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AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN KENYA

1844-1970

A Dissertation Presented to

The Faculty of the Graduate College of

Ohio University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Nganga Njoroge

~~December, 1971~~

March, 1972

This dissertation has been approved

for the Department of Education Administration

and the Graduate College by

Samuel J. Hicker
Professor of Education

Norman S. Cohn
Dean of the Graduate College

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TO MY MOTHER AND FATHER
WHOSE UNDYING AND PERSISTENT LOVE
HAS ALWAYS BEEN A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION FOR ME
AND TO THE NEW GENERATION OF AFRICAN YOUTH
WHO ARE THE HOPE OF TOMORROW.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

stability and strengthened his confidence when both seemed to wear thin in the sometimes painful and bitter experience of going through a doctoral program.

Special thanks are also due to the following people: The writer's brother, Allan Ngugi, who sent much needed materials from Kenya; Mrs. Ann Johnson of the Ohio University inter-Library Loan; Miss Gertrude Linnenbruegge, the African Bibliographer at Ohio University Library; Mr. Francis G. Nganga, Education Attaché to the Kenya Mission to the United Nations; Mr. J. Lijembe, Secretary of the Kenya Institute of Education; Mr. Arap Letting, Education Planner of the Kenya Ministry of Education. Also the author wishes to express his gratitude to the following institutions: Columbia University Library, where he briefly met and discussed his project with Professor Carl Bigelow; the Missionary Research Library; and the small Kenya Mission Library at the United Nations Plaza.

Thanks and appreciation are also due to the Ford Foundation and Mr. Willard J. Hertz of the Foundation's International Division, who managed to secure the author a Ford Foundation stipend for research in New York City. Surely there are many people and institutions, too many to mention, whose contributions to this study are well acknowledged. To all of them, many thanks.

The writer's deepest gratitude goes to his friend and typist, Miss Jane Jezierski, who worked many hours overtime, often with little or no prior notice.

Finally, the author alone is responsible for all errors of commission or omission. The study was never intended to be a "blueprint" or a "directive," but rather an effort to trace the evolutionary course of education in Kenya and by exposing both the weaknesses and the strengths of the past, perhaps point the way or shed some light in guiding Kenya towards her future.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

The problem was to analyze some selected historical forces and movements that have led to the development of the present system of primary education in Kenya.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

It has been pointed out by Curle[1] and Lewis[2] that the lack of historical data or research on the development of education in Africa as a whole presents one of the major problems in educational planning. This study proposes, therefore, to analyze the development of primary education in Kenya, focusing upon the following periods:

1. Pre-colonial period   1844-1888

2. Colonial period   1889-1963

3. Post-colonial period   1964-1970

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[1] Adam Curle, Education Strategy for Developing Societies (London: Tavistock Publications, 1963), p. 133.

[2] E. J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1954), p. 3.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The lack of information on the major historical forces regarding the development of primary education in Kenya prompted the need for this study. This information will be useful in assisting educational planners in the Ministry of Education to understand better the forces that have shaped the present educational path. In providing such information, they will be better equipped to pass judgment on what and where revisions of the present educational set-up ought to be made.

The three stages mentioned (Pre-colonial, Colonial, and Post-colonial) resemble those identified by Carter, who stated that in East Africa there are three stages of educational development, namely:

1. The period of private enterprise principally associated with the activities of Christian Missions.

2. The period of State-supported private enterprise.

3. The period of State responsibility and planning.[3]

These periods present an interesting similarity to the development of education both in Britain and the United States where education at first was started by voluntary bodies of people with strong religious convictions.

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[3]Roger Carter, The Legal Framework of Educational Planning and Administration in East Africa (Paris: UNESCO Publications, 1966), p. 11.

Beginning in the seventeenth century to about 1840, education in the United States was largely run by voluntary agencies or people representing different Christian denominational interests. In the following century, education became a state-local mandatory function. Starting with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the national government expressed interest in education through the Morrill Act of 1862 and the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917.[4] It has continued to do so by supporting certain educational programs considered to be of vital national interest.

In Britain, what is called "public" education owes a great debt to the pioneering work of religious bodies, for until the passage of the Education Act of 1870, responsibility for elementary education was solely in the hands of religious organizations. They had managed, despite their shortcomings, to establish a network of elementary schools with little, if any, state funds.[5]

In Kenya from the time that the Church Missionary Society established the first small "school" in 1848 to the time that the Colonial government expressed some interest in participating in education and established the first Education Department in 1911, a period of over sixty years

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[4]Ronald F. Campbell and Donald H. Layton, Policy Making for American Education (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 32.

[5]Richard E. Cross, British Secondary Education (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 17.

elapsed. It was not until 1925, however, that the British government produced its first public policy statement on education. This statement became its official guiding policy regarding education for her African subjects.[6]

At the time of Kenya's Independence in 1963, there were eight government primary schools as compared to 4,024 aided primary schools of which a majority were managed by religious bodies.[7]

OUTLINE OF METHODS OF PROCEDURE

A brief sketch of early history in what is now Kenya gave the background of the problem.

A survey of literature pertinent to primary education in Kenya was sought in the United States through the Ohio University inter-library loan service. The librarian in charge of the inter-library loan section wrote to Columbia University and other institutions for materials that are not available at Ohio University's Alden Library. All materials requested arrived without difficulty. The African Bibliographer in the Alden Library wrote to Nairobi, Kenya, and London, England, to get some of the primary source materials that were not

[6] P. H. Gulliver, Tradition and Transition in East Africa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 149.

[7] Ministry of Education Annual Summary, 1961 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1961), p. 24.

available in the United States. The advice of authorities on Kenyan education was solicited both in Kenya and America by correspondence.

The historical approach based on primary and secondary source materials was applied to investigate the three stages: Pre-colonial, Colonial and Post-colonial. Some of the forces studied and how they affected education were: (1) the exploration, (2) the missionary movements, (3) the colonization process, (4) the European settlements, (5) the building of the railway, and (6) the arrival of the Indian people.

1844-1888 (Pre-colonial)

There is secondary information, mostly by European authors, covering this period. Because modern education in Kenya is a recent phenomenon, calling for much pioneering work to be done, the information from these sources provided the basis on which to approach the problem. However, it must be noted that the presentation and interpretation of facts by these European authors should be taken with caution. Having been written in colonial times, generally by people sympathetic to colonialism, they do not project an impartial scholarly view any more than do the official colonial government publications.

In Kenya, there is almost no scholarly work in education done by Kenyans. As this study will point out, the lack of an educated African cadre was a result of some of the policies pursued by the colonial government. Kenya has, therefore, as yet to produce a sufficient number of her own scholars to write and speak for her.

As recently as 1965, there were only two doctoral research studies of education in Kenya. One was by N. Antipa Olthieno,[8] and the other was by James Sheffield,[9] both doctoral dissertations at Teachers College, Columbia University. Olthieno's study was an outline of education in East Africa and the missionary influence on it from 1844 to 1925. He relied heavily on secondary source materials. The other, by James Sheffield, who worked in the Kenya Education Department before and after independence, was mainly concerned with policies and progress from 1949 to 1963. Sheffield's thesis deals with the social and political forces that aided or retarded the development of African education in Kenya.

The most recent work (1970) by a Kenyan, Dr. K. Kiteme, was a doctoral dissertation at Yeshiva University in New York. He broadly analyzed the sociological history of colonial education, focusing upon how various sociological groups affected the development of African education from 1846 to 1940.

The Pre-colonial period, as discussed in this study, covered that period during which European explorers,

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[8]N. Antipa Olthieno, "An Outline of History of Education in East Africa, 1844-1925" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963).

[9]James R. Sheffield, "Policies and Progress in African Education in Kenya, 1949-1963" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965).

including Christian missionaries, confined their activities
primarily to exploration. During this period, great "dis-
coveries" of African rivers and mountains were made. When
David Livingstone (a Christian missionary) returned to London
in 1857, he wrote, "I view the geographical exploration as
the beginning of Missionary enterprise."[10]

The first European to bring Christianity to Kenya
was Johann Ludwig Krapf, a German traveling under the
services of the Church Missionary Society. He arrived in
Mombasa in 1844.[11] On his first journey to the interior, he
"discovered" Mount Kenya in 1849. His companion, another
German by the name of Johannes Rebman, "discovered" the high-
est mountain in Africa, Mount Kilimanjaro. Their "discov-
eries" created great interest in Europe, and in particular the
Royal Geographic Society of London sent expeditions to carry
on the exploration of the interior.[12] What followed then
was a series of journeys known as "Journeys of Exploration,"
in which Africa was "opened up" and the "natives"[13] became

[10]Edward Caldwell Moore, The Spread of Christianity
in the Modern World.(Chicago: The University of Chicago
Press, 1919), p. 261.

[11]Kenneth Ingham, A History of East Africa (New York:
Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 87.

[12]Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth, An Introduction to
the History of East Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 1957), p. 80.

[13]The customary usage of the word "native" referring
to the Africans by some European authors has been viewed as
a derogatory term by educated Africans.

colonized people.

1889-1963 (Colonial Period)

Kenya as a political entity probably began with the activities of the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888 or the establishment of what came to be known as the East Africa Protectorate in 1895.[14] In 1920, the East Africa Protectorate was abolished, and under the terms of the Kenya Annexation Order in Council, what is collectively called Kenya became Kenya Colony. Under the British Settlement Act, the Colonial Office adopted a more favorable posture in order to permit more political freedom for European settlers and also to encourage further migration. This was considered a gesture in recognition of their participation in World War I.[15]

It should be pointed out that, while those Europeans who participated in the war were being rewarded for their services, the ₤50,000 (pounds), due in arrears for the 46,618 dead Kenyans out of a total of 150,000 raised to campaign against the Germans, was never paid.[16]

The declaration of the Protectorate in 1895 and the building of the railway across the country from Mombasa near

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[14]Stanley Diamond and Fred G. Burke, The Transformation of East Africa (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), p. 185.

[15]Ibid., p. 204.

[16]Carl A. Rosberg and John Nottingham, The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), pp. 30-31.

the Indian Ocean to Kisumu near Lake Nyanza marked a new era in the history of education in Kenya. Missionaries, colonial officials, settlers, traders and Indians began to move inland in increasing numbers. This movement will be discussed in Chapter V.

The resistance of Africans, particularly to European settlements, was met with force. In one of the several punitive expeditions sent out to deal with the Africans, a British officer is said to have witnessed a "massacre" in which hundreds of Africans were killed by machine guns, many huts burnt, crops destroyed and thousands of cattle, sheep and goats confiscated.[17]

The building of the railway was one of the contributory factors in the racially segregated system of education found in Kenya until 1963. Since Africans were considered unskilled, thousands of semi-skilled Indians were brought by the British government to assist in the construction.[18] After the railway was completed, some of the Indians decided to stay and found their own schools.

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[17]Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[18]Helen Kitchen, The Educated African (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 128.

A former governor of Kenya stated that it was the railway and not British military power that conquered Kenya. He claimed that "the building of the railway is the beginning of all history in Kenya. Without it, there would not be Kenya's history."[19] This is admittedly an exaggerated opinion on the part of the governor, but it nevertheless demonstrates the significant role of the railway in shaping Kenya's history. This was also the period, according to Oliver, when missionary enterprise reached its "zenith."[20]

1964-1970 (Post-colonial)

The third stage to be investigated was the Post-colonial, covering the years 1964 to 1970. It was a period of many changes and problems. Perhaps one of the most significant achievements was winning independence from Britain after more than seventy years of colonial rule. After achieving independence, education became one of the top priorities in national planning.

The responsibility for education passed from the missionary and colonial authorities to the new Kenya government. Many changes have occurred--enrollment in primary schools continued to rise, and the number of schools increased. The racially segregated system of education

[19]M. F. Hill, The Permanent Way (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1950), p. 199.

[20]Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), p. 163.

inherited from the colonial era was ended. The discrimination against the Africans of an eight-year primary course, as against seven for Europeans and Indians, was also put to a stop.*

Despite the changes and achievements, serious educational problems arose. One of these was the ever-increasing rate of unemployment among primary school leavers. In 1964, out of 110,600 primary school graduates, 67,000 had "no prospect of further education or paid employment."[21] In 1966, the number increased to over 150,000, and the number of jobless jumped correspondingly.[22] If this trend is not combated, is it not likely to undermine national unity and stability?

The cumulative effect of unemployment and all its antecedent problems has been a subject of comment by different writers. Some blamed the educational planners, who were reluctant to revise the curriculum in order to make it more "relevant" to the African needs. When the Kenya Education Commission, for example, approved the policy of the former all-European Kenya High Schools by saying that "nobody

_____

[21]Kenya Education Commission, quoted by James R. Sheffield, in Education, Employment, and Rural Development (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1966), Introduction.

[22]Ibid.

*In a communication between the author and the Planning Officer in the Ministry of Education, the Officer listed fifteen major developments or achievements in education that have taken place between 1963 (independence) and 1969. See attached communication in Appendix VIII.

of any race or class is admitted who does not make the grade,"
did the Commissioners imply that the "standards" used were
correct? Is not giving bursaries to African students to
aspire to those standards an endorsement of a colonial system
of education?[23]

Another author concluded that the educational set-up
in Kenya has remained basically the same as it was before
independence. There has not been any drastic change in the
reorganization of the curriculum or examination system. The
only significant change has been on the personnel level
where non-Africans have been replaced by Africans. He con-
tinued, saying that "in education it has been more a case of
expansion of the existing facilities than of modifying the
basic ethos of the education system itself."[24] Further, he
quoted Joseph Kiono, then Secretary of the Kenya National
Union of Teachers, as saying, "the English did a good job
here; we are just a crowd of Black Englishmen in Kenya."[25]

African educators and their ministries of education
got another comment from an American scholar:

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[23]Ezekiel Mphahlele, "Alignment of Educational Goals
in Kenya," East Africa Journal, February, 1965, p. 28.

[24]Mohiddin, "Socialism or Capitalism?" Sessional
Paper No. 10 Revisited, East Africa Journal, March, 1969,
p. 329.

[25]Ibid.

> To many outsiders the timidity and extreme con-
> servatism of African educators and ministries is a
> source of constant amazement. Too many Africans
> express great belief in the desirability of Africaniza-
> tion . . . and yet draw back when it comes to making
> the needed changes. . . . Generally the excuse used
> for inactions is cast in the language of "standards,"
> and the problem is posed in terms which indicate great
> confusion between identity as the basis of standards
> and equivalence or relevance as the basis of standards.[26]

SOURCES OF DATA

Annual Reports from the Ministry of Education, including Government documents, were furnished by Mr. Nganga, Educational Attaché at the Kenya Mission in the United Nations.

The Kenya National Archives in the Alden Library of Ohio University, including materials ordered from Nairobi and London by Miss Linnenbruegge and those ordered by Mrs. Johnson through the inter-library loan, provided important primary source materials.

Mr. Letting, Planning Officer of the Ministry of Education, furnished pertinent information, especially for the period since 1963.

Mr. Lijembe, the Secretary of the Kenya Institute of Education, kept the author up-to-date by sending information regarding the Institute's role in primary education as well as the development of education in general.

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[26] John W. Hanson and Cole S. Brembeck, Education and the Development of Nations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 329.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Missionary

Organized Western (white) groups who came to Kenya mainly for the purpose of spreading Christianity.

Standard

Means the same thing as grade level in the American school system.

Primary

The first four years of education during colonial times.

Lower Primary

The first three years of education (Independence) Standards I-III.

Upper Primary

Standards IV-VII (Independence).

European Settlers

Those groups of Europeans who took what Kenya Africans considered to be the best lands in Kenya (former Kenya White Highlands) for the purposes of farming to advance themselves financially as well as to improve the economy of their mother country (mainly England).

Colonial Government

The government imposed by the British on the people of Kenya.

District

An administrative unit,

Province

A larger administrative unit than the district.

Shilling

One shilling is equivalent to 14 cents in the United States.

Ł (pound)

A Ł (pound) is equivalent to $2.40 in the United States.

Indians

Asians in Kenya from the Indian Sub-continent.

K.I.S.A.

The Kikuyu Independent School Association.

K.K.E.A.

The Kikuyu Karinga Education Association.

Land alienation

The taking of land that belonged to Africans by the European settlers.

CHAPTER II

KENYA: A SHORT DESCRIPTIVE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY, HER PEOPLE, GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION AND THE MOVE TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

The Periplus of Erythrean Sea

What is now the Kenya coast has been in contact with foreign cultures for about two thousand years. The earliest existing document describing the Kenya coast is called "The Periplus of Erythrean Sea." This was a Greek commercial guide to the Indian Ocean written in the late first or early second century. It records a variety of goods that were brought by the Arabs to the peoples of the coast such as iron implements and wine in exchange for ivory and palm oil.[1]

Ptolemy

The second source of information about early life on the Kenya coast was the geography of Ptolemy. He added little information to the account contained in the Periplus other than extending his geographical knowledge farther south along the East African coast.[2]

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[1]Kenneth Ingham, A History of East Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 1.

[2]Roland Oliver, The History of East Africa (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 94.

Other Visitors and the Monsoon Winds

Other visitors coming to the coast of Kenya included the Hindus, the Phoenicians and the Assyrians. Their sailing was made possible by the direction of the monsoon winds which start to blow from the northeast in December and from the southwest in March. Arabs had discovered the regularity of these seasonal winds and were sure their boats could be blown south to East Africa in December and then after they had conducted their business, the same wind would blow them back.[3]

The occupation of the coast by people of different cultures, and particularly the Arabs, brought them into contact with the Bantu speaking peoples. Their inter-marriage with the Bantu gave rise to the Swahili peoples and the Swahili language which became and remains the lingua franca in East Africa.[4]

Europeans on the Coast

The first Europeans to appear on the East African coast were the Portuguese. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century, Prince Henry wanted to find a sea route to the spice islands of the East and thus challenge the Arab commerce.

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[3]Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth, _An Introduction to the History of East Africa_ (Cambridge: The University Press, 1957), p. 1.

[4]Carl A. Rosberg, Jr., and John Nottingham, _The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya_ (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 5.

Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama

The Portuguese dream of finding a sea route to the East finally came nearer to fulfillment in 1488 when Bartholomew Diaz reached the southern tip of Africa, which was named the Cape of Good Hope. This meant that the plan of reaching India was feasible. His success was an inspiration to other Portuguese explorers, particularly Vasco da Gama who, ten years later, while on his way to India via the Cape route, reached Mombasa, one of the oldest and busiest ports in what is now Kenya.[5*]

After their successful journey to India, the Portuguese waged wars of conquest along the East African coast to acquire new trading posts. Unlike other coastal towns, Mombasa succumbed only after a showdown, and throughout the two hundred years of Portuguese rule in East Africa, Mombasa was often at odds with the Portuguese authorities. Portuguese rule in East Africa north of the Rovuma River is said to have ended in 1698, after the capture by the Arabs of Fort Jesus, which housed the Portuguese forces.[6]

[5] Marsh and Kingsnorth, op. cit., p. 11.

[6] Ibid., p. 17.

[*] Christopher Columbus had claimed a different route to India six years earlier. The need to search for another route to the spice islands arose as a result of the closure of the Europe-to-Asia mainland route by the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

The contact between East Africa, Asia and Portugal was for many years restricted to the coastal areas where trading stations were established. There was no successful attempt to penetrate the hinterland. Thick forests and wild animals presented a challenge to the adventurers. In any case, trade at the coast was more lucrative and life more secure in the absence of an hostile environment.

The penetration of the interior came much later in the nineteenth century. It was led by European missionary explorers such as Livingstone. The Arabs and Portuguese slave traders were followed by European missionaries and traders who, in turn, were followed by the establishment of colonial rule.

The quarrel among European powers, which resulted from the policy of carving out "spheres of influence" in Africa, led to the historic Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885. In this conference, Africa was deliberately partitioned among the European powers and her people entered an age of colonial subjugation.[7]

Many arguments have been advanced regarding the motives that led European powers to the African continent, and finally to its partition. Different authors have given different interpretations to the facts. There are those who think that the prime motive was economic imperialism

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[7]Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa (New York: New York University Press, 1962), pp. 186-187.

and, on the other extreme, there are those who contend that

the prime motive was purely humanitarian. One author had

this to say:

> It must not be forgotten that the prime motive for
> European enterprise in Africa was not to salvage the
> souls of African pagans but to gain new markets and
> raw materials necessary to the rapid growth of indus-
> tries in Europe. Yet to rally moral support for the
> project, an appeal was made to nobler sentiments, such
> as 'carry the white man's burden' or 'save the souls
> of heathens in Africa from eternal damnation.'[8]

Another author quoted Rudyard Kipling's poem,

> 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 wail in heavy harness,
> On fluttered folk and wild
> Your new caught, sullen people,
> Half-devil and half-child.[9]

In effect, this poem on the surface seems to be advocating

that Africa should be explored for "humanitarian motives."

