for African imitation? Lenana School which did not change its name from the Duke of York School until 1969, still retains its Grogan House, Lugard House, and Delamere House: all outstanding names in Kenya Colony. The

*1 "Colonial names are symbols of slavery and as an independent nation they have no meaning and place in Kenya". Speech of President Kenyatta at Broderick Falls, and reported, "Discard Colonial Names", Page 14, Daily Nation, October 27th, 1969.

*2 Ministry of Education Letter, dated 27th July, 1965, entitled, "Renaming of Schools", and signed H.J. Nyamu for Permanent Secretary.

Kenya High School commemorate Beale, Bronte, Darling - famous women in British history, and former colonial governors Mitchell and Northcote in their house system.

The house system and prefects are ubiquitous throughout Kenya, a result of the influence of the English public school tradition, admittedly stronger in some schools than others: for instance, the Alliance High School still possess their Livingstone and Wilberforce Houses showing their missionary background, and Alliance Girls High School their Burns House and Stevenson House denoting their Scottish Presbyterianism; nevertheless, Kenyans must ask themselves: do these systems fit in with African culture and African aims and aspirations in education? Should these British models of education be preserved or not? In Part IV, I put forward a possible system that is more in line with the development of a largely rural society and African Socialism, because I do not believe the prefectorial and house systems of the 19th century English public school tradition are appropriate for a society which believes in mass education and leadership appearing from the 'wananchi' (rural masses).

Although I also reserve for Part IV the influence of educational ideas on social change, we should note here several relevant points. Prior to Independence the schools were separate in their racial sectors and there was little mixing with the surrounding population at least from the viewpoint of the former European boarding schools. Tall walls and hedges surrounded most boarding schools in this sector and they represented more than geographical realities, they reflected psychological barriers to mixing with the

indigenous population. Since Independence and with the influx of Africans into these schools some of these psychological barriers have been reduced. Even so boarding schools are notorious dividers of society.

The growth of 'harambee schools' in the country reflect the belief of the local populace that education is a vital necessity for their children to play a more effective part in national development. The increase of secondary schools generally since Independence shows that Government has not been idle in attempting to meet the educational needs of the people and at the same time stimulating those needs by government speeches and exhortations. However, the new educational ideas of African Socialism which tend to be pragmatic and instrumental, should reform the schools to a much greater extent than they have towards employment possibilities;^{*1} many secondary schools do not seem dynamic enough in shaping society as it should, by changing society towards one more appropriate to African Socialism. Many secondary schools are so conservative that it is the concept of African Socialism which is tending to change and differentiate for the different political, social, and economic groups.

*1 Two reports have made Kenya Government alive to these problems:

Education, Employment and Rural Development - the report of the Kericho Conference, edited by J.R. Sheffield, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1967.

Employment, Incomes and Equality. (A strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya), international Labour Office, Geneva, 1972.

CHAPTER 6. CURRICULUM, METHODS, EXAMINATIONS AND EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.

The history of any school curriculum bears witness to the unending struggle between the rival philosophies of life and widely divergent theories of education. These find expression in varying forms in succeeding generations, and controversies over what should be the centre of education and training, for example, classical and modern: breadth and depth. The Kenyan secondary school curriculum is no exception. We are interested here in (1) curriculum needs viewed from the English public school tradition and those of African Socialism (2) the differences in curriculum emphasis and teaching methods between "the Three" and other secondary boarding schools (3) the future orientation of the curriculum.

Firstly, let us examine the curriculum from the point of view of the English public school and then of African Socialism. Historically, we have noted in Part I of our thesis that the liberal education of a Christian gentleman was an important attribute of the English public schools in Victorian England. Of the seven liberal arts of the Middle Ages it was the grammar of the Trivium which was emphasised, especially Latin grammar. Greek has been taught from the 16th century and the nonconformist academies and mathematical institutes widened the curriculum in the 17th century. Even so, the great schools of England by early Victorian times still relied predominantly on the classical curriculum. Certain reformists in England such as Butler, Sanderson, Kennedy, Arnold and

and Thring widened the curriculum with modern and aesthetic subjects but the classics were still emphasised by late Victorian times especially for the upper classes of society. Only an officer and a gentleman from the narrowest viewpoint should study the classics. It was unfortunate that certain subjects became correlated with social class at this time. In the early 20th century this relationship extended to ability, and it was mainly the brightest children who were streamed into the classics.*1 These inherent attitudes, again unfortunately, were transferred to Kenya with the English public school tradition, and a racial bias was superimposed: the classics were only taught in the European sector and especially "the Three". Greek and Latin were not for the coloured races regardless of ability or propensity. This colonial heritage is reflected in the fact that today it is only possible to take Latin in the former European schools (Kenya High School, Lenana School and Limuru still take Latin, P.O.W.S dropped Latin and Greek in 1960).

Classics are not the only subjects which can be classified as rare subjects in Kenya:- French, German, Music, Botany, Zoology and Geology fall into this category and again are only taken in certain schools - predominantly "the Three" and other high

*1 This idea extended to the English grammar schools where the brightest boys took Latin: Source: Pages 10-11, The Boys' Grammar School, Today and To-morrow, by H. Davies, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1945.

cost schools, reinforced by two or three well established former African secondary boarding schools.

In an analysis of subject options^{*1} at Higher School Certificate 1970, the Kenya High School ranked first in the diversity of main arts options, and Lenana School (DOYS) and Highlands in the main science subjects. Former African boarding schools headed the list with the number of subsidiary subjects in Alliance High School, Alliance Girls High School, and Kapsabet. The older established African secondary boarding schools (apart from the Alliance High School and Alliance Girls High School) such as Maseno, Kagumo, Kamusinga, St. Mary's School, Yala, and Shimo-le-Tewa possess both Arts and Science streams, and it is unusual for them to take any of the rare subjects.

Ministry of Education policy over the last five years has been to open eight new Form V streams each year, either Arts or Science, and in the new Development Plan 1970-1974 this is stepped up to fourteen new Form V streams. The greater emphasis is on the sciences, for example, in 1971, Kijabe, Naaga, Kabare, Tumutumu, Muranga, Githumu, Nkubu, Ngiya and Njoro take sciences, and Mary Leakey, Kirimare, Agoro Sare, Butere and Chesamisi take arts. I believe in part this is a mistaken policy for reasons I provide later (see Part IV). One other aside should also be noted at this stage and that is all the new Form V streams for 1971 are boarding schools.

*1 Appendix 8.

and reflects the value the Government and indeed the Kenya Public place on this aspect of the English public school tradition.

"The Three" not only rank highest in the rare subjects offered to their pupils but they are noted for their new methods of teaching, similar to many noted schools in England of the English public school tradition. For example, Nuffield Science was initiated in Nairobi School in 1967; Alliance High School, Loreto Convent, Msongari, and Lenana School began in 1968, and thus the new methods began to spread. Audio-visual French, and new S.M.P. Mathematics are other good examples of initiation in "the Three". So, though these schools are conservative and traditional in many ways, yet they are the main gateway to new ideas and innovations in the country. Why is this? Firstly, the staff at these schools are older and more experienced, and they remain longer at the schools in an air of academic freedom so that these people are quite prepared to initiate new schemes and await their fruition. Secondly, because they are more experienced staff and specialists in their subjects, they are often called upon by the Inspectorate, K.I.E., and other Nairobi-based educational bodies, to give their opinions for subject panels, moderation and examination syllabi. Admittedly, life is easier in older and more well established schools than new up-country schools and this factor together with good leadership promotes a stable staff, thus deservedly there is an element of independence. When schools are small, inadequate, and with unqualified or dissatisfied staff, centralisation becomes a necessity for the efficient

running of the schools. Of course, "the Three" are not the only schools in Kenya that initiate experiments in the curriculum: for instance, Chogoria School is noted for its rural education emphasis and Strathmore College for its VI Form accountancy. Wise and dynamic leadership can enthuse staff and overcome hardship.

The English public school tradition of diverse curriculum and the experimenting and initiating of new methods of teaching are at times at variance with African Socialism. The latter believes in educational equality of opportunity and the unification of the educational system orientated to national values. If new methods are mainly to be used in the élite schools then this is a divisive factor; so too, if the rare subjects are predominantly confined to a few schools this also will be a divisive factor. Just as in the early 20th century in England, the curriculum separated the State system from the private and public schools, so too, in Kenya today, "the Three" and to a certain degree the older established secondary schools are separated from the 'harambee schools' and other Kenyan secondary schools. The grouped curriculum I propose in Part IV may help to overcome this division.

There is the added disadvantage, again apparent in England and now being followed in Kenya, and that is the difficulty of moving from one sector to the other. For instance, at the end of the 2nd year, schools are allowed to sit the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (KJSE) in certain subjects. Some Kenyan schools especially rural and 'harambee schools' only

teach up to this level. When their students apply for entry to "the Three" or well established secondary schools, they find the work they have completed is of limited value to them:- they have studied Old Mathematics not New Mathematics: Physical Science or Physics with Chemistry instead of Physics, Chemistry and Biology as separate subjects: the traditional sciences instead of Nuffield Science: Swahili instead of French or German, thus it is small wonder very few students are taken into these élite schools for Form III; and similar instances occur at Form V.

Curriculum, teaching methods and the difficulty of entry at certain levels, cause educational inequalities and restrict individual opportunities in later life. Let us take the example of a young man who has the good fortune and distinct advantage of taking one or two rare subjects - French and German possibly in a language laboratory to attain fluency. Now the majority of West African countries are French speaking: the European Community and the Common Market countries speak these languages: surely, the young man will stand a far greater chance of employment with an international firm or the diplomatic service or the tourist agencies, as compared to a young man whose Higher School Certificate course has been taken in English, Geography and History, for example, in a small rural school. Moreover, when there are large United Nations or other world-wide organisations' meetings which have Nairobi as their venue, these organisations do enlist the aid of French and German speaking teachers and students as interpreters. These opportunities are far greater to the students from "the Three" who are Nairobi-based, and who have practised

language fluency in language laboratories and experienced discourse between people of international stature.

If African Socialism believes in national unity and unifying the educational system, then there is need to unify the curriculum. One possible method is by grouping the subjects together and not consider each subject in isolation: for example, instead of Geography, History and Religious Knowledge - Social Studies; I propose a system such as this in fuller detail in Part IV of my thesis.

The future orientation of the curriculum should be in line with the national needs of the country and subjects such as agriculture, industrial arts, technical subjects, commerce and the sciences have been stressed by the Ministry of Education and Government.*¹ It is the government's policy to broaden the secondary school curriculum*² but I wish to stress two points. Firstly, breadth and depth in education do not necessarily depend on the number of subjects in the curriculum. An education consisting of too many subjects may be no education at all; a broad education can be given through the medium of a few subjects if they are taught by men of broad mind.

*¹ Page 5, "Technical courses planned for secondary schools", East African Standard, March 8th, 1969.

*² Page 11, "Kenya policy to broaden secondary school outlook", East African Standard, December 4th, 1969.

Secondly, we must remember Whitehead's dictum, that, "there can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal, and no liberal education which is not technical".*1 Both practice and theory is needed in every subject and every teacher should keep this in mind in his teaching methods, regardless of the subjects.

As regards teacher-training, there is the problem in Kenya to-day whereby African teachers are needed to replace expatriates in the shortest possible time. In this case, general degrees spread over as wide a field as possible are more important than specialised degrees in one subject.

Examinations are educational instruments which provide a means of testing the results of the educational process, at the same time mobilising the aims of both students and teachers. The visible reward of a certificate is a token to any future employer of the standards attained by a student. Of course the real value depends on its acceptance by employers and other educational establishments. Nevertheless, examinations do influence the curriculum regardless whether they are internal or external because they decide the syllabus and the educational aims of students and teachers.

In Kenya the European and Asian schools participated in English Board examinations from the early twentieth

*1 Page 74, The Aims of Education and other essays by A.N. Whitehead, Williams and Northgate Ltd., London, 1932.

century but it was not until 1940 an African secondary school took the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate and 1961 the Higher School Certificate. Though this reflects the lack of educational opportunities between the races, it also indicates that the certificates were orientated towards the English tradition. The Kenya Education Commission realised this unanimously^{*1} in 1964, and they advocated an East African Examinations Board which has already been established in Kampala. It was believed that an East African Board would be more responsive to local needs, but unfortunately by 1971 this has not been the case. In fact, Tanzania chose to withdraw from the East African Examinations Council, Zanzibar in 1969 and Mainland Tanzania in 1971 not only because they realised the examinations lacked relevance to their own developing educational systems but because the Cambridge Syndicate were thought capitalist in nature.^{*2} Another reason for this state of affairs may be the inherent conservativeness of external examinations and curricula; and the interim period of several years whereby there is joint participation and co-ordination of the examination between Cambridge and East Africa,

*1 Para. 287, Page 85, Kenya Education Commission Report Part I. Government of Kenya, Nairobi, 1964.

*2 Mainland Tanzania's bill to Cambridge in 1971 would have been 1,042,000/- and 340,000/- to the East African Exams Council, whereas financing her own system cost 700,000/-.

Page 1, "Full marks for freedom! End to foreign examiners". Tanzania Standard, June 11th, 1971.

strengthens this conservative attitude. Admittedly, there are many practical problems in the change-over; for instance, in History, the old English tradition was to learn English and European history - "the Kings and Queens of England", as the Kenya Education Commission succinctly stated;^{*1} but the new East African History Examination should embrace local history. However this must be seen through African eyes and African culture. Although declining now in the 1970's, there has been a lack of African historians and research workers to guide and signpost the way. Few new history books were written by African authors in the 1950's and 1960's, and even today there are insufficient well-versed and experienced African history school teachers to moderate and examine. Then, there is the question of finance in setting up and establishing a new Board of Examinations and related infra-structure. Given all these practical considerations and those of vested interest such as the Cambridge Syndicate and overseas examiners, it still does not account for the vast similarity of the new embryo examinations to the old, and for the fact of the time of examinations. The old external examinations often played the role of the dominating master rather than the helpful servant. The East African Examinations Council possess a great opportunity to remould the curriculum, and the time of

*1 Para. 275, Page 82, Kenya Education Commission Report Part I, Government of Kenya, Nairobi, 1964.

the examinations^{*1} in conjunction with the Ministries of Education, the Universities, and other interested bodies. Politicians and other people criticise the system constantly,^{*2} and this reflects public dissatisfaction with old methods. Some progress has been made, such as the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) was established in 1964, a direct result of the Conference of Institutes of Education held in Mombasa, January 1964, and sponsored by the University of East Africa in conjunction with the Ministries of Education of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The K.I.E. incorporated the Curriculum Development and Research Centre in 1968 and by the 1968 Education Act^{*3} delegated responsibility for "the Preparation of educational materials and other matters connected with the training of teachers and the development of education and training". The K.I.E. has set up a number of primary and secondary subject panels whose members include school inspectors, subject teachers, Teachers' Union members, university lecturers and other subject specialists. However, it is the East African Examinations Council which will

*1 Examples are the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate Examinations which are taken in November and the results announced in the February/March; this means Form V have a term's holiday and university entrants, two terms.

*2 Page 5, "Radical changes needed in Kenya Teaching System", East African Standard, July 21st, 1965.

Page 3, "Change all education", Sunday Nation, March 15th, 1970.

*3 Section 23, Part VII, Kenya Education Act, 1968.

dictate much of the syllabus and decide what subjects to provide in the future although they only examine what is asked to be examined by those concerned. Different examinations and different Boards of Examinations should not be allowed to creep into the higher cost schools as they have been since the change-over period from the Cambridge Overseas Certificate to the East African Certificate, otherwise, it will be a further factor in 'divisiveness' and differentiation, contrary to a national policy on education. On the other hand, if the East African Examinations Council cannot obtain agreement between the different territories because of different interpretations of African Socialism, then, this may be a case for an external examination on the basis of each country.

Examinations can be utilised for a further function in the educational process. In the English public schools, examinations together with interviews are used to reinforce social and economic criteria of entry: the Common Entrance Examination and the Headmaster's interview are noted selective mechanisms. This procedure was followed in the Nairobi high cost schools in the 1960's.^{*1} An interview with the Principal and a small test in English enabled these schools to select children on the assumptions of the English public school tradition, over and above the criterion of the Kenya Preliminary^{*2} Examination

*1 Example Appendix 4 and 5.

*2 In colonial days there was a separate examination for each sector of education as regards K.P.E. (K.A.P.E., K.E.P.E., and K.I.P.E.). African, European and Indian respectively.

(renamed Certificate of Primary Education); the latter was the normally accepted method for entry to all government maintained and assisted secondary schools in Kenya. The interview represented a more important part of the stratagem than the English examination in that it permitted a greater subjective element to creep into the selection procedure and it enabled Principals to discriminate more positively against certain pupils: the large sized African boy, the over-aged^{*1} the K.P.E. repeater, the peasant's child, were obvious targets for discrimination. The ability to communicate effectively in writing and speaking 'good' English (e.g. accepted English pronunciation) and the attendance at the 'right' primary schools^{*2} assisted entry to the high cost schools. 'Rightness' for "the Three" consisted of schools such as Westlands Primary, Lavington Primary, Karen Primary, Hospital Hill, St. George's, Lavington Primary and Nairobi Primary School, together with up-country former European primary schools and preparatory schools. The methods of selection by individual private examinations and interviews are not bad in themselves but they represent

*1 In the 1960's the majority of African children were older and bigger than their European counter-parts for Form I because they reflected lack of educational opportunity in the colonial era.

*2 Even today, the Nairobi City Council still possess three categories of primary school:
 Category A Charging 20/- per term (former African)
 Category B Charging 60/- per term (former Asian)
 Category C Charging 193/- per term (former European).
 Source: "Equal Education claim refuted by K.N.U.T."
 Page 7, East African Standard, February 22nd, 1971.

further methods of differentiation and the maintenance of a high cost sector of secondary education.

Through examinations and selection procedures, it is apparent that the English public school tradition influenced far more than the secondary education sector; both at the primary level at one end, and the University level^{*1} at the other, English assumptions, English class-cum-racial affiliations permeated the whole realm of education. The Kenya Ministry of Education have innumerable problems to unravel the whole network and ramifications of English assumptions in education but at least at the centre of the secondary educational system will be found "the Three" and other high cost schools.

*1 Sources: "Towards a relevant University in East Africa", by Wanyadey Songa, East African Journal, Volume 8, No. 2, February, 1971.

African Universities and Western Tradition, by Sir Eric Ashby, Oxford University Press, London, 1964.

Extra-curricular activities.

What is taught out of classroom hours, in clubs, societies, games, and the life of the school, has always been an art of the English public school tradition of character training. It is in this realm of extra-curricular activities, which inspires character formation, a spirit of leadership and service to others, that the English public schools rely on the concept and function of the boarding school.

The boarding school has far greater advantages for organising these extra-curricular activities than the purely day school, and it is to that extent "the Three" possess greater advantages than any day school in Kenya. Furthermore, "the Three" are Nairobi-based and not only cater to a multi-racial intake, but they are close to all the facilities of the capital of the country with its large commercial, administrative, political, and cultural functions.

Let us examine the clubs, societies, and related activities of "the Three" in comparison with other schools.

Table 4. Clubs, societies and related activities at selected schools. 1969 - 1970.

Nairobi School (POWS)

Riding Club, Rifle Club, Sailing Club, VI Form Society, Art Club, Geological Society, Motor-Cycle Club, Judo Club, Boxing Club, Christian Union, Crusaders, Science Club, Radio Club, Young Farmers Club, Chess Club, Photographic Club, Mountaineering Club, Debating Society,

Swahili Society, Wildlife Society, Geographical Society, Brass Band.

Total 22.

Lenana School (DOYS)

Life-Saving Society, Folk-Song Club, Photographic Club, Christian Union, Crusaders, Art Club, Debating Society, VI Form Society, Radio Club, Geological Society, Music Society, Young Farmers Club, Sailing Club, Judo Society, Science Society, Rifle Club, Natural History Society, Mountain Club, Aero-Modelling Club, Badminton Club.

Total 20.

Alliance High School

Scouts, Army Cadets, Christian Union, Debating Society, Current Affairs Club, Wildlife Society, Typing Club, Inter-Tribal Society, Young Farmers Club, Dramatic Society, Philosophical Society, Theological Society, Mathematics Society, Science Society, Geographical Society, Economics Club, Child Welfare Society, The Kenya Voluntary Works Camp Association, The Blind and Cripple Society, Sunday Schools.

Total 20.

Kenya High School (KHS)

Debating Society, Music Club, Chess Club, Geographical Society, Natural History Society, Radio Club, Study Circle (Christian Society), Dramatic Society, Modern Dance Club, French Club, Mountain Club, Russian Club, Swimming Club, Judo Club, Scottish Dancing Club, Fencing Club, Yoga, School Orchestra.

Total 18.

Kisii School

Art Club, Boy Scouts, Christian Union, Debating Society, Young Farmers Club, Folk Dancing, Geographical Society, Historical Club, Scientific Club, Swahili Club, Seventh Day Adventists.

Total 11.

Mangu High School

Dramatics Club, Debating Society, Child Welfare Society, Christian Union, Young Farmers Club, Biology Club, Electronics Society, Aviation Society.

Total 8.

Nanyuki Secondary School

Scouts, Young Farmers Club, Wildlife Society, Debating Society, Kenya Anglican Youth Organisation, Industrial Arts Club, Geographical Society.

Total 7.

Table 5. Sports and Games at selected schools. 1969 - 1970.

Nairobi School

Rugby, Athletics, Swimming, Hockey, Cricket, Soccer, Squash, Golf, Tennis, Basket Ball, Volley Ball.

Total 11.

Lenana School

Rugby, Athletics, Swimming, Hockey, Cricket, Soccer, Squash, Golf, Tennis, Badminton.

Total 10.

Kenya High School

Netball, Hockey, Swimming, Tennis, Athletics, Basket Ball, Badminton, Lacrosse, Golf.

Total 9.

Alliance High School

Rugby (started 1967), Athletics, Hockey, Soccer, Volley Ball, Basket Ball, Cricket, (started 1968).

Total 7.

Kisii School

Athletics, Soccer, Basket Ball, Hockey, Rugby, Volley ball,

Total 6.