On the other hand, this is a peculiar type of psychology

which, in depicting Africans as "wild" and as "half-devil"

and "half-child," completes the picture of what Kipling

intended. His view omitted the unpleasant quest for wealth

and human slaves.

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[8] Oduaroh Okeke, "Education Reconstruction in In-
dependent Nigeria" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, New
York University, 1956), p. 17.

[9] Seth Singleton and John Shingler, Africa in Per-
spective (New York: Hayden Book Company, 1967), p. 77.

These are just some of the many arguments that are advanced to support either view. There are those who think that missionaries and colonial settlers formed an alliance to exploit the weak but wealthy Africa. On the other side of the spectrum, there are those who maintain that the presence of missionary and European settlers was nothing more than a humanitarian move to bring Christianity and civilization to the "Dark Continent." In any case, the motives were many and varied. Some were motivated by curiosity to explore the unknown; others by the desire to suppress the horrors of the slave-trade; and still others who were interested in European economic imperialism.

Kenya's cultural connection with Asia and Europe was mainly in terms of trade and not education. The bulk of the trade included human beings and flourished in the West and East Coast of Africa for centuries before it was abolished in the British Commonwealth in 1833. The British Parliament allotted £20 million (pounds) to compensate those slave owners who were affected by the ruling.[10] This act marked another turning point in the history of East Africa.

Geographic Location

Kenya is one of the most beautiful countries in Africa. Its varied physical features and the spectacular wild life, the Great Rift Valley with its network of lakes are well known not only to scholars but also to tourists

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[10]Marsh and Kingsnorth, op. cit., p. 46.

from all over the world.

The country is placed squarely on the equator, lying between 4° north and 4° south. Its area of 225,000 square miles is bigger than France and about the size of Texas.[11]

Her neighbor on the north is the ancient Coptic Empire of Ethiopia. On the west there is Uganda, and on the south is Tanzania.

Climate

Because of Kenya's location in the equatorial latitudes, differences in climatic conditions are a result of variations in altitude. Temperatures may range from 80°F. in the lowlands to about 55°F. in the highlands. The rain is also affected by the altitude.[12]

According to Diley, the country can be divided into three regions, namely:

1. The lowlands--The lowlands or the coastal plain is a tropical region and contains Kenya's principal harbors, Mombasa and Kilidini.

2. The highlands--These were formerly called the "White Highlands" simply because no Africans were allowed to own land although they were allowed to work as laborers in the European-settler-owned farms. The highlands lie between 4,000 and 10,000 feet above sea level, which provides an ideal climate for Europeans. The study will later explore how the European community in this area affected the education that evolved.

[11]Ernest Stabler, Education Since Uhuru--The Schools of Kenya (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1969), p. xix.

[12]The Economic Development of Kenya, Published for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), p. 4.

3. The lake region--Here again tropical climate is found, but Mount Kenya, situated on the equator, has snow on its peaks all the year round.[13]

When the news of a snow peaked mountain situated on the equator was brought to England back in 1849, English geographers criticized the report by reasoning that it was poor judgment on the part of Rebman who might have seen a glittering rock and mistaken it to be snow. Rebman, unable to convince the experts, nevertheless stuck to his original idea and was later found to be correct.[14]

Population

Population was estimated in the 1970 census as 10,850,000.[15] It was also pointed out by Rosberg and Nottingham that the population is very heterogeneous. Culturally and linguistically, the following groups within the African community were distinguished: The Bantu, the Nilotic, the Nilo-Hamitic and the Hamitic.[16] Other racial groups that constitute the population of Kenya have been noted by Schaar.[17] They include Asians, Europeans and Arabs.

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[13]Marjorie Diley, British Policy in Kenya Colony (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1966), p. 6.

[14]Ibid. [15]Stabler, op. cit., p. xix.

[16]Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., pp. 3-6.

[17]Stuart Schaar, "A Note on Kenya: An Assessment of How National Policies have Developed under Kenyatta," East Africa Series, Vol. VII, No. 3 (Kenya: July, 1968), p. 8.

Population Growth and its Implications for Education

Population growth in Kenya is among the highest in developing countries. In 1962, the census indicated that the population was growing at the rate of 3 per cent or more per annum. The 1962 census also showed a birth and death rate of 50 and 20 per thousand, respectively. It was projected that, despite the fact that the birth rate will remain constant, the rate of population growth will increase because of a reduction in the death rate and a resultant increase in life expectancy at birth of six months per year.[18] This means that the average life span of Kenyans born in any given year may be about six months longer than that of those born in the preceding year.

The same census (1962) revealed that 46 per cent of Kenya's population was under 15 years of age. Comparing Kenya with her East African neighbors, the 46 per cent figure compares with 42 per cent in the (then) Tanganyika in the 1957 census and 41.5 per cent in Uganda in 1959. The comparable percentages for Sweden on the one hand, and for England and Wales on the other, in 1961, were 22 per cent and 23 per cent, respectively. In other words, Kenya had, in 1965, about 81 children of primary school age for every 100 men of working age, whereas Sweden (1960) had 38 children aged 6-12 for every 100 men of working age. This means that Kenya has more

[18]D. M. Etherington, "Projected Changes in Urban and Rural Population in Kenya and the Implications for Development Policy," in James Sheffield, Education, Employment and Rural Development (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1966), p. 55.

children to support in primary school in proportion to the size of its working population than most industrialized countries, in spite of the fact that not all of Kenya's primary school age children attend school.[19]

Religion

The diversity in the population of Kenya has also religious and educational significance. In 1962, 32 per cent were found to be Protestants; 22 per cent, Catholic; 6 per cent, Islamic; and 36 per cent were classified as animists. Most of the so-called "animists" are, however, those Africans who believe in traditional religions.

Occupations

Kenya at present is mainly an agricultural country, and, consequently, most people are engaged in agricultural endeavors. In 1963, about 480,000 people, representing 25 per cent of the adult working cadre, had jobs; 45 per cent of these were in agriculture and related pursuits, 29 per cent were in industry and business, and 26 per cent were in the public sector. Close to a third of the total working force was employed in urban areas. There is a tendency in developing countries for job seekers, and especially school-leavers, to drift into cities in search of "white-collar" jobs that are non-existent, or that require higher

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[19] Kyale Mwedwa, "Constraint and Strategy in Planning," in Sheffield, ibid., p. 271.

skills than they possess.[20]

Income and Economic Growth

Coffee is one of Kenya's major exports. It earned £10.6 million (pounds) or about 30 per cent of the country's total export in 1961. Trade is carried on with nations of the European Economic Community and Japan, as well as with under-developed countries.[21] The average income per capita was placed at £30 (pounds).[22]

Towards Self-Determination

In 1920, what was previously called British East Africa was declared Kenya Colony and Protectorate by the British. Agitation for self-determination began around the same period when the first political association, known as the Kikuyu Association, was formed. During the depression of 1921, the European settlers waged a successful campaign to cut African wages. The colonial government increased hut and poll taxes, and land alienation by whites increased.[23]

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[20]Government of Kenya, _Statistical Abstracts_, 1964, p. 111.

[21]_Economic Development of Kenya_, op. cit., pp. 25-27.

[22]Ibid., p. 18.

[23]Stanley Diamond and Fred G. Burke, _The Transformation of East Africa_ (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), p. 206.

The young political association passed a number of resolutions condemning the poll tax and the kipande system.[*]

In this chapter, the description of the people of Kenya, their history and their contact with foreign cultures were discussed. It was found that from the initial contact between alien and indigenous cultures, many problems pertaining to cultural accommodation arose, some of which will be discussed in this study.

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[*]The kipande system was a registration certificate which all Africans were supposed to carry. The government did this to provide more labor for the settler farms. To deal with the problem of desertion, the kipande system of identification was instituted.

CHAPTER III

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES 1844-1888 WITH EMPHASIS

ON JOURNEYS OF EXPLORATION

The interior of Africa presented a formidable
barrier to Europeans. Their attempts to penetrate the
continent were frustrated. East Africa's interior, and
Kenya in particular, was no exception. The earliest
attempts by Europeans to penetrate Kenya's mainland were
met by failures until about the middle of the nineteenth
century when a Christian missionary arrived in Mombasa,
Kenya.

JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF AND JOHANNES REBMAN

Johann Ludwig Krapf, a German travelling in the
services of the Church Missionary Society, was the first
European to bring Christianity to Kenya. He arrived in
1844.[1]

Krapf's first journey to Africa was in 1837 and his
preference was to work among the Galla people of Ethiopia.
After futile attempts to convert them to Christianity, he
became disenchanted and decided to leave Ethiopia for the

[1]Kenneth Ingham, A History of East Africa (New York:
Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 87.

East African Coast and once more to attempt from there to reach the same people from a different direction--hence his arrival in Mombasa.[2]

After he arrived in Mombasa, Krapf changed his mind and decided instead to settle down. He realized the importance of learning the language of the people in order to spread Christian doctrines, soon became conversant in Swahili and translated portions of the Bible.[3]

Two months after his arrival, he lost his wife and baby daughter.[4] In 1846, he was a little relieved when joined by a comrade, Johannes Rebman. The work of missionary activities in Kenya, particularly exploration of the interior, was initially dominated by the services of these two Germans. It should be pointed out that until 1874, the Church Missionary Society could not find its own candidates for recruitment to face the climatic conditions in Africa. Krapf and Rebman, employed by the Church Missionary Society, were German Lutherans trained at Basel, Switzerland, and they did not receive Anglican orders.[5]

[2]Ibid., p. 88.

[3]Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth, An Introduction to the History of East Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 80.

[4]C. P. Groves (ed.), The Planting of Christianity in Africa, Vol. II (London: Lutterworth Press, 1954), p. 98.

[5]Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1952), pp. 5-6.

In 1847, Rebman set out on his first journey to the hinterland. It was in the same year that he became the first European to see the highest mountain in Africa, Mount Kilimanjaro. In 1849, his companion, Krapf, saw the second highest peak, Mount Kenya. As briefly mentioned in Chapter I, their "discoveries" created much enthusiasm in Europe, and in particular the Royal Geographic Society sent expeditions to continue the exploration of the interior.[6]

A series of journeys of exploration followed, in which great "discoveries" were made. Among the most important were: Lake Tanganyika, 1856; Lake Nyanza, 1858; and, in 1862, the source of the River Nile, which had for so long been a subject of controversy among European explorers and geographers.[7]

DAVID LIVINGSTONE

Although the missionary expeditions, as well as those expeditions sent out by the Royal Geographic Society, were significant, it was through David Livingstone's efforts that hundreds of missionaries were challenged to go to Africa.[8] They were definitely helped by the earlier explorers, whose fragments of knowledge placed them in a better position than their predecessors.

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[6] Marsh and Kingsnorth, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

[7] Ibid., pp. 60-61.

[8] Oliver, op. cit., p. 7.

In his three journeys, Livingstone travelled extensively in East and Central Africa, for he believed that geographic exploration must precede missionary enterprise. Both in Zanzibar, the headquarters of the East African slave trade, and in the interior, he came into contact with the horrors and atrocities committed against the African people in the lucrative Arab slave trade. His attacks on the Arab slave trade received acclaim in England, where the campaign to stop the slave trade was gaining momentum in Parliament. The Arabs were displeased with Livingstone's activities, and in his last journey, from 1866 to 1873, he experienced many difficulties. Arabs refused to carry supplies or letters to him from the British Consul in Zanzibar, and for over three years people in England and the United States had no news from Livingstone and many thought him to be dead.[9]

HENRY STANLEY

The New York Herald, noting the wide interest in news about Livingstone, sent its correspondent, Henry Stanley, to Africa in 1871 in search of him. Stanley found Livingstone, and after unsuccessful attempts to persuade him to return home, they bade each other goodbye on March 14, 1872. Stanley was the last white man to see Livingstone alive.[10] In a speech at Edinburgh University, Stanley revealed that

[9]Marsh and Kingsnorth, op. cit., p. 65.

[10]Groves, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

he had found Livingstone without food, lonely and deserted.[11]
Stanley's report on this matter was severely embarrassing to
British diplomats in Zanzibar.[*]

Livingstone died in May, 1873, after he had set in
motion a vast missionary enterprise in East Africa. One of
his most remarkable appeals to his fellow countrymen re-
sulted in the foundation of the Universities Mission to
Central Africa. The speech that led to the formation of the
Universities Mission was given to a group of people in the
Senate House at Cambridge University in 1857.[12] He chal-
lenged his audience to go to Africa in order to redeem her
from the horrible slave trade. He also urged them to intro-
duce legitimate commerce, Christianity and civilization. In
part, Livingstone said:

> I beg to direct your attention to Africa; I know that
> in a few years I shall be cut off in that country,
> which is now open; do not let it be shut again! I go
> back to Africa to make an open path for commerce and
> Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have
> begun. I leave it with you.[13]

THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA

The Universities Mission to Central Africa raised

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[11]Marsh and Kingsnorth, op. cit., p. 40.

[12]Oliver, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

[13]Groves, op. cit., p. 176.

[*]Stanley's report was especially embarrassing to
Kirk, British Consul in Zanzibar, for it pointed out his
negligence in the affair. See Groves, ibid., p. 204.

funds through a committee which also recruited candidates. From the beginning this organization had to compete with the two larger ones, the Church Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Members of the Universities Mission to Central Africa were faced with serious economic difficulties, for they were receiving only a subsistence allowance for their expenses. Their posts were poorly equipped and staffed, and disease and death contributed to a rapid turnover. These difficulties became so crucial and catastrophic that Livingstone's insights were brought into question. The Zambezi River was not navigable, as Livingstone had suggested. European settlements around the Zambezi region were endangered by the presence of Yaos, who carried out periodic raids against the Manganjas. The arrival of Europeans in the area was claimed to worsen the situation because it was felt that the weak Manganjas might come to seek refuge in the European farms.[14]

MISSIONARIES' FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Missionary societies from the beginning were handicapped by their meager budgets. Part of the failure of Portuguese missionary efforts in East Africa was said to be attributable to the fact that they were more concerned with commerce, by which they could support themselves, than with the propagation of the Gospel. On this note, Diamond had

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[14]Roland Oliver, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

this to say:

> Portuguese historical records abound in accounts of
> treachery, debauchery, and intrigue among the mission-
> aries who lost what respect they had among their
> countrymen and established their own reputation among
> the Africans as being avid merchants, slavers and
> rulers, guided by greed and lust.[15]

Pursuing the same subject, Groves mentioned a Jesuit
priest, who "saw in the condonation of the slave traffic a
major cause of ultimate failure of the work of Catholic
missionary work in East Africa."[16]

Missionaries became pre-occupied with the old eco-
nomic problem of how to achieve maximum results with minimum
resources. At the beginning, supporters of David Livingstone
were very enthusiastic. But, because of their own financial
difficulties, his parishioners at home, who contributed
money to his supposedly fixed geographic area (South Africa),
wondered whether he had not exceeded his jurisdiction when
he went north to the Zambezi River in Eastern Africa.
Livingstone received a letter to this effect from his superior
at the London Missionary Society, in which a doubt was ex-
pressed on the part of the Society's ability "within any
definite period to enter upon untried, remote and difficult
fields of labor."[17]

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[15] Stanley Diamond and Fred G. Burke, The Transforma-
tion of East Africa (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966),
p. 523.

[16] C. P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in East
Africa, Vol. I (London: Lutterworth Press, 1948), p. 146.

[17] Ibid., p. 172.

In his Cambridge speech, Livingstone told his
audience that he had "opened" the door to Africa and he
argued that to refuse to face the challenge that the con-
tinent presented would be tantamount to shutting that door.
Rather than leave the untried or difficult, and choose the
tried and easy, he wrote to the London Missionary Society
and expressed his desire to resign from the organization and
make his own endeavors to support the course he had chosen.[18]

To the parishioners who had contributed money and
were waiting hungrily to hear the immediate results of their
investment in terms of the numbers of conversions, Living-
stone replied:

> If we call the actual amount of conversions the direct
> result of missions, and the wide diffusion of better
> principles the indirect, I have no hesitation in assert-
> ing that the latter are of infinitely more importance
> than the former. I do not undervalue the importance of
> conversion of the most abject creature that breathes; it
> is of overwhelming worth to him personally, but viewing
> our work of wide sowing of the good seed relatively to
> the harvest which will be reaped when all our heads are
> low, there can, I think, be no comparison. Time is more
> important than concentration.[19]

Not many Christians believed that Livingstone's
"indirect" approach--that of planting now for a large harvest
later--was practical. They wanted immediate results evi-
denced by a list of saved African souls. Another problem,

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[18]Ibid., p. 173.

[19]David Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Experi-
ences in South Africa, 1857, p. 226, in Roland Oliver, The
Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, Green
and Co., 1952), p. 10.

similar to that faced by Livingstone, has been noted by Dike.[*]

The missionaries' attitudes ranged from that of the Portuguese, who were primarily concerned with trading and profit, to that of David Livingstone, who advocated a legitimate commerce, Christianity, and civilization. The concern with financial matters made missionaries and traders dependent upon one another.

> The Christian missions made a considerable impact on the trading situation. In turn the expansion of European trade and political influence greatly facilitated the work of missionaries. Every missionary depended for passage, freight and correspondence on the trading vessel. . . . the missionary could rarely, afford the expense and maintenance of a ship.[20]

To illustrate why the missionaries were seeking help from colonial governments, but always emphasizing their own good will and philanthropy, the following figures tell part of the story.[**]

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[20]K. O. Dike, The Christian Missions in Nigeria (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 92.

[*]In West Africa when Freeman tried to expand the Methodist Gold Coast Mission to Yorubaland, his employer, the Methodists, although they did not question his inability to convert the natives, as in the case of Livingstone, they found it necessary to register their disapproval of his actions by stating that, if every missionary advocated expansionist policies, "our missionary society must soon cease to exist and all its holy and benevolent operations would be paralyzed if not entirely destroyed." See K. O. Dike, op. cit., p. 92.

[**]In 1938, European contributions to the six Anglican Dioceses in East Africa amounted to £17,000 (pounds) each. This amount covered very little more than missionary salaries. Despite discriminatory salaries, which ranged from £10 to £25 (pounds) for an African clergyman as against £650 (pounds) for a European, the Africans did more of the pastoral and evangelistic work than did the Europeans. European

STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The intrusion into the African interior by Livingstone, Rebman, Krapf, Stanley and others was followed by the partition of Africa by European nations at the Berlin Conference of 1885. The reasons for the carving of "spheres of influence" were many and varied, as mentioned earlier.

European expansion in Africa facilitated the spread of Christianity. Among the Protestants in Britain and the United States, the missionary movements which were formally supported by the rank and file of church members gradually enlisted the support of lay Christians and particularly of Christian students.

In the United States, the Student Volunteer Movement was established in 1886.[21] The movement quickly spread its influence across American colleges, universities and

contributors at home could no longer pay medical missionaries whose expenses were met by government funds. See Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), chap. V.

In West Africa, the Methodists, by providing £4,000 (pounds) a year to cover salaries and miscellaneous, were operating a ring of stations along the Gold Coast as well as inland. The Church Missionary Society in Yoruba started with £3,000 (pounds). The Presbyterians in Calabar had a budget of £2,000 (pounds) for all its activities in 1850. See K. O. Dike, The Christian Missions in Nigeria (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 92.

[21] Kenneth Scott Latourette, The Christian World Mission in Our Day (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 4.

seminaries. Many students sponsored by their respective churches became candidates for recruitment for overseas service to work not only in Africa but also in Asia. As the years progressed, every major denomination except the Catholics had missionaries beyond the borders of the United States. Roman Catholics were lagging behind in missionary activity because the Catholics had neither the resources nor the manpower to extend to other countries. The first major organization by the American Catholics to spread the Christian faith abroad was not started until 1911.[22]

In this chapter, the missionary pioneers of East Africa were studied. It was through their efforts that the African interior became accessible to more missionaries and to other interested European groups.

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[22]Ibid., pp. 245-246.

CHAPTER IV

AFRICAN TRADITIONAL EDUCATION AND PATTERNS OF LIFE

BEFORE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION

The type of education and the patterns of life among

Kenyan Africans can be drawn from anthropological and ethno-

graphic studies conducted in the twentieth century. Anthro-

pologists tell us that pre-literate societies (pre-literate

in the Western sense) share some general traits and charac-

teristics with the complex industrial societies in the

process of education. Every society has its own way of life,

be it industrial or small scale folk society. They perpetu-

ate their unique way of life through a system of formal or

informal education. According to Kneller, "each established

human group evolves a version of social life or culture that

is unique, though all versions provide such basic arrange-

ments as family, economic, religion, technology and culture."[1]

Herskovits defined education as an "enculturative

process . . . the process whereby the knowledge of a people

is passed from one generation to the next."[2] The concept of

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

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

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"schooling" constitutes one of the basic differences between educational processes in African traditional societies and industrial communities of the West. The Africans stressed the idea of acquiring the values of a corporate and communal society. Kenyatta stated that to the Europeans "individuality is the ideal of life, (but) to the Africans the ideal is the right relationship with, and behaviour to, other people."[3]

African children learned by working and living among their elders, whereas European children were removed from their homes and put in a school building in which the teacher (regardless of his knowledge about societal and cultural forces surrounding the children) was supposed to tell the pupils how to conform to the will of the society.

The nucleus of the African family is the "extended family." This includes parents, grandparents, cousins, uncles, aunts and the clan. Everyone else is considered a brother or sister. On the other hand, European family life generally revolves around parents and children. This basic difference demonstrates why Africans have broad interpersonal relationships as opposed to the individualistically competitive and class oriented European social behavior. In a traditional African community, any elder treats all young people as his children, and in turn all young people respect him as their parent.

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[3]Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), p. 118.

EDUCATION

It is important, therefore, given this background, to note that when missionaries first arrived in Kenya, they did not find an educational vacuum. One of the most serious assumptions that missionaries made was to think that they brought education to entirely uneducated Africans.

> In the deepest sense African customary education was a true education. Its aim was to conserve the cultural heritage of the family, clan . . . , to adapt children to their physical environment and teach them how to use it, to explain to them that their own future and that of their community depended on the perpetuation and understanding of their tribal institutions, on the laws, language and values they had inherited from the past. These aims were achieved, and most effectively, long before the European brought to Africa the other view that education necessarily involved the skills of writing and reading books.[4]

Discussing the same subject, Batten stated that, contrary to the popular opinion that missionaries found no functioning educational system in Africa, there existed a system of education that met the African needs. Among those who destroyed this educational system were the missionaries who imposed on it a European type education which was to serve as a tool for spreading Christianity.[5]

Kenyatta, a student of African anthropology, described the Gikuyu system of education as beginning at birth

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[4]E. B. Castle, _Growing Up in East Africa_ (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 29.

[5]T. R. Batten, _Problems of African Development_ (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 27.

and continuing until death.

> The child has to pass verious stages of age group-
> ings with a system of education defined for every status
> in life. The parents take responsibility of educating
> their children until they reach the stage of tribal edu-
> cation. They aim at instilling into the children what
> the Gikuyu call "otaari wa mocie" or "kerera kia mocie,"
> namely, educating the children in the family and clan
> tradition. . . . The education of small children is en-
> tirely in the hands of the mother. . . . It is carried
> through the medium of lullabies. . . . This is one of
> the methods by which the history of the people is passed
> on from generation to generation.[6]

Anderson quoted Michael Whisson, who spoke about the

Luo people of Kenya and their educational practices:

> Each member had his part to play in educating the
> young. The parts were consistent with social status
> of the teacher in relation to the pupils. The old man
> possessed wisdom of years and had the vital task of
> teaching about religion, politics, the middle-aged man
> taught practical arts, the young men rehearsed their
> younger brothers in these arts. The power to pass or
> withhold wisdom was a most important factor in the
> authority which the old possessed over the young.[7]

The education consisted of stories mostly told in

the evening before going to bed. Myths, legends, songs,

past accomplishments and future potential were handed down

in the form of an oral tradition from generation to genera-

tion. The people lived in close social, economic and

political units. They were tied to an extended family

system consisting of the immediate family, clan and tribe.

The the relationship was extended to those outside the

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[6]Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (New York:
Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 96-97.

[7]John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London:
Longman Group, Ltd., 1970), p. 104.

immediate family clan or tribe. These "outsiders" were re-
garded as "brothers" or "comrades," and all strangers,
whether they were travelling or conducting other business,
were treated with caution and hospitality.

According to Kenyatta, while going through this
educational process, there was no need to write it.

> Like any other Gikuyu child I acquired in my youth
> my country's equivalent of a liberal education, but
> while I lived among my kinsfolk there was no obvious
> need for writing it down.[8]

In sum, African traditional education in Kenya was
informal and non-institutionalized. It reflected the
cultural patterns of the community. The process of educa-
tion enjoyed the absence of various groups who use education
to further their own interests. But when the missionaries,
settlers, and the colonial officials arrived in Kenya, each
sought to provide education which would mainly serve their
own interests. Education became a controversial and a
political subject in which each European group tried to
provide that education which it deemed "suitable" for the
Africans. The Europeans entrenched their domination of the
Africans through the institutionalization of education. As
this study will show in Chapter VI, Africans challenged this
European paternalism and even built their own schools.

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[8]Kenyatta, Preface.

LAND TENURE

In Kenya, land tenure at the time of the European arrival was one of the most important factors in the educational, economic, social, political and religious life of the people. Kenyatta wrote the following:

> Gikuyu people depend entirely on the land. It supplies them with the material needs of life, through which spiritual and mental contentment is achieved. Communion with the ancestral spirits is perpetuated through contact with the soil in which the ancestors lie buried.[9]

How the land held the African community together was again expressed by Murray:

> The communal nature of land-holding in Africa is also indicated by the fact that the land is not only the source of food supply; it is the home of the race and the sepulchre of the dead; in it the race is one-- those alive above the earth and those sleeping beneath, the latter are, on occasion, much more effective members of the tribe than the former.[10]

MARRIAGE SETTLEMENTS

Marriage is strongly imbedded in the kinship of many African communities. It was both an educational and a happy experience. Before a man got a wife, the Gikuyu, for example, required that he demonstrate materially, at least, that he could support a wife. Before the marriage was agreed upon, a transfer of some material possession from the bridegroom to the bride's family as evidence of "readiness" to take a

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[9] Ibid., p. 22.

[10] A. V. Murray, The School in the Bush (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1938), p. 39.

wife and support her was required. In many African societies, marriage was a family affair and not an individual affair, as is the case in the West. It was an educational promotion with corresponding rights and responsibilities. Kenyatta wrote:

> At marriage the husband is taught his duties towards a wife; to treat her well, to establish good relations with his parents-in-law and to receive their blessings before he takes their daughter to his home. So when a child is born he is taught his duty to offer a present of a goat or a sheep to his wife for her labour, in order that he may see the child. He is instructed when sexual intercourse may be resumed and how he should respect the child's maternal relatives.[11]

POLYGAMY

Polygamy was and still is accepted in many African countries. By tradition, a man can have as many wives as he wishes so long as he is capable of providing for their needs and happiness. "The larger one's family the better it is for him and the tribe. The love of children is also an encouraging factor of desiring to have more than one wife."[12]

INITIATION

The Gikuyu social life was impossible without initiation:

> . . . the principal factor in unifying the Gikuyu society is the system of age grading (riika) . . . every year, thousands of Gikuyu boys and girls go through the initiation of circumcision ceremony and

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[11] Kenyatta, op. cit., p. 107.

[12] Ibid., p. 167.

automatically become members of one age grade.[13]

This marks the beginning of womanhood or manhood when the boy or girl earns the right to participate in some of the tribal governmental and administrative decisions that affect their lives.

AFRICANS' RESISTANCE TO EUROPEAN INTRUSION

The African resistance to the European invasion had significant consequences in the later development of the relationship between the two groups. As Africans became actively opposed to colonization, Europeans attempting to build forts were attacked. Europeans retaliated with their superior weapons by sending out punitive expeditions.

Between 1895 and 1905, five military expeditions were sent to fight the Kalenjin people of Kenya. In one of the most punitive raids, the Kalenjin leader was shot dead by an army officer.[14]

Meinertzhagen, an officer in one punitive raid in Nyeri district in 1902, recorded that:

> We killed about 17 niggers. Two policemen and one of my men were killed. I narrowly escaped a spear which whizzed past my head. Then the fun began. We at once burned the village and captured the sheep and goats, . . . burned all the huts, and killed a few more niggers, who finally gave up the fight. [We] fined them 50 head of cattle . . . such nonsense as attacking

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[13]Ibid., p. 4.

[14]Carl A. Rosberg and John Nottingham, The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), pp. 8-9.

the station is completely driven from their stupid heads. So order reigns once more in Kenya.[15]

In 1890, Captain Frederick Lugard of the Imperial British East Africa Company started a fort in the Gikuyu area. The Gikuyu disliked the idea and attempted to chase the European in charge away. A military expedition was sent to punish the Gikuyu and when Waiyaki, the Gikuyu leader, went to protest, he was captured and deported to the coast. He died mysteriously on his way to exile, an incident which figures prominently in the history of the Gikuyu people.[16] Waiyaki, who was not sick at the time of his seizure, is suspected of having been tortured to death by his captors.

African traditional education was the topic in this chapter. It was found that, contrary to the popularly held belief that Africans had no educational system at the time the Europeans arrived, there existed in Kenya a viable and functional educational system that met the African needs.

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[15]Colonel R. Meinertzhagen, _Kenya Diary_ (London: Oliver and Boys, 1957), p. 40.

[16]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

CHAPTER V

MISSIONARIES, SEGREGATED EDUCATION AND THE AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN REACTIONS TO EACH OTHER'S CULTURE

It was stated earlier in this study that the first European to bring Christianity to Kenya was Johann Krapf in 1844. In 1846 he was joined by Rebman, and the first formal "school" in Kenya was reported to have been started by them in 1848.[1] Krapf wrote in his memoirs that as soon as Rebman could master sufficient Swahili, "he undertook the instruction of some boys among whom was the son of our Chief, Jindoa, a lad of ten who learned to read fairly well and to write a little."[2]

The two men were German Lutherans trained at Basel but were travelling under the auspices of the British based Church Missionary Society, an agent of the Anglican Church. As shown earlier in this study, the present day Kenya coast was for centuries a bone of contention between Arabs and Portuguese as each tried to assert its rule.

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[1] P. H. Gulliver, _Tradition and Transition in East Africa_ (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), p. 149. Historians differ on the specific year when the first formal school was introduced in Kenya. The years frequently mentioned are 1846 and 1848.

[2] Johann Krapf, _Travels, Research and Missionary Labours, 1860_ (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1968), p. 159.

The British Arab Treaty of Moresby in 1822 stipulated that the British government would assist the Arab ruler to fight his enemies. In turn, the Sultan (the title of the Arab ruler of Zanzibar) would agree to "limit" slave traffic and let Britishers travel throughout East Africa.[3] Therefore, Krapf and Rebman, as servants of the British Church, were granted travel permits in accordance with the terms of the Moresby Treaty. Krapf was given a letter of introduction to visit the Arab Sultan's "empire"[*] of East Africa.

> This comes from Said Sultan to all our subjects, friends and governors, our greeting. This note is given in favour of Dr. Krapf, the German, a good man who desires to convert the world to God. Behave ye well toward him, and render him services everywhere. This has been written by Ahmed, the Secretary and Servant, at the order of your Lord.[4]

From the review of the literature, what happened in this first school or what subjects were taught is not clear because what followed them was a series of journeys of exploration aimed at penetrating the interior.

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[3]L. W. Hollingsworth, A Short History of the East Coast of Africa (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1956), p. 130.

[4]C. P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa, II (London: Lutterworth Press, 1954), p. 97.

[*]Theoretically, according to the Sultan, his Arab rule extended from the coastal areas to the great lakes of the interior: Tanganyika, Nyanza, Nyasa, Kivu, and Albert. After the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, in which Africa was partitioned, the Sultan's claim was nullified.

On April 27, 1848, Rebman set out from Mombasa towards the country of the Chagga people. It was on this trip that he "discovered" Mount Kilimanjaro. On July 12, 1848, Krapf set out for more geographical discoveries towards the kingdom of Usambara to the south.[5] Their activities in these early years became dominated by geographical journeys of exploration.

In 1853, Krapf returned to Europe for health reasons and Rebman was left at Rabai Station where he spent twenty-nine years alone.[6] During this period, their evangelistic activities among their neighbors at Rabai, the Wanyika people, were ineffective. In 1864, on a visit to the semi-completed buildings at the station, the British Consul in Zanzibar found six baptized converts surrounding Rebman.[7]

Despite the missionaries' shortcomings, the foundation of a Western form of education in Kenya was engineered by them in the nineteenth century and it remained a monopoly of the Church for many years. Literacy was, of course, necessary in the propagation of the Gospel. According to Bohannon:

The great debt that Africa owes to the missionaries is

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[5]Ibid., pp. 100-101.

[6]Roland Oliver, Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), p. 8.

[7]Ibid., p. 6. In a Doctor's dissertation at Boston University in 1964, Alan R. Booth stated that it took the American missionaries in South Africa 36 years to have 493 African converts.

that in a situation in which forces of trade, colonial government, and the missions themselves were creating cultural havoc, it was the missionaries who started to rebuild.[8]

The nature of the schools and their academic quality were partly dependent on missionary budgets and their social economic origins. Those from artisan classes from Europe and the United States tended to teach rudimentary literacy and manual tasks. If the mission was supported by those from higher economic brackets who had the privilege of liberal education, the curriculum reflected their tastes.[9]

The first missionary concern was evangelization, but until about the end of the nineteenth century the problems of penetrating inland prevented any effective Christianization program among the African people. Until the building of the railway at the end of the nineteenth century, missionaries were forced by difficult travel conditions to restrict their activities to the Kenya coast.

THE RAILWAY AND EDUCATION

Apart from the cultural interaction, other factors were shaping the educational history of Kenya. One of these was the building of the railway from Mombasa near the Indian Ocean across the country to Kisumu near Lake Nyanza.

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[8]Paul Bohannan and Philip Curtin, *Africa and Africans* (New York: The Natural History Press, 1971), p. 187.

[9]L. Gray Cowan, James O'Connel and David G. Scanlon, *Education and Nation Building in Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 4.

As was mentioned earlier in this study, the rail-
way was an essential and vital factor in the history of
Kenya.[10]

The railway was built for various reasons conncected
with colonial administration. One of these was to provide
transportation and communication links between the British
authorities in Zanzibar and their interests in Uganda,
where German intrusions were becoming tiresome to the
British.[11]

The construction of the railway started in 1895 from
Mombasa and reached Kisumu, its terminus, on December 20,
1901.[12] It cost £9,500 (pounds) per mile and many lives.[13]

The racially segregated system of education that
evolved in Kenya can partly be attributed to the building of
the railway. Since Africans were considered too unskilled
for construction tasks, thousands of semi-skilled Indians
were imported from India to do various jobs in its con-
struction. But there is evidence that, despite the European

[10]In M. F. Hill, The Permanent Way (Nairobi: East
African Railways and Harbours, 1950), p. 199.

[11]Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth, An Introduction
to the History of East Africa (London: Cambridge University
Press, 1957), p. 172.

[12]Carl G. Rosberg and John Nottingham, The Myth of
Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya (New York: Frederick A.
Praeger, 1966), p. 16.

[13]Stanley Diamond and Fred G. Burke, The Transforma-
tion of East Africa (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966),
p. 199.

railway authorities' lack of recognition of African per-
formance in various jobs in the construction, they gave not
only their labor but their lives as well. In one incident,
Delf wrote that the lions ate "twenty-eight coolies
[Indians], and an unspecified number of Africans."[14] No
reason was given for not specifying the number of Africans.

After the railway was completed, the more than
32,000 Indians brought to Kenya decided to stay on. Their
number has grown to about 120,000 and they dominate the
commercial activities in the country.[15] Kitchen put the
Asian population a little higher, at 174,000.[16]

With the establishment of the railway and colonial
administration, the missionaries took advantage of the two
and rapidly spread inland for additional "spheres of influ-
ence." This was the period which, as indicated earlier,
Oliver called the "Zenith" of the Missions.

It can be concluded, therefore, that the mission-
aries' work in Kenya proceeded rapidly after the railway was
completed and equally important is the fact that the estab-
lishment of British administration aided the work of
missionaries who were dependent upon and relied upon British
power.

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[14]George Delf, Asians in East Africa (London:
Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 12.

[15]Diamond and Burke, op. cit., p. 199.

[16]Helen Kitchen, The Educated African (New York:
Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 128.

MISSIONARIES THRUST INLAND

As a result of the railway construction and the declaration of the East Africa Protectorate in 1895 (as Kenya was known in the early colonial days), the missionaries, colonial officials, traders and European settlers migrated inland in ever increasing numbers.

In 1894, although the Church Missionary Society could point to a record of fifty years at the Coast, its influence extended to only about fifty miles inland.[17]

In 1898, Reverend Thomas Watson of the Church of Scotland Mission arrived at Gikuyu in Central Kenya. In 1899, the Roman Catholic Missionaries arrived, and in 1900, Reverend McGregor of the Church Missionary Society. In 1902, Reverend Harry Leakey (the father of the famous Kenyan archeologist L. S. B. Leakey) arrived to assume the responsibilities of the Gikuyu station while McGregor was transferred to Muranga. The African Inland Mission, supposedly an interdenominational organization, but dominated by Baptists and Adventists, moved from Ukambani to establish a station at Kijabe, 25 miles to the west of the Church of Scotland Mission at Gikuyu. In 1902, the Adventists formed a splinter group, calling itself the Gospel Missionary Society, but continued its activities in the same district. In the same year, the American Adventists and Quakers moved

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[17]Oliver, op. cit., p. 169.

into what is now Nyanza Province.[18]

To determine the geographic areas of evangelization, the interior was carved-up according to Missionary interests. For example, Oliver cites a case in which Reverend Scott of the Church of Scotland Mission and Reverend Leakey of the Church Missionary Society climbed to the top of a hill and, through a "gentleman's agreement," decided upon boundaries within which they were each to confine their evangelistic activities.[19]

Each missionary group brought to the African people different philosophies of commitment, different Christian traditions and beliefs as well as different attitudes towards education. Their sometimes hostile competition and subsequent development brought confusion to the African community. According to Mboya, "the multiplicity of churches in Africa has puzzled many uneducated Africans, who wonder why there should be so many except perhaps for a business enterprise."[20]

In Uganda, there existed religious wars and persecutions between Protestants, Catholics and Moslems, and the Church Missionary Society is said to have played a significant role in influencing the British Government to intervene with force and establish a Protectorate.[21]

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[18]Ibid., pp. 170-171. [19]Ibid., p. 223.

[20] Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1963), p. 15.

[21]Diamond and Burke, op. cit., p. 317.

The geographical spheres of operations agreed upon
by missionary groups did not include the cities. The Church
Missionary Society became the first to establish missions in
major towns. As African social mobility increased, there was
a drift from rural to urban areas. Adherents of other mis-
sions came into contact with the Church Missionary Society
which had a monopoly in the cities. Some were converted and
baptized and sent back to their villages to preach the
Mission's doctrines. A problem of church discipline arose
in which catechists or adherents dismissed from one mission
for disobedience would apply for a position in another de-
nomination.

These and other pastoral problems such as rival
competition for converts indicated the need for unity and
coordination among the missionary organizations themselves.
Dr. Henry Scott, head of the Church of Scotland Mission at
Gikuyu, proposed a loose confederation of missionaries to
form a united front in order to carry on their Christianiza-
tion programs more effectively and thus counter Islam in-
fluence in Kenya as a whole. At the Gikuyu Conference of
1913, the proposal for a Federation of Missions was pre-
sented to the "big four"* for consideration. There were
basic disagreements and the attempt failed.[22]

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[22]Oliver, op. cit., pp. 225-226.