Manau High School

Soccer, Volley Ball, Basket Ball, Baseball, Athletics.

Total 5.

Nanyuki School

Soccer, Athletics, Basket Ball.

Total 3.

The range and diversity of clubs, societies, sports and games, are much greater at "the Three" than in other schools in Kenya. There are few former African schools which can afford the kinds of facilities which were laid at the time when former European schools catered to the race that was considered 'superior' and 'wealthy'. Alliance High School is one school that can compare to "the Three", but even here, there are significant differences disguised by the different concepts of the house system already explained.*1 Certain activities,

*1 See pages 109-110

such as the Child Welfare Society, the Blind and Cripple Society, Sunday Schools Aid, the Works Camps Association, are treated on a school basis typical of the former African sector of education, whereas "the Three" organise these and allied activities on a house basis. For instance, at Nairobi School each house supports a charitable activity e.g. Amani Cheshire Homes, Dagoretti Children's Centre, Dr. Barnado's Homes, the Blind School, the Turkana Relief Fund, etc. Thus, these service and charity organisations would boost the overall figures of "the Three" even more than indicated.

There are certain activities which smaller schools and low cost schools cannot undertake because of fewer facilities, and, great expense. As a result certain activities become status symbols and are surrounded with prestige. In colonial days it was the Combined Cadet Force and possibly extra lessons for violin or cello, because these were confined to the large schools of the European sector. Today, the clubs, societies and activities falling into this category are riding (initial outlay of horses and facilities for stabling); the sailing club (initial outlay on sailing boats and transport involved to sea or lake); then there are certain games and sports which may be surrounded with an aura of snobbery because of their high cost and expense, e.g. cricket (initial outlay of cricket gear, a large playing field, and pavilion; in Kenya a cricket mat costs 1200/-); rugger (initial outlay of special goal posts and large playing fields); golf (initial outlay of preparing greens, fairways, flags and golf-equipment); squash and tennis (special courts and

rackets needed); swimming (the initial outlay for a swimming pool).

There are few low cost schools which are willing or possess the financial resources and facilities for the full range of these extra-curricular activities. In the past, very few former African secondary schools have been interested in the activities which carry prestige and status because of the lack of opportunity. However, the essential point is, would they be interested if given the opportunities? My answer to this is categorically in the affirmative. Whenever interested staff or others have initiated some of these activities, even with limited means and resources, the response from the students has been magnificent. There are numerous examples in the low cost schools over the last five years: the cricket club established at the Alliance High School in 1968; the rugger initiated at Kisii School in the mid 1960's which enabled them to win the East African Championship for seven-a-side rugby; the Naval cadets established at Shimo-le-Tewa School; the Aviation Society at Mangu High School complete with two aeroplanes and airfield, the former brought by the enthusiastic Marianist missionaries; the high standard of basket ball and athletics at St. Patrick's Iten; and the School Band of Starehe Boys Centre. Though "the Three" may lead and rank highest in the superiority of their facilities, and the diversity and range of their extra-curricular activities^{*1} similar

*1 Appendix 7 for a typical week in the extra-curricular life of a high cost boarding school.

to the English public schools, there is little need to approach the problem from a negative attitude. By negative, I mean "the Three" show the way in many cases to what other secondary schools in the country may achieve, and if these schools are abolished, the Kenyan nation as a whole will be the poorer. On the other hand, these superior character training techniques of the English public school are producing Africans with English habits and culture. I answer this apparent dilemma in Part IV of my thesis, but surely a more pertinent question is - On what criteria of selection should these extra facilities and activities be provided at the present time? This leads on to the whole question of ability and finance.

Table 1. Government Secondary Schools
Enrolment and Expenditure

	<u>Enrolment (1964)</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Per Head</u>
Boys	1,889	K 10,519	K 55.74
Girls	1,104	K 151,215	K 136.90
	<u>Enrolment (1965)</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Per Head</u>
Boys	100,720	K 80,201	(K 79.54)
Girls	290,509	K 119,048	(K 40.98)

Source: Kenya Yearbook of Statistics, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 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2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 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2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3075, 3076, 3077, 3078, 3079, 3080, 3081, 3082, 3083, 3084, 3085, 3086, 3087, 3088, 3089, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3097, 3098, 3099, 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105, 3106, 3107, 3108, 3109, 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3118, 3119, 3120, 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3453, 3454, 3455, 3456, 3457, 3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3462, 3463, 3464, 3465, 3466, 3467, 3468, 3469, 3470, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3475, 3476, 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 3481, 3482, 3483, 3484, 3485, 3486, 3487, 3488, 3489, 3490, 3491, 3492, 3493, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3497, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3510, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3523, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3534, 3535, 3536, 3537, 3538, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 3571, 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575, 3576, 3577, 3578, 3579, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584, 3585, 3586, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593, 3594, 3595, 3596, 3597, 3598, 3599, 3600, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3604, 3605, 3606, 3607, 3608, 3609, 3610, 3611, 3612, 3613, 3614, 3615, 3616, 3617, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3621, 3622, 3623, 3624, 3625, 3626, 3627, 3628, 3629, 3630, 3631, 3632, 3633, 3634, 3635, 3636, 3637, 3638, 3639, 3640, 3641, 3642, 3643, 3644, 3645, 3646, 3647, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3652, 3653, 3654, 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3664, 3665, 3666, 3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671, 3672, 3673, 3674, 3675, 3676, 3677, 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 3717, 3718, 3719, 3720, 3721, 3722, 3723, 3724, 3725, 3726, 3727, 3728, 3729, 3730, 3731, 3732, 3733, 3734, 3735, 3736, 3737, 3738, 3739, 3740, 3741, 3742, 3743, 3744, 3745, 3746, 3747, 3748, 3749, 3750, 3751, 3752, 3753, 3754, 3755, 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759, 3760, 3761, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768, 3769, 3770, 3771, 3772, 3773, 3774, 3775, 3776, 3777, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3781, 3782, 3783, 3784, 3785, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789, 3790, 3791, 3792, 3793, 3794, 3795, 3796, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3803, 3804, 3805, 3806, 3807, 3808, 3809, 3810, 3811, 3812, 3813, 3814, 3815, 3816, 3817, 3818, 3819, 3820, 3821, 3822, 3823, 3824, 3825, 3826, 3827, 3828, 3829, 3830, 3831, 3832, 3833, 3834, 3835, 3836, 3837, 3838, 3839, 3840, 3841, 3842, 3843, 3844, 3845, 3846, 3847, 3848, 3849, 3850, 3851, 3852, 3853, 3854, 3855, 3856, 3857, 3858, 3859, 3860, 3861, 3862, 3863, 3864, 3865, 3866, 3867, 3868, 3869, 3870, 3871, 3872, 3873, 3874, 3875, 3876, 3877, 3878, 3879, 3880, 3881, 3882, 3883, 3884, 3885, 3886, 3887, 3888, 3889, 3890, 3891, 3892, 3893, 3894, 3895, 3896, 3897, 3898, 3899, 3900, 3901, 3902, 3903, 3904, 3905, 3906, 3907, 3908, 3909, 3910, 3911, 3912, 3913, 3914, 3915, 3916, 3917, 3918, 3919, 3920, 3921, 3

CHAPTER 7. FINANCE.

The high cost schools are schools which were formerly Asian or European, charging higher fees than the normal African secondary schools of maintained and assisted status. In colonial times the financial discrepancy between the European sector and the African sector was wide. Not only were the Europeans able to pay larger fees but the colonial government subsidised the grants out of all proportion racially in order to provide the best education possible for European children. This is indicated from Table 6.

Table 6. Government Recurrent Expenditure
European and African Education.

	<u>European Pupils</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Per Head</u>
1936	1,889	£ 49,814	£ 26.7s.5d
1945	2,004	£ 151,215	£ 75.6s.0d
	<u>African Pupils</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Per Head</u>
1936	100,720	£ 80,721	16s.0d
1945	218,569	£ 110,268	10s.1d

Source of Statistics: Education Department Estimates
1936, 1945, Ministry of Education, Nairobi.

This is one of the main reasons why "the Three" possess greater facilities than other schools in the Kenya educational system and fall into the category of high cost schools.

In this chapter we wish to examine (1) the financial differences between "the Three" and other schools of the government sector (2) what changes could be made in the finances of the high cost schools for the future.

"The Three" are assisted to a certain extent by government grants in the form of 80% of teachers basic salaries, a maintenance grant and an administrative grant^{*1} as regards recurrent finance; capital expenditure for new buildings etc., is subsidised by government on the basis of pound for pound. For example, a new laboratory may cost £10,000 and if the government approve, then, the School pay £5,000 and the Government £5,000. Therefore "the Three" depend to a large extent on the high fees they charge their pupils for the financial solvency of the schools. The fees at "the Three" are the same, £162 per annum^{*2} in contrast to the low cost boarding schools which charge £22.10s per annum. These are not economic fees, the Kenya Heads Association ascertaining that it costs £405 per annum to keep a student at a high cost boarding school, £260 at a VI Form College, and £120 at a low cost boarding school.^{*3} There are

*1 In 1969 maintenance grant £3,000; administrative grant £3,400 for POWS; this represents 5% of total income at POWS and similar percentages for the DOYS and KHS.

*2 This includes £ 103.10s. boarding per annum and £ 58.10s. tuition.

*3 Page 13, "The Structure of the VI Form", Kenya Heads Association Booklet on Seminar, held at Adult Studies Centre, Kikuyu, Kenya, February, 1970.

many extras charged for at the high cost schools in contrast to the low cost schools: initial outlay of uniform £30 - £40, registration fee £1; then the termly expenditures of accident insurance, medical fees and school fund amounting to approximately £3 per term: optional expenditures include many of the clubs and societies, golf, riding, judo, sailing, etc.

The difference of large initial outlay and fees eight times higher, has continued the division financially within the Kenyan educational system, which has not changed in the ten years of political independence; even when the President announced free education for Form V and VI students,^{*1} it meant only a reduction by ½ for higher school certificate students in the high cost schools.

Since Independence the Ministry of Education have provided bursaries for Kenya citizens in order for pupils to attend the high cost schools, but there is no academic scholarship system. The bursaries depend on a financial means test of the parents which is difficult to administer equitably and has grown yearly both in amount and administrative complexity to a maximum in 1969. The whole question of bursaries begs the question of high school fees which is an important feature of the English public schools and the English public school tradition. Not only the abolishment of bursaries but a phasing-out system is required so that equal fees are established throughout

*1 Page 1, "Higher Education to be Free", Last African Standard, October 20th, 1965.

the secondary schools of Kenya. They are critical steps towards a State system of free education. The main argument against abolishing bursaries and reducing fees is that the financial resources are at this stage of economic development beyond the capacity of the country. One realises the manifold and intricate problems this entails in underdeveloped countries within the Western world; Eastern Nigeria for instance, was forced to reintroduce school fees for primary education because of "astronomical increases" owing to the increased numbers of students, and "the greed and avarice and lack of public spirit of tax evaders".^{*1} In Kenya, numerous questions have been raised in the National Assembly concerning free primary education and high cost secondary schooling^{*2} but few plans have been made on the issue and the question is politically explosive. Nevertheless, these issues must be faced because they are a significant part of the colonial legacy and contrary to the spirit and purpose of African Socialism. Meanwhile the Government has reduced the individual bursaries from 1969 and are attempting to maintain

*1 "On Reintroducing School Fees", by Nnamdi Azikwe, Page 157, Education and Nation-Building in Africa, edited by L. Gray Cowan, James O'Connell and David G. Scanlon, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1965.

*2 "Minister to see President about free education", Page 1, East African Standard, December 31st, 1969.

"Free education must await changes in system", Page 6, East African Standard, July 15th, 1970.

"Kenya still waiting for free education", Page 4, East African Standard, May 13th, 1971.

the overall bursary amount at a regular grant of £177,000.*1 The actual financial burden to Government is reflected in the following table:-

Table 7. Bursary Grants to High Cost Schools from Government.

1967	£ 55,000	1970	£ 177,000
1968	£110,000	1971	£ 177,000
1969	£198,000	1972	£ 177,000

Source: Economic Surveys of Kenya and Ministry of Education Reports.

There are many detailed financial differences between "the Three" and other maintained and assisted secondary boarding schools especially when we regard educational expenditure. The Kenya Education Commission believed the high cost schools should endeavour to make economic cuts and the following statistical table not only reflects the differences involved but shows where economic cuts may be effective although realising there are inherent structural difficulties and differences.

*1 Page 7, Ministry of Education Annual Report 1971, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1972.

Table 8. Selected Comparative Costs per pupil at selected Boarding Schools 1964.

Item of Expenditure	Expenditure per Pupil : £				
	AGHS	AHS	POWS	DOYS	KHS
Teaching Staff	59.6	57.1	79.8	92.9	89.7
Administrative	5.0	4.9	9.4	9.8	11.7
Kitchen Staff	1.2	2.2	12.0	13.3	9.0
Ground Staff	1.8	2.5	3.7	5.0	5.5
Boarding Exps.	20.2	22.4	47.8	39.3	44.9
Office Exps.	1.0	1.0	2.5	2.6	3.3
Tuition equipment	6.2	5.2	7.6	7.4	5.2
Transport & Travel	1.5	2.1	3.1	1.9	0.9
Electricity, Fuel & Water	4.1	4.3	11.7	13.8	17.5

AGHS, AHS are former African secondary boarding schools whereas POWS, DOYS, KHS are "the Three" - the major high cost boarding schools.

Source: Information used for the Kenya Education Commission Report, 1965.

Firstly, teaching staff expenditure is $1\frac{1}{2}$ times greater at "the Three" and shows that higher paid staff either in qualifications or experience gravitate to these schools where amenities are better, although it is Ministry of Education policy that there should be 1 non-graduate for every 2 graduates in all government schools^{*1}. This problem may resolve itself in time because there is increasing turn-over

*1 Standards are laid down in The Education (Education Standards) Regulations, Pages 25-26, The Education Act 1968, No. 5 of 1968, Government Printer, Republic of Kenya, 6th February, 1968.

of staff in "the Three": for example, at POWS 19 out of 40 staff were on maximum salaries in 1963, whereas in 1970 only 5 out of 42 were on maximum.

Secondly, the administrative staff costs are twice as high in "the Three" because many of these staff are expatriate and tend to remain longer. By 1970 Africanisation had replaced 30 - 40% of expatriate staff although one unfortunate problem arose with Africanisation and that is when African personnel have been employed to replace expatriate staff, similar salaries have been paid. Greater attention to Government grades and numbers of administrative staff should be realised and appropriate salary scales instituted, otherwise it continues the strain on the school finances and a separate system causing dissatisfaction is further entrenched.

Among the administrative costs are audit fees which are several times higher in "the Three" compared with the lower cost schools e.g. AGHS £110, AHS £60, POWS £375, DOYS £330, KHS £250. A centralised Ministry of Education audit unit has been established but the work and financial supervision involved is so great with educational expansion that "the Three" in 1970 still have recourse to private professional firms. Until Ministry auditors and financial supervisors are trained and attached to the provincial education offices, the present state of affairs will continue. All Government aided and maintained schools should use Ministry auditors in order to increase the efficiency of the educational system.

Thirdly, the kitchen staff costs are five to six times as high because many of the kitchen supervisors at "the Three" are expatriates and when Africanised similar salaries are paid. The structural differences of the POWS and the DOYS are also reflected in these figures because these schools have decentralised kitchen systems on a house basis. The KHS has a centralised kitchen system and their costs are still four times higher than the AHS and AGHS, showing the excessive number of kitchen staff and the salary scales used.

Fourthly, the ground staff expenses are twice to three times higher in "the Three" because the students do not work and maintain the school grounds as in other Kenyan schools. The prevailing attitude of the colonial times that manual labour was only for the Africans is reflected in these expenses; and even in 1970 when "the Three" possess predominantly African children, the scheme does not change (see pages 112 with the numbers of subordinate staff at "the Three"). Economic cuts could be made under this heading if children were taught the value and dignity of manual labour and undertook many of the chores.

Fifthly, the boarding expenses including food are twice as high at "the Three". In 1964 the cost per boy was 4/- per day on food at POWS and this has decreased to 3/- per day in 1970. The AHS is also 3/- per day and the DOYS 3/20 per day. In 1964 at AHS, 1/20 was expended per day on food and this has risen to 1/90 in 1970.*1 Most Kenyan schools are

*1 Source of information, Headmaster, Alliance High School.

existing on 1/50 a day per child. Thus some economic cuts in the higher cost schools have taken place and additions have occurred in the lower cost schools; but the food differences still exist: there is a European diet at "the Three" and an African diet at the other secondary schools in Kenya. This racial dichotomy is reflected also in the art of eating and dining. In "the Three", knife, fork, and spoons, are laid out and servants wash the cutlery after use. In other schools, including the AHS and AGHS, each student is issued with a multi-purpose spoon and he or she is responsible for washing it afterwards in a communal tank.

Let us now examine a typical diet of "the Three" and the diet sheet of a former African secondary boarding school, in this case AHS.

Table 9. Comparison of selected diet sheets.

POWS, KHS, DOYS	AHS
<u>Breakfast:</u> Oatmeal porridge or cornflakes. Bacon and egg. Tea, toast & marmalade.	<u>Breakfast:</u> Tea, bread and jam.
<u>Morning Break:</u> Tea and sandwiches	<u>Morning Break:</u> Tea
<u>Lunch:</u> Topside beef or chops green peas, roast potatoes, Yorkshire pudding. Sweet: Fruit and custard.	<u>Lunch:</u> Vegetable stew with rice.
<u>Afternoon tea:</u> Tea, bread and jam.	<u>Afternoon tea:</u> Tea
<u>Supper:</u> Shepherd's pie or fish, cabbage and potatoes. Sweet: Apple pie & custard.	<u>Supper:</u> Meat stew with dumplings.

The differences are quite apparent in our survey both in quality and quantity. The variety of the meals is much greater at "the Three" and there is greater choice at any one meal. In 1964 Miss E. Ricketts, Head of the Domestic Science Department, University College, Nairobi, believed a unified secondary school diet could be obtained at a minimum of 2/- per head and a maximum of 2/50, but this recommendation is still not implemented in "the Three" or other African secondary schools.*1

Sixthly, office expenses are two or three times greater in "the Three" indicating the excessive amount of duplication, postage and letter writing. For example, at AGHS and AHS the students take home their reports themselves, whereas at "the Three" they are posted.

Tuition equipment comparative costs show the closest relationship, because this is the core and essence of the teaching programme and economic cuts in this field are difficult to achieve. Transport and travel costs are high at the PWS because of excessive outings and the fact housemasters allowances are under this heading (paid by Government until 1965 but now by the school). Electricity, water and fuel costs are much higher at "the Three" reflecting the elaborate outlay in buildings and rooms; KHS is especially high,

*1 Page 40, Appendix 1, "A unified Diet for Kenyan Secondary School", Kenya Education Commission Report, Part 1, Government of Kenya, Nairobi, 1965.

again because of allowances for housemistresses.

Overall, considerable financial differences exist between "the Three" high cost schools and other secondary boarding schools. Some economic cuts have been made in the 1960's and other cuts could be instituted if the present high cost schools continue in their existing form; however, I believe a more drastic solution is required for these schools because of their divisive influence. The solution is proposed in Part IV of this thesis. Again overall, the fact that we have in this thesis a chapter on finance reflects the importance of this aspect of the English public school tradition. The high cost schools are merely the highest expression of the economic factor in the Kenya educational system; a money-economy based on Western capitalism underlies all the government schools. A system of fee-paying was introduced by the British and the presence of fees in the educational system can be regarded as a consubstantial part of the colonial legacy: different levels of fee-paying reflect the competitive element of a capitalist system and the way it leads to stratification.

PART III

CHAPTER 8. TRANSPLANTATION.

Our hypothesis for this study was that an alien transplantation of the English public school tradition had taken place in Kenya. Colonialism was the medium for the transplantation because the whole concept of colonies assumed the setting-up of institutions and settlements overseas similar to that in the home-country. The word 'colonia' is Latin from 'colonus' - a husbandman, and 'colere' - to till. The analogy of farming and planting is apt in that farmers appreciate the difficulties of life, the processes and techniques of seeding and reproduction, and the cross-fertilisation of different strains. In this case, the plant was the English public school with its tap roots of English culture and European civilisation.

Colonialism in Kenya was mainly by British people initially in the Victorian age. Although some historians deprecate an analogy between different ages of history because of technological improvements and human progress and taking into account the warning of Brunt that "comparisons between the two empires were in fact always rather forced",^{*1} a similarity in outlook between Imperial Rome and Imperial Britain can be perceived with the Victorians: the same urge to colonise other people, to subjugate alien peoples to

*1 "Reflections on British and Roman Imperialism", by A.S. Brunt, Page 268, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 7, 1965.

their own civilisation, the same sense of duty and seriousness of mind. Admittedly in some areas which Rome colonised, there was a profound Greek influence in language and culture which tended to resist Roman dominion but in the North-West Europe especially, the Romans transplanted many Roman traditions. There again, in Kenya, the British impact was not so great where Islam reigned. Neither the Romans, nor the Victorians, thought for one moment that what they were transplanting and imposing on other people was wrong. The rightness of their actions and the utter self-confidence in the superiority of their own civilisations^{*1} is amazing to believe in retrospect. Probably, a strong sense of discipline and respect for constituted authority, provided the similar outlooks on life. Both peoples believed in a 'robber economy'; both peoples were of practical bent, conservative of mind, and exhibiting remarkable tenacity of purpose and resilience in adversity. To what extent these comparative qualities were governed by their educational systems, or were a mere reflection of them, is conjectural. However, the predominance of Latin grammar and Roman literature in the Victorian curriculum of the English public school, must have had some effect. What we can be more definite over is the fact that these qualities were useful for pioneers and soldiers, missionaries, administrators and merchants;

*1 "The Victorians regarded themselves as the leaders of civilisation, as pioneers of industry and progress". Page 1, Africa and the Victorians, The Official Mind of Imperialism, by Ronald Robinson, John Gallagher with Alice Denny, Macmillan, London, 1961.

and it was these kinds of people who brought the English public school tradition to Kenya - Men such as Captain Lugard (Lord Lugard), Lord Delamere, Colonel Grogan, Sir Edward Grigg, Sir Edward Denham, Sir Charles Bowring, Captain Nicholson, Mr. P. Fletcher, Mr. Carey Francis, etc.