*The four largest missions in Kenya were: The
Church Missionary Society, The Church of Scotland Mission,
The African Inland Mission, and The United Methodists.

The following is a chronology of important early missionary establishments:

1844   The Church Missionary Society arrival in Mombasa. Krapf and Rebman start school (1846-1848).

1862   The United Methodist Free Church established headquarters near Mombasa.

1890   Holy Ghost Fathers arrived in Mombasa.

1891   The Imperial British East Africa Company established the Scottish Industrial Mission 150 miles inland from Mombasa.

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

        The African Inland Mission started a station in southeastern Kenya.

1896   The French Fathers planted the first coffee trees in their St. Austins Mission near Nairobi.

1898   Reverend Thomas Watson of the Church of Scotland Mission arrived at Gikuyu in Central Kenya.

1899   The Roman Catholic Missionaries arrived in Central Kenya.

1900   Reverend McGregor of the Church Missionary Society arrived in Central Kenya.

1901   The Railway crossed the country from Mombasa to Kisumu. The route increased mobility to the rather inaccessible interior.

        The Church Missionary Society started a station at Kihuruko.

1902   Italian Fathers arrived in Kiambu District.

        The Adventists broke away from the African Inland Mission (supposedly an interdenominational group, but dominated by Baptists and Adventists) and formed a splinter group calling itself the Gospel Missionary Society.

        American Adventists and Quakers started two missions in what is now Nyanza Province.

1906	The Italian Fathers founded another station at Mangu.
	The Church Missionary Society founded another settlement at Kahuia.
1907	The Comsolate Fathers started another station at Nyeri.
1908 - 1911	Marked substantial expansion, particularly by the Church of Scotland Mission and the Church Missionary Society in the hinterland.

From 1901 onward, when the railway across the country was completed, the occupation of the interior by missionary groups increased rapidly.

One more interesting factor that arose at the time of this missionary drama, but which was outside the scope of this study, was the fact that, as far as the writer could ascertain, there were no black missionaries sent to Kenya at this time. In this regard, several questions can be raised:

1. Did the missionary organizations inject an element of racism in their selection process?

2. Was it the colonial government's policy that black missionaries be excluded?

3. Did the missionaries connive with the colonial authorities in the systematic exclusion of blacks?

These questions, which touch upon the recruitment policies of missionary bodies, constitute a new field of investigation.

MISSIONARY VIEWS OF AFRICANS AND AFRICAN
REACTIONS TO MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Despite the allegation that Africa had no culture or civilization worthy of the name before the white man came, those people inhabiting what is now Kenya had a particular

way of life that suited their needs. From the days of the slave trade, adjectives describing Africa as dark, backward, primitive and so forth have been used by early explorers, missionaries and, more recently, journalists, tourists and other European adventurers.

Contrary to the stereotypes, Africa has a history and civilization of its own. Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage wrote:

> The notion of Africa as the ["Dark Continent"] is a parochial European idea, which gained currency because . . . it was the last to experience that full impact of European people. . . . At the beginning of this modern period of history, however, Africa was far from the most backward of the continents. The Australians, for example, when they were discovered by the Europeans, were still living as hunters and gatherers, and were using stone tools comparable with the mesolithic or 'Middle Stone Age' cultures, abandoned by most European and African peoples from three to six thousand years before.[23]

This attitude of ethnocentrism and intellectual arrogance of certain Europeans was shared by some missionaries and a number of colonial officials. As bearers of Western civilization, missionaries assumed, and quite mistakenly, that a new and a better order could be brought about by a wholesale transportation of Western values and culture to the Kenyan people. Missionaries, wrote Welbourn, "came with the assumption that they represented a higher civilization, indeed, perhaps, that no civilization existed in Africa."[24]

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[23]Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa (New York: New York University Press, 1962), p. 13.

[24]F. B. Welbourn, East African Christian (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 64.

Similarly, "it was of the nature of the colonial experience that on every level it brought the traditional society into contact with modernity."[25]

The great misunderstandings about Africa have even been advanced by those considered African "experts." In 1963, Professor Roper, Chairman of the History Department at Oxford University, revealed academic bigotry in a remark regarding his students.

> . . . seduced as always by the changing breadth of journalistic fashion, demand that they should be taught African history. Perhaps in the future, there will be some African history to teach, but at present there is none, there is the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness . . . and darkness is not a subject of history.[26]

The current enthusiasm among Africans in their craving for education presents a contrast to early indifference concerning missionary education. Oginga Odinga stated that when he first went to school at the age of thirteen, he did so reluctantly and went to school only on those days when he felt like going.[27] The Wakamba people of Kenya demanded that they be paid in order to attend school, and devastating rumours about those attending school were spread.[28] In another case, pupils were reported to have

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[25]Max F. Millikan and Donald L. M. Blackmer, The Emerging Nations: Their Growth and United States Policy (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1961), p. 11.

[26]Stanley Diamond and Fred G. Burke, op. cit., p. 6.

[27]Oginga Odinga, Not Yet Uhuru (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), p. 61.

[28]Marsh and Kingsnorth, op. cit., p. 88.

gone on strike for allegedly not being paid enough to attend school.[29]

In 1921, when a school was opened in the Masai area, the school and government officials coerced the parents to allow the children to attend. The school was financed from funds derived from fines imposed upon the Masai people by the Colonial Government. The Headmaster was not trained in education, but in military science.[30]

The quality of instruction, the standards and educational facilities were poor and low. Mboya, who went to school in the thirties, described the type of education he received as mainly consisting of singing hymns, reciting prayers and memorizing catechism.[31] The author, who first went to a mission school in 1951, can well remember the religious bias in the curriculum.

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[29]Kitchen, op. cit., p. 31.

[30]Thomas Jesse Jones, The Phelps Stokes Report (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1925), p. 120.

[31]Mboya, op. cit., p. 7.

Mboya also mentioned that his decision against theological studies was based on the fact that missionaries condoned segregation by building public facilities for different races and that they never instilled in the African child a feeling of dignity and citizenship; instead, they spread feelings of inferiority among the Africans by denouncing their customs regardless of their merits.[32]

The author vividly remembers a conversation he had with a village elder when he completed primary school in 1959. In answer to a question as to why he never went to school, the elder replied that only the cowardly, the incompetent, and the deviant were sent to school during his younger years. The coward was sent to school as a way of "getting rid of him," since whenever a hyena came to attack the goats, sheep or cows, he would take to his heels, leaving the sheep at the mercy of the wild animals. It was like a captain of a ship who succumbed to enemy fire and surrendered his ship and crew instead of fighting on to the bitter end. A brave boy, of course, would never run away. He would challenge the wild beast. Such heroes were seldom sent to school.

As pointed out in this study, missionaries also established different philosophies concerning African

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[32]Ibid., p. 9.

education. The Seventh Day Adventists, for example,

> . . . thought it immoral to give Africans an academic education, and believed all we should learn was the Bible from the first page to the last, and perhaps how to do some woodwork and manual labour. . . . the Seventh Day Adventists thought it un-Christian for an African to go to high school or college. I know of many Africans who were openly condemned in church for trying to get further academic education.[33]

Although missionary education was much more limited prior to World War I, the usual four or five years of primary education had reached a few boys, some of whom were later to play prominent roles in the history of Kenya. Among the early recipients was Jomo Kenyatta, born as Kamau Ngengi at an unknown date. He was baptized in August, 1914, at the Church of Scotland Mission Gikuyu, where he also received the first five years of his primary education.[34] After that Kenyatta said he educated himself.[35]

Bare literacy was becoming increasingly popular and was accorded high esteem in the African community, for it was instrumental in social mobility. One who could read and write could get a "better" job such as being a catechist, a village teacher or be engaged in some other relatively better job than tedious subsistence farming or herding cows.

In some cases the recipient could afford European amenities such as a bicycle or shoes and he was quick to see

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[33]Ibid., p. 11.

[34]Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 18.

[35]Slater Montagu, The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta (London: Mercury, 1965), p. 147.

the connection between education and European wealth and affluence. The relation between education and social mobility became more significant when the European settlers started to recruit clerks to do various jobs on their farms.[36]

Education, especially reading and writing, Kenyatta wrote, became the crucial ingredient in understanding "the white man's magic."[37] Africans increasingly came to view education as instrumental to a higher standard of living, and they started to make demands for more educational facilities.

In the area of business and industry, colonial administration and civil service, all of which were expanding, there arose a need for African subordinates to fill the lowest posts in the hierarchy of colonial administration and commerce. Directly related to the need for indigenous helpers was an economic consideration--Africans would be paid much less than the Indians who were doing those jobs. With African demands for more educational facilities and other economic and political pressures, the missionaries could not cope with demands and so they started to look for an ally. The earliest attempt to seek assistance from the government was aired in 1910, when the World Missionary Conference asked colonial governments for assistance in the development of

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[36]Oliver, op. cit., p. 199.

[37]Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p. 262.

African education.[38]

MISSIONARY COOPERATION WITH THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

The relationship between the missions and the state

and government was a subject of comment by Mason:

The relationship between the state and government
and the Voluntary Agencies in Africa has followed very
much the pattern of that in England, and development
in England has conditioned development in Africa.[39]

To understand the basis for the cooperation of the

missions and the colonial government, it was appropriate to

bring in England, where the precedent was set in 1833. It

should be pointed out that it took Britain hundreds of years

from 1066, when William the Conqueror entered Britannia, to

1944, when the first comprehensive Education Act for uni-

versal primary and secondary education was passed.[40]

The role of religious bodies in the English educa-

tional system has a long history. This was cited as one of

the reasons why there was no "public" education in England

until 1870, when the government decided to establish schools

which would cater to those children who could not find

places in schools run by voluntary agencies.[41]

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[38]Cowan, O'Connel and Scanlon, op. cit., p. 5.

[39]R. J. Mason, British Education in Africa (London:
Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 21.

[40]Uduaroh Okeke, "Education Reconstruction in Inde-
pendent Nigeria" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, New
York: University of New York, 1955), p. 71.

[41]Theodore L. Reller and Edgar L. Morphet, Compara-
tive Education Administration (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice
Hall, 1964), pp. 55-56.

For many years in England whatever education existed was provided for by the church groups or staunch Christian believers. From 1800 to about 1840, a number of societies emerged to promote primary education. The two largest bodies were "The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of Established Church Throughout England and Wales" and the "British and Foreign School Society." In 1833, when the first government grant of £20,000 (pounds) was given, it was directed to those schools managed by these two societies. A committee drawn from the two societies then allocated funds to their schools as they wanted. There was no government bureaucracy in terms of a special office, personnel, or department responsible for education. The grant was made by a treasury minute.[42]

During the intervening years, 1833 to 1870, there arose many conflicts in England between church and state as each tried to assert its right to run the schools. The passage of the Education Act of 1870 started what has come to be regarded as the "dual policy or system" of education. In those deprived districts where there were inadequate missionary schools, the act required that school boards be set up, and with government support, schools for all children between the ages of five and thirteen be built.[43]

[42]Mason, op. cit., p. 21.

[43]Ibid., pp. 18-19.

It has been mentioned that in Kenya missionaries suffered from lack of adequate financial resources from the very beginning. It has also been pointed out that David Livingstone severed his relations with the London Missionary Society because of financial reasons.

For over fifty years, religious bodies carried the whole load of educating Kenyans. However, as the years passed, the missionaries came to realize that the ever-increasing demand for education was beyond their meager resources, and the time to seek an ally was fast approaching. They made this move as indicated earlier in this chapter.

The Beecher Report stated that between 1895 and 1911, the central areas of Kenya were only beginning to be occupied by the missionaries and there is no detailed history of education available for that period.[44]

During this period, the main purpose of the missions in Kenya was religious. They aimed to save the African souls from eternal damnation and to win Africans for Jesus Christ.* In 1907, the House Committee vetoed Scott's

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[44]The Beecher Report, African Education (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949), p. 1.

*In Nigeria the International Review of Missions, October 1932, declared "their primary task [missionaries] is to win men for Jesus Christ . . . apart from this they should not be in Nigeria at all. Education is a necessary part of that task, but that education is necessarily conditioned by the major purpose."

agricultural project at the Church of Scotland Mission at Gikuyu. He was directed to concentrate on Bible studies needed by catechists.[45]

The part played by the missionaries in this initial period is significant in that it laid down the foundation for Kenya's present system of primary education. At the same time their presence and participation in this endeavor has been a subject of different comments by different authors. Galloway said:

> In spite of their pietistic theology, the early missionaries came from a culture which kept only one eye fixed on heaven, while the other was focussed quite firmly on the earth. Though the comforts of this world were regarded as possible distractions from an ultimately heavenly testing, yet at the same time they were regarded as indications of the goodness and providence of God.[46]

Koinange stated that the missionaries' presence in Kenya created divisions among the African people in accordance with their conflicting doctrines and rivalries. Africans were taught to mistrust their fellow brothers who happened to belong to a different denomination.[47]

On the early missionary school curriculum in Africa, Ikejiani observed:

> The curriculum was overweighted with religious knowledge--recitation of the catechism, reading

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[45]John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London: Longman Group, Ltd., 1970), p. 16.

[46]A. D. Galloway, "Missionary Impact on Nigeria," Nigerian Magazine, October 1960, p. 59.

[47]Mbiyu Koinange, The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves (Detroit: Kenya Publication Fund, 1955), p. 25.

passages from the Bible and singing hymns. When the songs were not religious they had to be in praise of Britain or of British scenery or of an episode in British history--"Rule Britannia," "D'ye ken John Peel," "Bonnie Charlie," "Ye Banks an' Braes," etc. Since the emphasis was on softening the minds of the "wild" children, religious instruction was reinforced by moral lessons on virtue, charity, humility, courage and truthfulness.[48]

Looking from a different angle, Lewis stated:

In attempting to pass judgement on the work of this initial period of uncoordinated activities it is important to refrain from judging wisely after the event. It must be recognized that despite the apparent deficiencies, such education as was provided not only produced an excellent cadre of local assistants for state and church, but also a number of outstanding individuals. In addition, among the educated population there was created a quality of public opinion, which on occasion exercised considerable influence to the advantage of those in authority. It is, in fact, in terms of the lives and character of individuals rather than in terms of policy and organization that the educational effort of this period is to be judged.[49]

Lewis is, of course, an Englishman of the older generation writing in the colonial period. It was therefore not unnatural that he would take this elitist view of education.

THE FIRST EDUCATION DEPARTMENT IN KENYA

The first Education Department in Kenya was established in 1911[50] not to cater to the education of the African children but for the children of the European

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[48]Okechuku Ikejiani, Education in Nigeria (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 43.

[49]L. J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1954), p. 13.

[50]Ibid., p. 38.

settler minority who had constantly insisted to the colonial
government that they should maintain a privileged position
in relation to other races. The first priority was to be
given to "the education of chiefs' sons by making a grant
for the purpose to the missions." , The missionaries refused
the grant because it included all sons of chiefs regardless
of whether they were Christians or not.[51]

The policy of leaving the education of the Africans
solely in the hands of missionary groups changed in 1913
when the first official African government school was opened.
Missionary teaching methods were emulated, and the school
followed the missionary pattern of a central school which
directed a network of surrounding bush schools. A contro-
versy on the language of instruction arose. The settler
forces opposed instruction in English which would give the
Africans more mobility in the labor market and thus deprive
them of cheap labor on their farms. The colonial authorities
joined the settlers and both emphasized the need for manual
labor to prepare the natives for their "roles" in the
colonial-settler economy. The missionaries took no stand.[52]

Whatever actions the colonial government may have
contemplated taking after it established the first African
school in 1913, the turbulent political climate in Europe
which culminated in World War I temporarily shattered all

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

[52] Anderson, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

hopes of educational expansion not only in Kenya but in other British dependencies as well. In 1922, the Phelps Stokes investigation remarked that the contributions of colonial governments "to the school systems of Africa are at present comparatively small--in some colonies the government participation is almost negligible."[53]

In 1924, although Africans were in the majority, the colonial government was spending almost nothing on their education. Table I illustrates the story.

TABLE I

KENYA BUDGET, 1924[*]

Prison Cost	Ł 39,793	
Police	Ł113,764	
European Education	Ł 21,140	(22 or 440 shillings per child of school age)
Indian Education	Ł 8,720	(2 and 5 shillings or 45 shillings per child of school age)
African Education	Ł 22,680	(1 shilling or U.S. 14 cents per child of school age)
Military	Ł173,336	

[*]Norman Leys, Kenya (London: The Hogarth Press, 1924), p. 342.

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[53]Thomas Jesse Jones, The Phelps Stokes Report on Education in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 172.

To deal with the problem of insufficient funds allocated for African education, the settlers, who dominated the Kenya government, sought to levy more taxes on the Africans, who were already burdened with taxes. "The 1924 Native Authority Ordinance" directed that African pupils pay school fees officially from 1926. Irregularities in charging fees were found from one school to another because missionaries competed for converts by charging the lowest fees. In a move to unify fee collection in all schools, "The 1924 Native Authority Ordinance" was amended in 1934.[54]

Another development after World War I was a change in attitude on the part of European powers towards the education of the Africans. The moral support shown by the international community at the League of Nations in the problems of colonial peoples was due to a variety of factors. As a result of the war economy, African agricultural products were receiving higher prices in the world market and, therefore, there was more money at the disposition of colonial treasuries to be allocated for educational purposes.

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[54]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, The Education Rules Amendment, 1934 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1935), p. 47.

In London, Paris, and Brussels, European directors of
African education were appointed to help in the formulation
of colonial educational policies.[55]

In 1921, J. H. Oldham of the International Missionary
Council approached the colonial office on several important
issues concerning Africans. The questions of land alienation
by the European settler minority and of the indifference of
the colonial government to African education were raised.
On education, Oldham wrote:

> A policy that leaves the native population no future
> except as workers on European estates cannot be recon-
> ciled with trusteeship--the colonial aim of policy
> must be to maintain tribal life, to encourage the growth
> of population by combatting disease and promoting sani-
> tation and hygiene, and to develop by education the
> industry and intelligence of the population.[56]

After this approach, the Colonial Office asked
Reverend Oldham to lay down the basic rules for cooperation.
In 1923, Oldham presented his proposals to a conference that
was chartered by the Under Secretary of State, Ormsby Gore.
Those in attendance included the Archbishop of Canterbury,
Jesse Jones, Garfield Williams (the Educational Secretary of
the Church Missionary Society) and the Governor of Kenya.[57]

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[55] Cowan, O'Connel and Scanlon, op. cit., p. 87.

[56] Welbourn, op. cit., p. 86.

[57] Oliver, op. cit., p. 269.

THE SECOND PHELPS STOKES COMMISSION

No sooner had the basis of cooperation been agreed upon than a Second Phelps Stokes Commission went to Africa to study the educational needs and resources. Protestant American missionaries, who were partly responsible for the organization of the Commission, wanted to see what lessons in designing African education could be emulated from Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes, where curriculum was geared towards meeting the rural needs of black Americans in the South.

Missionaries also considered the fact that any further development in the area of education needed some surveying in order to determine the nature of any extension. The Commission's terms of reference were:

1. To inquire as to the educational work being done at present in each of the areas to be studied.

2. To investigate the educational needs of the people in the light of religious, social, hygienic and economic conditions.

3. To ascertain to what extent these needs are being met.

4. To assist in the formulation of plans designed

to meet the educational needs of the native races.

5. To make available the full result of this study.[58]

The Commission emphasized rural oriented education and the role of the African as a community member, but his individual aspirations and political self determination were totally ignored.[*]

THE BRITISH ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON NATIVE EDUCATION

In 1923, the British government set up an Advisory Committee on Native Education.[**] Before this Committee was established there had been no machinery for coordination between the government and the missionaries.[59] The Advisory Committee itself had no practical way of knowing African educational needs except through occasional "briefings" with the locally appointed Kenya settler government officials.

Establishment of Education Committees on Racial Lines

In 1924, the European settler community in Kenya

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[58]Thomas Jesse Jones, The Phelps Stokes Commission (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1925), p. xiii.

[59]Lewis, op. cit., p. 10.

[*]John Anderson stated that in a Doctor's dissertation, Kenneth King argued that one of the main purposes of the Chairman, Thomas Jones of the Hampton Institute, was to emphasize rural development at the expense of black political consciousness, which was being spread by Du Bois and Garvey.