Individuals were not the sole instruments of transplantation. Unmistakably, organisations and institutions played their part because many of the individuals mentioned above were policy makers in groups. The manner in which these men achieved their goals was by participation and through common ideas via powerful institutions and organisations.

Examples are numerous: the Imperial British East African Company (Captain Lugard), who brought the first European merchants and settlers to Kenya: the Uganda Railway Authorities who established the first European schools in Kenya: the Settlers' Association (Lord Delamere, Colonel Grogan, etc.) who were influential in the Central Advisory Committee in European Education and the Colonial Government (Sir Charles Eliot, Sir Edward Grigg, Sir Charles Bowring, Sir Edward Denham, Sir Philip Mitchell, etc.), with its élite of public school gentlemen: and the Colonial Education Service (Mr. P. Fletcher, Mr. R.H. James, Miss J.M.A. Stott, etc.) who administered and taught directly in government schools. As regards the missionary societies, they were possibly the least prominent of the Europeans to introduce the tradition, although some of the assumptions they made were similar to those of the English public schools - the form and concept of a school, the classroom techniques, and basic literary curriculum, the English

examinations especially the Cambridge School Certificate, the religious sense of duty and service. Probably, in the thoughts of many people, the latter aspect was over emphasised and the missionaries can be accused of transmitting a narrow outlook on life. Moreover, they were carriers of that greatest coloniser of the mind - the English language. Nevertheless, the way some missionaries mixed with the African, at a time a white man rarely acknowledged a black man except to give him an order, satisfied a great need and spiritual hunger in the African soul. The C.M.S. missionary Archdeacon W.E. Owen for example, was an ardent and vociferous advocate of African rights in the Legislative Council and on education commissions.^{*1} This fiery European involved himself politically and educationally in the Young Kavirondo Association and the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association for the improvement of African education.^{*2} Again, in the medical sphere, many missionary surgeons, doctors and nurses proffered unstinted devotion and work to African needs of both body and mind; in doing so, many medical missionaries came to appreciate African aspirations and fears. For instance, Dr. A.A. Bond of the Kaimosi Friends Mission in the 1930's was sensitive to local African pecuniary attitudes over the

As we see the

*1 Page 50, Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, Swift Press, Nairobi, 1919.

*2 Archdeacon Owen and the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association, by J. Lonsdale, East African Institute of Social Research paper, Makerere University College, Kampala, (undated).

issue of a certain missionary companion Mr. Hoyt who sold timber to European settlers ostensibly for the enrichment of the mission and in line with the Tuskegee self reliant industrial philosophy but not for the direct economic gain of local people. Bond believed^{*1} the operation did far more harm than good to the Kaimosi mission and renewed justification in the old belief of Harry Thuku that the missionaries were in the pay of European settlers. There is no doubt that regardless of the humanitarian conscience of many missionaries, some Africans such as Harry Thuku were anti-missionary in their attitudes. This was especially reflected in the beginnings of the Young Kikuyu Association in the early 1920's and the publication of the broadsheet Tangazo. The Kikuyu Central Association was anti-missionary and anti-European according to Godfrey Muriuki, "clearly so, experience had taught them, Gutiri Muthungu na Mubea (there is no difference between a white settler and a missionary)."^{*2} The advantages of missionary enterprise in education, agriculture, industrial training, medicine and language were outweighed by elements of the English public school tradition in the

*1 Letters of Dr. A.A. Bond dated 23rd September, 1934 and 30th June, 1934 quoted page 201, Pan-Africanism and Education, by Kenneth James King, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971.

*2 "Background to Politics and Nationalism in Central Kenya: The Traditional Social and Political Systems of Kenya peoples", by Godfrey Muriuki, Page 5, Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya, edited by Bethwell A. Ogot, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1972.

overall frame of Imperialism, as Oliver remarks, "the European tended to see the assets on the balance sheet, but the African the liabilities".^{*1}

The missionary liabilities were accentuated and racial in colonisation in West Africa by many recent literary accounts.^{*2} Possibly, the Kenya settlers as a group tended to polarise African feelings of repressed nationalism. Towards the end of British Imperialism, it was Kenya, the East African colony with a substantial proportion of European settlers and where the English public school tradition was deepest, which reacted most violently out of all the British colonies in East and West Africa. The effect of a white - minority government in Kenya during colonial times meant the English public school tradition was stronger in those schools which were staffed by the colonial government officers than in the missionary schools; and directly and indirectly, it was the influence of "the Three" large European boarding schools which assisted in transmitting the tradition. For instance technical and agricultural education was

*1 "Missionary and Humanitarian Aspects of Imperialism from 1870 to 1914", by Charles Pelham Groves, Page 493, Colonialism in Africa, by L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, Cambridge University Press, London, 1969.

*2 The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, by E.A. Ayandele, Longmans, London, 1966.
The Ghanaians Image of the Missionary, by Harris W. Mobley, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1970.

recommended for African schools^{*1} but these élite schools never participated in this type of education. The classics were more important in the curriculum. Not only were "the Three" the colonial models of the English public school tradition, but the prestige and esteem of "the Three" provided the goal to strive for and achieve by socially class-minded government officers. Government boarding schools for Africans such as Machakos, Kaguso, Kisii, Kakamega, Shimo-le-Tewa, Kapenguria, Kapsabet, Tambach, etc. established as junior secondary schools predominantly in the late 1940's, possessed European government officers as teachers and headmasters. Developed from Government primary schools with European government teachers and headmasters, these African secondary schools tended to extend elements of the English public school tradition with English cultural attitudes and outlook. Often, the headmasters in the African secondary boarding schools were posted from the Ministry of Education, the Provincial and District Education Offices, Kaguso Teachers Training College, and "the Three".^{*2} Only

*1 One of the reasons for providing technical and agricultural education for Africans was that it was less likely to lead to 'dangerous activities'. Page 25, "Special Report on Technical Education", by H.O. Weller, Educational Department Annual Report, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1926. "Education of 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 them, and enables him at all stages to know himself. In short, passive education leads to dangerous activities".

*2 See Appendix 2.

rarely, were transfers of staff from "the Three" regarded as promotions. Transfers from the European sector to other sectors were mainly regarded as a form of ostracism and even banishment in the colonial context.^{*1} In part, this European racial assumption and social factor explains Anderson's statement, "somehow, the impression was established that staff serving in the European schools were superior to those in the other sectors".^{*2} Anderson believed it was lack of experience in African schools on the part of education officers from the European sector, when, in 1961, "three education officers were promoted to senior education officer level to be the headmasters of three of the first four African schools to offer the Higher School Certificate", whereby, "serious problems with pupils" and "disappointing H.S.C. results"^{*3} occurred. In part this is true but sometimes European officers would transfer to a different sector of education if promotion from education officer to senior education officer was highly probable. And

*1 In colonial days, it was widely known in government circles that Principals of "the Three" often transferred teachers to the Ministry of Education and other government education sectors, either, because the teachers could not control European classes, or from certain misdemeanours and intrigues in their boarding school environments.

*2 Page 48, The Struggle for the School, by John Anderson, Longman Kenya Ltd., Nairobi, 1970.

*3 Page 48, ibid.

if one appreciates the subtle undercurrents of the headmasters' problems, together with the racial and social assumptions made by European government civil servants in colonial days, then it is realised that many of the teachers in question were often rejects from the European sector. Transfers and even promotions on grounds of inefficiency was a part of the 'Establishment' mentality and the English public school tradition. It was often in this manner that the tradition circulated indirectly in Kenya, via 'the old boy network': English upper and middle class cultural attitudes and educational norms were transmitted to the different sectors indirectly by expediency and default. The day schools for Asians which were government maintained, such as Allidina Visram School, Mombasa, Duke of Gloucester and Duchess of Gloucester Schools, Nairobi, and the Indian Government Schools at Nakuru, Kisumu, etc., were no exceptions; and English culture was circulated, not only directly because the English tradition was the accepted social frame, but indirectly by promotions and transfers. All these methods induced great prestige and esteem for the European sector of education. As Miss Shah noted, "there was a widespread feeling in the country as a whole about the prestige of a school depending on the race for which it had been meant. The European schools rated as the best institutions in the country".^{*1}

*1 Page 352, A History of Asian Education in Kenya, 1886-1963, by Snehlata R. Shah, M.A. thesis, Nairobi, 1968.

On a lower economic and social level were the older African secondary boarding schools of missionary background. These schools mainly catered as 'central schools' for surrounding primary schools, e.g. Maseno, 1938 (primary and teacher-training from 1906) - Anglican; Mangu, 1939, built as the secondary extension to Kabaa (1904), - Roman Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers. At these schools, the English public school tradition was watered-down and not so strong as the government schools because of some missionary sympathy and empathy with African aims and aspirations. Sometimes the English tradition was almost non-existent because the missionaries were of Dutch, French, Italian, and other national origin. On the other hand, the nationals of missionary bodies other than English were forced to teach in the language of the colonising power and in that way there was an English cultural transmission.

Although religion dominated the missionary schools, a bias of religious character training permeated the government secondary schools in conjunction with the stronger elements of the English public school tradition. African children during this period, were forced to adopt, as the price of a formal education, either a firm English culture tinged with religion, or a denominational religion tinged with foreign culture. In retrospect, the Africans tended to prefer the latter. Today, East Africans rarely resent completely the colonial influence of the missionaries; on the contrary, many tend to regard

missionaries as "the torchbearers of education".^{*1} Christian men and women endeavouring to assist the African people in their hour of need, to overcome the initial fears of a western orientated education and Western civilisation with all its complexities and intricacies. Some missionaries were friends of the wananchi in their struggle for nationhood against the white settlers and colonial regime. However, it should be noted that when expatriate teachers teach African children, regardless of their subject or missionary zeal, they inevitably colour the child's mind to some extent, in fact Europeanise them to a certain degree, dependent on the psychological background and family circumstances of the child. The effects of school organisation generally, and the boarding school particularly, are important contributory factors in this process as I emphasise in this thesis.

In former chapters, we noted BOARDING was a unique characteristic of the English public school tradition, and one which had been transferred to Kenya. Boarding was adopted in Colonial times by the Colonial

*1 "President praises job done by missions", Page 1, East African Standard, November 28th, 1970. Report of a speech on the opening of new extensions to Alliance High School by the President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.

"Mr. Njonjo praises work of early missionaries", Page 7, East African Standard, April 25th, 1973. Report of a speech at the opening of the Seventh General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, and the installation of a new Moderator the Rt. Rev. J.K. Gitau.

Government on a racial basis; though character training may have been the aim and a comparable education for Europeans to public schools in England, it was an instrument of divisiveness on colour, race and sex. Admittedly, there were no Asian boarding schools, but this feature was because the Asian population was predominantly urban based, and the family and religious ties were strong.*1 The boarding principle was also adopted by the missionary societies for character training institutions but it could be regarded as an agent of divisiveness and religious indoctrination. The reason for this state of affairs was that the boarding school increased the cultural gap between home and school: a total environment enabled the missions to administer their own brand of Christianity (i.e. proselytise) with Western education. There were many famous examples of this:- the Roman Catholic missions at Kabaa, Mangu, Yala and Nairobi; the Church of Scotland Mission at Tumutumu, Chogoria and Kikuyu; the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) at Maseno, Buxton (Mombasa), and the Friends African Mission - a Quaker organisation at Kamusinga and Kaimosi. However, the overall geographical distances travelled especially with the central school system were large and necessitated boarding.

*1 The Asian population in Kenya is very diverse and the strength of religious and family ties vary with each group and sect. Source: Chapter 2, "Asians in Kenya", A History of Asian Education in Kenya. 1886-1963, by Miss Snehlata R. Shah, M.A. thesis, University of East Africa (Nairobi), 1968.

The African children desired a boarding education because facilities, especially in Colonial times, were infinitely better than home conditions: electricity, wholesome meals, uniforms, bedding, etc., were conducive for studies. The African parents also desired boarding for their children, because they realised the problems of transportation especially in the 'rainy' seasons, the danger from wild animals, and the improved conditions which would assist the passing of examinations. Again, one mouth less to feed could be a blessing with a large family in difficult times. Even today, these attitudes are apparent that African parents require boarding for their children above all else, because they associate boarding with greater educational opportunities. One wonders if they appreciate the losses in African culture, in tribal propensities, in oral transmissions and family cohesion.

SELECTIVITY was an important aspect of the English public school tradition in Britain where it was based on wealth and social position; in Colonial Kenya it had been reinforced by race. These circumstances meant the European community appropriated not only the predominant wealth of the Colony but also the main educational opportunities: the Europeans were able to educate their children in the best fee-paying schools. Compulsory education for Europeans (and Asians) established during World War II rectified one of the major concerns of Sir Edward Grigg in the '30's - the possibility of a 'poor White' class in Kenya. Thus the type of society created by the European was an imperialistic and capitalistic one much vilified by mid-twentieth century opinion, highly stratified with

the Europeans at the top of the hierarchy and the Africans at the bottom.

The leadership and elite type of education provided for Europeans through an essentially English and academic curriculum became the main norm for secondary education for the other communities, though the Colonial Government, as we have seen, at first attempted to fob off African aspirations towards secondary education with industrial and agricultural schooling because of the fear of 'dangerous activities'. Professor Frazer as early as 1909 envisaged industrial training for Africans, and the Phelps-Stokes Commission emphasised the lack of industrial and agricultural training^{*1} rather than the need for massive educational development towards political advancement for the African: the views of Tuskegee and Hampton for rural education in the Southern States of the U.S.A. fitted in neatly with the English public school tradition and Kenya settler views of a different education for Africans. It was a similar kind of education provided for the lower classes of England in the late 19th century. Even as late as 1951 - 1952 the Binns Commission recommended the acquisition of some skill of hand and the recognition of manual work in both primary and secondary schools.

The English public school tradition transferred English culture not African culture. Most colonisers believed this to be a superior form of culture and the

*1 Page 108, Education in East Africa, by Thomas Jesse Jones, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York, 1925.

safety of the Colony depended on it. For example, the Director of Education stated in a paper entitled, "Kenya's opportunity in Education": "the whole situation is full of promise and the Colony has the opportunity now of educating European boys and girls to maintain that leadership among the backward races which is essential for the safety, the welfare and the loyalty of the country".*1 Again the superiority of everything English is reflected in the words of the Colonial Secretary at the same meeting, "no country has been so liberally treated as the English; English literature was world literature, and teachers should be careful to see that the young race growing up should not be deprived of English thought, English language, and English literature".*2

That the English culture has made an impact and penetrated deeply into the Kenyan life of today is reflected in the fact that 'literary education' is still sought after rather than technical and agricultural education. The penetration has affected the unconscious values of family life. For instance, some African families punish their own children for speaking vernacular in their own homes.

*1 Paper, "Kenya's opportunity in Education", by Hon. Mr. J.R. Orr, O.B.E., Director of Education. Proceedings of the First Annual Conference on European Education, April 21st-April 23rd, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1925.

*2 Opening speech by Mr. E.B. Denham, Colonial Secretary and Acting Governor. Proceedings of the First Annual Conference on European Education, April 21st - April 23rd, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1925.

Some attempts were made by various commissions to adapt education to an African environment. For instance the Phelps Stokes Commission realised the need for African youth to sing and dance to their own music^{*1} and in 1925 a white Paper stated, "Education should be adopted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various people conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric at their social life".^{*2}

The Binns Commission urged that African education should be based "on their own way of life".^{*3} However these modern and noble concepts did not permeate to the school life of the children. Dr. Chidzero remarks how the British imperialist policies are noted for the "highest of principles" and "a constant tendency to resort to immediate measures dictated by expediency".^{*4} I am willing to take cognizance of G.K. Omolo in the 1940's when he states, "Again we are brought face to face with another

*1 Pages 10, 18, Education in East Africa, by Thomas Jesse Jones, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York, 1925.

*2 Page 1, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, Colonial Office, Cmd. 2347, H.M.S.O., London, 1925.

*3 Page 67, African Education. A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa. Colonial Office and Nuffield Foundation, Oxford University Press, London, 1953.

*4 Page 15, Tanganyika and International Trusteeship, by B.T.G. Chidzero, Oxford University Press, London, 1961.

undesirable feature of most African Schools in Kenya today, namely the insufficient respect for traditional and cultural media; unfortunately, most African schools, particularly, secondary senior schools, teach mainly European tunes, songs, drawings, dances and paintings".*¹ Moreover the attitudes and the art of the transplant can be seen from the Director of Education Report: "not the least pleasant part of the recent tour of inspection was spent by the writer in introducing these young savages to other British games e.g. tug-of-war, rounders, jumping the sand bag, medicine ball, dummy boat race".*²

Overall then it does appear that at the school level there was not the African culture and tradition that the various Commissions anticipated or desired. Besides the main reason of practice not squaring with theory, the reasons for this state of affairs were mainly social and psychological. Most early African schools were established and organised by the missionaries and in their zeal for proselytisation they tended to ignore African culture and tradition. President Kenyatta verifies how the Kikuyu Independent Schools originated as a protest against missionary

*1 Page 157, A Study of the theory and practice of rural education in the U.K. with a view to its adaptation where possible to conditions in Kenya, by G.A. Omolo, Assoc. of the University of London thesis, unpublished, 1949.

*2 Report of the Director of Education on the system of village education among the Akamba of Machakos, Educational Annual Report, 1924, Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1924.

condemnation of initiation ceremonies.*1

Then at the government level, colonial education officers were not as experienced and far-sighted as some of the people on the various Commissions in London. Again it was so easy to fall into the current climate of opinion in a colonial country that everything English and European was superior to indigenous culture.

The feelings of superiority/inferiority hidden in the English public school tradition affected the majority of Africans. The mass of the population which did not receive any education were thought backward and uncivilised; those fortunate few which did receive an education were provided with an inferior type of education because the European sector of education was considered the best. The prestige attached to education linked to European ways is expressed in Oginga Odinga's book, "Not Yet Uhuru", where he rejects the missionary patronage of his own education at Maseno School and states, "the educated group reckoned prestige by the closeness of the African to the White man and his ways. At first those who wore European clothes were most like them. Then those who went into domestic service - the so-called 'houseboys' - and lived in the house of the White man, or at the back of it, thought they were achieving superiority. Finally the educated who did not only dress and live like the white man, but who

*1 Pages 130-132, Facing Mount Kenya, by Jomo Kenyatta, Secker and Warburg, London, 1938.

read from his books, sang his hymns and shared his inspirations, moved into the highest spheres of achievement".*1

Cultures are never static, nor are institutions. They are constantly changing as a result of external and internal stimuli. The English public school is changing, as we noted in Chapter 2. For instance, the liberal views of Dr. Arnold of Rugby in the early 19th century would be assessed today as ultra-conservative and out-dated by many modern public school headmasters. From the cultural pattern of the English public school tradition, the model transplanted initially to Kenya at the time of the 1920's was the late Victorian-Edwardian vintage. The reasons I believe for this older model being taken are diverse:-

Firstly, the stratified racial society of colonial Kenya closely resembled that of the late Victorian English period of history. Today, in South Africa and Rhodesia where apartheid policies are practised, it is still this model which is dominant: there is the strict seniority system: there are the students in their boaters, ties, and blazers: there is the old authoritarian mode of character training for instilling leadership and service in one ruling European race: there is the House system hierarchy and the Prefects and 'fags' - all reminiscent of a fading age in modern English public schools.

*1 Page 63, Chapter 4, "Rejection of Patronage", Not Yet Uhuru, by Oginga Odinga, Heinemann Press, London, 1967.

Secondly, the fact that Captain Nicholson, the first headmaster of "the Three" (POWS 1929), was an elderly man (he retired in 1937 in his late 50's), meant his own schooling was in Victorian times. Again, the Royal Navy and Dartmouth College are noted traditional and conservative institutions in English life.

Thirdly, two other important 'gentlemen' in initiating government European secondary boarding schools - Sir Edward Grigg and Lord Delamere - were at Winchester and Eton respectively, the two greatest ancient foundations in England and of a conservative traditional nature. Both men, we have seen, believed in the very best education for 'a ruling race'.

Fourthly, the Central Advisory Committee in European Education was composed mainly of titled people and the officer classes,^{*1} and these types of people, even if a small minority were not the products of the English public schools, held similar attitudes and values which were in accord and conditioned by those élite schools.

Fifthly, the economic climate of opinion in Kenya in the mid 20's and late 40's of this century possessed characteristics similar to the Victorian-Edwardian age. They were ages of expansion through the building of towns, railways and roads, in an increase of money economies and mobility of communications. In England, the Victorian age saw

*1 Appendix 3.

the greatest proliferation of public schools as the middle classes of Victorian England attempted to emulate the upper classes of society. Increased wealth and the railway age provided the means for the English middle classes. So too, in Kenya, especially after World War II and with increased immigration of Europeans by air and sea to swell the numbers of European settlers, there was the building of the new Kenya High School and the Duke of York School. Similarly, the late 1940's saw the growth of government secondary boarding schools for Africans: e.g. Kagumo, Kakamega, Kisii, Kapenguria, Shimo-le-Tewa, Kapsabet, Tambach, etc., and although the purpose of these schools may have been different to "the Three", the fact they were staffed by the Colonial Education Service, meant inevitably a transference of certain English public school attitudes and traditions.

It seems a principle in life that once a tradition has been transplanted, it produces secondary and tertiary changes over a wide area. It is like throwing a pebble into a pond: the effect of the initial splash extends in ever-widening circles. The pond was Colonial Kenya and the initial splash was in the Prince of Wales School and the establishment of "the Three" large European government boarding schools, with secondary effects on other government and missionary boarding schools.

Lastly, once a tradition has been established, as strong as the Victorian-Edwardian vintage of the English public schools, it entrenches itself through vested interest, conservative attitudes of mind and social convention. It cannot be denied it embedded

itself deeply into the Kenyan educational system. It developed a highly selective educational system predominantly literary in content and based on the concepts of excellence and individual academic achievement. The competitiveness of the system was stimulated by highly organised and comparatively rigid examinations, orientated in content and method to the mother-country England, the home of the majority of specialist teachers. The payment of relatively high fees instituted another selective mechanism reinforcing the main one of race and ensuring few students of African origin reached the upper echelons of educated society. Throughout the process of education in Kenya, character training was stressed backed by a religious sense of duty and service; the boarding school provided the main instrument of educational organisation in inculcating certain habits of mind attributed to leadership and led. The éliteness engendered from this type of education was pronounced both in the primary sector at the lower end and the universities at the upper end. The primary schools were preparatory institutions for the secondary schools; primary education though terminal for the vast majority of the Kenya population, was geared academically to the English public school tradition. At the university level, the education was English dominated and again certain attitudes of superiority became attached to tertiary education although within that higher realm of education, specific subjects in themselves became prestigious. It is significant that both Makerere College, Uganda, and the University of Nairobi started their lives as technical colleges, and Makerere in the 1930's with the introduction of the Cambridge School Certificate began to resemble that of

an English boarding school with Houses, school caps, prefects, corporal punishment, compulsory games and the seniority system with a sense of religious character training.

Towering above the colonial educational system was the minority dominated European regime with its 'gentlemen' of the English public school tradition which fed on its assumptions of superiority and blossomed forth into racism. As Benedict states, "racism is the new Calvinism which asserts that one group has the stigmata of superiority and the other has those of inferiority".^{*1} Racism is the bitterest expression of colonialism and it was ingrained in colonial actions, institutions and social life. The educational system directed each race into its allocated space in colonial society; it was a two way system in that the society influenced the racial educational sectors and these in turn affected society. The whole of East Africa in the 1960's was awaiting evolution or revolution in order to assert the rights of human dignity and human welfare.

*1 Page 2, Race and Racism, by Ruth Benedict, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1959.

CHAPTER 9. CONFLICT AND ASSIMILATION.

Conflict and assimilation are the necessary conditions of any form of cultural contact and penetration. The backcloth of the English public school tradition was Colonialism and the conflict which ensued in East Africa was the struggle for political, social and economic independence.

On June 1st 1963, Kenya received its internal self-government (Madaraka), and on December 12th political Independence (Uhuru). The new Kenya Constitution abolished all discriminatory laws^{*1} and instead of separate racial sectors in education, one unified system became the aim and essence of Kenyan education. President Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the KANU government stated in 1963 that the main task of building a new unified nation would be guided on the lines of African Socialism.^{*2} In 1965, the Government produced a major policy paper on African Socialism, Sessional Paper No. 10^{*3} which embraced statements from the Constitution and the KANU manifesto.

*1 Legal Notice 718 of 1963. The original constitution was contained in Schedule 2 of the Kenya Independence Order in Council 1963. There have been many amendments to the Constitution since then. The latest edition states, "No law shall make any provision that is discriminatory either of itself or in its effect". Section 82, Sub. 1, Constitution of Kenya, 1969, Government Printer, Nairobi.

*2 "Kenyatta's Pledge to Build the Nation", Page 1, Daily Nation. 28th May, 1963.

*3 Sessional Paper No. 10, African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1965.

The new political and social philosophy of African Socialism springs from the African way of life - Julius Nyerere of Tanzania calls it UJAAMA, a familyhood: President Kenyatta expresses it as HARAMBEE which means 'Let's all work together'. Co-operation and unity is stressed, and this egalitarian viewpoint of society is in direct contrast to the colonial one of competition and stratification. I believe, in part, it approximates more the philosophy of John Dewey's pragmatism and instrumentalism forged in the 19th century frontier spirit of the United States. Life was growth and a becoming, and therefore education should be progressive and forward looking. Just as the Americans wanted a complete break with the past, so did East African countries, including Kenya; just as the Americans wished their schools to foster a sense of nationhood from many races, so too, did Kenya wish to promote national unity from the different tribes and races. Many of the educational objectives of the Kenya Educational Commission reflect this pragmatic and instrumental philosophy of African Socialism:- Education ... "must serve the people of Kenya and the needs of Kenya without discrimination" ... "must foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity" ... "must be regarded, and used, as an instrument for the conscious change of attitudes and relationships" ... "must promote social equality and remove divisions of race, tribe and religion".^{*1}

Furthermore, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and his ministers

*1 Para 19, Page 25, Kenya Education Commission Report, Part I, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1965.

have continually stressed these aims at public functions.*¹ And yet there is something more than pragmatism and instrumentalism in Ujamaa and African Socialism - there is an emotional yearning to appreciate, understand and identify African culture before the advent of the Europeans and the Western way of life. This yearning is an African one, and has given fruition to terms such as Aimé Césaire's and Leopold Senghor's concept of 'négritude' and Kwame Nkrumah's 'African Personality'. At this level, the educational objectives of the Kenya Education Commission are seen in the fact that "schools ... must respect the cultural traditions of the peoples of Kenya, both as expressed in social institutions and relationships", and in Government plans for Kenyanisation or Africanisation.

Kenyanisation and Africanisation are two different interpretations of the same philosophy, more than once raised in law.*² Africanisation should receive

*¹ "Education must advance the Nation's Unity", Page 4, East African Standard, September 18th, 1965. Report of the President of Kenya speaking at the opening of a teachers college.

"Education has a big role in national unity", Page 13, Daily Nation, June 22nd, 1970. Speech of Mr. A. Mwendwa, Chief Justice of Kenya.

*² "National Assembly favour Africanisation not Kenyanisation", Official Report, National Assembly, First Session, First Parliament, Vol. XII, 7th July, 1967, Government Printer, Nairobi.

"Asians claim Nairobi City Council Africanisation Policy contrary to Law", Page 1, Daily Nation, 13th February, 1968.

preferential treatment. Kenyanisation is a precise interpretation in that it embraces Kenya citizens, regardless of race or colour, and this is backed by the Kenya Constitution: Kenyanisation is legal whereas Africanisation is emotive and vocal.

How did these new concepts of African Socialism influence the English public school tradition in Kenya?

Many aspects of the new African philosophy were in conflict with the English public school tradition - independence for a school or a group of schools Vs a unified secondary school system; decentralisation Vs centralisation; individual Vs society; selection on wealth Vs selection on academic ability; English culture Vs African culture; literary education Vs technical and scientific education; selectivity Vs equality.

INDEPENDENCE is an important aspect of the English public schools and was of the Kenya schools in Colonial times, but a unified system of secondary education was needed in order to establish national unity. The African Ministry of Education made slow changes at first towards the new unified system; they believed abrupt change would lead only to chaos and a breakdown in the educational process. One wonders if they were right in their judgement, and whether a rapid change at this stage would not have been preferable in the long run causing less friction and additional problems.

Just as there was a continual progress towards a

political one party state^{*1} in the country, so too, was there a continual process of increasing centralisation in educational organisation and administration.

Headmasters lost more and more of their local powers, and the Provincial Education Officers (P.E.O.'s) and Ministry officials became more dominant. The Boards of Governors set up in 1959 for secondary schools to replace the Old School Committees lost many of their powers, and whereas Kenyanisation was not thought rapid enough, the Boards were dissolved and reconstituted.^{*2}

Headmasters, by the mid 1960's, could no longer choose their own staff, and headmasters and headmistresses appointments became centralised, officially through the Public Service Commission for civil servants or Teachers Service Commission for non-civil servants. Selection of students, disciplinary matters of staff and pupils, registration of schools and teachers, finance, numbers and qualifications of staff and subordinate staff, salaries, rents, curriculum and choice of examinations, all became centralised by 1970. The Minister via the Ministry of Education ruled by statute and advised by circular and letter in order, "to promote the education of the

*1 "Kenyatta's preference for a One-Party State", Page 1, Daily Nation, 14th August, 1964.

"The Merger of KANU and KADU", Official Report, House of Representatives, Second Session, Vol. III, Part III, cols. 4414-4417, 10th November, 1964.

*2 Legal Notice 204/1965, dated 28th July, 1965, and signed by Minister for Education, Mr. Mbiyu Koinange.

people of Kenya", and "to secure the effective co-operation ... of all public bodies concerned with education in carrying out the national policy for education".*1

Though centralisation and unification of secondary schools continued apace in the late 1960's restricting local independence, there was one main factor which continued to give esteem and prestige to certain secondary schools in Kenya.*2 This was SELECTIVITY. We have already noted how important selectivity was to be English public school tradition where it was based on wealth, social position and ability, and in Colonial Kenya it had been reinforced by race. Though Independence eradicated racial selectivity; the criteria of wealth, social position and ability continued to play their part in providing certain 'elite schools' though never recognised explicitly by the new Kenya Government and African Socialism. There were historical and socio-economic reasons which militated against the eradication of 'elitism'. Firstly, after Independence, the term 'high cost schools' came into Kenyan educational administration referring to those schools (former European and Asian) which continued to charge much higher fees than other secondary schools. Secondly, the development of an African middle-class was a

*1 Section 3, para. (1) Education Act 1968, Republic of Kenya, Government Printer, Nairobi.

*2 "What it's like to work at an exclusive school", Page 17, Pan-Africa, No. 60, July 23rd, 1965.

necessary consequence of urbanisation, diversification of the economy, and the expansion of Western bureaucracy and education. The new rising African middle-class^{*1} had the money and after Independence the inclination and Constitutional backing, to send their children to the independent and high cost schools. There, they could buy better amenities and imbibe the added advantages of mixing in an international and multiracial atmosphere. The recognised external signs of the African middle-class: living in a solid European style house equipped with modern European furniture and labour saving devices, wearing European clothes, eating a partially Westernised diet and reading English printed newspapers, etc. - all these attributes are reinforced and accentuated by the independent and high cost schools. Thirdly, 'elitism' had existed in African secondary education for many years, as Goldthorpe states, "the Alliance High School occupied for many years and to some extent still occupies, a unique position in the African educational system of Kenya".^{*2} This was because Alliance recruited on ability from the provinces and the pool was the male African secondary population of Kenya. Alliance High School and Makerere College educated the majority of Kenyan ministers and leading

*1 Source: "The African Middle Class", by T. Hodgkin, Page 360, Social Change - the Colonial Situation, edited by I. Wallerstein, John Wiley, New York, 1960.

*2 Page 3, An African Elite, by J.E. Goldthorpe, East African Institute of Social Research, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1965.

government officials, thus gaining prestige and esteem in African eyes.*¹ It must not be forgotten, however, that in a country where secondary educational opportunities are limited, the possession of certificates (school certificate, higher school certificate, degrees) in themselves, create élite status because of the scarcity value and employment availabilities and opportunities; as Pierre L. van den Berghe stresses, "it is clear that for Africans, education is the main determinant of life chances".*²

The élitism arising in modern Kenya does not square with the philosophy of African Socialism. As the Sessional Paper No. 10 states, "there are two African traditions which form an essential basis for African Socialism - political democracy and mutual social responsibility".*³ Government today, can never recognise 'élite schools' or 'élite people', although of course, in reality they occur. The reason for this anomaly is the negritude base of African Socialism where as Tom Mboya states, "we are

*1 "Admission to Alliance High School won 'heshima' (a combination of admiration, respect and prestige)". The Alliance High School and the Origins of the Kenya African Elite, by B.E. Kipkorir, Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1969.

*2 Page 60, "An African Élite Revisited", by Pierre van den Berghe, Mawazo, Volume 1, No. 4, December, 1968.

*3 Page 3, African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 10, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1965.

all sons and daughters of the soil".^{*1} The operation of kinship and the extended family spreads out the income, prestige and esteem of the wealthy to the group. In common parlance, an African Permanent Secretary can never rid himself of relations and 'hangers-on'.^{*2} Whether this social phenomenon will continue in future with the rise of the nuclear family, rests on the fact as to which social forces are greater - westernisation or African tradition.

This leads us on to the basic assumptions of the English public school tradition - the individual character training purpose of education with a religious base, and the education for leadership which stresses the importance of service. These assumptions are individual and African Socialism does not stress this aspect. The group, society and nation are all important: individual characteristics must be sacrificed for the whole group: character training is viewed from the group side, and personal relations and correct behaviour within the group. Those aspects of the early 20th century English public school tradition which emphasised character training, leadership and service - the games and sports, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the Combined Cadet Force, the Outward Bound Movement and the Duke of Edinburgh's

*1 Page 251, Appendix IV, "African Socialism" by Tom Mboya, African Socialism, edited by W.H. Friedland and C.G. Rosberg, Stanford University Press, California, 1964.

*2 Page 11, "This so-called élite", by Tom Mboya, Sunday Nation, April 27th, 1969.

Award - each of these English transplants in Kenya changed in some way with African Socialism.

Let us take one example here, the Boy Scouts. Lord Baden Powell brought this movement to Kenya but it had been racially influenced in that troops were on a school basis and the schools were segregated. On Africanisation, the Chief Commissioner for Scouts in Kenya was a Kenya minister (Mr. Nyagah, one time Minister for Education, after Minister for Information and Broadcasting, now Minister for Agriculture).^{*1} The old concept of leadership, the authoritarian one of leadership by an elite ruling class which in colonial days was based on race in Kenya, this was superseded by a democratic leadership whereby citizenship was stressed and the leaders would appear from the whole nation. Service could still be emphasised but instead of the service of one 'ruling race' for other 'unfortunate and backward races', it was the service of all races for the task of nation building.^{*2} As Jomo Kenyatta states, "to the Europeans, individuality is the ideal of life, to the Africans, the ideal is the right relations with, and behaviour to, other people".^{*3}

The seven terms of reference stipulated by the

*1 In 1970 became Minister for Agriculture.

*2 Page 122, Facing Mount Kenya, by Jomo Kenyatta, Secker and Warburg, London, 1938.

*2 "Africans urged to take a new look at Scouting", Page 15, East African Standard, August 7th, 1970.

newly independent Kenya Government to the Kenya Education Commission under the chairmanship of Professor Ominde stressed the group emphasis.^{*1} It was only natural that the predominantly African Commission criticised and emphasised those aspects of education which segregated schools, teachers and pupils: the divisive tendencies of race, class, tribe, and religion; the lack of integration in the education system, and the problem of the high cost schools in a national structure.

Certain organisations and individuals opposed the viewpoints of the African Government on these questions. For example, the European Parents Association in 1964 advocated, "the continuance of schools of differing grades, equipped with better

*1 Terms of Reference of Kenya Education Commission, 12th December, 1964.

- (a) appropriately express the aspirations and cultural values of an independent African country.
- (b) take account of the need for trained manpower for economic development and for other activities in the life of the nation.
- (c) take advantage of the initiative and service of regional and local authorities and voluntary bodies.
- (d) contribute to the unity of Kenya.
- (e) respect the educational needs and capacities of children
- (f) have due regard for the resources, both in money and personnel that are likely to become available for educational services.
- (g) provide for the principal educational requirements of adults.

facilities, and parents inevitably paying appropriately higher fees".*1 Then again, the former European secondary schools met constantly 1962 - 1965 to adopt a common policy both at Governors and Principals level. Numerous deputations were sent to the Ministry of Education over the question of fees, standards, housemasters' allowances, the right of appointment of staff etc.*2 In reading minutes, circulars and letters of the 1960's, it is apparent that basic assumptions were changing and often old assumptions were in opposition to the new. We have noted the conflict between the group or nation and the individual; another area of conflict was, and still is, the culture change of the English aspect of the tradition to an African one.

The English culture could not be entirely replaced because it had introduced and sustained the main modernised techniques and skills of Western civilisation to Kenya. We must differentiate here between the material culture - i.e. the skills, knowledge and techniques of manufacture, agriculture, transport, trade, education; and the non-material culture which consists of beliefs, attitudes and shared values guiding the norms of expressive behaviour.

*1 Para. 3, Page 1, European Parents Association to the Kenya Education Commission, dated 22nd May, 1964, 1 president: Major Corner.

*2 See Part II of thesis for examples of the individual orientated viewpoint of the English tradition and the group orientated viewpoint of African Socialism.

African politicians have continually stressed the need for African culture in the schools of Kenya, and how the school should reflect the community at large.*1 From the material point of view, Kenya is an agricultural country and economic survival depends on her exports of coffee, tea, pyrethrum and other allied primary products. The land and social revolution of the break up of large European plantations and farms into present holdings and the changeover from a subsistence to a cash economy, necessitates knowledge of modern methods of farm management, scientific crop growing and animal breeding, and commercial methods of market realisation. At the same time Kenya's manufacturing and industrial sectors are still in their initial stages and there is a requirement for managers, technicians and artisans, to expand these sectors and aid diversification of the economy. All this requires a tremendous demand for relevant education: a curriculum in the secondary schools which is relevant to the needs of the people and Kenya in the 1970's. The President's call of 'Back to the Land'*2 is a realisation of these problems and thus the need for the curriculum to be closer allied to agriculture, commerce and technical subjects. The English public

*1 "African Culture to be taught in Kenya schools", Page 5, East African Standard, April 1st, 1970.

*2 "Back to the Land", Television broadcast by the President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, September 11th, 1964.

"Youth must go back to the Land", Page 5, East African Standard, October 20th, 1969.

school 19th century tradition of a formal literary education is out of date for England in the 1970's let alone a developing country such as Kenya. The UNESCO sponsored Addis Ababa Conference had made African countries aware of curriculum deficiencies^{*1} and this had been reinforced in Kenya by the World Bank Report,^{*2} Kenya's Government wisely took the advice of these agencies and in 1966, a Curriculum Development and Research Centre was established which merged with the Kenya Institute of Education in 1968. The University College, Nairobi, in 1960 established an Education Department for teacher training and a Kenya Science Teachers' College was opened with Swedish aid. This indicates Kenyan educationists and Government are alive to the problems of development and curriculum, but the essential fact is for this policy to settle in at the 'grass roots' of the country - at the school, home and village level. Here there are numerous problems. Firstly, 'white collar jobs' are coveted by school leavers because they realise it was by learning the 'white man's education' (a formal literary education), adopting Western dress, manners and ideas that their own leaders attained independence for the country and apparent personal success. Secondly, the country's major problem is to settle

*1 Page 10, Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa: Final Report UNESCO and UN Economic Commission for Africa, Addis Ababa Report, 1961.

*2 Page 234, The Economic Development of Kenya, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, John Hopkins, Baltimore, 1963.

school leavers in suitable employment for the number of unemployed is dangerously high. Many of the leavers and unemployed flock to the towns away from the land. Here they cause social problems of great magnitude. Thirdly, mechanisation and western methods of farming are capital and labour intensive, requiring more money but resulting in less people on the land. Fourthly, there is the problem of lack of communications and fifthly, the conservative attitude of country people who find it difficult to change old methods and ways of life.

Where the African culture could help agriculture, trade, transport and education is from the African ideal of the group, family, and community. The tradition of people helping one another in the "harambee spirit" in the form of co-operatives and educational partnerships, could be fitted to modern methods. I leave further developments of this nature to Part IV of this thesis.

One important aspect of culture is language and today we see how African Socialism requires a national language of its own to identify with for the future.*1 The English language was the language of the colonising power, though the Colonial Office by its philosophy of 'indirect rule' did try to disseminate

*1 "English language as a tool of Neo-Colonialism", by Steve Whitley, East African Journal, Volume 8, No. 12, December, 1971.

Swahili as the lingua franca of East Africa.^{*1} It made all its government officials in Kenya learn Swahili and tests were held, both oral and written, and increments of salary depended on efficiency in Swahili. If this policy of actively encouraging Swahili was to produce 'second class citizens' then the British Colonial Office was at fault; on the other hand, if by this policy it was meant to increase communications between tribes and peoples then it was right. However, for the rapidly aspiring African in the secondary schools, it was the ability to write good English which enabled him to pass his School Certificate and other examinations that was so necessary. Swahili was the medium of instruction in between the vernacular at an early age and English at the secondary level. English was the gateway to success, and tinted with the Victorian English public school tradition of snobbery, it makes it difficult today to embrace Swahili as the national language. It has been decided by the ruling party KANU that "Kiswahili as our national language shall be encouraged and enforced by all means".^{*2} Plans have been

*1 Source: The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education. African 1110, Colonial Office Memorandum, London, 1927.

Pages 1-11, "Swahili as the Lingua Franca of East Africa", by D. Westerman,, Church Overseas, London, January, 1933.

*2 "Kenya must use Swahili", Page 4, Daily Nation, September 24th, 1969.

"Kiswahili Ndiyo Lugha ya Wananchi", Page 6, Sunday Nation, September 7th, 1969.

announced to disseminate the language to the public. Kenya is right in establishing the national language as Swahili for the future; as Hans states, quoting the famous German philosopher Fichte, "language forms men more than it is formed by them".*1 But in present day practice, Swahili is not the sole language because of the hold on peoples' minds of the English language. If Swahili was used at the present time for all purposes, it could possibly retard certain developments in education and the economy; large resources would be required for teacher training and translation, and the country could become isolated from the international scene. I believe in practice, and for the time being, English and Swahili will have equal status and awareness, although this parity may well continue to create an urban elite; the aim for the future, however, must be Swahili and it is the attitudes of people that will have to change. Adult education has a significant role to play here.

Another aspect of the English public school tradition are examinations and links with the ancient universities. In colonial times with the different racial sectors, there were definite separate paths to the universities. For instance, the European children attended a European primary school or independent preparatory school and then took their own European Preliminary Examination in order to pass to

*1 Page 40, Chapter 3, "The Linguistic Factor", Comparative Education, by Nicholas Hans, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London reprint, 1967.