[**]The Policy Memorandum, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, is reproduced in the Appendix, No. I.

enacted the "1924 Education Ordinance," in which a policy of segregated education based on racial lines was advocated. The Ordinance called for three educational committees (African, Asian, European). The all-white African Committee was given the power to determine the educational needs of the Africans.

The membership in these committees was as follows:

1. European Committee--All European settlers.

2. Indian Committee--All Indians except the Director of Education and the Colonial Secretary.

3. African Committee--The all-white fifteen-member committee included nine missionaries and six settlers.[60]

The three committees got down to business and made a number of recommendations.

The European Committee

The committee recommended that the settler minority should continue to have advantage over other races in educational matters. It called for new areas to build secondary schools and for the abolition of junior secondary levels so that the European children could automatically pass from primary to secondary school. The settler-colonial Department of Education was praised for its racial policies.

> The Department, however, has consistently held in view, that if the Europeans are to remain the leading race of the Colony and to set an example to the other races, the rising generation must be educated and

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

compulsory education should be introduced as soon as possible and the additional accommodation which has been provided goes a long way towards realizing this ambition.[61]

European Education. The first secular school for the alien minorities (Indians and Europeans) was started by the officials of the railway. In 1904 a European headmaster was appointed to administer two schools—one for the Indians and the other for Europeans. When the first Department of Education was started in 1911, they were turned over to the government and became the first government schools.[62] European education grew rapidly and by 1918, there were three boarding schools and a day school.[63]

Under political pressure from European settlers, European education retained its separate and privileged position in terms of buildings, facilities and staff until independence. Throughout the colonial period, European children were able to receive a "secondary grammar" type education found in England. The money spent on equipment and boarding facilities was exorbitant in comparison with that provided the other races. In 1961, the last year of officially sanctioned segregated education, the recurrent costs for European aided secondary schools for 1,587 Europeans was Ŀ524,497 (pounds) as compared to Ŀ597,809 (pounds) for the recurrent costs in African schools.[64]

[61]Ibid., p. 9.   [62]Hill, op. cit., p. 295.

[63]Anderson, op. cit., p. 38.   [64]Ibid., p. 63.

Under the settler influence, throughout the colonial period, Africans were deprived of education which was to become the vehicle of communication in presenting their grievances--land grievances, forced labor, racial legislation, collective punishment and low wages. These oppressive measures, aimed at keeping Africans in their "place," accompanied by European settlers' exploitation and particularly the issues of land and education, had far-reaching effects in the history of Kenya, as will be shown later in this study.

Discrimination in educational finance was a continuing phenomenon throughout the Colonial Period. Jones noted this in 1924:

> Total expenditure estimated £75,000 (pounds); out of that £37,000 (pounds) was allocated for the Natives, £24,000 (pounds) for Europeans, £11,675 (pounds) for Indians and the remainder for Arabs. Per capita expenditure on each European child is approximately £12 (pounds), for the Asian about £2 (pounds) and for the Native practically nothing.[65]

In 1955, the figures had jumped to £85 (pounds) for a European child, £21 (pounds) for an Asian child and only £6 (pounds) for an African pupil.[66]

The Asian Committee

The Asian Committee requested a boys high school in Nairobi. It also recommended that private Asian schools be taken over by the government. The Asians were able to influence their school curriculum, particularly on the higher

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[65]Jones, op. cit., p. 118.

[66]Delf, op. cit., p. 43.

levels. The committee observed that because of the lack of better teachers, "Indian as well as African education should be placed under the increased direction of European masters."[67]

The African Committee

The recommendations for African education by this committee, which had no African representation, was a reflection of the European settler attitude towards the Africans--that they were of "inferior" races. One of the recommendations can be found in Chapter VII of this study, in which African minds were likened to those of "mentally defective children."

In order to deal with the Africans, cruel and stiff discipline in African schools was recommended.

> Discipline is of two kinds--external and internal control and self control--the control of the child and the self control of a man. To the African in his primitive state, military or semi-military discipline makes a strong appeal.[68]

In 1925, the recommendations of these settler-dominated committees were accepted by the British home-based Advisory Committee on Native Education. The Advisory Committee's formal report was endorsed by the colonial government, which issued its first public official policy statement regarding colonial educational policy for the Africans.[69]

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[67]Ibid., p. 12.   [68]Ibid., p. 16.

[69]Gulliver, op. cit., p. 149.

Kiteme maintained that this Memorandum was:

> . . . . more of an official document spelling out the settler racial ideology rather than a clearly defined and non-discriminatory education policy. . . . The very nature of its treatment of the three groups separately was further evidence that the settlers (backed by the British Government) were unwilling to provide equal educational facilities for all races in Kenya.[70]

It should be pointed out that the Phelps Stokes Report published in the same year as the British Policy Statement was critical of both the government and the missionaries. The Report noted the government's indifference to education and the missionaries' concern in winning converts at the expense of proper education. "The most that can be said," the Report noted, "is that they are under a kind of moral influence and ready to receive instruction when it can be given."[71] On the colonial government's role, the Report noted:

> Governmental and social custom throughout the world has too frequently interpreted "trusteeship" as the right to control rather than the duty to develop. The record of the British Government in this respect is the best in Africa.[72]

The Memorandum of 1925 became the beginning of an official partnership between the colonial government and missionary societies. The government promised to give limited financial assistance so long as the mission schools submitted to government control and periodic inspection.

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[70] K. Kiteme, "The Impact of a European Education upon Africans," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1970), p. 109.

[71] Jones, op. cit., p. 152.   [72] Ibid., p. 101.

This is spelled out in the Memorandum in Appendix I.

Oldham, who had approached the British government about possible cooperation between missionaries and the colonial government, was happy about the policy and urged his fellow missionaries to take advantage of the new opportunities offered them. However, it should be made clear that the high sounding Memorandum of 1925 failed to meet its goals because, according to Morgan, the colonial office did not define the objectives and policies clearly. Furthermore, those formulating policies were unfamiliar with African conditions in Kenya.[73]

The Asian Education

In discussing the Asian community in Kenya, one must take cognizance of their strong religious differences. When the late Tom Mboya made a comment about intermarriage in a new, integrated Kenya society, an Indian leader replied by informing Mboya that "Shahs will not give their daughters to Patels and they will not give them to the Africans."[74]

George Delf has discussed a split among the Indian Moslems which resulted from a disagreement over the proper method of picking the Moslem head after the death of Mohammed. These are the Sunnis and Shias. In Kenya most of the Indian Moslems belong to the Shia sect. Hindus, who are

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[73]L. G. Morgan, "A Note on Colonial Educational Policy," Overseas Education XVIII (July, 1947), p. 537.

[74]Delf, op. cit., p. 5.

strict vegetarians, are also found within the Indian community. The Goans, who came from the former Portuguese colony of Goa in India, are mostly Catholics and dislike being classified as Indians because of their mixed Portuguese and Indian blood.[75]

Missionary and Indian Education

In 1894, the Church Missionary Society, aware of the religious influence, opened a small school at Mombasa which later became the Buxton High School. It offered integrated instruction to Arabs and Indians, but in 1912, there was a religious conflict that led the Indian community to open its own separate school.[76]

The early colonial days. During the early colonial days the European settlers feared the Indian population not only because of their numbers but also because their commercial movement towards the inland, particularly the "White Highlands," became an imminent threat to the privileged white community. Consequently, legislation was passed to prohibit Indians from owning any farming land.[77]

The Indian reaction to these political measures led to the formation of Asian political groups to fight for

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[75]Ibid., pp. 7-9.

[76]Anderson, op. cit., p. 71.

[77]Ibid.

their rights. Education became one of the major issues in the struggle that ensued.

At first the primary concern of the Indians was with primary education.

> In the development of Asian education it seems likely that it was primary education which was the main concern of the trading section in the beginning. Literacy and reckoning seemed sufficient, and the cost of maintaining a son at school when he could be contributing to the family income in trade made secondary schooling appear a luxury. It was the civil servant family, conscious of the range of bureaucratic jobs opened by further schooling, which was more concerned to agitate for improved and extensive secondary education.[78]

In 1906, an Asian school was opened by the Railway Authorities. It was taken over by the government Department of Education in 1912. Additional schools were built by the government and others were given grants-in-aid. In 1923, there were 1,403 pupils in government or assisted schools.[79]

In the same year, Allidina Visram gave the government ₤50,000 (pounds) to build a new school in Mombasa which was named after him. An Advisory Committee on Indian Education was appointed in 1925 by the Colonial Government Department of Education. It consisted of eight Indian members.[80] In 1926, government schools in big towns were

[78]D. P. Ghai, Portrait of a Minority (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 114.

[79]L. W. Hollingsworth, The Asians of East Africa (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1960), p. 151.

[80]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Report, 1926 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1927), p. 7.

offering secondary education, and during the following years,
Indian education increased rapidly as they continued to exert
political pressure for more educational facilities.

Indian Educational Growth in the 1930's. Despite
the depression of the thirties, the Indian education grew,
as shown in Table II and Table III.

In 1942, education was made compulsory for Indian
children between the ages of seven and fifteen in urban
areas. In 1950, they had two teacher training colleges.[81]

TABLE II

GROWTH OF INDIAN EDUCATION, 1930's[*]

YEAR	AIDED	UNAIDED	TOTAL
1934	45	8	53
1935	48	14	62
1936	54	9	63
1937	64	9	73
1938	70	8	78

[*]Compiled by John Anderson, The Struggle for the
School (London: Longman Group, Ltd., 1970), p. 72.

[81]Delf, op. cit., p. 43.

TABLE III

INDIAN PUPILS IN SCHOOL[*]

Year		Government School	Aided	Unaided	Total
1930		2,115	1,427	40	3,572
1935		3,173	2,422	678	6,273
1940		4,532	3,810	334	8,676
1945		7,474	5,290	861	13,625
1947		10,820	7,902	1,326	19,048
1960	Primary	21,074	20,442	507	42,023
	Secondary	3,367	1,786	3,003	10,156
	Technical	694	-	-	694
1960	Total	25,135	22,228	3,510	52,873

[*]Ibid.

THE BOARDING SCHOOLS

As missionaries could now count on government sub-sidies, boarding schools became the order of the day. This was the rule, especially in the headquarters of every major missionary group. Controlled from the central school was a chain of "bush" or village schools staffed by a cadre of poorly prepared African catechists or "teachers," as they were called. The psychological and emotional impact of boarding schools on children who have been isolated from their parents and their village peers in the crucial years of

growth and development cannot be exaggerated. It is commonly alleged that African students regard themselves as an elite and separate class having nothing in common with the masses.[82] It was obvious that this attitude might develop if one were to spend most of his school years in boarding schools, punctuated only by occasional short school holidays at home.

A former missionary told the writer that boarding schools were justified on the basis that students had to commute long distances. This was correct; but, on the other hand, missionaries were first and foremost concerned with religious instruction in order to convert the natives from "heathenism" to Christianity. Boarding schools, therefore, became the best insurance for converts. One missionary put it this way:

> Only by removing children entirely from their homes
> and keeping them in the intensive atmosphere of
> schools was it possible that they would become Christians.[83]

Apart from isolating pupils from the outside world, the report of the East and Central Africa Study Group found boarding schools lacking in many respects. It was found, for example, that they were run as cheaply as possible. Nothing near luxury existed, but this was nothing to worry about since Africans were already used to harsh environments. In others, the very health and safety of the African pupils were in jeopardy. Students used their fingers to eat, and

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[82]Cowan, O'Connel and Scanlon, op. cit., p. 32.

[83]Welbourn, op. cit., p. 84.

in some cases a system of weekly boarding was carried out.
This meant that students were sent home on Friday and were
expected to return on Sunday with enough supplies for the
whole week. The school provided nothing except crowded huts
or dormitories where some students shared rags as blankets
while others had nothing to cover themselves.[84]

The wholesale condemnation of African customs and
institutions by the missionaries was because of missionaries'
self-righteousness and their arrogant opposition to African
culture. Krapf, who established the first Kenya school
(1846-1848) and who had lived among the Africans for over
ten years, described the Akamba people of Kenya in the follow-
ing manner:

> The gross superstitions and, still more, the lawless-
> ness and anarchy, the faithlessness, capriciousness and
> greed of the Wakamba are very great. . . . The descend-
> ants of Ham have outlived themselves. . . . The Gospel
> alone can save Africa from complete destruction.[85]

Krapf had also written an essay for his teacher entitled,
"Shall I be a Missionary and go to the Heathen?"[86]

Dr. David Livingstone, who is reputed to have
awakened Europe's missionary invasion of Africa and who made
the Europeans aware of the horrors of the Arab slave trade,
made this remark in describing East Africans: "The more

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[84]African Education, A Study of Educational Policy
and Practice in British Tropical Africa (London: Oxford
University Press, 1953), p. 127.

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

[86]Groves, op. cit., p. 95.

intimately I become acquainted with barbarians, the more
disgusting does heathenism become."[87]

Missionary education and their outlook on the
African customs were commented on by Hill:

> The tendency of Christian missions has been to
> hasten the disintegration of the old native system,
> both in its good and its bad aspects . . . in the
> field of education, the Christian mission has failed
> adequately to stress the responsibility of the edu-
> cated African toward the mass of his uneducated
> brothers.[88]

INCREASE IN MISSIONARY DEMANDS THAT AFRICANS
ABANDON THEIR "UNCHRISTIAN" CUSTOMS

Before going any further to analyze the missionary
educational activities in cooperation with the British
government and some of the problems that arose as a result
of their cultural encounter with the Kenyans, it is impor-
tant to mention briefly some of the major problems caused
by the missionaries in their opposition to some of the
African customs as they found them and what implications
this had for education.

Livingstone's contention is contrasted sharply by
one of the authorities in writing about the people of Kenya.

> Of all ["tribes"] in Kenya it is fair to say that
> their religious beliefs and practices are so completely
> interwoven with their social organization that it is

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[87]Wilson, op. cit., p. 46.

[88]M. F. Hill, The Dual Policy in Kenya (Nakuru:
The Kenya Weekly News, 1943), p. 101.

very hard to say where religion begins and social
custom ends.[89]

From the earliest contact with the Africans, the
missionaries saw many evils among the people of Kenya, and
so they set out to uproot those un-Christian customs that
they thought were incompatible with Christianity. There-
fore, Kenyans had to be "saved" from their culture by being
forbidden many of their "evil" social practices, as Mockerie
noted:

> Christian missionaries prevent their adherents from
> taking part in social dances as they think them
> devilish or immoral in character. Because of this
> African Christians have now nothing to do in the
> evenings, which formerly were reserved for social
> dances. These dances were organized according to the
> age of the participants.[90]

It should be noted that African traditional dances
based on age groups served important roles in the African
educational process.

Huxley wrote:

> It is undoubtedly the fact that in many cases the
> effect of missionary influence and missionary education
> has been to break down the traditional native ideas and
> their mode of expression without putting anything in
> their place. Or what is put in their place is too
> often inferior.[91]

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[89]L. S. B. Leakey, _Kenya Contrasts and Problems_
(Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc., 1966),
p. 86. Dr. Leakey, the internationally known archeologist,
is the son of a missionary who was born and bred in Kenya.
He is a Kenyan citizen who speaks Kikuyu fluently and is
an initiated member of the Mukanda age group and an initi-
ated first-grade elder.

[90]P. G. Mockerie, _An African Speaks for His People_
(London: Hogarth Press, 1934), pp. 27-28.

[91]Julian Huxley, _Africa View_ (New York: Harper and
Row, 1931), p. 348.

As missionary education became more attractive to the Africans its premium was increased. For example, in order for Africans to attend school or become Christians, missionaries demanded that they abandon polygamy. Pupils coming from polygamous homes were subjected to mockery in schools, for polygamy was regarded as evil and wicked--it was "sin."

But as the Bible was translated into indigenous languages, the Africans started to question why polygamy was declared unChristian. Were not Jacob, Solomon and other good men in the Bible godly men although they had more than one wife? Africans were puzzled to see that, while they were prevented from drinking beer, dancing or smoking, Europeans did all these things and yet were full-fledged Church members.

The unwritten African laws on marriage were disregarded and, upon becoming a Christian, an African might be asked to leave his wives and marry in Church a "new" Christian wife. The question of those discarded wives and their children, who by tribal law were the responsibility of the father, did not enter into the calculation of the missionaries. The kind of family dislocation and juvenile delinquency that resulted from such demands were serious.

Marriage customs were another area that missionaries did not understand. In Kenya, as in most African countries, marriage is strongly imbedded in the traditional customs. It was mentioned earlier that before the father of the bride

gave consent that his daughter should marry, a transfer of some material possession from the bridegroom to the bride's father was required. This exchange was regarded by missionaries as "buying of wives" and seemed to place women in the same category as material possessions. But Leakey stated it was not. "It is certainly not buying in the ordinary sense of the word any more than the marriage settlements and dowries can be regarded as 'buying' in the European countries."[92]

Land Tenure

It was mentioned in Chapter IV that land tenure is one of the most important elements that hold many African communities together. It serves both economic and spiritual purposes. Africans, therefore, hold land in high esteem and have strong attachments to it. But when the Europeans came, they disregarded the African traditional tenure system.

In 1901, there were thirteen European settlers in Kenya, and by 1904 some 220,000 acres of African land had been alienated. Other huge tracts of land were granted to commercial and individual capitalist speculators, such as the East African Syndicate, Lord Delamere and the Earl of Plymouth.[93] Africans occupying these lands were forcibly evicted and transferred to other "unoccupied" lands or were

[92]Leakey, op. cit., p. 87.

[93]Jack Woodis, Africa: the Roots of Revolt (New Uork: Citadel Press, 1962), p. 4.

required to exist as squatters in the feudalist settler economy. The alienation of land had a devastating effect on both the agriculturalist and pastoralist Africans. The Mau Mau uprising by the largest agriculturalist ethnic group in Kenya was in the main a war to liberate the land. In 1912, the Kiambu District Commissioner recommended that the government pay £50,000 (pounds) for the land alienated in the Gikuyu areas, but the settler-dominated colonial government refused to recognize compensation rights.[94]

The practice of using education to force Africans to abandon their customs became increasingly widespread among missionary groups. Perhaps the best example is the missionaries' attempt to stamp out the practice of clitoridectomy (circumcision of girls). This is an important educational and ancient custom among some ethnic groups in Kenya.

Teaching Against Female Circumcision

The most significant development between the missionaries and the Africans which had perhaps a major impact upon the history of education in Kenya was their attempt to forbid female circumcision. However, it should be clearly stated that the controversial explosion was an expression of many accumulated grievances of greater magnitude of which circumcision was only a part. In fact, the break away from

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[94]Diamond and Burke, op. cit., p. 200.

orthodox churches of European missionaries and their education with the "soft" backing of the British government was a reaction on the part of the Africans against the oppressive economic, social and political policies pursued by them (British and missionary authorities) which "was only precipitated by the circumcision issue."[95]

Gikuyu people, for example, refer to circumcision simply as irua initiation. Without irua, no social system was possible in the Gikuyu society. This has been mentioned earlier when Kenyatta wrote that "the principal factor in unifying Gikuyu society is the system of age-grading (riika). . . . Gikuyu boys and girls go through the circumcision ceremony and become members of one age-grade."[96]

The initiation marked the beginning of womanhood or manhood and brought to the initiates great psychological and emotional satisfaction. For the first time, these young men and women earned the right to participate in some of the government agencies within the tribal administration, and also the right to own property. Without irua, a boy or a girl would perpetually remain immature and could never be regarded as grown and sufficiently responsible to take part in those decisions that affect his life.

Missionaries, failing to see the social significance of this custom, regarded it as another intolerable custom

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

[96] Kenyatta, op. cit., p. 4.

of the natives. The Church of Scotland Mission had started teaching against clitoridectomy to its congregationists and other customs considered "unChristian" in 1906. They were not effective and, therefore, they approached the British government for help in eradicating those customs considered incompatible with Christianity. However, the colonial government, afraid that such an action was infringing upon the very life of the African people and afraid that it might unite them for possible political action, declined to take any more drastic step than to issue a statement condemning the custom.[97]

In 1902, individual missionaries had joined settler organizations and had supported the idea that the European minority should have exclusive right to direct all matters related to Kenya. Missionary bodies sent delegates to the all-white settler meeting of the Convention of Associations.[98]

In a study by Olthieno, the fact was stressed that even at this early period the missionaries "acted as agents in supplying their [the settlers'] need. Consequently, Mission Schools' policies became closely linked with settlers' needs."[99]

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[97]Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 13.