European secondary schools; they sat the Overseas Cambridge School Certificate and Higher School Certificate for admittance to English or South African Universities and preferably Oxford or Cambridge Universities. It was only at the School Certificate level the races came together; then the African boys would go to Makerere after sitting the Makerere Entrance Examination or if they were fortunate to an American University (much to the annoyance of Carey Francis)^{*1} or a segregated South African University (e.g. Fort Hare). Today all this has changed, a boy or a girl, regardless of the colour of their skins, attend together in multi-racial primary schools, sit a Common Kenya Preliminary Examination, pass on to a provincial or extra-provincial secondary school, sit their East African School Certificate and Higher School Certificate, and go to their own national university - the University of Nairobi (established July 1970). African Socialism then, has brought about Kenyanisation of all stages of education examinations at the government level although there are private and independent schools taking English examinations: the Common Entrance to English public schools and the London School Certificate and Higher School Certificate. It is at this level of examinations and in the minds of people that the English public school tradition lingers. Some Europeans and Asians who are Kenya citizens, are now attending the private sector because they believe African Socialism has been partly

*1 Pages 94-95, Carey Francis of Kenya, by L.B. Greaves, Rex Collings, London, 1969.

effective in stultifying the English tradition in many government schools. These parents did not mind changing the names of the schools, e.g. Prince of Wales School (Nairobi School), Duke of Gloucester School (Jamhuri School), Delamere School for Boys (Upper Hill Boys School), etc., in the mid 1960's, nor the changes of ceremonial appeal, for instance the raising of the Kenya flag or singing the Kenya national anthem. But the fear that their children would have no future in Kenya because of work permits for fellow Europeans and Asians who were not Kenya citizens, and preference for 'Kenyans of African extraction', influenced the parents to consider the private sector and overseas education. In the private sector, the Government would not allow an expatriate school for children^{*1} unless 50% of places were reserved for Africans and fees were reduced for these pupils.^{*2} The K.N.U.T. (Kenya National Union of Teachers) believed the expatriate school was 'apartheid motivated' and "would socially divide our future generations".^{*3} Here, again, we see the different philosophies in practice: the English public school tradition with its sense of independence and freedom of action for a group of parents to set up its own standards; on the other hand, the egalitarian

*1 "Ministry against expatriate school", Page 1, East African Standard, February 5th, 1970.

*2 "Ban School for Whites - Union", Page 1, Sunday Nation, February 1st, 1970.

*3 *ibid.*

viewpoint of African Socialism with centralisation, and no individual or minority group establishing their own schools.

This leads us on to the policy of Kenyanisation or Africanisation and its effect on the teaching profession. The school teacher is a person who is responsible for helping children to grow mentally, physically and spiritually. He stimulates his pupils to develop their mental abilities, he guides them in forming positive and acceptable values in life and he encourages them to acquire healthy physical habits: it is the teacher who consciously or unconsciously transmits the attitudes and values of a culture. Thus it is important for the country and African Socialism that African teachers and not expatriates teach African children. We have already seen in previous chapters that it was through the Colonial Teaching Service that the English public school tradition was transmitted. These teachers educated in the English cultural milieu, taught the values and attitudes they had imbibed in the United Kingdom. The Minister of Education has stated, he does not wish to see Africans who "are carbon copies of foreign societies and ideologies".*¹ However, this will continue as long as expatriate teachers are in Kenya. Numerous

*¹ Opening address of the Minister of Education, Dr. J.G. Kiiano to the Second Conference on Teacher Education, May 1968. Reported Page xi, New Directions in Teacher Education, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1969.

criticisms^{*1} are made of foreign teachers, but one can never condemn a group of teachers for the misdemeanours of a few. In 1967, non-citizens made up 67% of all secondary teachers,^{*2} and although it was hoped that many of these would be Kenyanised by 1974, no educational system can remain stable losing that amount of teachers regardless of quality and experience. One cannot criticise the overall aim of Kenyanisation but the method used has sometimes been distressing. It was government policy to replace all expatriate headmasters by 1973;^{*3} most expatriates realise they will soon be replaced, but they should be given adequate notice of withdrawal and not summary dismissal as occurred in 1969.^{*4} Again, it is generally some of these people who have most teaching experience in Kenya and they are replaced by Kenyans

*1 "But so many imports are not experts", Page 6, Sunday Nation, June 29th, 1969.

"U.S. teachers not wanted", Page 1, Daily Nation, December 20th, 1969.

*2 Source: Manpower Survey 1967 and quoted Page 25, Para. 485, Development Plan 1970-1974, Republic of Kenya, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1969.

*3 Reply of Assistant Minister of Education, Mr. C. Rubia to a question of Mr. J.E. Mbori (Kasipul/Kabondo) in the National Assembly, Thursday, March 5th, 1970.

*4 "Education Ministry Purges Expatriates", Page 1, East African Standard, July 31st, 1969.

"Fairer Treatment for Expatriate Teachers urged by Churches", Page 5, East African Standard, August 4th, 1969.

from colleges and universities, many of whom have little experience. The policy of Africanisation from the top presumes that administrative experience is not needed for administration and management. Political and cultural factors seem to be more important than educational ones. It is a further factor in the increasing instability of Kenyan education. To overcome this, the African headmaster should be the counterpart to the expatriate for at least a term or two; then African tradition and culture may be generated from the top at the same time preserving experience and stabilising the situation. Experience and stability is lacking in Kenyan education in the change-over period from the English tradition to an African one; the constant turn-over of present-day staff, the tremendous expansion of educational facilities, differing values in the schools, reported lowering of standards and lack of staff, racial and tribal discrimination, are factors that lead to friction over food and feeding arrangements, unsuitable textbooks and out of date equipment, lack of uniforms, and eventually these smaller issues mushroom into strikes and riots.*1 Since Independence, these are increasing problems with "the Three" and the higher cost schools because Government vis a vis African Socialism does not regard these schools as a special entity, at least in theory. They have not only inherited their own special repercussions and difficulties of high fees, a

*1 There is hardly a month goes by without some strike in Kenya's schools is reported.

multiracial and intertribal intake; but, through government policy, they have inherited some of the problems of Kenyan education as a whole. These elite schools have become problem schools with African Socialism; built, organised, and administered for an age no longer with us, they represent to many - an anachronism and a divisive force in Kenyan education.

How did the new philosophy of African Socialism influence the boarding school principle in Kenya?

Instead of boarding acting as an agent of divisiveness it could be used for unification. For instance, the former European boarding schools began to accept a multiracial intake from 1962 onwards; secondly, a bursary scheme was instituted by the African government to enable poorer African children to pay their fees at the high cost schools. Thirdly, these schools and other established secondary boarding schools (e.g. Limuru, Alliance, Maseno), recruited on a national basis and received a certain quota from the different provinces. In 1969-1970 it was proposed by Government to make all boarding schools national, and as far as possible, teachers should be from different regions.*1 The effects from these latter proposals have not as yet been substantial but all these measures by the Ministry of Education show the propensity of Government to establish national

*1 "Teachers to move from home areas", Page 11, Daily Nation, September 17th, 1969.

unity and eradicate tribalism.*1

However, there were many aspects of the educational system which necessitated rapid or abrupt change that were allowed to continue and cause long term problems. The author believed "the Three" and the high cost schools question was one of these problems. Though the new Ministry of Education insisted on a multiracial intake into these schools, it failed to appreciate the structure and ethos of these schools. They believed by providing bursaries for poor African children, they were alleviating the situation; but in fact, they were merely exacerbating the problem and creating new ones by producing a new type of person 'the Black European'. Many of the bursaries were awarded to African ministers and high officials, people of esteem who could have paid the fees at these schools without undue hardship. The administration and equitable distribution of a bursary system is difficult in a newly independent African nation unless it is strictly tied to academic scholarship.

The ethos of "the Three" did not change abruptly on Independence, and they continued to provide character training for leadership in the sense they had done so in colonial times. These schools were geared by their seniority and house systems to produce leaders who did not participate in menial

*1 "Education can beat tribalism", Page 2, Sunday Nation, May 18th, 1969. Report of a speech made by the Minister for Education, Dr. G. Kiano at Thika.

tasks. The new African philosophy believed in self-reliance and most former African secondary boarding schools realised the necessity for hard work; this was not the case with "the Three" - 'fagging', laundries, servants and cleaners were not abolished and the services were provided for African students. In Part II, other differences between "the Three" and former African secondary boarding schools were highlighted as regards governors, staff, community life, curriculum, and finance: factors assisting in 'divisiveness'. By the late 1960's, "the Three" were predominantly African in race, but the products from these schools possessed a far different mentality in attitude and outlook to other African boys and girls in the low cost schools: the unique character training and education of these privileged students separated them from the rest of the secondary school population and produced a new class - 'the Black European'. I have talked with some of these students from "the Three", and the majority of those I interviewed agree they feel and think differently to other Kenyans in their respective employments. Francis Kamau^{*1} comments on how he has been taken for an American negro and how he rarely mixes with other African students at the University, except from "the Three". Alex Muigai states how he^{*2} found it easy

*1 Francis Kamau, trainee lawyer studying at University of Nairobi: ex-POWS, Head of House, Head of School.

*2 Alex Muigai, Head of House, Head (deputy) of School, ex-POWS, now a member of Cotton House, Rugby School.

to adapt to the large and famous English public school at Rugby because conditions and structure were similar to Nairobi School (POWS).

African politicians are now realising this problem in the 1970's; the Ag. Secretary General of KANU stated, "the danger facing Kenya today is that there is growing a small tribe of English-speaking Africans who do not know anything about their own language or culture. This small tribe think in English ... when they fight, they use English and when they dream, they dream in English. We do not want this tribe to exist".^{*1}

This problem would probably have been avoided or minimised if the strong and all-pervading character training emphasis of the English public school tradition in "the Three", and to a more limited extent the older established secondary boarding schools, had been realised in the early 1960's. There will be other problems, mainly economic and socio-political in content, which will stem from the tardiness of the Ministry of Education failing to act promptly at this time.

Firstly, it is now difficult to adapt or eradicate the high cost schools, because they have become entrenched with 'Black European' ideas and with ten years of Kenyan independence, there is African vested interest to consider now.

*1 Mr. Matano addressing the Kenya Press Club on the introduction of Swahili as a national language, reported Page 5, East African Standard, November 11th, 1970.

Secondly, "the Three" are Nairobi-based, and the African students there, mix with multiracial and international influences; some of these may be good, but others, are distinctly, un-African: Western 'hippie-attitudes', drug taking, crime, permissiveness, affluent teen-age parties, should not be for imitation by African students who are intent on nation building.

Thirdly, as a Minister for Education stated recently, "expensive schools aid segregation".^{*1} There are expensive schools in Kenya outside the State system, but the high cost schools are government assisted schools, and this means, the government condone different fees in different schools within the one government system of education. This policy acts in opposition to the stated philosophical and national aims of African Socialism.^{*2} Moreover, the

*1 "Expensive schools aid segregation", Page 5, East African Standard, July 27th, 1970. A report of Mr. Charles Rubia, Assistant Minister for Education, at speech day Aga Khan High School, Nairobi.

*2 "In our system of socialism in Kenya every citizen is guaranteed full and equal political rights. Wealth must not be permitted to confer special political concessions on anyone. The disproportionate political influence that has frequently been granted, openly or otherwise, to economic power groups in capitalist societies must not be permitted to gain a foothold in Kenya". Part of Parliamentary Speech by Mr. Tom Mboya, Minister of Economic Planning and Development, 4th May, 1965, on introducing Sessional Paper No. 10, "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya".

Page 78, The Challenge of Nationhood: A collection of speeches and writings of Tom Mboya, Andre Deutsch and Heinemann, Nairobi, 1970.

intelligent poor African child will not apply for the high cost schools because the initial outlay financially is high and the fees are eight times higher. In 1967 for instance, there were 20,000 applications for Form I entry to Alliance High School, whereas at the DOYS and POWS there were less than 1,000 applicants. Yet it is at these high cost schools as we examined in Part II of the thesis, that the best facilities and amenities can be procured. Kenya then, is not directing its educational resources to their best and fullest effect in this state of affairs. Selection should be based on academic ability and a quota system from the different provinces, as it is in other Kenyan national schools; but at "the Three", although some allowance is now made (since 1970) for provincial quotas, the main criterion is still the ability to pay high fees. When this occurs, the high cost schools become 'class schools' or 'elite schools' and tend to reflect the wealthy classes of the community; they also become 'political schools' in that ministers, politicians, diplomats, and embassy staff, tend to send their children to these schools.*1 The old English tradition of a separate system of education based on class and wealth is being followed in Kenya today through the high cost schools, and to that extent the English public school tradition remains in a newly developing African nation. Just as Dr. Chidzero accused the British 'of the highest of principles on the one hand and a constant tendency to resort to

*1 Appendix 6, Sample of sons at Nairobi School at time of survey.

immediate measures dictated by expediency on the other', so too, could he now accuse Kenyans of similar ambivalence.

ambivalence.

There are no effective signs within the last few weeks that any of these papers are being transplanted in the country. There is a greater air of freedom since the new 1964's, debates, talks, visits, films, and such authorized programs are allowed into land in the present period and for longer periods of time. Although in the last years (abolished officially in 1964) the country was open, since and before have been the freedom to read their half day, make children and children, books and other material for their and children. The country is now open to them by the

PART IV.

CHAPTER 10. GROWTH

It is axiomatic for the future that the Kenyan secondary educational system must be unified and Kenyan. It will be Kenyan teachers and administrators who will be shaping the secondary schools of the future and this must be on the basis of African culture and African Socialism: it is this philosophy that must critically assess all departments of educational development. Kenyans should ask themselves, to what extent is transplantation still with us and is the transplantation occurring in different manifestations? For instance, are the modern influences of the English public schools coming across to Kenya? These were thought to be the greater freedom in all realms of school life: in games, optional chapel, less rigidity of punishments, flexibility of leave-outs, greater choice and diversity of uniform, new methods and techniques of teaching, and the apparent laxity of moral standards.

There are definite signs within the last few years that many of these aspects are being transplanted in "the Three". There is a greater air of freedom since the late 1960's: debates, talks, visits, films, are more numerous: students are allowed into town in far greater amounts and for longer periods of time: 'fagging' is on the wane (abolished officially in 1971 at POWS); European, Asian and African boys have the tendency to wear their hair long, side whiskers are apparent, boots and other unusual footwear and headgear are popular: mini-skirts are worn by the

girls: *1 new methods of teaching - audio-visual languages, New Mathematics, Nuffield Sciences are used; out-breaks of drug-cases have already appeared in "the Three" (1969, 1970). All these aspects have appeared within the last three or four years. To what extent they represent a world-wide cosmopolitan movement and reflect modern means of inter-communication, rising standards of living, increased materialism, new forms of art, music and literature, rather than the English public schools is difficult to ascertain. As many of these influences are influencing Nairobi schools as a whole and educational systems within the Western orbit of a cosmopolitan nature, I would incline to the former. This viewpoint strengthens the English belief that education and school generally reflect society at large and that educational change tends to follow social and economic change. *2

For the future, Kenyans must ask themselves to what extent will new transplantations take place? Will organisations such as the British Ministry of Overseas Development, UNESCO, the British Council, the Commonwealth, and the large private, industrial, and commercial undertakings, transplant foreign ways in the country?

*1 "President Kenyatta blames mini-skirts", Page 5, East African Standard, April, 20th, 1972.

*2 e.g. Source: Chapter III, Education and Society, by A.K.C., Ottaway, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2nd edit., London, 1962.

How will individuals from the expatriate teachers, university professors and lecturers, educational specialists, and even Kenyans who have been conditioned to the sophisticated ways of Western thought and culture, transplant alien ideas in African youth?

How great is the influence of modern media of communication - the television, cinema, radio, newspapers, and the English language? We believed these media were having an increasing influence on the minds of Kenyan youth. The cities and towns were foreign transplants, yet their powerful modes of cultural diffusion influence and attract the youth of Kenya in ever-increasing numbers. Geddes and Branford pointed out, "the central and significant fact about the city, is that the city ... functions as the specialised organ of social transmission. It accumulates and embodies the heritage of a region".*1 This fact may apply to Western European and American cities but scarcely to Kenyan towns and cities. The heritage is not African, but European. Though Nairobi City Council, for instance, may vote to change the street names from Delamere Avenue to Kenyatta Avenue, or Princess Elizabeth Highway to Uhuru Highway, little else changes: the function of these streets remain the same - the former, the main shopping street in Nairobi (at least for wealthy residents and tourists); the latter, the main by-pass road for

*1 Source: Page 6, The Culture of Cities, by Lewis Mumford, Martin Secker and Warburg, London, 1938.

motorised traffic around the central business district. The European brought this transplant and all the added paraphernalia - Western capitalism, industrial giants, credit finance, mass-advertising, commercial and political bureaucracy, social and cultural enslavement. These foreign urban agglomerations deface Nature and influence the African environment and the African mind. City life can be individualistic and it depersonalises human relations: it increases the break-up of the old extended family kin system and the African tends to become rootless, spiritless, and lonely.*1

But out of the foreign transplantation of the city has grown "the town African", in some ways a 'marginal man'*2 who has become assimilated to the new and modern ways. The town African is 'dtribalised'*3 in the sense that he no longer sees the tribal community and the extended family as the final horizon of life chances, although he may return for social security. For many there are double standards dependent on the situation because the rate of modernisation and social change has been rapid.

*1 Colin M. Turnbull notices similar characteristics in a study of Zaire: The Lonely African, by C. M. Turnbull, Chatto and Windus, London, 1963.

Further source: The Lonely Crowd, by Reul Denny, N. Glazer and David Riesman, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1950.

*2 Page 373, Race and Culture, by Robert E. Park, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1950.

*3 Page 35, The New Societies of Tropical Africa, by Guy Hunter, Institute of Race Relations, Oxford University Press, London, 1962.

For the conscious, rational and well-educated African, there is probably a greater degree of conflict in his decision making because he attempts to integrate his behaviour. Joseph Lijembe is a good example when he relates the poignant personal story of his growing up^{*1} in Idakho among the Abaluhya. The thought in decision-making are apparent on bringing-up his own children - their naming, feeding, rearing and schooling; What standards should he take? Those value systems which he knew as a child, based on tribal traditions and loyalties? Or those standards he acquired through a Westernised education? Joseph Lijembe attempts to choose the better elements from each culture and to that extent, integration and assimilation take place, and growth will be the end product.

Another example of growth is the rise of the independent and 'harambee schools'. Other research workers^{*2} have specialised in the question of the independent schools in Kenya and this thesis is concerned essentially with the influence of the English public school tradition. But one speculates philosophically on the similarity between the founders of many English public (grammar) schools and the

*1 "The Valley Between: A Muluyia's Story", by Joseph Lijembe, East African Childhood, edited Lorene K. Fox, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1967.

*2 "Gituamba and Kikuyu Independency in Church and School", by J.B. Ndungu, Ngano, Nairobi Historical Studies, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968.

Kenyan independent schools in their strong assertion of individuality, their love of freedom and independence, and the emotional link between church and school. In England many schools were founded in the reaction of great human movements: the Renaissance and Reformation represented strong expressions of individuality. In Kenya, Nationalism was the expression of individuality to the domination, subjugation, and restrictions of Colonialism. It is difficult to confine the human spirit and one way of expressing itself is in the building of schools,

One of the great initiations of African Socialism has been the growth of 'harambee secondary schools' in response to the President's call to develop 'self-help' projects. Using the national slogan 'harambee', these schools reflect the activities of local communities to provide their own secondary schools. However the concept of a secondary school in the minds of the people was that established by the English public school tradition. This can be seen in too much emphasis on capital development - in the buildings and extensive lay-out rather than on providing the schools with proficient and well-qualified teachers: the persistence of relatively high fees (800/- to 950/- per year instead of 150/- per term in a government maintained secondary school); an over-emphasis on arts subjects to the detriment of science and vocational subjects.*1 Some

*1 The Kenya Education Commission saw no 'harambee school' with a science laboratory. Page 23, Kenya Education Commission Report, Part II, Republic of Kenya, Nairobi, 22nd July, 1965.

'harambee schools' attempted to gear themselves to the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate and the Government realised this and instituted in 1966 an intermediate examination, the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (K.J.S.E.).*1

Government has attempted to assist the 'harambee schools' by sponsoring Harambee Headmasters Conferences for providing administrative guidance and in-service courses; Government have also assisted by taking over 25 - 30 schools per year but it will need twenty five years at this rate to aid all 'harambee secondary schools'.*2

The Kenya Education Commission was concerned in the uncontrolled growth of 'harambee schools' realising the dangers of haphazard siting and the weakening of Ministry of Education authority.*3 At that time (1965), the 'harambee secondary schools' amounted to one third of all Kenya secondary schools; today, seven years later, they account for over one half. The problem of uncontrolled growth is a very real one in combating 'marginal secondary education'.

*1 Four schools (harambee) entered Cambridge School Certificate candidates in 1967 and obtained a 51% pass rate compared with a national average of 73% for aided schools.

*2 "500 Harambee Schools in Kenya", Page 7, East African Standard, December 21st, 1972.

*3 Page 22, Kenya Education Commission Report, Part II, Republic of Kenya, Nairobi, 22nd July, 1965.

What should be the future of "the Three" and other high cost boarding secondary schools, who are at the present assisting in the formation of a new divisive class, but at the same time, are great educational institutions with modern methods and ideals?

I believe they should become VI Form Colleges because of the following reasons:-

- (1) They have excellent buildings, superior facilities, and out-standing amenities - factors which will attract suitable academic staff.
- (2) It would centralise Kenya's limited resources of manpower and resources at this level.
- (3) There are many practical advantages to large VI Forms - the larger size can offer a variety of subjects and there is less duplication of expensive specialised equipment: e.g. fully-equipped science laboratories, computers, language facilities; "the Three" already possess extensive libraries, and, being Nairobi-based, they have the additional facilities of the University and other specialised national and private institutions.
- (4) Elitism is already endowed by means of the school Certificate and Higher School Certificate although, throughout this thesis, we have appreciated the social and economic inequalities induced by "the Three" and the greater opportunities the high cost schools offer. If there is to be an élite, it should be based on

academic ability, not the ability to pay fees, neither should the status of family, tribe, and race be allowed to influence school entry. In sociological terms 'sponsored mobility' must give ground to 'contest mobility'*1 and the idea of the English public school tradition which endowed a symbolic value on certain subjects, certain schools, certain sectors of education, must make way for a more modern functional approach in social mobility. When the élite is chosen on merit, it should not be wasted on individual propensities and idiosyncracies as regards career choice but channelled into subjects on the basis of expert counselling and guidance for the benefit of the country as a whole and nation building. The manpower shortage in Kenya is not confined to all professional, administrative, technical, and managerial positions: the problem is one of

*1 These are sociological terms as used by Ralph H. Turner, "Modes of Social Ascent through Education: Sponsored and Contest Mobility". Chapter 12, Education, Economy and Society, edited by A.H. Halsey, Jean Floud, C. Arnold Anderson, The Free Press, New York, 1965.

'Sponsored mobility' refers to the situation where the élite recruits are chosen by the established élite or their agents and cannot be achieved by any amount of effort or strategy. The colonial situation where promotion depended on race would be a good example.

'Contest mobility' is the system in which élite status is the prize in an open contest and is taken by the aspirants own efforts.

degree, one of bottlenecks in certain trades and occupations.*1 The guidance and expert counselling of students is easier with large centralised units of education than the 'marginal secondary education'*2 of small, scattered, and dispersed units. The direction of most education comes from the centre in Kenya and the heart resides in Nairobi, the seat of centralised government, the site of the nation's university, main technical institutes and teachers training colleges. It is here, I suggest should reside some of the most efficient and proficient units of secondary education.

- (5) As regards efficiency and proficiency, most individual teachers themselves would welcome these features in becoming more specialised in teaching VI Form work. In the small Form I - Form 6 rural schools, a teacher in order to obtain a full time-table teaches the full range of classes in some subjects. As a result his mind must jump from the immediate post-primary

*1 Source: Table 4, High and Middle Level Manpower and citizenship, 1967. Page 117, Development Plan 1970 - 1974. Republic of Kenya, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1969.

*2 Professor Cammaerts uses the term 'marginal secondary education' meaning difficult education, associated with country schools which have an enormous range and depth of problems to overcome.

Source: "Priorities for the Preparation of Secondary Teachers in Kenya", Page 5, East African Journal, November, 1969.

work up to pre-University classes which calls for great reserves of flexibility in teaching prowess.

- (6) Already in the 1960's there are two successful VI Form Colleges - Strathmore College and Kenyatta College. The former college is an American sponsored group backed by the Roman Catholic Opus Dei movement. Started as a junior college in 1960 with three streams^{*1} it has been successful with its accounting course in bringing about closer co-operation with commerce and industry. Although problems arose in the beginning concerning the lack of external examinations on the American pattern, it has changed more into an English VI Form College taking the London G.C.E. examination. The Principal stated the Staff wished to take the London examinations.^{*2}

Kenyatta College is a much larger institution, reorganised in 1964 from the former Kahawa British Army Barracks, it comprises a Teachers Training College (in 1972 it became a constituent college of the University of Nairobi offering B.Ed. degrees) and a VI Form College. The latter has had only a brief existence because originally it was a full secondary school (Form I - Form VI). It was phased out over the late 1960's to become an eleven stream VI Form College

*1 From 1970 four streams (two science and two accounts).

*2 Interview with the Principal, Mr. D. Sperling, February 19th, 1973.

by 1970 (seven streams by 1972). Although the VI Form College has been very successful in the late 1960's and early 1970's in the large amount of students it has successfully qualified for the East African universities and other allied higher training institutions, it is to be abolished in order to give room for the expansion of the new constituent University College of the University of Nairobi. The good examination results and the successful entrants to the University of Nairobi give testimony to the advantages of larger VI Form colleges especially in science subjects. In our sample, Kenyatta College ranked first in EAACE pass rates (1973) in Chemistry, Biology, Geography and Economics.*¹ Kenyatta College and Strathmore College possessed the highest efficiency factors for university entrance*² in comparison with other elite institutions. The number of students for the University of Nairobi from Kenyatta

*¹ This assumes that the teaching ability (all graduates) were approximately similar and the capabilities of the students (less than 28 points overall in EAACE examinations with less than 12 points in those subjects studied for VI Form) were of a certain academic standard.

Appendix 9 for comparison of EAACE results 1973 at selected schools.

*² The efficiency factor is found by dividing the number of candidates with two principal passes or more by the total number of candidates.

Appendix 10 for comparison of number of candidates with 2 principal passes or more (1973).

College was extremely high in certain faculties and subjects studied, e.g. engineering, building, economics and medicine. Conversely, the new single science stream VI Form schools were very low.^{*1} A much deeper study is required into this position, in that other factors are involved. For example, Dr. Owako believes better teachers are to be found at these colleges.^{*2} Again Mr. Kangori believes the students' capabilities are greater and only the best students go to these colleges.^{*3}

- (7) The VI Form College is an easier social milieu for inter-tribal mixing than the all-through Forms 1 - 6 secondary boarding school, especially those schools with strong traditions and an ethos as spirited and diverse as "the Three". Many tribal problems have resulted when schools with long traditions have been forced to admit new Form V's^{*4}. The new boys, through no fault of their own, fail to appreciate and understand the ethos and traditions of their new school; and, in

*1 Appendix 11 for comparison of successful entrants to the University of Nairobi in certain faculties and subjects, 1973.

*2 Interview with Dr. Owako of the University of Nairobi.

*3 Interview with Mr. Kangori of the University of Nairobi.

*4 Confidential Report by the Boards of Governors into the Racial and Tribal Disturbances at Nairobi School (POWS), November, 1967.

some cases, they may be disciplined by younger students of different tribes and races, who have, through their length of stay and previous service to the school, reached high status of prefect or team-captain. There should be no need, now, for the English public school tradition of prefects in the VI Form Colleges, or the all-through secondary schools for that matter, although the lower the age the greater the need for external discipline. Mutual social responsibility could be achieved easier by the institution of a VI Form Society. I realise the old Kenya tribal system was in many ways similar to the prefectorial/seniority system of the Victorian English public schools, but we are already in the age of the 'common man', and the age of the authoritarian chief is fast disappearing. For the future, leadership will appear from the whole range of the 'wananchi' and the school community should reflect this broad based leadership training and active mutual responsibility. Instead of the prefect system, the VI Form College could appoint a self-governing body - the VI Form Society. The Society would elect annually its own executive committee and put into practice the principles of democratic government. It would be the society who would be responsible for the day-to-day administration; disciplinary offences being undertaken by a committee which should lead by example rather than by sanction. The Society could teach VI Formers to co-operate for positive and common ends rather than negative and individual ones. Extra-curricular activities, now taken by staff,

could provide the training ground for responsible self-government. The beginnings of financial common-sense could arise in the handling of small sums of money within these societies. What a wholesome environment to instill the basic virtues of honesty, a sense of duty and responsibility, and democratic government!

- (8) In the chapter on finance, it was noted that VI Form Colleges are cheaper than the high cost schools (£260 to £450 per pupil per annum) but not as cheap as the low cost boarding school (£120 per pupil per annum). In 1971 the Bessey Commission came to Kenya. This was an advisory mission appointed by the Kenya Government under the terms of an agreement with the Internal Development Association (I.D.A.) and partly financed by the British Overseas Development Association (Ministry of Overseas Development). The Commission compared the costs between a 3 stream secondary school with VI Form, an adapted high cost secondary school and a purpose-built VI Form College. The 3 stream secondary school with a VI Form is cheaper in total net costs and in costs to the pupils. Nevertheless, the Bessey team recommended to the Kenya Government Ministry of Education, "the transformation of certain high-cost schools into VI Form Colleges".^{*1}

*1 Para. 15-22, Page 202, A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya. The Report of an Advisory Mission appointed by the Republic of Kenya. Chairman, Gordon S. Bessey, (Bessey Report), Ministry of Education, Nairobi, 1971.

and more sixth form colleges or junior colleges in place of non-viable one form entry sixth-forms.*1

VI Form Colleges and a 3 stream secondary school.

	Representative 3 Stream secondary school	Purpose-built VI Form Colleges	High Cost Secondary school adapted
Enrolments Forms V & VI	150	300	300
Number of teachers	30	60	40
pupil/teacher ratio	16.7	16.7	15.5
Average teachers salary	£ 1,300	£ 1,300	£ 1,300
Teachers salaries	£ 7,800	£ 32,400	£ 32,000
Building, equipment, stores	£ 350	£ 3,500	£ 3,500
Total Teaching Costs	£ 8,150	£ 35,900	£ 35,500
Teaching costs per student	£ 83.4	£ 111	£ 111
Boarding costs	£ 3,000	£ 15,000	£ 20,000
Boarding costs per boarder	£ 30	£ 30	£ 30
Other costs	£ 3,500	£ 27,500	£ 20,000
Other costs per student	£ 35	£ 75	£ 101.7
Net fee income and other income	£ 300	£ 1,500	£ 1,500
Total Net Costs	£ 14,550	£ 60,400	£ 54,000
Total Net Costs per student	£ 143.4	£ 213	£ 180.7

*1 In Preface 1, *ibid.* teaching wages and salaries, travel, electricity, contingencies, water and sewerage, repairs, maintenance and depreciation.

Table 10. Comparison of costs between a high cost secondary school adapted, a purpose-built VI Form College and a 3 stream secondary school.

	Representative 3 Stream secondary school	Purpose-built VI Form College	High Cost Secondary school adapted
Enrolments			
Forms V & VI	100	500	500
Number of teachers	6	40	40
Pupil/Teacher Ratio	16.7	12.5	12.5
Average teachers salary	£ 1,300	£ 1,300	£ 1,300
Teachers salaries	£ 7,800	£ 52,000	£ 52,000
Tuition, Equipment, Stores	£ 536	£ 3,500	£ 3,500
Total Teaching Costs	£ 8,336	£ 55,500	£ 55,500
Teaching costs per student	£ 83.4	£ 111	£ 111
Boarding costs	£ 3,000	£ 15,000	£ 20,000
Boarding costs per boarder	£ 30	£ 30	£ 50
Other costs	£ 3,500	£ 37,500	£ 50,825
Other costs per student	£ 35	£ 75	£ 101.7
Net fee income and other income	£ 300	£ 1,500	£ 1,200
Total Net Costs	£ 14,536	£ 106,500	£ 114,325
Total Net Costs per student	£ 145.4	£ 213	£ 228.7

Other costs is non-teaching wages and salaries, travel, electricity, contingencies, water and conservancy, repairs, maintenance and improvements.

Table 10. (Contd.)

Source: Page 212, A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya. The Report of an Advisory Mission appointed by the Republic of Kenya, Chairman, Gordon S. Bessey, (Bessey Report), Ministry of Education, Nairobi, 1971.

I would support this recommendation of the Bessey team on the basis of social factors and examination results in EAACE 1973.*1

The financial factor and development of the country are reasons why the Government has decided to establish VI Forms widely scattered throughout Kenya. I believe the disadvantages may outweigh the advantages.

Firstly, the above costs are maintenance costs and these may well be illusory because they are recurrent expenditure, not capital outlay; moreover, increased capital outlay raises the maintenance costs. Secondly, the local system does not encourage national unity, as well as causing initial political friction in the choice of area and school for the extension of Form V's and VI's. However, all new Form V streams planned for 1971 were in boarding schools and this may be an indication that all boarding schools will

*1 Appendices 9, 10, 11.

become national. At the present time though, the majority of small country boarding schools are local in intake except the recognised technical schools. Thirdly, there could be a proliferation of Higher School Certificates in certain common literary subjects and possibly the pure sciences rather than the rarer technical and applied subjects. In the 1973 EAACE results there were very few single stream science VI Form candidates who reached the University of Nairobi in our sample subjects and faculties.*¹ The factor of imbalance of VI Form subjects together with low results in single stream science schools would represent a waste of the country's scarce resources. Fourthly, probably the main reason for establishing single stream VI Forms in rural areas is to assist development of certain areas. However well intentioned the aim, if there are many failures in these schools because of 'marginal secondary education problems' then it may well hinder development in that it induces defeatist and inferiority complex attitudes. One should not tie a British type of higher selective literary examination to an American pattern of small rural schools; in the U.S.A. for example, the educational system can withstand wastage of resources for the sake of the individual but not in an underdeveloped country. A better solution would be to increase with care the number of streams in well-established rural areas. Lastly, the decentralisation of Form V's and VI's does not solve the problem of "the Three" and other

*1 Appendix 11.

high cost schools which produce a different type of African based on wealth and greater economic and social opportunities, it, in fact, widens the gap; and that is why the need to adapt and modify the high cost boarding schools into VI Form Colleges is so crucial for national development.

Another recent Commission of Inquiry into the Public Service^{*1} has expressed certain relevant findings.

Firstly, the Commission believed that 'a limited number' of VI Form Colleges should be set up. The sole reason for this value judgement appears to rest on the fact that this type of college would act "as an important contribution to manpower requirements".^{*2} Other social, economic and political factors are not expressed. Secondly, as regards the high cost schools, the Commission realise that these schools "have an invaluable role to play in our educational system,"^{*3} but the Commission does not state what role that should be for the future. Presumably, it is left to government to decide whether the high cost schools should be adapted as VI Form Colleges or continue in their present all-through form. Again, the Commission recognise in part the problems of the

*1 Report of the Commission of Inquiry (Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission) 1970-1971. Chairman D.N. Ndegwa, Republic of Kenya, Government Printer, Nairobi, May, 1971.

*2 Para 418, Page 156, *ibid.*

*3 Para 418, Page 156, *ibid.*

differential fee structure between the high cost and low cost schools and they advocate (1) an intermediate fee structure of 600/- per annum for all maintained secondary boarding schools and (2) all assisted schools should become maintained schools from the 1st January, 1973. The stated reasons for these recommendations are "the development of manpower resources", and "to remove the complaints that large sums of money are paid to a few individuals as bursaries at high cost schools".^{*1} They also appreciate the problems of the rising cost of living to a static fee structure. The viewpoint stated in this thesis that the high cost schools as the former hub and now the chief vestige of the English public school tradition in Kenya, are producing a different kind of educated African, in fact creating and sustaining a middle and upper African social class, is not expressed by the Commission; neither is the fact that the high cost schools are 'political schools' in that ministers, high officials and expatriates children congregate there on selectivity considerations outside the normal selection procedures for other government secondary schools in Kenya. However, if Government implement the Ndegwa Commission proposals, it may well assist in the reduction of outside pressures to "the Three" as well as synchronising the organisation and administration of

*1 Para. 421, Page 157, Report of the Commission of Inquiry (Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission) 1970-1971. Chairman D.N. Ndegwa, Republic of Kenya, Government Printer, Nairobi, May 1971.

these schools with the basic principles and philosophy of African Socialism. Teachers may question the egalitarian principles of African Socialism where the recommended starting salary for a primary teacher (P4) is x6 lower than the secondary school graduate and the upper limit x5 lower.*1

Lastly, the Commission touch on the problems of the new Form V and Form VI extensions in rural secondary schools believing the Development Plan 1970-1974 policy should be reviewed because "the present system of allocating these classes appears to follow no definite plan".*2 They advocate that these classes should be added only in triple stream schools. Thus it appears the Commission realise in part the difficulties of 'marginal secondary education', but there is no specification of the siting of the new classes, whether they should be rural or urban, boarding or day, single-sex or co-educational, well-established or new secondary schools, etc. Then there are the problems of provincial allocation, cost factors for plant and equipment, teacher supply and allocation together with the sociological and psychological readjustments of both pupils and staff to the 'tacking-on' of upper streams. The logistics problems alone are immense and added to the

*1 Table A and Table E, Page 187, 189, Report of the Commission of Inquiry (Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission) 1970-1971. Chairman D.N. Ndegwa, Republic of Kenya, Government Printer, Nairobi, May 1971.

*2 Para. 418, Page 156, *ibid.*

educational problems and repercussions it does appear there will be continuing instability of secondary education in Kenya. In order to solve these problems and stabilise the situation, there will be a need for educated Kenya citizens of mature mind and experience for a very long time.

If Government is lethargic to the VI Form College idea in that it entails cultural borrowing then an alternative system may be an intermediate college Form III to Form VI, which would alleviate the problems of the Form II leavers from the harambee schools after K.J.S.E.

Two advantages of the Form III - Form VI intermediate college over the VI Form College stem from the additional length of time for the building-up and consolidation of personal relationships. Students learn from their peer group and 2 years is not really satisfactory to understand fellow-feelings and differing points of view. Furthermore, the staff/pupil relationship from which many of the moral and cultural aspects of education evolve, would possess a higher probability factor of transmission over a 4 year period. The intermediate colleges could be organised on a village system instead of the English house system, and experiments could be evolved in developing an agricultural and technical bias to the training. By linking the village polytechnic ideas of East Africa to the elite schools, there would be a greater probability of success in moving away from the English public school tradition of individualism and a literary curriculum.

We saw in Part II that the government are broadening the secondary school curriculum, and we wish here to promulgate a group curriculum which embraces both liberal and technical considerations in the Whitehead tradition.

Table 11. A suggested group curriculum.

Group A - Language and Literature Studies.

Principles of Language and Literature (compulsory),
English Language, African Literature, Swahili,
Other specialist languages where there are
facilities or interest:- French, German,
Russian, etc.

Group B - Social Studies.

Principles of society (compulsory).
History, Geography, Religious Knowledge,
Civics and Constitution, Ethics, Economics.

Group C - Science and Mathematical Studies.

Principles of Mathematics and Science (pure
and applied - compulsory).
Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Zoology,
Botany, Geology, Meteorology, General Science.

Group D - Creative Studies.

Principles of Creative Art (compulsory).
Art, Music, Domestic Science, Pottery, Drama,
Sculpture, Carving. An emphasis on African
culture could be interspersed here.

Group E - Vocational Studies.

The need for a vocation and career (compulsory).
Agriculture, Industrial Arts, Commercial
Studies, General Housecraft, Engineering.

Students should choose each of the basic group studies, thus achieving a good background of the different areas of knowledge - akin to the 'core curriculum' in the United States of America - and specialise in one or two subjects in each group dependent on the time-table, the stage of education (realising Piaget's 'operations' and Bruner's 'spiral curriculum') and the staff and subjects available. Naturally, the 'core curriculum' only approximately relates to a general or liberal education; there will always be an overlap and interfusing between the groups whilst men of mature mind and experience are teachers.

Large schools, such as "the Three", possess the facilities and staff for many of these subjects. With their wide expanses of playing fields and park land, model farms could be established in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture. Similarly, other government departments could assist in other activities of their specialist departments. The African tradition of 'ujaama' and the 'harambee spirit' could be emphasised in the curriculum by group studies and in the co-operation at all levels in such schools or colleges. They would be orientated to the community at large, looking and acting outwards in practice.

Kenya must build its own public school tradition but it must make its own interpretation of outworn English models and assumptions in education. A nation which ignores the history of others, especially that of its old colonial master, has only itself to blame if it reproduces similar inconsistencies and similar

divisiveness in its secondary education.

Greater efforts must be made to critically assess the various types of Kenyan schools in the process of cultural transmission and in the inculcation of right attitudes of mind appropriate to nation building. It is through this means that a rational and pertinent educational system will result. I have attempted to show the influence of the English public school tradition in "the Three" and the dangers of dysfunction that are all too apparent in this mode of high cost schooling backed by government.

Boarding schools by their very nature are expensive institutions whether they are categorised 'high-cost' or 'low-cost' as they are in Kenya. The day school is more economical to establish and less expensive to run.*1 In the increased demands for secondary school expansion, it is evident that the boarding form of schooling is unable to meet those demands from an economic point of view.

For Kenya of the 1970's, the boarding school may not be the best way to transmit African culture, especially if expatriate teachers predominate in these schools, although the national boarding school may be the best way to increase social mobility and inculcate national unity. If the tribes relied principally on

*1 "Boarding Schools a waste of money", Page 8,, East African Standard, June 1st, 1971. Report of a speech made by the Minister for Education, Mr. Towett to students, parents and teachers at Kisii Secondary School.

the method of oral transmission through the social intercourse of the tribe and the extended family, then, this may be a case for the good rural day school which does not divorce the child from his own background. On the other hand, when we do participate in divorcing the child from the tribe and home by means of the boarding school, the effects of a 'total institution' upon the personality of the child must be 'health giving' and appropriate to his future and the country as a whole. Right attitudes of mind, the appropriate values of African society, and the recognition of a relevant education for the future generations of Kenya youth, should be the aims of administrators, organisers, and teachers. The parents have delegated the responsibilities of the education of their children to us, and the burden is heavy. Do they realise the injustices of the English public school tradition? Do they contemplate the 'unhealthy pastures' of some schools?

I believe most African parents are concerned with the selective process of education, but, even in this sphere they may fail to recognise its 'double-edgedness'. Most African parents believe the passing of examinations (K.J.S.E., School Certificate, etc.) is the main criterion of mobility and success, but the English public schools reflect greater assumptions in selection: the ability to pay high fees by influential classes enables their children to enjoy greater opportunities in life. To what extent do Kenyans wish to perpetuate this system? Only Kenyans are able to answer that question. However, if Kenya wishes to produce a wealthy class, with attitudes of superiority, with concomitant rigid social

stratification, with a lack of appreciation, communication, and empathy for others, then the best method is to continue with the high cost secondary boarding schools in their present form and function in producing 'Black Europeans' and reflecting the Victorian-Edwardian vintage of the English public school tradition with its techniques of seniority, 'fagging', and individual leadership training. If, on the other hand, Kenya wishes to produce educated Kenya citizens according to her declared policies of African Socialism (as stated by her leaders) then educational reorganisation in the form of the VI Form College or intermediate college is advised, and utilising all the modern 'know-how' and innovation of the capital city, (in the case of "the Three") in order to overcome the poverty, disease, and backwardness of the rural areas. The products from these colleges must be sympathetic to the rural areas; not a negative sympathy as the Christianity preached in the colonial English public school tradition: respecting the brotherhood of man one day of the week and pursuing Mammon and the superiority of one race for the next six days; but a positive sympathy in the sense that through empathy, it galvanises action, integrates behaviour, and activates self-help. The educated Kenya citizens of the future must be strong and flexible through practicalities, creative and inventive in approach, courageous, wise, temperate and just.

The English public school tradition used religious character training in order to instill a sense of service, and if religion can be utilised to induce the necessary qualities in Kenya youth then it may well be efficacious and purposeful for the

country. Though the European forms of Christianity have vied with Arab and Indian religions, and bitten deeply into the African mind via the missionaries, the new independent churches reflect reaction of the African soul^{*1} and subsequent growth. One wonders whether the growth is in the right direction. Though not rejecting religion in the assistance it may endeavour to procure the necessary qualities required for nation building, the main weight for development must rest on the shoulders of the State, and the State is secular. The diversity of religions in Kenya may well hinder development because religion by its very nature is conservative, tends to rigidity, and therefore could be divisive. For example, most religions invoke a dualism of mind and body, with associated supernaturalism, myth, and dogma. Moreover, it was for good reasons that dialectic materialists called religion 'the opiate of the people', and a scientific realist such as Bertrand Russell believed organised religion 'the font of stupidity'. Though not decrying religion to the extent of these philosophies and realising as Dr. Mbiti states that Africans are "notoriously religious" and "do not know how to exist without religion";^{*2} the attitudes required of the new educated Kenyan must be forward-looking, flexible and practical. For a development

*1 Source: African Religions in Western Scholarship, by Dr. Okot p'Bitek, East African Literature Bureau, Kampala, 1970.