[98]Welbourn, op. cit., p. 124.

[99]N. Antipa Olthieno, "An Outline of History of Education in East Africa, 1844-1925" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 158.

By 1915, different missionary groups, who all along had found no common issue to unite them, started a movement toward complete suppression of female circumcision among all Christianized Africans.[100] In their attempt to figure out the reasons why the Europeans were so concerned about African girls, Africans reached the conclusion that Europeans wanted the girls to remain uncircumcised so that they might try to marry them and in so doing claim more land which they were increasingly alienating.[101]

In some other cases, missionaries joined other colonial forces in illegal and not moral issues. During the years immediately following World War I, when Kenya was virtually under the military rule of Governor Northey, the missionaries responded in favor of a forced labor circular which, among other things, provided settler farms with cheap African labor. In October, 1919, the Bishop of Uganda and Mombasa, together with Dr. Arthur of the Church of Scotland Mission, ". . . responded urgently to a new labour circular by publishing a memorandum in favour of legalized compulsion for labour."[102] The memorandum was later approved by other missionary groups. On this subject, Colonel Grogan wrote:

> I will ignore Biblical platitudes as to the equality of men. The native is fundamentally inferior in mental development and ethical possibilities to the white man.

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[100]Welbourn, op. cit., p. 122.

[101]Ibid., p. 140.

[102]Ibid., p. 124.

. . . A good sound system of compulsory labor (is) compulsory education as we call our weekly bonnet parades 'church.' What cannot be utilized (in a native) must be eliminated . . . the time will come when the negroes must bow to this as inevitable.[103]

During the twenties, missionaries intensified their attacks on the practice of *irua* initiation. The Africans were growing increasingly fed up with the missionaries' demand that they repudiate this practice. They "doubted whether the abandonment of certain Kikuyu customs was really essential to the status of Christianity."[104]

The crisis over initiation of girls reached serious proportions of hostility in 1929. The Church of Scotland Mission and the Kikuyu Central Association (a political party) had a series of conflicts regarding land which missionaries occupied and other African rights. The controversy grew to a political battle when the Kikuyu Central Association announced that it was going to contest the coming Local Native Councils election on a platform of preserving African customs including the practice of *irua*.[105]

The conflict between the Church of Scotland Mission, which was in the front lines in the battle against the custom, and the Kikuyu Central Association members, who also happened to be followers of Protestant churches, made the

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[103]Colonel Ewart Grogan, From Cape to Cairo (London: Hurst and Balckett, 1902), pp. 350-365.

[104]F. Corfield, Historical Survey of the Origins and the Growth of Mau-Mau (London: H. M. S. O., 1965), p. 40.

[105]Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 114.

Church of Scotland Mission demand assurances from their
African converts and followers that they had given up their
belief in circumcision and that they were not members of the
Kikuyu Central Association which advocated it. The ulti-
matum stated that those who failed to sign a declaration of
loyalty to the Church and abide by its laws would forthright
be excommunicated. As a result, many African adherents
broke away from the Church and the movement spread rapidly
all across Kenya.[106]

African teachers in mission schools who would not
denounce the custom and sign the declaration of loyalty to
the Church and preach against the custom were summarily dis-
missed from their jobs. They and other indigenous Christians
who wanted to practice their customs and at the same time
profess Christianity established their own churches. In
Kenya there are over thirty independent churches which
emerged as a result of missionary opposition to the circum-
cision of girls and other African customs.[107]

Impartial students of cultural anthropology may ask
why some European and American missionaries categorized
certain African customs as being "savage," "pagan," or
"barbarous," although they may have at one time in history
gone through a similar experience. European double standards,
including, for example, that Africans should not dance while
the European could do so, made African Christians wonder why

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[106]Ibid., p. 117.

[107]Odinga, op. cit., p. 61.

Europeans were confusing Christianity and their social values. Europeans regarded their cultural practices as compatible with Christianity, while African practices were regarded as incompatible. As in the case of circumcision, which triggered an unprecedented upheaval in Kenya, Dr. Rene A. Spitz had a comment on England and the United States.

> While the eighteenth century medical men endeavored to cure masturbation, in the nineteenth century they were trying to suppress it, and surgical intervention was recommended in 33 per cent of the cases in England; in the United States, pediatric textbooks published in the early 1900's recommended "circumcision of girls or cauterization of the clitoris." Indeed, after 1925, ten per cent of the therapeutic measures advocated in the United States were surgical interventions.[108]

In 1923, Dr. Arthur of the Church of Scotland Mission was appointed by the Governor to "represent" African interests in the predominantly white Legislative Council. He took this opportunity to attack with full force the African customs. His appointment drew mixed reactions from various people. Archdeacon Owen wrote:

> We find that our educated Natives are very concerned to discover that in a question of such importance they are to have no special representation. Any missionary chosen represents European Missionary opinion, and has no mandate whatsoever from the natives.[109]

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[108]Rene A. Spits, "Authority and Masturbation," The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 1952, p. 498. In Michel Merle, "The Kikuyu, Independent Schools Movement" (unpublished Master's thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963).

[109]Welbourn, op. cit., p. 28.

In 1926, the issue of _irua_ initiation was discussed by the Conference of East African Governors. Their opinion was that the best strategy to eradicate the custom was through a gradual process of education and not by legislation or force. But Dr. Arthur uncompromisingly insisted on a quick abolition of the custom.[110]

By 1930, the issue of circumcision of girls was tabled in the House of Commons. A committee composed of British citizens who knew nothing about the custom was appointed to look into the matter. After their enquiry, in which Kenyatta testified, they reiterated the position taken earlier by the East African Governors Conference that the best method to deal with the eradication of the custom was through education and not force.[111]

The massive dismissal of teachers who would not disavow the custom led to closure of some schools. Children who could no longer attend school became stranded as the country was thrown into an educational and spiritual crisis. A wave of resentment against the missionaries swept across Kenya, and Africans, always eager to solve problems,

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[110]Ibid., p. 138.

[111]Kenyatta, op. cit., p. 126.

responded immediately to the educational and spiritual crisis.

It should be noted, however, that the Roman Catholics did not take part in the circumcision controversy. Their position was:

> Since circumcision is primarily a social event and gives to young Kikuyu a standing in the tribe, and especially since it involves no questions of Faith or Morals, the Catholic Church did not interfere. We are concerned and have always been concerned with two things. First, the possibility of dangerous pre-circumcision instruction . . . . Hence our concern is not with the fact but rather with the method and circumstances. Whether the custom dies or continues, it in no way necessarily causes a soul's damnation.[112]

In sum, the missionaries' refusal to recognize the importance of African traditional customs led to unnecessary misunderstanding and racial hatred that could otherwise have been avoided, if the missionaries had been more sensitive to the African traditional patterns of life.

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[112]Welbourn, op. cit., p. 138.

CHAPTER VI

THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL AND CHURCH MOVEMENT

In order to fill the educational and spiritual vacuum created by the missionaries, indigenous churches for religious worship and communal expression as well as independent schools connected with African churches began to emerge.

It was mentioned that the independent school and church movements were not solely caused by the circumcision controversy _per se_. It was rather a combination of many political, social and economic grievances accumulated over a period of time which the circumcision controversy only triggered. In Nyeri, for example, the colonial District Commissioner closed ten African schools and defended his actions as "a step in the right direction."[1] Steps of this nature angered the Africans and they were reported to "want to finance and to run their own schools."[2]

"Independent" Defined

The word "independent" in Kenya's educational

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[1]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, _Education Department Annual Report, 1926_ (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1927), p. 43.

[2]Ibid., p. 45.

history is used to identify those schools voluntarily estab-
lished by African communities and controlled by them without
the interference of the missionaries or the government.

The First Independent Schools

The first independent schools in Kenya were probably
those organized by John Owalo and the Nomiya Luo Mission
which he founded as an independent African church in Nyanza
Province in 1910. This church managed its own schools until
the 1950's when they were taken over by the local education
boards.[3]

The First Kikuyu Independent School

There is no specific date for the first Kikuyu Inde-
pendent School. However, there are two schools which appear
to have been among the first initiators of the independent
school movement. A conflict on how to organize independent
church meetings between a group of elders and the members of
the Church Missionary Society in Muranga (Fort Hall District)
is said to have led to the establishment of an independent
church and school at a place called Gakarara in 1927.[4] In
1923, a controversy between two groups of elders in Kiambu
District led to a split in community support of a school run
by Gospel Missionary Society at Gathieko. The missionaries

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[3]John Anderson, "Self Help and Independence:
African Education in Kenya," The Journal of the Royal
African Society, Vol. 70, No. 278 (January, 1971), p. 10.

[4]Ibid., p. 12.

sided with the conservative group of elders, while the radical elders broke away and established a new "independent school"* near Githunguri.[5] This school, which was opened in 1925, was the forerunner of the first independent Kenya Teachers Training College started in 1939 by Mbiyu Koinange after his return from the United States and England.[6]

The Controversy over the Initiation of Girls and the Independent Church and School Movement

The independent school movement took a new turn in 1929 because of an educational and religious clash, as indicated earlier in Chapter V, over female circumcision. This disagreement which was not settled led to organized groups who formed indigenous African churches for religious worship and communal expression as well as schools for those children who could no longer attend missionary schools either as a result of teacher dismissals or their parents' refusal to denounce circumcision.

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[5]Ibid.

[6]F. D. Corfield, The Origins and Growth of Mau Mau (London: H. M. S. O., 1960), p. 182.

*In an unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Boston University, 1964, Alan R. Booth stated that in South Africa, there arose a similar case in which a controversy over the issue of secular or sectarian education led the American Zulu Mission to break into two factions. The fundamentalists advocated teaching the Gospels while the liberals supported a progressive education. The Missionary Board in New England supported the conservatives warning that secular education and the teaching of English to the Africans was detrimental to their interests because Africans would quit their church services for more lucrative jobs in the labor market.

Corfield stated that the Protestant missionary groups led by the Church of Scotland Mission were solely responsible for this crisis when, in particular, the Church of Scotland Mission decided:

> . . . to adopt a firm . . . injudicious stand against female circumcision and laid down that teachers in its schools should relinquish their employment unless they signed a solemn declaration that they had abandoned this practice.[7]

By the beginning of 1931, solutions to the educational crisis began to be found. For the first time, two groups, the Kikuyu Karinga Education Association and the Kikuyu Independent School Association, emerged to shoulder the responsibility of African education. These associations will be abbreviated hereafter as K.K.E.A. and K.I.S.A., respectively. These two bodies carried on their educational work until 1952, when a State of Emergency was declared at the height of the Mau Mau Nationalist movement. The two associations were proscribed and some of their leaders, including the present President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, were arrested.

The Governor of Kenya was reported to have issued the following order:

> His excellency the Governor made it clear in a broadcast, and by wide distribution of a pamphlet over his signature, that if the local people so desired it any of the closed schools could be re-opened under either Mission or Government management. He also made it clear to the people that it was not the intention

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[7]Ibid., p. 41.

of the Government to allow a similar uncontrolled organization of independent schools to grow up again.[8]

This order by the Colonial Governor temporarily closed the chapter of Africans' self-help and reliance on education. The spirit of hard work and sacrifice so evident among the African people was stifled by a government which had throughout the years paid little attention to African education, and it was not revived until after independence in 1963. This is evidenced by the nation-wide mushrooming of "Harambee"[*] schools which depend entirely on community support and receive no government assistance at present.

The Kikuyu Karinga Education Association

The Kikuyu Karinga Education Association affiliated itself with the African Orthodox Church. Its policy was to run its schools without any supervision or control by the missionaries or the government. Through self-help projects, primary schools numbering 34 in 1935 were built and had 2,518 pupils. In 1936, there were 10 additional schools, making a total of 44 with a population of 3,984 pupils. By 1938, Corfield observed that "considerable numerical progress has been made."[9] In the same year (1938), the independents' application to open 38 new schools was rejected

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[8]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1953 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1953), p. 27.

[9]Corfield, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

[*]Harambee is a Swahili word meaning, "let us all pull together."

by the colonial Director of Education by stating that "it is
hard to treat these new applications seriously except in the
light of a political move."[10]

In 1940, there were over 300 independent schools
educating over 60,000 pupils.[11] In 1946, over 200,000 stu-
dents were enrolled in over 100 independent schools. The
combined missionary and government schools in 1946 had a
total enrollment of 134,185.[12]

This spirit of self-help was noted by the District
Commissioner, Kiambu, who reported:

> The determination of the Kikuyu to get education some-
> how and at any price is most striking. The £1,000
> (pounds) voted by Local Native Council can only repre-
> sent a fraction of what is paid for land, building
> maintenance, etc., by school committees, missions and
> for overheads, teachers' salaries, etc., by the Inde-
> pendent and Karinga School Association.[13]

Earlier, in 1930, the colonial Director of Education
had noted that the establishment of independent schools was
not purely a political move, as it was later alleged. He
said:

> . . . that the demand for non-mission education is
> genuine and widespread as provided by the large sum
> voted by the local Native Councils. The demand comes

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[10]Kenya Government National Archives, Kiambu Annual
Report, 1939 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1939), p. 19.

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

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

[13]Kenya Government National Archives, Kiambu Annual
Report, 1939 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1939), p. 19.

from both pagan and mission-educated natives--nor can it be attributed entirely to propaganda by political agitators or hostility to the mission.[14]

The colonial Chief Native Commissioner added:

The spirit of independence, to which reference has been made elsewhere has manifested itself perhaps more in the sphere of education than in any other and has taken the form of a demand for the establishment of schools independent of mission control.[15]

Both the K.K.E.A. and the K.I.S.A. distinguished between committees for church and school and gave a definite place to women. Church Committees consisted of the local elders with a specially appointed "preacher" for each congregation. Schools had parallel committees of men and women. The women's committee was concerned chiefly with raising funds and had to consult the men over important decisions. In the K.I.S.A., the chairman of the men's committee was expected to be a member of the church and to lead daily prayers in the school. Members of the committee were representative of the village near each school, and in Karinga Schools there were ad hoc committees for special purposes at a higher level. The K.I.S.A. had formal committees in each district and at the Provincial level.[16]

The Kikuyu Independent School Association

The main difference between the K.K.E.A. and the

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[14] Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1930 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1930), p. 43.

[15] Ibid.

[16] F. B. Welbourn, East African Rebels (London: S. C. M. Press, 1961), p. 153.

K. I.S.A. was that the former rejected missionary influence and control, while the latter sought both missionary and government assistance, presumably without strings. The membership for the K.I.S.A. was open to all Kenyans and to black people in general who would be "faithful and loyal to his Majesty the King and to follow principles of the African Independent Pentecostal Church."[17] The K.I.S.A. was regarded "loyal to the government since . . . the managing committee under Johanna Kunyiha advised the outlying schools to co-operate with the authorities."[18]

In 1941, there were 54 K.I.S.A. schools in Central Province and 70 in the Rift Valley. The proportion of K.I.S.A. schools to those belonging to the K.K.E.A. was put at five to one.[19]

In 1938, because of the problem of baptism which was critical, the Independents wrote to the Anglican Bishop in Mombasa, requesting him to send two of their men to a theological college so that they could learn how to baptize. Additionally, they asked the Bishop to send, in the interim, two of his people to baptize their adherents. The Bishop, suspecting that after giving them orders they might decide to go their own way, turned down the request.[20] Despite the refusal, the Independents continued to use the Anglican

[17]Vincent Harlow and E. M. Chilver, History of East Africa, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 366.

[18]Corfield, op. cit., p. 177.   [19]Ibid.

[20]Welbourn, op. cit., p. 147.

Prayer Book.[21]

It is clear from this initial move that the African Independents (K.I.S.A.), contrary to the missionary and colonial claims that they did not want to cooperate with them, actually made efforts to work together with both the missionaries and the colonial government so long as the latter two agreed to abide by the ground rules for cooperation as laid down by the Africans. The missionaries and colonial authorities disregarded any African suggestions for cooperation, no matter how constructive. Instead, they (missionaries, settlers and colonial officials) polarized the situation by attempting to (and later succeeding) discredit and liquidate the Independent School Movement. After the failure of the request to ordain priests to baptize the adherents of the K.I.S.A., an invitation was extended to Archbishop Daniel Alexander of the African Orthodox Church to visit Kenya in order to train and ordain an African clergy for K.I.S.A. members. After three years of baptism, he returned to South Africa in 1937, having ordained four Kikuyu priests.[22]

As pointed out, the Independent Schools were founded as a result of an educational and religious clash triggered by the missionaries' demands that African dances, initiation of girls, polygamy and other "primitive" customs be abandoned.

[21]F. B. Welbourn, East African Christian (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 13.

[22]Harlow and Chilver, op. cit., pp. 371-372.

The leaders of these institutions and their political activities became a constant worry to the missionaries, the settlers and the colonial servants. The District Commissioner wrote:

> The missions' stand against female circumcision caused unprecedented upheaval . . . these events had a marked repercussion on the political situation which concerns this office more closely and are being studied.[23]

In 1952, when the State of Emergency was declared in Kenya at the height of the Mau Mau Nationalist War of Independence, the British government ordered Independent Schools to be shut down. Some of the Associations' leaders were arrested because under their leadership the Independent Schools were alleged to have become increasingly "subversive" and the breeding ground of the Mau Mau movement.[24] This contention was contradicted by a survey from the Ministry of Education of Mau Mau prisoners, which found no significant difference between K.I.S.A. and K.K.E.A. students and those from missionary schools.

> The inference must be that the instruction given in the K.K.E.A. and K.I.S.A. has played little part in bringing about the present situation . . . of 590 detainees who had been to school, only 113 or 19 per cent had been pupils of independent schools. The figure is very close to the percentage of school pupils who were attending independent schools before the emergency.[25]

In pursuing the same subject, Anderson stated that

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[23]Kenya Government National Archives, *Annual Report on Kiambu, 1928* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1928), p. 11.

[24]Harlow and Chilver, op. cit., p. 370.

[25]Sheldon Weeks, *Divergence in Educational Development: The Case of Kenya and Uganda* (New York: Columbia University Teachers College Press, 1967), p. 7.

the closure of these independent schools at the height of
the Emergency in 1952, on the assumption that they were the
breeding grounds of the Mau Mau movement, "is perhaps one of
the most ironic twists in this period of Kenya's history."[26]

Before the K.I.S.A. and the K.K.E.A. were banned in
1952, they were the only two bodies that were managing
African education in the whole of Kenya. They had provided
opportunities to many Kenyans who could not pursue their
education either in Government or Mission schools. Some of
Kenya's distinguished citizens and politicians attended
K.I.S.A. or K.K.E.A. schools.[27] Indeed, the first African
to receive a degree from Makerere College, in 1953, the
only institution of higher learning in the whole of Eastern
Africa then, was a product of independent schools.[28]

Koinange, the first Principal of Kenya Teachers
College, which devoted its services to the training of
teachers to staff independent schools, revealed that when
he returned to Kenya in 1939, there were about 400 independ-
ent schools with an enrollment of 62,000 children. The
government did not give any grants-in-aid, and the Africans
imposed heavy taxes on themselves, in order to keep the

[26]Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, Mau Mau Detainee (London:
Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 6.

[27]Mbiyu Koinange, The People of Kenya Speak for
Themselves (Detroit: Kenya Publication Fund, 1955), p. 29.

[28]John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London:
Longman Group, Ltd., 1970), p. 126.

schools running. While the government offered nothing to these schools, it was closing them for what it called lack of "efficiency."[29]

In 1952, at his trial at Kapenguria, Kenyatta spoke of the need for cultural accommodation which Africans were seeking through education.