*2 Pages 1-2, African Religions and Philosophy, by Dr. J.S. Mbiti, Heinemann, London, 1969.

conscious nation, life on earth should be dominant and not the life hereafter. Thus, the degree to which religion can induce activity of purpose, self-reliance, flexibility and creativeness then, to that extent, is it of use to Kenya.

Character training per se, is a necessity for education in Kenya in that we believe certain qualities and attitudes of mind are required for development and nation-building. However, the character training should, not be 'training' from the point of view of 'indoctrination', 'conditioning', and the 'dyeing' quality as Plato exemplified in his idealistic Republic, but training in the sense that it should be an education for living, the learning of certain skills and arts for problem-solving and life - in essence vocational. This is the type of training and education which is relevant to a newly developing country: an education which develops in the individual through activity and work a sense of responsibility, dignity, duty and service to one's fellows and society: one that is realistic, sensible, and practical.

Of all the qualities for the educated Kenya citizen of the future, I believe strength and flexibility, creativeness and inventiveness, are the most important because not only are they essential for the 'pioneering spirit' that is required in a new developing nation but they will initiate entrepreneurship and true independence. Colonialism deadened the African people and destroyed their initiative and self-respect: a passive attitude of mind, a sense of inferiority, and a low achievement level, were the

reactions of the majority of Africans to the rigid and constraining yoke of this imposed philosophy. The 'pioneering spirit' embraces those tendencies opposed to 'the colonial mentality' - an active attitude of mind supercedes a passive one, self-confidence overcomes inferiority feelings, and a high achievement level replaces a low one. That is why a practical education is important: learning by doing an heuristic method backed by algorithmic procedures must be our aim. Experiments by psychologists^{*1} have shown that boys with high achievement levels come from families in which the mother stressed early self-reliance and mastery; and furthermore, authoritarianism retards achievement level performance. If this is correct then the schools must also stress self-reliance, high aspiration levels, and the evocation of democratic attitudes of mind. The mixing of the sexes by co-education may be the answer to authoritarianism because one way to undermine the domination of the male is to strengthen the rights of the female. The abolition of corporal punishment and the prefect system may well liberalise and democratise the school environment. These changes are far easier to

*1 Pages 74-98, "The Achievement Motive in Economic Growth", by David C. McClelland, Industrialisation and Society, edited by Bert F. Hoselitz and Wilbert E. Moore, UNESCO, Mouton, 1968.

Pages 453-478, "The Relation of Need for Achievement to Learning and Experiences in Independence and Mastery", by M.R. Winterbottom, Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society, edited by J.W. Atkinson, New Jersey, 1958.

introduce at the VI Form level than further down the secondary school. Some authorities may state that I place too great an emphasis on certain educational institutions in their power to transform the individual and society, and that there are far greater influences at work in the socialisation process which stratify society. I do not deny the powerful influences of social, economic, and political forces in the socialisation process, nor do I belittle the demands of sub-cultures. However, if some sub-cultures, for instance the middle and upper African social classes, wish to consolidate their stratification and purchase greater educational opportunities for their children, they should do so outside the government sector of education and not through the means of an alien culture in the form of the English public school tradition. Furthermore, I am idealistic enough to believe that education influences the individual and transforms society in the long run. Many of us would not be teachers if we did not believe that this was the case. Probably the two best examples of schools attempting to change the culture were the Russian schools in the 1920's and the Nazi Germany schools in the 1930's. One realises the risk of indoctrination by means of totalitarianism and the destruction of democracy. But in Kenya today, we have what Mannheim would call 'planned freedom' and a 'militant democracy', which after consultation, discussion, and advice, declares policy and we hope ensures the implementation of that policy. It should be pointed out that newly independent African countries are deliberately using the schools to foster modernisation and to impart certain skills and attitudes of mind. Education is an integral part of

nation building and the economic development of the country. This is the reverse of the English tradition where economic development and urbanisation came first and the schools merely reflected the economy and society. It is the schools in the new independent Kenya that must bear the brunt of cultivating attitudes that encourage the qualities already mentioned. Adult education has a large role to play in influencing the attitudes of parents and inculcating the qualities of mind required for development.

Development in all spheres must be African orientated, there should be Africanisation of the urban areas, the economy and commerce, music, literature and art. It should be reflected in town planning, architecture, law, engineering, and other fields of human endeavour. There is no reason why African civilisation should not flourish in the future by cultural borrowing from other parts of the world and the addition of its own brand and genius of creative technology to the sum total of human life.

In conclusion, the English public school tradition initiated by Colonialism has embedded itself deeply into the educational system of the country and the minds of the people. To draw the thesis together in any great detail would involve repetition. Suffice it to say that the characteristics of the English public school tradition - the character training based on religion, the leadership training and sense of service, the boarding school ethos, the close associations of family, school and university are still with us in many of the older established

schools in Kenya especially the high cost boarding schools. The extent to which it was planned is debatable but the racial sectors of the colonial government were certainly planned and implemented; moreover, the differences of curriculum, boarding school ethos, finance, services, facilities and activities were all manipulated to make certain that the large and prestigious boarding schools remained at the top of the pyramid of Kenyan secondary education. Individuals and groups played their part in transmitting the English public school tradition although their goals and methods may have differed. The high cost boarding schools for Europeans took the part of English public schools for the majority of the white population of Kenya and they influenced the other sectors of secondary education because these elite schools were regarded as models of secondary education. Officers of the Colonial Education Service were especially instrumental in the transmission. Some missionaries copied certain elements of the English public school tradition and adapted it for Africans and they in turn recognised certain schools as elite schools. Independence freed the country of political domination and the racial sectors of education but many of the economic, social and psychological aspects remain. A reconstruction and reorganisation is called for in many of the country's institutions and attitudes: one of the more important readjustments required is in the government assisted high cost boarding schools which reflect and diffuse attitudes of mind that are positively dysfunctional in the process of socialisation and nation building according to the overall philosophy of African Socialism. If this thesis achieves the reorganisation

of these schools and assists in the changing of attitudes that are more in keeping with the development, rise, and growth of a new and vigorous nation then it will not have been in vain. A universal and free system of education must be the aim.

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Appendix 1. The Social Class of Fathers based on the Registrar General's Social Categories.

Boarding Pupils

<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Public boys</u>	<u>Public girls</u>	<u>Public mixed</u>	<u>Total</u>
I & II				
Professional & Managerial	84	84	89	84
III				
(a) Non-Manual	4	2	7	4
(b) Manual	2	1	2	
IV				
Semi and unskilled	1	.	1	.
Armed Forces	10	13	1	11

Day Pupils

<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Public boys</u>	<u>Public girls</u>	<u>Public mixed</u>	<u>Total</u>
I & II				
Professional & Managerial	81	89	86	85
III				
(a) Non-Manual	10	5	9	8
(b) Manual	5	1	5	3
IV				
Semi and unskilled	1	1	.	.
Armed Forces	2	4	.	3

Source: Page 101, Public Schools Commission Report First Report. Vol. II, H.M.S.O., London, 1968.

Appendix 2. Nairobi School (POWS) schoolmasters becoming headmasters in the 1960's.

Just as Arnold and Rugby School produced 'colonies' in the Arnoldian tradition in England through headmasters having previously taught at Rugby because they imbibed the educational organisation and ethos, so too, from "the Three" in Kenyan education are the stronger elements of the English public school tradition transmitted and diffused throughout Kenya.

Let us take one example - Nairobi School (POWS)

1961	Mr. J. Say	Francis Scott School (Nakuru)
1964	Mr. P.J. Brown	Allidina Visram High School
1965	Mr. M.J. Nicholson	Nanyuki Secondary School
1966	Mr. P.J. Turner	Parklands Secondary School
1966	Mr. J.V. Hartley	Nyandarua Secondary School
1967	Mr. B. Karanja	Chinga Secondary School
1969	Mr. B.W. Omumbo	Upper Hill Secondary School
1969	Mr. W. Okech	Homa Bay Secondary School

From 1967 onwards the policy of the Ministry of Education was the Africanisation of all headmasters, but, when the organisation and running of the schools of "the Three" remains predominantly English public school orientated, the tradition is still transmitted.

Appendix 3. Membership of Central Advisory Committee
on European Education. 1925 - 1926.

*Colonial Secretary: Mr. Edward Denham (Sir Edward Denham).

*Director of Education: Mr. James Russell Orr.

*General Manager, Kenya and Uganda Railway.

*The Rt. Hon. Lord Delamere.

*The Hon. Capt. J.E. Coney.

*Captain F.O.B. Wilson R.N. (ret).

*Mrs. Harvey Anderson.

Rt. Rev. Bishop of Mombasa.

Ven. Archdeacon S.E. Swann.

Rev. Father C.T. Macnamara.

Rev. W.M. Askwith.

Captain B.W.L. Nicholson R.N. (ret.) Headmaster,
European School, Nairobi.

Mr. R.H.W. Wisdom, Inspector of Schools.

* European members of the Legislative Council.

Source: Educational Annual Reports and Proceedings
of the Legislative Council.

Entry, 1969

Index No. _____

Name _____

underline TWO words, one from each set of brackets, which mean most nearly the SAME as each other:

(rider, cyclist) (modest, ...)

points

☐

K. P. E. No. _____

INTERVIEW CARD

D or B. _____

L. _____ Order of Merit _____

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nce

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Manner & Bearing

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Intelligence

☐

_____ years

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Spoken English

☐

(dismount, visit, arrive, march, depart, disappear)

underline TWO words, one from each set of brackets, which mean most nearly the SAME as each other:

(minute, brief, flimsy) (short, tattered, hour)

ONE letter in each bracket to continue this series:

G H I G J K G L M G N O G () ()

the missing number to complete this series:

23, 25, 22, 26, 21, (), 20, 28

ONE word in the brackets to continue this series:

start, rat; snare, ran; spark, ()

in the bracket so that the three things on the right go together in the same way as the three on the left:

beak (bird) flies :: fangs () slithers

Q B F A W D R V E J means PERSONALITY, what does R A J D R mean ?

()

ONE word in the brackets to continue this series:

Entry, 1969

Index No. _____ Name _____

underline TWO words, one from each set of brackets, which mean most nearly the SAME as each other:

(rider, cyclist, pedestrian) (policeman, walker, stranger)

fill in the missing number to complete this series:

8, 11, 15, 20, 26, (), 41, 50, 60, 71

Write ONE word in the brackets to continue this series:

water, ate; spite, pit; other, ()

underline TWO words which mean most nearly the OPPOSITE of each other:

(help, combine, support, antagonize, hinder dislike)

One of the words in this sentence has four letters missing, which make a new word without re-arrangement. Write this new word of four letters in the bracket at the side.

W is made into bread. ()

fill in the missing number to complete this series:

0.19, 0.16, 0.13, (), 0.07, 0.04, 0.01

Write ONE word in the brackets to continue this series:

lair, liar; lion, loin; goal, ()

Write ONE letter in the bracket which will complete the first word and start the second.

T A V E R () E R V E

Write ONE letter in each bracket to continue this series:

A Z B X C Z D X E Z F X () ()

underline TWO words which mean most nearly the OPPOSITE of each other:

(dismount, visit, arrive, march, depart, disappear)

underline TWO words, one from each set of brackets, which mean most nearly the SAME as each other:

(minute, brief, flimsy) (short, tattered, hour)

Write ONE letter in each bracket to continue this series:

G H I G J K G L M G N O G () ()

fill in the missing number to complete this series:

23, 25, 22, 26, 21, (), 20, 28

Write ONE word in the brackets to continue this series:

start, rat; snare, ran; spark, ()

fill in the bracket so that the three things on the right go together in the same way as the three on the left:

beak (bird) flies :: fangs () slithers

Q B F A W D R V E J means PERSONALITY, what does R A J D R mean ?

()

Write ONE word in the brackets to continue this series:

Complete each sentence below by writing the correct form of the verb given in brackets below the line. Here is an example:

I had seen it, and John had seen it too.
(see)

21. If I _____ the book I could have answered the question.
(read)
22. They _____ football if it stops raining this afternoon.
(play)
23. Kamau _____ here half an hour ago.
(ought to be)
24. He _____ if he had known that the last
(not wait)

There are words missing from each sentence below. In the brackets, write which will make the sentence complete and sensible. Here is an example:

Laughing and shouting (the happy children)
quickly (along the dusty road) towards their home

25. The headmaster (_____) the school
(_____).
26. The hunter was in danger when (_____)
but he reached safety by (_____).
27. I saw that the bridge which spanned (_____)
built by (_____) over a hundred years ago

Read right through the paragraph below, and then fill each blank space with a phrase written above it, so that the whole paragraph makes sense.

when the tree dies / what they cannot push aside / the life of a tree
store up their power / its size or age / the bark is thick / with
living / the biggest factory on earth / repair injuries / increase
year by year

Far longer than our own is _____
and far stronger. We animals burn ourselves up _____
trees _____ (30) calmly _____
_____ (31). A tree has no set line
_____ (32). They have power to _____

Appendix 6. Songs at Nairobi School at time of survey.

Angaine A.	Hon. J.H. Angaine, Minister for Lands and Settlement.
Awimbo J.A.	Mr. E.G. Awimbo, Undersecretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Bomet M.	Hon. E.K. Bomet, Assistant Minister for Housing.
Fundikira S.	Chief Fundikira, Chairman of East African Airways.
Gikandi J.K.	Hon. D.N. Kuguru, Assistant Minister for Works.
Gachathi J.K.	Mr. P. Gachathi, Permanent Secretary for Education.
Kamau J.	Miss Kenyatta, Mayor of Nairobi.
Kariithi G.	Mr. G.K. Kariithi, Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President.
Kariuki P.	Rt. Reverend Kariuki, Bishop of Mount Kenya.
Khasakhala C.	Mr. Khasakhala, former Assistant Minister for Housing.
Koinange P.P.	Hon. Mbiyu Koinange, Minister of State.
Konchellah E.	Mr. Konchellah, former Assistant Minister for Education.
Moi J.K.	Hon. D.T. Arap Moi, Vice-President of Kenya.
Muigai S.K.	Mr. Peter Kenyatta, nephew of President.
Mabwa P.O.	Colonel Mabwa, Kenya Army.
Moss L.	Hon. D. Moss, Assistant Minister for Power and Communications.
Musonye E.I.	Colonel Musonye, Kenya Army.
Mwangombe N.P.	Rt. Reverend Mwangombe, Bishop of Mombasa.
Ndolo G.	General J. Ndolo, Formerly i/c Kenya Armed Services.

Ngei C.	Hon. P. Ngei, Minister for Housing.
Nyagah N.	Hon. J.J. Nyagah, Minister for Agriculture.
Nyamweya G.	Hon. J. Nyamweya, Minister for Works.
Odinga A.	Mr. O. Odinga, former Vice-President of Kenya.
Ojal J.	Mr. J. Ojal, Permanent Secretary of Natural Resources.
Onoko L.A.	Mr. Onoko, former Minister for Information and Broadcasting.
Olisimeka P.N.	Hon. Olisimeka, Nigerian Ambassador to Kenya.
Rubia K.	Hon. C.W. Rubia, Assistant Minister for Education.
Sagini A.	Mr. L. Sagini, former Minister for Lands and Settlement.
Schrape A.M.	Mr. A.C. Schrape, Australian Trade Commissioner.
Singh V.S.	Rt. Hon. Avtar Singh, Indian High Commissioner.
Thuo P.G.	Mr. F. Thuo, Chairman of the Nairobi Stock Exchange.
Waiyaki G.N.	Hon. Dr. F. Waiyaki, Deputy Speaker, National Assembly.
Zhelyaskov V.	Mr. Zhelyaskov, Bulgarian Ambassador to Kenya.

Appendix 7. A typical week in the extra-curricular life of a high-cost boarding school.

Sunday, 16th March: Fourth Sunday in Lent.

- 7.30 a.m. Holy Communion. Celebrant: The Chaplain.
 9.30 a.m. Morning Service. Preacher: Mr. M. Burton.
 9.30 a.m. Mass for Roman Catholics in Music Room.
 Lido Supervisors for Swimming Pool.
 Bonnano (Hawke House), Elgaard (Hawke House).
 10.30 a.m. Rock Climbing expedition to Lukenya (Mr. Whittell).
 10.30 a.m. Art Club Outing to Naivasha (Mr. Harrington).
 7.30 p.m. Christian Meeting in School Hall.
 Speaker: Michael Cassidy, Esq.
 All Christian Union and Crusaders members to attend.

Monday, 17th March:

- 2.00 p.m. Piano Concert in School Hall by Dr. Franz Peter Goebels. All Forms IV and VI to attend in Town Dress.
 3.45 p.m. Swimming Standards Junior House (Mr. Thompson).
 4.30 p.m. Lenana School v Nairobi School Swimming Match.
 Away. Fletcher House, Junior House and each Senior House to send 12 spectators. Town Dress. Buses front of school at 3.40 p.m. School team: Lorry front of school at 3.30 p.m.
 7.30 p.m. Swahili Debate 4th Form (Nairobi Girls School invited). Refreshments Main Dining Hall 9.00 p.m.
 7.30 p.m. Theatrical Group to National Theatre. (Mr. Brown).
 School Bus. Staff garages.

Tuesday, 18th March:

- 2.00 p.m. Swimming Standards Rhodes House.
- 3.00 p.m. Diving Standards Nicholson House.
- 4.00 p.m. Lido Supervisor Shuman (Rhodes House).
- 4.00 p.m. Cavina Preparatory School Swimming.
- 7.30 p.m. Transport to Alliance High School for
Crusaders and Christian Union. Sunday
Dress. (Reverend P.R. Davies).
- 7.30 p.m. Talk by the Minister for Agriculture to
the Young Farmers Club: "Synthetics in
Agriculture".
Hon. Bruce Mackenzie. Lecture Theatre.
Town Dress.

Wednesday, 19th March:

- 2.00 p.m. School Shopping Lorry to Nairobi. Staff
garages.
- 2.00 p.m. Swimming Standards Clive House.
- 3.00 p.m. Diving Standards Scott House.
- 4.30 p.m. Hockey: Junior Colts 'A' team v Lenana
Junior Colts (Away).
Junior Colts 'B' team v Lenana Junior
Colts (Away).
Transport front of school 4.00 p.m.
Lido Supervisor Coleman (Clive House).

Thursday, 20th March:

- 2.00 p.m. Swimming Standards Grigg House.
- 3.00 p.m. Diving Standards Fletcher House.
- 4.30 p.m. Hockey: Junior Colts 'C' team v Lenana
Junior Colts (Home).
Junior Colts 'D' team v Lenana Junior
Colts (Home).
- 5.00 p.m. School Swimming Team practice
(Mr. Woodhouse).
- 8.00 p.m. Compline in School Chapel, (Reverend P.
R. Davies).

Friday, 21st March:

- 2.00 p.m. Swimming Standards Nicholson House.
- 3.00 p.m. Diving Standards Rhodes House.
- 4.00 p.m. Judo Club meeting at Hilton Hotel, Nairobi.
- Transport Staff garages (Mr. Suttie).
- 4.30 p.m. Hockey: Senior Colts v St. Mary's (Away)
Middle Colts c St. Mary's (Away)
- School bus front of school 4.00 p.m.
- Lido Supervisor Rosati (Scott House)
- 7.30 p.m. Adjudication of Schools Drama Festival in School Hall. 25 boys per House to be seated by 7.25 p.m. School Dress.
- 7.30 p.m. Talk to the VI Form Society by Mr. Stevens:
- 'Magadi Soda', Lecture Theatre, Sunday Dress. Refreshments in Main Dining Hall at 9.00 p.m.
- 8.00 p.m. Lenten Prayer Meeting for 3rd Formers in Room 5. (Mr. Grieves-Cook).

Saturday, 22nd March:

- 11.15 a.m. Detention in Rooms 4 and 5, Duty Master: Mr. Howard.
- 11.30 a.m. Lenten Prayer Meeting for VI Formers in Chapel: Mr. Pullan.
- Lido Supervisors Esposito (Grigg House), Green (Grigg House).
- 11.30 a.m. School Band Practice in Music Room.
- 11.30 a.m. Golf Professional at Muthaiga. School Bus in front of school 11.00 a.m. Mr. Weekes.
- 2.00 p.m. Confessions for Roman Catholics in Chapel Vestry.
- 2.30 p.m. A.S.A. of Kenya Open Swimming Championships at State House Road Girls' High School. Swimming team at Staff garages at 2.15 p.m. Isherwood (Nicholson House) to check team with Mr. Woodhouse.

Saturday 22nd March (Contd.):

4.00 p.m.	Hockey: Middle Colts v Lenana School (Away)	
	Baby Colts v Lenana School (Away)	
	Transport front of school at 3.45 p.m.	
4.30 p.m.	1st XI v St. Mary's School (Home)	
	2nd XI v St. Mary's School (Home)	
	All boys to attend in Town Dress.	
7.30 p.m.	Film in School Hall 'Hawk-Eye'.	
	Projectionists: Hutchinson (Rhodes House) and Mr. Ware.	
	Duty Master: Mr. Angood	
	Duty House: Rhodes.	
Limuru Girls' School (SB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Geography	
St. Mary's Sch. School (SB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Economics	Maths
St. Mary's School (SB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography	
(P) St. Mary's School, Ntl. (SB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Economics	Maths
Highlands School, Eldoret (SB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Geography, Economics	
Ngalandu Sch. School (SB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Geography	
M.H. The Aga Khan High School (SB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	
Malindi School (SB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Geography	

Appendix 8. List of H.S.C. Schools & Subjects offered
1970.

<u>SCIENCE SUBJECTS</u>		
<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Principal Subjects</u>	<u>Subsidiary Subjects</u>
Machakos School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geog, Maths.	Maths.
Kangaru School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, 8 Mathematics, Biology, Geography	-
Allidina Visram High School (MD)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	Maths
Kabaa High School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology	Maths
Limuru Girls' School (GB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Geography	
Homa Bay Sec. School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Economics	Maths
Kitui Secondary School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography	
(P) St. Mary's School, Nbi. (BBD)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Economics	Maths
Highlands School, Eldoret (GB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Botany, Geography, Zoology	
Nyandarua Sec. School (MB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Geography	
H.M. The Aga Khan High School (MD)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	
Nairobi School (BBD)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Geology	

<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Principal Subjects</u>	<u>Subsidiary Subjects</u>
Kenya Polytechnic (MD)	Physics, Chemistry, Maths, Biology,	Maths
Muhoho High School (BB)	Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Geography, Maths	Maths
Kisumu Boys High School (MD)	Zoology, Chemistry, Physics, Botany	Physics
Nakuru Secondary School (MD)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	Biology & Maths
Thika High School (BB)	Chemistry, Physics, Maths, Biology	Maths, Geography
Lenana School (BB)	Maths, Biology, Physics, Geology, Chemistry, Geography	
Jamhuri High School (MD)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	Maths, Physics, Biol. Geog.
Kenyatta College (BB)	Maths (Pure & Applied) Physics, Chemistry, Biology	Maths,
Kericho Sec. School	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	Maths & Biology
St. Mary's School Yala (BB)	Maths, Biology, Chemistry, Geog.	Geography
Alliance High School (BB)	Maths, Physics, Chemistry, Geog. Biology	Economics, Maths
Mwatate Sec. School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	Maths
Upper Hill School (BD)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	Maths
Pangani Girls School (GD)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	

<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Principal Subjects</u>	<u>Subsidiary Subjects</u>
Nyeri High School (BB)	Maths, Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Biology	
Maseno Sec. School (BB)	Biology, Chemistry, Maths	Maths
Friends School, Kamusinga (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Geography	Maths
Njiri's High School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Maths, Geography, Biology	Maths
Kagumo High School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths, Geography	
Highway Sec. School (MD)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	
Kapsabet School (BB)	Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology	Maths, Physics, Biol. Geog. Econ.
State House Rd. Girls High School (GD)	Chemistry, Physics, Maths, Biology	Maths
Kakamega Sec. School (BB)	Geog. Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Maths	Maths, Geography
Chavakali Sec. School (BB)	Maths, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography	
Kenya High School (GBD)	Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Maths	Maths, Physics
Alliance Girls High School (GB)	Maths, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography	Maths
(F) Loreto Convent Msongari (GBD)	Zoology, Botany, Physics, Chemistry, Maths	

<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Principal Subject</u>	<u>Subsidiary Subject</u>
Strathmore College (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Applied & Pure Maths, Biology	Maths
Kianyaga Sec. School (BB)	Maths, Biology, Physical Sc.	Geography
Amukura Sec. School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology	
Shimo-la-Tewa Sec. School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	
Dagoretti High School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Maths	
Kisii Secondary School (BB)	Physics, Chemistry, Biology	

ARTS SUBJECTS

Machakos School (BB)	Eng. Lit. History, Geography, Economics	English
Kangaru School (BB)	Literature, History, Geog., Maths	
Allidina Visram H. Sch. (MD)	Eng. Lit., History, Geography, Economics, Maths, Swahili (London)	
St. Teresa's Girls School (GB)	English, History, Scripture, Geography, Art	English
Lugulu Girls H. School (GB)	English Lt., History, Geography	English
Limuru Girls School (GB)	Eng. Lit., History, Geography, Art, Divinity/Maths/French	English

<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Principal Subjects</u>	<u>Subsidiary Subjects</u>
Homa Bay Sec. School (BB)	History, English Lit, Geography, Economics	Maths
Meru School (BB)	English Lit., History, Geography, Economics	
(P) St. Mary's School, Nairobi (BBD)	Art, English, French, History, Geography	
Highlands School, Eldoret (GB)	English Lit., Geography, History, R.K., Art	
H.H. The Aga Khan High School (MD)	Eng. Lit., History, Economics, Geography, Maths	
Nairobi School (BBD)	Eng. Lit., History, Geography, French, R.K., Art	English, R.K.
Risumu Boys' High School (MD)	Economics, History, Geography	
Thika High School (BE)	Economics, History, Geography	Eng. Lit., R.K. Geog., Maths
Lenana School (BBD)	English, Geography, Latin, French, Geology	
Janhuri High Sch. (MDB)	History, Geography, Economics, English, Maths	
Kahuhia Girls H. Sch. (BG)	English Lit., Geography, History, Divinity	
Alliance High School (BB)	English, History, Economics, Geography, R.K., French, Swahili (London)	English, Hist., Econ. R.K., French, World Affairs, Maths
Nairobi Girls Sec. School (GB)	Geography, History, Eng. Lit.	

<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Principal Subjects</u>	<u>Subsidiary Subjects</u>
Bishop Otunga Sec. School (BB)	English Lit., Geog., Divinity, History, Economics	
Loreto High School, Limuru (GB)	English Lit., History, Geog., French, Divinity	English, Maths, French, Kisumu, Affairs
Upper Hill School (BB)	English Lit., History, Geog., Economics, Maths	
Pangani Girls School (GD)	Eng. Lit., History, Economics, Geography, Art, Maths	English, Maths, History, Art, Economics
Nyeri High School (BB)	Maths, Geog., Hist., Eng. Lit., Economics	Maths
Maseno Sec. School (BB)	Eng. Lit., History, Geography, Economics, Maths	R.K., Maths
Bungoma Sec. School (BB)	Geography, History, Maths, English	Maths
Friends School, Kamusinga (BB)	English, History, Geography, Maths	
Kagumo High School (BB)	Maths, Eng. Lit., History, Geography, Economics	
State House Road Girls High School (GD)	Eng. Lit., Geography, History, Maths, Art, Swahili	Maths
Kakamega Sec. School (BB)	Geography, Economics, History, English Lit.	
Kipsigis Girls High School (GB)	English, French, History, Geography, R.K.	

1. Kajala High School (BB) - Arua

2. Mary Lacey Girls School (BB) - Arua

<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Principal Subjects</u>	<u>Subsidiary Subjects</u>
Kenya High School (GBD)	Eng. Lit., French, German, History, Geography, R.A., Art, Maths, Music	
Alliance Girls H. School (GB)	Maths, English, Geog., History, R.A., French, Art, Music	Maths, R.A., French, World Affairs
(P) Loreto Convent, Msongari (GBD)	English, History, Geography, French, R.A., Art	
St. Mary's School, Yala (BB)	Maths, English, Geography, History, R.A., Economics	English, Maths, Hist.
Shimo-la-Tewa Sec. School (BB)	Geography, History, Eng. Lit.	Economics
Matuga Girls Sec. School (GB)	Geography, History, Eng. Lit.	
Kisii Sec. School (BB)	Geography, History, Eng. Lit.	
(P) H.H. Aga Khan Kenya Sec. School (MD)	Geography, History, Eng. Lit.	

The schools listed below will start Form V classes for the first time in 1971. The precise subjects that will be offered for study in these schools are not readily available, but it is indicated in the list below what each school will be offering i.e. Arts or Science. Students should also be encouraged to select these schools for their HSC courses.

1. Rijabe High School (MB) - Science
2. Mary Leakey Girls School (GB) - Arts

3. Githumu Sec. School (MB) - Science
4. Muranga Secondary School (BB) - Science
5. Tumutumu Secondary School (GB) - Science
6. Kirimara Secondary School (BB) - Arts
7. Kabare Secondary School (GB) - Science
8. Kaaga Girls Secondary School (GB) - Science
9. Nkuru Secondary School (BB) - Science
10. N'giya Girls Sec. School (GB) - Science
11. Agoro Sare Secondary School (BB) - Arts
12. Butere Girls Sec. School (GB) - Arts
13. Chesamisi Sec. School (BB) - Arts
14. Njoro Sec. School (BB) - Science

Key to Abbreviations

- (BB) = Boys Boarding
- (MD) = Mixed (i.e. Boys & Girls) Day
- (GB) = Girls Boarding
- (GD) = Girls Day
- (BD) = Boys Day
- (BBD) = Boys Boarding & Day
- (GBD) = Girls Boarding & Day
- (P) as a prefix to name of school denotes private school.

**Appendix 9. Comparison of East African Advanced
Certificate of Education Results 1972
from selected schools.**

<u>English</u>				<u>Geography</u>			
POWS	DOYS	AHS		POWS	DOYS	AHS	KC
A	0	0	1	A	4	1	8
B	0	2	2	B	3	1	4
C	1	1	6	C	3	1	6
D	3	3	2	D	7	4	7
E	7 65%	8 61%	8 86%	E	4 84%	3 53%	8 86% 5 95%
O	6	9	3	O	3	7	5
F	0	1	0	F	1	2	0
<u>History</u>				<u>Economics</u>			
POWS	DOYS	AHS		POWS	DOYS	AHS	KC
A	0	0	3	A	1	0	1
B	0	0	5	B	2	0	7
C	3	1	1	C	4	2	2
D	2	2	2	D	3	2	3
E	4 41%	9 67%	8 82%	E	8 64%	4 62%	7 76% 5 86%
O	5	5	3	O	6	4	4
F	8	1	1	F	4	1	2

%'s = Pass rates

French

	POWS	DOYS	AHS
A	0	0	0
B	1	1	1
C	0	1	0
D	0	1	0
E	0	2	0

O	0	3	1
F	0	2	0

Mathematics

	POWS	DOYS	AHS	KC
A	2	3	0	15
B	2	2	1	22
C	1	1	5	5
D	4	1	4	9
E	5 52%	5 67%	7 94%	13 91%

O	9	3	1	6
F	4	3	0	0

Physics

	POWS	DOYS	AHS	KC
A	1	0	0	6
B	1	3	3	12
C	2	2	1	9
D	1	3	6	17
E	7 30%	4 36%	12 61%	28 51%

O	19	16	12	57
F	9	5	2	10

Chemistry

	POWS	DOYS	AHS	KC
A	2	1	1	28
B	1	1	3	36
C	2	3	4	14
D	3	1	7	16
E	10 47%	9 54%	11 54%	16 91%

O	10	6	19	9
F	10	7	3	0

Biology

	POWS	DOYS	AHS	KC
A	0	0	1	8
B	2	1	1	14
C	2	3	3	6
D	2	4	8	12
E	4 50%	2 65%	5 53%	25 90%

O	5	6	14	7
F	5	0	2	0

^{1st}
 Statics provided by the following schools:

- POWS - Nairobi School, high cost boarding school.
- DOYS - Lenana School, high cost boarding school.
- AHS - Alliance High School, low cost boarding school.
- KC - Kenyatta College, VI Form college.

The schools and college are all male institutions and within 15 miles of the centre of Nairobi. They are elite institutions attracting high quality graduate staff for VI Form teaching.

The efficiency factor is found by dividing the number of candidates with the principal passes for entry by the total number of candidates.

The principal passes is a significant level because it is the minimum entry qualification for most universities in East African universities.

Statistics provided by the Principals of the following schools and colleges:

- POWS - Nairobi School, high cost boarding school.
- DOYS - Lenana School, high cost boarding school.
- AHS - Alliance High School, low cost boarding school.
- KC - Kenyatta College, VI Form college.
- STC - Strathmore College, VI Form college.

Appendix 10. Number of candidates with 2 principal passes or more (1972 - 1973) in either E.A.A.C.E. or London G.C.E. (A) level for selected schools.

<u>School</u>		<u>Total Candidates</u>	<u>Efficiency factor</u>
POWS (EAACE)	42	74	.56
DOYS (EAACE)	38	63	.60
AHS (EAACE)	62	86	.72
KC (EAACE)	146	162	.90
SC (GCE)	46	51	.90

The efficiency factor is found by dividing the number of candidates with two principal passes or more by the total number of candidates.

The principal passes is a significant level because it is the minimum entry qualification for most faculties in East African universities.

Statistics provided by the Principals of the following schools and colleges:

- POWS - Nairobi School, high cost boarding school.
- DOYS - Lenana School, high cost boarding school.
- AHS - Alliance High School, low cost boarding school.
- KC - Kenyatta College, VI Form college.
- SC - Strathmore College, VI Form college.

Appendix 11. Comparison of successful entrants to the University of Nairobi in certain subjects.

Candidates offered places at the University for Building Economics 1973 EAACE results.

Total number of candidates	30
Kenyatta College	11
4 stream boarding schools	2
4 stream day schools	2
2 stream boarding schools	6
2 stream day schools	1
1 stream boarding schools	3
1 stream day schools	2
Private candidates	3

Candidates offered places at the University for B.Sc. (engineering) 1973 based on EAACE.

Total number of students	86
4 stream boarding schools	12
4 stream boarding/day schools	7
4 stream day schools	1
3 stream boarding schools	10
3 stream boarding/day schools	9
3 stream day schools	1
2 stream boarding schools	18
2 stream boarding/day schools	7
2 stream day schools	3
1 stream boarding schools	5
1 stream boarding/day schools	2
1 stream day schools	3
Private candidates	8

Candidates from Kenyatta College offered places at
the University of Nairobi for B.Sc. (engineering) 1973.

<u>Reg. No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Results</u>					
SK/0460	Karungu	F.K.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'A'	C.	'A'
SK/0409	Nduati	P.H.	PM.	'A'	AM.	'B'	Ph 'A'
SK/0428	Obyango-Oiro	J.P.A.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'B'	C.	'A'
SK/0434	Mugo	C.C.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'B'	C.	'A'
SK/0466	Njora	D.W.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'B'	C.	'A'
SK/0416	Nwaniki	C.G.	PM.	'A'	AM.	'B'	Ph. 'A'
SK/0417	Oguya	W.O.	PM.	'A'	AM.	'B'	Ph. 'A'
SK/0427	Godoro	M.A.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'B'	C.	'B'
SK/0410	Aruasa	J.K.T.	PM.	'A'	AM.	'B'	Ph. 'B'
SK/0418	Gichuki	S.M.	PM.	'A'	AM.	'B'	Ph. 'B'
SK/0451	Akinga	J.J.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'B'	C.	'B'
SK/0405	Mutuli	S.M.	PM.	'A'	AM.	'C'	Ph. 'B'
SK/0407	Wakoli	P.C.M.	PM.	'B'	AM.	'C'	Ph. 'A'
SK/0438	Giteru	J.M.	M.	'B'	Ph. 'C'	C.	'A'
SK/0452	Kamau	D.M.	M.	'B'	Ph. 'B'	C.	'B'
SK/0437	Mwai	K.W.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'D'	C.	'A'
SK/0461	Nzioki9	A.B.M.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'D'	C.	'A'
SK/0406	Magongo	V.	PM.	'B'	AM.	'C'	Ph. 'B'
SK/0408	Kiio	B.M.	PM.	'A'	AM.	'C'	Ph. 'C'
SK/0411	Kamau	J.N.	PM.	'B'	AM.	'B'	Ph. 'C'
SK/0423	Gathu	S.K.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'D'	C.	'B'
SK/0450	Waruingi	H.D.N.	M.	'B'	Ph. 'D'	C.	'A'
SK/0459	Ndapatani	F.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'D'	C.	'B'
SK/0468	Matiri	A.K.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'D'	C.	'B'
SK/0444	Karanja	J.N.	M.	'B'	Ph. 'D'	C.	'B'
SK/0467	Bajaber	M.O.A.	M.	'A'	Ph. 'D'	C.	'c'
SK/0425	Mwangi	G.	M.	'B'	Ph. 'E'	C.	'A'
SK/0455	Nduati	S.K.	M.	'B'	Ph. 'D'	C.	'B'
SK/0439	Birgen	P.	M.	'd'	Ph. 'C'	C.	'B'
SK/0445	Abdallah	S.M.	M.	'B'	Ph. 'E'	C.	'B'

<u>Reg. No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Results</u>			
SK/0463	Ngugi	M.	M. 'B'	Ph. 'E'	C. 'B'
SK/0420	Wambacha	N.	PH. 'B'	AP. 'E'	Ph. 'C'
SK/0422	Wayumba	G.O.	PM. 'B'	AP. 'E'	Ph. 'C'
SK/0462	Muchina	J.M.	M. 'C'	Ph. 'E'	C. 'B'
SK/0443	Musaura	G.G.	M. 'B'	Ph. 'E'	C. 'C'
SK/0448	Amiani	P.D.	M. 'B'	PH. 'E'	C. 'C'
SK/0424	Obock	C.J.O.	M. 'B'	Ph. 'E'	C. 'D'
SK/0436	Matara	R.G.A.	M. 'B'	Ph. 'E'	C. 'D'
SK/0413	Kiuu	A.M.	PH. 'B'	AM. 'E'	Ph. 'D'
SK/0415	Nelson	F.M.	PM. 'B'	AM. 'D'	Ph. 'E'
SK/0421	Njoroge	W.M.	PM. 'D'	AM. 'D'	Ph. 'D'
SK/0456	Kabiru	F.M.	M. 'D'	Ph. 'E'	C. 'D'
SK/0442	Gachau	E.	M. 'C'	Ph. 'E'	C. 'E'

Out of 129 entrants to B.Sc. (Eng.), 43 came from Kenyatta College (all of them with 3 'A' level passes) based on EAACE results. The median result for Kenyatta College students was 3 'A' level passes at Maths 'A', Physics 'D', Chemistry 'B'.

The median result for all students was 3 'A' level passes at Maths 'B', Physics 'E', Chemistry 'C'.

Candidates offered places at the University of Nairobi
for Medicine 1973 based on CAACE results.

<u>Reg. No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>School with Streams</u>	
SK/2404	Parmar J.R.	Allidina Visram	(3)
SK/1882	Masunna A.	Alliance High School	(4)
SK/0486	Chunga C.N.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/1683	Joshi H.R.	Jamhuri	(4)
SK/0038	Mboloi N.J.K.	Nakuru	(3)
SK/0487	Orenyo E.A.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0472	Sidandi P.O.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0473	Kubai S.G.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0665	Osore H.	Lenana	(4)
SK/0493	Nyamongo J.A.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0483	Mwathe E.G.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0071	Okoth F.	Nakuru	(3)
SK/0502	Magaiyu C.A.G.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0476	Muhadhia S.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0491	Odonde W.H.O.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/1686	Trivedi C.	Jamhuri	(4)
SK/2424	Grewal D.S.	Allidina Visram	(3)
SK/2221	Moamond G.S.	Shimo-le-Tewa	(3)
SK/1691	Jani P.G.	Jamhuri	(4)
SK/1697	Shah S. (Miss)	Jamhuri	(4)
SK/1870	Munoru W.M.	Alliance High School	(4)
SK/0526	Malakwen C.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0534	Serrem O.D.K.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0478	Machi P.M.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/1115	Qureshi H.M.	Highway	(3)
PK/0959	Pattni B.L.		
SK/0481	Wanjohi P.M.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0023	Odira E.A.	Nakuru	(3)
SK/0174	Ochieng G.A (Miss)	Highlands	(4)
SK/1685	Din A.Y. (Miss)	Jamhuri	(4)

<u>Reg. No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>School with Streams</u>	
SK/1695	Maide S. (Miss)	Jamhuri	(4)
SK/0540	Kiaraho D.K.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0492	Njuguna P.C.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0523	Wingariria C.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0499	Nganga F.N.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0652	Rogo O.K.	Lenana	(4)
SK/2268	Ngugi J.D.K.	Kagumo	(3)
SK/1441	Muntao T.M.	Machakos	(2)
SK/0044	Were L.P.	Nakuru	(3)
SK/0644	Muraya G.N.	Lenana	(4)
SK/1017	Bundi J.S.	Kangaru	(2)
SK/0497	Mburu M.G.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0030	Gikenye C.W.G.	Nakuru	(3)
SK/2227	Gathogo S.P.	Kagumo	(3)
SK/2475	Ndobi O.I.	Kakamega	(2)
SK/1881	Muga R.O.	Alliance High School	(4)
SK/1869	Gatangi A.S.M.	Alliance High School	(4)
SK/2557	Wade P.O.	Kisii	(2)
SK/0469	Sajabi M.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0026	Thuo S.J.N.	Nakuru	(3)
SK/0479	Kabugu R.K.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0530	Otieno J.H.S.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0531	Ogondo M.O.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0512	Orege P.A.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0521	Muinga E.G.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0536	Mwita S.EI.K.K.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0505	Olando J.E.A.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/2042	Esamal F.	Friends School, Kamusinga	(2)
SK/0537	Mayabi W.G.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/1207	Mjomba M.J.M. (Miss)	Alliance Girls	(2)
SK/0471	Njoroge C.P.M.	Kenyatta College	(7)

<u>Reg. No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>School with Streams</u>	
SK/0535	Chawiyah C.J.A.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0520	Ohangah W.J.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0504	Muhamari S.E.K.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0539	Kungu G.M.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0048	Omacho S.D.	Nakuru	(3)
SK/0506	Owiti F.R.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/2109	Achwal I.M.O.	Maseno	(2)
SK/0494	Juma J.O.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0661	Nyawalo O.J.	Lenana	(4)
SK/0663	Omuodo Z.J.	Lenana	(4)
SK/1219	Wanjohi J.K. (Miss)	Alliance Girls H.S.	(2)
PK/0117	Dube S.		
*SK/1230	Maundu T.N. (Miss)	Kaaga	(1)
*SK/1226	Guchu M.W. (Miss)	Kaaga	(1)
SK/1203	Chomba C.W. (Miss)	Alliance Girls H.S.	(2)
SK/0672	Nyakundi P.M. (Miss)	Alliance Girls H.S.	(2)
SK/1213	Mwangi M.W. (Miss)	Alliance Girls H.S.	(2)
PK/0371	Mohamud M.Y.		
SK/1689	Royat M.S.	Jamhuri	(4)
SK/0490	Okal A.C.	Kenyatta College	(7)
SK/0178	Karekezi J. (Miss)	Highlands	(4)

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from Kenyatta College.

* Equals candidate from small one stream school.

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