> Then I maintained myself that with education we the Africans did not want just to say that our customs are better than anyone else's but my point was that we could take some of the good European customs, and Indian customs which are good and take our customs which are good and see how we could build a kind of decent society which would be embodied with good things. Mind you, there is not a society of angels anywhere.[30]

On the question of what to assimilate, Kenyatta said:

> There are certainly some progressive ideas among Europeans. They include the ideas of material prosperity, of medicine, and hygiene and literacy which enables people to take people in world cultures . . . they [Europeans] would have to offer the African a share in the prosperity given them by their command of science. They would have to let the African choose what parts of European culture could be beneficially transplanted and how they could be adapted.[31]

Curriculum, Growth and Educational Quality in the Independent Schools

As independent schools became more popular, missionary and government officials were becoming increasingly embarrassed to see pupils leave their schools only to join independent ones nearby. African teachers would resign

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[29]Koinange, op. cit., p. 25.

[30]Slater Montagu, The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta (London: Secker and Warburg, 1955), p. 149.

[31]Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (London: Secker and Warburg, 1953), pp. 317-318.

their posts in mission schools and join a new independent school a few miles away. There were many reasons for this. The curriculum in African schools responded to student needs and was geared towards local conditions. As the mission and government policy was to expel students if they failed an examination, the independent schools sought to help students not only to pass government examinations but also to prepare themselves for life in the modern world. The academic standards were not inferior, as the government indicated. At one time, during a General Post Office Examination, all candidates except one from an African independent school failed the examination.[32]

When the government insisted that Swahili should be the language of instruction in all African schools, leaders of independent schools objected to such a policy. This did not imply that Africans did not want to learn in their own language, but after three or four years of primary education, Swahili prepared them for nothing in the commercial or industrial fields where the language of communication was English.[33]

The syllabus which came under heavy attack from the colonial Director of Education included not only traditional subjects such as English and mathematics, but also African folkways.[34] English, the language of commerce and colonial administration, was to be taught from Standard I, if teachers were available. The policy of introducing English as early

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[32]Koinange, op. cit., p. 39.

[33]Ibid.   [34]Ibid.

as possible (Standard I) is today endorsed by the Kenya government. At that time, however, the Colonial Officer in the Department of Education complained bitterly of this emphasis, concluding that money was being wasted and the government's syllabus ignored. As will be shown later in this chapter, some independent schools were ordered closed for not following the colonial syllabus.

The Colonial Government, noting that the movement was taking on a permanent nature, as demonstrated by the fact that independent schools were growing faster than the mission schools, sought to impose some control by closing down those schools considered "inefficient" for lack of teachers, despite the fact that the Kenya Teachers College at Githunguri had already been built to deal with the problem of teacher training.[35] About this college, Welbourn made the following remarks:

> While Githunguri was supposed to be the highest rung on the ladder of independent education, and was financed by contribution from all Karinga and K.I.S.A. schools, its curriculum was based on a conscious attempt to build an education which, while borrowing heavily from the West, should belong essentially to the new Africa.[36]

In 1935, the government, which had allowed Local Native Councils to make contributions to African schools on condition that they do the same to the local mission schools, vetoed a token amount of 300 shillings given by a Local Native Council. The reason given was that the Colonial Director of Education was offended by their refusal

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[35]Ibid., p. 25.

[36]Welbourn, East African Rebels, op. cit., p. 154.

(independent schools) to cooperate with the authorities and follow the colonial "approved" syllabus.[37]

Between 1930 and 1945, the independent schools continued to grow at a time when mission assisted schools were stagnated by the outbreak of World War II. The schools raised some funds through conducting sports displays, parades, and drill competitions. The various age grades levied upon themselves a special voluntary tax and participated in fundraising as neither they nor their "representatives" in the Local Native Councils had any power to raise taxes.[38]

It was mentioned earlier that the Colonial Education Department, which had so far ignored the progress made in independent schools, broke its silence in 1938 and noted the high number of passes in the Common Entrance Examination.

The Colonial Government and the missionaries were becoming increasingly embarrassed by the popularity of these schools as pupils would leave government or missionary schools only to attend an independent school nearby. To counter this, the Colonial Government started to pursue vigorously the policies of closures based on the theory of "inefficiency." In the same year (1938) when these schools were being praised for their educational work and quality, an independent school at a place called Mukui was ordered closed by the Director of Education. The school authorities

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[37]Kenya Government National Archives, _Annual Report,_ _1935_ (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1935), p. 21.

[38]Koinange, op. cit., p. 25.

disobeyed the order and they were subsequently arrested, prosecuted and convicted. Another one at Kahuho* (just across the river from the author's home) was closed for refusing to follow the prescribed colonial syllabus.[39]

The author never attended any of the independent schools, which were closed just as he was starting grade one, but he does not subscribe to the colonialist theory of "insufficiency." In fact, most of these schools had better physical plants and sanitation facilities than most missionary and government schools.

During the war, the Colonial Government completely neglected African education and even dissolved the settler Education Department's African section.[40] At the same time, Africans who suffered from lack of technical-modern skills since the dawn of colonialism were deprived of their only school that was beginning to provide them with such skills. It was taken over by the Government in 1939 and used for military purposes. In 1948, it was returned to the Colonial

[39]Kenya Government National Archives, _Annual Report on Kiambu District, 1938_ (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1938), p. 19.

[40]Kenya Colony and Protectorate, _Education Department Annual Report, 1953_ (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1953), p. 25.

*Kahuho was a modern stone and brick building at a time when many Missionary and/or Government assisted schools were made of dirt floor, wattle and thatched with grass or tin. When Kahuho was forced to close, the building became a shooting target for the hurriedly trained "Home Guards" to fight Mau Mau. Koinange, in his book _The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves_, stated that the so-called "Home Guards" were actually a bunch of illiterates and habitual criminals and the corrupt elements in the Kikuyu Society.

Education Department to become the first post-war technical
school for the Africans.[41]

Between 1935 and 1938, these schools were growing
rapidly, from 34 in 1934 with an enrollment of 2,510 students,
to 54 in 1937 with a student population of 7,223.
In 1938, the number of schools suddenly dropped sharply from
54 to 41, and the number of pupils dropped from 7,223 to
6,494.[42]*

During World War II, Kenya contributed 75,000 men to
the war effort. This number is said to have been a bit
larger than in World War I. One major difference was that,
unlike the earlier war in which Africans fought Germans in
East Africa, they were now recruited for services all over
the world. They were to see new countries, meet people of
different races and color, and were able to look back home
from a different perspective.[43]

After the war, African servicemen who were fortunate
enough to return noted that nothing had changed significantly
for the majority of their folk, except that conditions in the
"Native Reserves" or ghettos, where Africans were crowded
after their land had been taken over by Europeans, had

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[41]Anderson, op. cit., p. 77.   [42]Ibid., p. 127.

[43]Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham, The Myth of Mau
Mau: Nationalism in Kenya (New York: Frederick A. Praeger,
1966), p. 191.

*Anderson, who assembled the statistics for the respective years, claimed that there were no reasons given for
the drop. However, it was clear from the then existing government policy of closing those schools it deemed "inefficient," as evidenced by the cases of Mukui and Kahuho, that
more independent schools had been closed.

worsened. Some political scientists have traced the renewed impetus in political activities from the travels of the new generation of African veteran soldiers. They had travelled in Egypt, India and Burma, where they had discussed political matters related to freedom and independence. After they returned home, having fought alongside their European comrades-in-arms to preserve "Western Democracy," they could no longer tolerate oppression by the same group they had defended. Bildad Kaggia, a former Member of Parliament, and Waruhiu Itote, known as "General China" during the Mau Mau fighting, both acquired some new political outlooks from their overseas travels and after their return to Kenya, they renewed with vigor their political struggle for freedom in which education was to be a crucial factor.[44]

[44]Ibid., p. 193.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION UNDER THE COLONIAL RULE

In order to have a clear picture of the present educational program in Kenya it would be helpful to conduct a short review of the primary educational developments during the colonial era.

We have seen that the earliest educators were the missionaries who initially confined their early activities in the nineteenth century pioneering work of exploration and discoveries. From the very beginning the missionaries operated with stringent budgets, limited facilities, inadequate manpower, poor organization and coordination. They tended naturally to maximize their gains with their meager resources and minimize their losses.

The assumption that missionaries built schools all over the country on land and materials provided by them is not correct. Missionaries had neither the money nor the manpower to do so. In many cases Africans gave the land to the missionaries and provided free labor to construct the buildings. Schools spread rapidly across the country only when the Africans realized the importance of education and took upon themselves the responsibility

to see that schools developed successfully.[1]

Although early records of missionary educational work were extremely scarce, evidence was overwhelming that the quality of academic work was very poor. Standard IV or V was about the furthest one could go and because Bible reading was primarily the aim of education, it was considered adequate. As mentioned earlier, Kenyatta was one of those early recipients of missionary education who said that he received the first five years of primary education at the Church of Scotland Mission School and after that he educated himself.[2]

The missionaries attempted to set up schools based on the European system, although some were cognizant of the fact that there was a difference between the education offered to the African children and the kind of education that was relevant to the social conditions in which the African children lived.[3]

It was also pointed out that when the first Education Department was established in 1911, the colonial government started to give very limited financial assistance

[1]John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London: Longman Group, Ltd., 1970), p. 108.

[2]Slater Montagu, The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta (London: Mercury Books, 1965), p. 147.

[3]David G. Scanlon (ed.), Traditions of African Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 90.

to some approved mission schools. In this way it was
thought that missions could open more primary schools in
the more densely populated areas of the interior and thus
exert considerable influence as well as teach Africans to
be loyal to the government. However, the government in-
volvement was short-lived, and whatever actions it may
have contemplated taking were frustrated by the outbreak
of World War I. Educational efforts were never fully
recovered until after World War II.[4]

The action taken by the British government to sub-
sidize education in Kenya on a limited basis was similar
to that taken by the same government in England in 1870.
The Act of 1870 called for cooperation of the government
with missionary and other private bodies to provide schools
for those British children who could not find places in
those schools run by voluntary agencies.[5]

The colonial educational system somehow implied
that Africans were inferior. The approach on which African
children were to be educated was indicated in the Annual
Report of the Education Department in 1926.

Generally speaking, the African mind in Kenya has
reached the stage of perception. The imagination and

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[4]Edward Soja, The Geography of Modernization (New
York: Syracuse University Press, 1968), p. 60.

[5]Richard E. Gross, British Secondary Education
(London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 17.

the emotions are both highly developed but the development of reasoning faculties must be slow. Just as handwork has been found useful in the training of mentally defective children, so the most useful training which the African can receive in his present condition is contact with material process.[6]

Again, British involvement in the education of the colonials was a subject of comment by Scott:

The conception of the aim of education was, that it should make useful citizens, and when we mean useful citizens we mean literary citizens who would be of use to us. The conception was one of exploitation and development for the benefit of the people of Great Britain--it was to this purpose that such education as was given was directed.[7]

Another missionary wanted to know whether a policy that left the native population no future except as workers on European settler farms could be reconciled with the concept of trusteeship.[8]

THE COMMUNITY IN RURAL CONDITIONS

One of the major contributions in policy making was the publication of the "Memorandum on the Education of African Communities." It was an extension of policy

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[6] Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Education Department Annual Report, 1926 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1926), p. 15.

[7] H. S. Scott, The Development of Education of the African in Relation to Western Contract, the Yearbook of Education, 1938 (London: Evans Brothers, 1939), p. 737.

[8] F. B. Welbourn, East African Christian (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 86.

following the 1925 report and dealt with the education of
the rural masses. The difference between the 1925 state-
ment and that of 1935 was that in 1925, the emphasis was
to make clear the overall policy regarding education, whereas
the 1935 Memorandum aimed at indicating the interrelation-
ship of several sections of the community, the need for a
concerted effort among various social services, and the
great responsibility of the school in serving as a catalyst
in community improvement.[9]

Another notable difference was that, apart from
suggestions that Africans' opinion be represented on Ad-
visory Boards of Education, the 1925 Memorandum made no
reference to the place of African endeavors. The 1935
Memorandum made it clear that African initiative, self-help
and responsibility must be encouraged.[10]

EDUCATION OF THE MASSES

Another policy step was taken in 1941 when a
committee was appointed with the following terms of
reference:

> To consider the best approach to the problem of
> mass literacy and adult education . . . in the more
> backward dependencies, taking into account the

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[9]L. J. Lewis, _Educational Policy and Practice in
British Tropical Areas_ (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons,
Ltd., 1954) p. 21.

[10]Ibid., p. 22.

emphasis which the Advisory Committee has laid in the past years upon community education; and to make recommendations.[11]

The results were published in 1943 under the heading "Mass Education in African Society." It consisted of two parts: one on definition of objectives and the other on tasks and summary of techniques, as was found in India, China, and Russia, and in work among blacks in the Southern United States. The aim of Mass Education was summarized:

1. The wide extension of schooling for children with the goal of universal schooling within a measurable time.

2. The spread of literacy among adults, together with a widespread development of literature and libraries without which there is little hope of making literacy permanent.

3. The planning of mass education of the community itself, involving active support of the local community from the start.

4. The effective coordination of welfare plans and mass education plans so that they form a comprehensive and balanced whole.[12]

The report was a continuation and an expansion of the principles already enumerated twenty years earlier. It called for the eradication of illiteracy and the

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[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid., p. 23.

establishment of an adequate system of elementary education
and once more reiterated government's cooperation with
missionary agencies in accomplishing those aims.

THE BEECHER REPORT

In 1949, a report was issued in Kenya and named
after its chairman, Beecher, the Archbishop of Mombasa.
The Beecher Report was of special educational significance
because it established goals and the direction which
African elementary education was to take for a ten-year
period preceding independence (1950-1960).

The Report put the goal of primary entrance of
school age population at 40 per cent. Of these, 10 per
cent could proceed to intermediate schools and less than
one per cent to secondary schools.[13] The wastage rate is
quite obvious. The African leaders reacted sharply to the
recommendations for the apparent curtailment it placed
on the African education advancement. Beecher's recom-
mendation assured European dominance over education while
deliberately holding Africans back.[14]

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[13]Sheldon G. Weeks, _Divergence in Educational
Development, the Case of Kenya and Uganda_ (New York:
Columbia University Teachers College Press, 1968), p. 6.

[14]Ibid.

In 1949, the proportion of students in elementary
to those in secondary school was 42 to 1. Only one out of
five Africans of school age had an opportunity to attend
any school, as illustrated by the figures in Table IV.

TABLE IV

PROPORTIONAL ENROLLMENT OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN 1949*

There were 1,216,000 children of school age between 7 and
15 years.

Only	113,897	were in the	1st year of school,
	51,160		2nd year
	36,849		3rd year
	26,018		4th year
	21,578		5th year
	6,983		6th year

Total in Primary School: 256,485 out of 1,216,000.

In Secondary School:	3,046	1st year
	2,204	2nd year
	278	3rd year
	194	4th year
	57	5th year
	39	6th year

Total in Secondary School   5,818.

*The Beecher Report, African Education (Nairobi:
Government Printer, 1949), p. 15.

**Qualifying examination.

In some other districts, for example, such as Muranga, the Beecher Report underestimated educational needs for the Africans. On the minimum recommended by Beecher of 230 pupils per school, only 110 schools would have been required. The recommendation was for 72 aided primary schools plus 10 two-year schools (Standards V-VI). Secondly, contrary to Beecher's calculation of one intermediate school for every five primaries, the District needed 22 intermediate schools instead of the 14 proposed.[15]

In order for the Europeans to advance themselves and to remain in a privileged position educationally, African education was limited to arts and crafts, religion and Swahili, not English. While Africans provided 55 per cent of the taxes in Kenya (£600,000 [pounds]), four fifths was spent on Europeans and 57 per cent of the total Kenya budget was used to pay the salaries and pensions of European civil servants.[16]

For over forty years, British officials were so interested in establishing a firm administration and encouraging white settlement from Europe and South Africa that there was no concern for African education. Indeed, there was a time when colonial authorities were fully

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[15]Kenya Government National Archives, Annual Report on Fort Hall District, 1952 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1952), p. 13.

[16]Masskms Salvadori, La Colonisation Européenne au Kenya, in Michel Merle (unpublished Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1963), p. 25.

occupied designing plans to make Kenya the home of the Jews and thus deny Kenyans any claim to their own country.[17] Fortunately, the project never materialized.

When reading British official documents, like those outlined before on African education in Kenya, one is impressed by both their reasoning and intentions; but careful scrutiny shows that they were only theoretical policy statements that were not put into practice.

Anderson attempted to attribute the apparent discrepancy between policy making, theory and policy implementation to the fact that the policy makers in London were "experienced and farsighted," but on the other hand, their policies had to be implemented "by officials working in the field, often with virtually no educational training"–and who "had become attuned to the methods and pace of 'indirect rule.'"[18] This reasoning overlooks the fact that, if policy makers in London were "experienced and farsighted," why did not they design some method of evaluating their accomplishments?

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[17]Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth, An Introduction to the History of East Africa (London: Cambridge University Press. 1957), p. 156.

[18]Anderson, op. cit., p. 34.

Sheffield rejected Anderson's reasoning (as did this author) and maintained that the retardation of African educational development was an outcome of a deliberate policy pursued by the vocal European settler minority to keep "natives" in the "place." The British government's indifference meant that the settlers could implement their policies without objection.

> Although a series of authoritative statements from the [British] Colonial Office during the 1920's and 1930's established the primacy of African interests, the settlers, led by Lord Delamere, never gave up their efforts [of dominating the "inferior" races]. Britain, with rare exceptions, declined to interfere in East African affairs beyond the making of overall policy.[19]

Sheffield further indicated that education for Africans was primarily an outcome of "non-educational factors," such as African political activities and missionary religious teachings, rather than an outcome of a systematic educational "blueprint." Also, "no long-range planning was undertaken."[20]

The policy of "indirect" rule, based on the idea that stability in Kenya was dependent upon developing each ethnic group along its own lines without any relationship to the others, had an adverse effect on education and also

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[19]James R. Sheffield, "Policies and Progress in African Education in Kenya, 1949-1963" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 63.

[20]Ibid., p. 206.

on national integration after independence was achieved.
Within this framework of "divide and rule," chiefs and vil-
lage headmen were appointed to act as agents for the British
colonial government. They had to collect taxes, administer
laws and perform various other duties. In exchange for
their services, the chiefs maintained their positions of
influence at the local level. This policy is said to have
led to a concentration on development of rural ethnic soci-
eties rather than the training of educated urban citizens.
Towns and cities became the headquarters of administrative,
commercial and other colonial activities and not centers of
civilizing influence. Rural areas became associated with
"backward natives," while cities became the dwelling places
of Asians and Europeans. A few African workers could have
temporary homes in towns while maintaining a permanent home
in the rural areas.[21]

Throughout the entire period of British colonial
and missionary education, two major problems existed: (1)
a shortage of secondary schools and institutions of higher
learning, and (2) ethnic imbalance and school segregation.
The lack of an adequate number of secondary schools in post-
colonial Kenya, accompanied by a lack of skilled and pro-
fessional manpower, was due to the slow development of
secondary education during the colonial rule. For example,

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[21]Soja, op. cit., p. 49.

the first African Secondary School (Alliance) was opened in 1926 as a trade school. Ten years later, it became the first African Secondary School to prepare candidates for the Overseas Cambridge School Certificate.[22] In 1955, only 17 secondary schools were admitting Africans. Total enrollment in the same year was 2,167, as compared to 400,000 in the primary schools.[23] It should also be pointed out that African education experienced almost no growth until 1960, just two years before independence was achieved. These facts are demonstrated in Table V.

TABLE V

AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL GROWTH 1940-1963[*]

Year	Government	Aided Schools	School Certificates	
			Boys	Girls
1940	0	2	11	0
1945	0	4	17	0
1950	5	6	61	0
1955	8	9	245	7
1960	33+	-	900	85
1963	82+	-	1,292	199

[*]Anderson, op. cit., p. 47.

[22]Anderson, op. cit., p. 170.

[23]Soja, op. cit., p. 60.

The result was a post primary bottleneck, leaving
too many primary school graduates migrating into cities to
look for clerical jobs, as they had no opportunity to pursue
high school studies. If the "school leaver problem," as it
is called in Kenya, is not solved, is it not likely to
constitute a threat to the government, particularly if the
jobless and disgruntled youths are mobilized for political
action by some political activists?

This kind of education and the policies that
perpetuated it were commented on by one of the servants of
the colonial government. Referring to Nyeri District, which
was typical of what was generally happening in the whole
of Kenya, he said:

> I feel so strongly that the whole problem of
> native education in this district is not being ap-
> proached in the right way . . . there is a total of
> over 4,000 natives receiving literacy education,
> about 60 at most receive technical education, 1,000
> fall out by the way and their spasmodic efforts
> leave them still amongst the ranks of uneducated.[24]

The District Commissioner went on to say that in
Nyeri, they were turning out 1,230 Africans per annum with

[24]Kenya Government National Archives, Annual Report
of Nyeri District, 1925 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1925),
p. 56.

nothing but bare literacy and with a distaste for soil. In four years, the district will produce 5,000; in eight years, 10,000; and on goes the accumulative effect. A good portion of them expected to find clerical jobs. "Where are they to find them?" he queried. "This district alone," he continued, "will have more aspirant clerks than there are clerkships in the whole of Kenya Colony or ever likely to be. In short, the country is going to be flooded with a semi-educated and largely unemployable band who have grievances against the missionaries and the government for not finding them employment."[25] This prediction made over fifty years ago is being fulfilled not only in Kenya today but in other developing countries as well. He ended by warning his government that African education must be designed to make them participate in the economic development of their country. To end their education at the level of mere literacy was likely to have serious repercussions and be counterproductive in the long run.[26]

The other serious problem that faced Kenya was ethnic imbalance of educational achievements. Since the arrival inland and the subsequent settlement of the missionaries, the Gikuyu benefited more educationally

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[25]Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[26]Ibid., p. 59.

TABLE VI

ETHNIC BREAKDOWN OF AFRICAN EDUCATION ACHIEVEMENTS*

Primary Education		Minimal Literacy		Post-Secondary	
Kikuyu.......	56.0	Kikuyu.......	51.2	Kikuyu.......	645 Students
Nandi........	50.8	Kisii........	40.5	Kisii........	332
Taita........	44.8	Luhya........	38.5	Luhya........	239
Embu.........	41.0	Kipsigis.....	36.2	Kamba........	214
Luo..........	37.7	Embu.........	34.7	Luo..........	205
Kipsigis.....	36.2	Luo..........	33.0	Meru.........	154
Kisii........	34.6	Taita........	33.0	Nandi........	144
Luhya........	34.0	Nandi........	31.8	Tugen-	
Meru.........	32.0	Meru.........	28.5	Njemps....	119
Elgeyo-		Kamba........	21.3	Kipsigis.....	111
Marakwet..	24.1	Tugen-		Mijikenda....	110
Kamba........	20.5	Njemps....	21.8	Embu.........	61
Tugen-		Elgeyo-		Elgeyo-	
Njemps....	17.7	Marakwet..	21.8	Marakwet..	44
Pokot (Suk)..	15.2	Mijikenda....	15.5	Taita........	26
Mijikenda....	14.9	Pokot (Suk)..	9.1	Masai........	24
Masai........	13.0	Masai........	7.7	Pokot (Suk)..	11

Primary Education: Percentage of males plus percentage of females between the ages of 5 and 9 with some schooling.

Minimal Literacy: Percentage of males over 20 with some schooling.

Post Secondary: Number with 13 or more years of education.

*Soja, op. cit., p. 62.

than any other ethnic group in Kenya.   This is partly

due to their proximity to Nairobi (capital) and their

earlier contact with Europeans.[27]

Most of the Primary Schools were established in the

Gikuyu populated areas. As a result they built an early

start in the educational accomplishments and enjoyed that

position as the following figures illustrate. (Table VI)

The problem of imbalance among ethnic groups and

regions inherited from colonial days is still serious, as

statistics for 1967 Standard I entrants indicate.

TABLE VII

STANDARD I ENROLLMENTS REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION, 1967*

Province	
Central Province	58,162
Eastern Province	47,893
Nyanza Province	35,836
Rift Valley Province	35,381
Western Province	27,188
Coast Province	14,001
Nairobi City Province	9,229
North Eastern Province	620
TOTAL	228,769

*Ministry of Education, Annual Report 1967 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967), pp. 36-37.

[27]Helen Kitchen, The Educated African (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 138.

These statistics (Table VII) reveal the problem of educational imbalance in some of the regions such as the Coast and North Eastern provinces.

Other problems that affected education included training and recruitment. As the study indicated, it was not easy to find candidates to face African weather conditions. Lacking suitable recruits, the missionaries lowered standards. The result was poor candidates who were given a short training course by a retired missionary, if one could be found. The problem of church disunity and rivalry affected education and the African people themselves. African pupils were taught to mistrust those who belonged to rival denominations. In 1922, in their attempt to achieve unity, missionary societies agreed to send to Kenya only those missionaries who were fundamentalists and held conservative Biblical views. Their inflexibility and lack of interest in experimentation had a retarding effect on the development of African education.[28]

The segregated educational system had detrimental effects not only in staffing but also in national unity. Although students were admitted to schools on a racial basis, the posting of top civil servants was not strictly racial. The policy was, however, to favor Europeans.

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[28]Anderson, op. cit., p. 26.

They could be appointed to be principals of African schools or heads of important African sections in the Department of Education. But no Africans were appointed to run European high schools or in any other positions where decisions made by them would affect Europeans. The practice of appointing Europeans who lacked knowledge about Africans caused many social and academic problems. In 1961, for example, three Europeans without any previous experience in an African secondary school were appointed principals of the first African schools to offer a Higher School Certificate. The examination results during their tenure of office were disastrous.[29]

There were also problems of applicability and relevance of European degrees and diplomas in Africa. Cowan made the following remark:

> The medical program of Louvain, which provided a minor place for pediatrics and preventive medicine, did not prepare students for conditions where infant mortality was high; so, too, the London single-subject honors system was too narrow for the wide range of competence that was likely to be demanded of Nigerian graduates.[30]

Discrimination in the financing of education during the colonial era has already been noted. The statistics for 1959 again substantiate this. The colonial government

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[29]Ibid., p. 48.

[30]L. Gray Cowan, James O'Connel and David G. Scanlon, Education and Nation Building in Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 29.

spent £5 (pounds) for each African pupil, £28 (pounds) for each Asian, and £36 (pounds) for each European child. In addition, until 1959, the majority of the Africans who attended four years of primary school learned Swahili, not English, as a second language, which prepared them for practically nothing.[31]

To sum up, education under the colonial rule seemed to have done little in "preparing" Kenyans for independence. The mission brought Western education to Kenya in 1844, many years before the first official public statement of British educational policy in Tropical Africa was announced in 1925 at the Colonial Office in London. The kind of education imported by the missionaries was first and foremost geared to conversion rather than to education as we know it today. Christianizing Africans was the primary aim of education, and as soon as one could read the Bible, he was considered competent to interpret the Christian message to his fellow men. The missionaries made it clear that, if a Kenyan did not want to be Christianized, he could not get the little education they offered, because both came in one package.

The educational policy of the British government cannot be divorced from the total policy of colonial

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[31] Weeks, op. cit., p. 5.

administration. The shortage of secondary schools deprived Kenya of a cadre of people with the necessary skills to assist the country in tackling as soon as possible the problems of independence. Thus, the "school leaver problem," inherited from colonial times, contributed adversely to Kenya's problems at a time when she most needed educated skills. A system of racially segregated schools did not bring racial harmony and understanding, which are essential in building a multi-racial society.

The Beecher Report of 1949, which became the official guideline for the decade ending in 1960, had partly devised an educational system with a rural bias, although African children were never totally attracted by the largely unproductive rural life. Quantitatively, the Report had placed a severe limit on the African educational advancement, as already mentioned. In the language of the report:

> Illiterates with the right attitude to manual employment are preferable to products of the school who are not readily disposed to enter manual employment. Teachers do not have the convictions, the knowledge or training in order to inculcate the right attitudes to agricultural and pastoral and other manual activities. The boy who went through primary school . . . should have retained his rural attitudes as well as having received an education in literacy which will be capable of further development through welfare projects.[32]

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[32]The Beecher Report, op. cit., pp. 35, 38, 39, quoted by Weeks, op. cit., p. 6.

The rural bias, as recommended by Beecher to make children good laborers, craftsmen and farmers, sounded like a complete separation of village from city life, where each group would pursue occupations suited to themselves and thus widen the gap between urban and rural areas. This arrangement would complicate rather than simplify the problem of national integration. One writer objected to this arrangement, as he made the following point:

> Objection should be made, however, to the statement that rural education should invariably lead pupils to follow rural pursuits and to remain contented upon the land. Such policy is neither democratic nor socially and politically advisable. Rural dwellers are entitled to as complete and valuable an education as urban residents, provided only that they have a natural capacity for it. A peculiarly rural education will lead in time to the creation of a separate rural class, to further divisions between town and country . . . village education must be in terms of rural life, but this does not mean it should be narrow and circumscribed.[33]

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[33] W. McKee, New Schools for Young India (Chapel Hill; North Carolina Press, 1930), p. 73.

In the final analysis, it must be concluded that the lack of educational facilities as well as the educational backwardness found in Kenya at the time of independence was a strong indictment against British colonial rule. Jomo Kenyatta observed this in his "Harambee" speech mentioned in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VIII

KENYA'S PRESENT SYSTEM OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

Until independence in 1963, the system of primary and secondary education was racially segregated. Africans, Europeans, Arabs and Asians attended separate schools. As a rule, Arabs attended Asian Secondary Schools. Education for Europeans and for the Indian children living in urban areas between the ages of seven and fifteen years was compulsory. There was no compulsory education for Africans.

In 1963, Kenya started to integrate her educational systems by bringing together the three previous separate systems. A multi-racial enrollment was instituted in all schools and an introduction of a combined primary-intermediate course lasting seven years for all races was inaugurated. The former African system of Primary (Standard I-IV) and Intermediate (Standard V-VIII) began to be gradually phased out. (See Appendix VIII.)

It has been noted that African education experienced almost no growth until 1960 just two years before independence was achieved.

Primary Education

Children enter primary education at the age of six,

and receive a universal educational program through Standards I to VII. English is to be the language of instruction from Standard I, if teachers are available.

TABLE VIII

UNIVERSAL SEVEN YEAR PRIMARY SCHOOLS TIME TABLE*

	Lower Primary (30 Minute Period)			Upper Primary (40 Minute Period)	
	I	II	III	IV-V	VI-VII
Religious Instruction	4	4	4	4	4
Vernaculars ** (Reading, Writing, Language Work)	10	9	5	-	-
English	4	4	7	7	7
Second Language	-	-	-	3	3
Geography	-	-	2	3	3
History	-	-	2	3	3
Mathematics	6	5	5	5	5
Nature Study and Science	1	1	2	2	2
Health Education	-	-	-	1	1
Agriculture	-	-	-	2	2
Arts and Craft, Needlework and Domestic Science	4	4	4	5	5
Music	1	1	1	1	1
Physical Education (including health education in Primary I, II, and III)	5	5	5	3	3
Gardening	-	2	2	-	-

*Maretna Sasnet and Inex Sepmeyer, <u>Educational Systems of Africa</u> (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1966), pp. 168-169.

**Swahili, Arabic, Hindi, Punjabi, Gujerati, Urdu

Certificate awarded: <u>Kenya Preliminary Certificate</u>
Taken at the end of the new 7-year primary course. Examination is written in English. The Certificate serves as the "leaving examination," and also as a screening device for those entering secondary school.

Before education was integrated, the leaving examination was named according to different racial groups, i.e. Africans sat for Kenya <u>African Preliminary Examination</u>, Kenya European <u>Preliminary Examination</u>, and Kenya <u>Asian Preliminary Examination</u>.

Kenya Education Commission

<u>Uhuru</u>, which means "freedom" in Swahili, was frequently heard as a political slogan during the struggle for independence. After independence was won, the slogan of the new nation became "<u>Harambee</u>," Swahili meaning, "pulling together." These slogans were repeatedly used by politicians in Kenya for the purpose of rallying the people in the crusade of nation building. "<u>Harambee</u>" was first used by Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, the first Prime-Minister and then first President of the Republic of Kenya. His speech in which the term "<u>Harambee</u>" was heard provided an assessment of educational needs and problems that faced the young nation. Kenyatta maintained that educational backwardness and problems were creations of the colonialists, "We are concerned," Kenyatta said, "about the shortage of educational opportunities inherited from the colonial

era."[1] "No stone will be left unturned to ensure as full
a response as funds will permit to the educational aspira-
tions of all Kenyans."[2] However, it was soon apparent that
slogans could not wrestle effectively with the numerous
problems facing the young nation, and this was even more
so in the field of education.

Within a month of independence, the government
appointed a commission headed by Professor S. H. Ominde.
The Commission was asked "to survey the existing educa-
tional resources of Kenya and to advise the Government of
Kenya in the formulation of national policies for educa-
tion."[3]

For several reasons this commission was important
in the history of educational development in Kenya. It
was the first time that a commission chaired by a Kenyan
and with a majority of distinguished Kenyan citizens (10
out of 14 members were Kenyans) sat down to discuss the
future role of education in Kenya.[4]

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[1]Jomo Kenyatta, Harambee! Speeches 1963-1964 (London:
Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 83.

[2]Ibid., p. 85.

[3]Kenya Education Commission Report, Vol. I (Nairobi:
Government Printer, 1964), p. 2.

[4]Earnest Stabler, Education Since Uhuru (Middletown:
Wesleyen University Press, 1969), Preface.

Earlier committees (as noted previously) had not recognized education as a matter of national policy and unity and generally had excluded African participants. The national motto of <u>Harambee</u> served notice of breaking away from the colonial era, when different communities were regarded as separate entities. The Commissioners viewed education from the context of overall planning and national development. It was no longer regarded as a social service for sectarian and other related purposes, but also as instrumental in a secular state desperately in need of engineers, nurses, lawyers, mechanics and other technicians and professionals.

The Beecher Report of 1949 had, among other things, recommended that the government "work with and through those voluntary agencies which have the teaching of Christian principles as part of their intention."[5] In 1964, barely fifteen years later, the Commissioners observed that the practice of leaving the running of maintained primary schools in the hands of missions was no longer necessary, and it was only fair that public supported institutions be controlled by public, not religious, bodies.[6]

The members of the Commission represented people from various interest groups, such as KANU (political party), the House of Representatives, the Church, and the University

[5]Ibid.   [6]Ibid.

College Nairobi. Three expatriate consultants were included by the Commission for advisory purposes.[7]

Ten Objectives of Education in Kenya

Ten objectives of education in Kenya were submitted by the Commission in 1964. They were:

1. Fostering of nationhood and promoting national unity.

2. Serving the needs of people without discrimination.

3. Using schools as the instrument of the state.

4. Respecting cultural traditions of people in Kenya.

5. Avoiding an excessive competitive spirit which is incompatible with the African traditionsl patterns of life.

6. Using education as a means of producing conscious change of attitudes and relationships in preparation for the modern world.

7. Fostering respect for human personality.

8. Serving the needs of national development.

9. Training in social obligation and responsibility.

10. Preparing students so that they can adapt to change.[8]

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[7]J. E. Anderson, "The Kenya Education Commission Report: An African View of Educational Planning," Comparative Education Review, IX-X (June, 1965), pp. 201-207.

[8]"Education in Kenya," Overseas Quarterly, IV (June, 1965), p. 167.

Close examination of the ten objectives makes it clear that education was believed to be the central agent of social change, promotion of national unity, and development of good citizens.

These objectives contradicted some of the basic values that the British had perpetuated during the colonial era. Objective 5 pointed out that the idea of competition as applied by Britishers was alien to the traditional African concept of a corporate society as well as the new national motto of Harambee. Thus, the basic format of education in newly independent Kenya was to emphasize co-operation and unity, rather than the British emphasis on rigid competition and individual achievement.

All independent African nations are confronted with the problem of disunity. Internal contradiction such as ethnic differences is of constant worry to the African leaders. They know through experiences and lessons from such countries as the Congo and Nigeria how disruptive and devastating ethnic differences can be. On this issue, they express the same fear that was expressed by George Washington when he warned of the dangers of factionalism.[9]

The idea of unity was, therefore, quite prevalent in the objectives formulated by the Commission. Five out

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[9]Fred R. Von der Mehden, Politics of Developing Nations (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 66.

of ten (numbers 1, 2, 4, 7, and 10) referred directly or indirectly to the role education should play in the area of national unity. It was pointed out that a homogeneous group was not a prerequisite of national unity and that different cultural groups, beliefs, and traditions were not incompatible in the task of building a united nation.

One of the basic philosophies guiding the Kenya government in the formulation of new educational policies was described in "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya":

> At Kenya's state of development, education is much more an economic than a social service. It is our principal means for relieving the shortage of domestic skilled manpower and equalizing economic opportunities among all citizens . . . [one of] the immediate objectives in education is to expand secondary level facilities as rapidly as teacher supply and recurrent cost implications permit. This is, of course, important to the training of manpower, the acceleration of Africanization and increasing the proportion of KPE [Kenya Preliminary Examination] candidates that can continue in education . . . the plans for Nairobi University College must be fully integrated within the government development plan if the University College is to contribute effectively in our manpower problems.[10]

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[10]*African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*, Sessional Paper No. 10 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965), p. 40.

This showed a departure from the previous educational pro-
grams. Education was now to be carefully planned, level by
level, all the way up to the university, as indicated by
Mr. Mboya, the late Minister of Economic Planning in Kenya.
It was national in scope and control and could no longer
be left to individual philanthropists to do as they pleased.

The Commission Report, published in 1964, did a
thorough job of surveying the educational resources and
provided general guidelines for future policy in regard to
such issues as equipment, school buildings, distribution
of teachers, teacher-training and management of schools.
On the more basic issues of priorities, such as the re-
structuring of the curriculum and the whole educational
machinery, qualitative and quantitative expansion, and
the speed with which some of the crucial problems have to
be tackled, the Report failed to provide the course of
action to be taken.

This failure led to some of the criticism leveled
against the Commission by some educationists, who felt that
it had failed to devise a radical approach for meeting some
of the most pressing problems. It was accused of somewhat
following the former British colonial policies of gradual-
ism. Some of those who reviewed its findings wanted to

know, for example, why the Commission recommended a unified diet but stated that uniform fees should be a long term objective. How could this be justified in view of the fact that school fees remain one of the critical problems preventing African children from receiving any education at all?[11]

The question of "integration" and "standards" was also raised. In stating that at one of the former all-European high schools "nobody of any race or class is admitted who does not make the grade," did they mean that the standards used to determine the grade were correct? Does not giving African bursaries to attend those former European schools, which are classified as "high cost schools" and which still adhere to British standards, amount to an endorsement of a colonial system of education?[12]

The urgent problem of curriculum reorganization and the training of expatriate teachers, some of whom come to Kenya with only scattered knowledge, is detrimental to educational progress. The commissioners should have emphasized the need to formulate new policies of recruiting foreigners. Can education fulfill its role of

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[11]Ezekiel Mphahlele, "Alignment of Educational Goals in Kenya," East Africa Journal, February, 1965, p. 27.

[12]Ibid., p. 28.

socialization, especially in primary and secondary schools, while relying heavily on foreign teachers?

The recruitment policies and the sensitivity of European academics to the state of affairs in Africa was a subject of comment by Jenifer C. Ward. She noted that too often expatriate teachers go overseas without adequate screening or training. In one case, she detected a prospective candidate for a university post in Africa who did not know that Portugal still has colonies in Africa, and that Zimbabwe (Rhodesia is the colonial name) and South Africa's racial policies remain Africa's most pressing political problem.[13]

According to Odhiambo, universal free primary education for all Kenyans, which is a basic moral and social obligation, did not receive its due emphasis. The Commissioners failed to come up with a blueprint on how goals can be set, how curriculum can be reorganized and what should be done to accomplish those goals.[14]

The Report advocated limitation of "Harambee" or self-help secondary schools without a sufficient assessment

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[13]Jenifer C. Ward, "The Expatriate Academic and the African University," Africa Today, January, 1971, p. 32.

[14]Douglas Odhiambo, "What Is Kenya's Educational Goal?" East African Journal, March, 1965, pp. 22-23.

of what effect this limitation would have on primary
education. It also failed to come up with a better substi-
tute for _Harambee_ Schools. When primary and intermediate
education was integrated into a seven-year system, the
number of entrants for the Kenya Preliminary Examination
had risen from 30,000 in 1965 to about 150,000 in 1966.
The number has continued to rise. Because of a large
number of Kenya Preliminary Examination candidates, the
opportunity of a Standard VII graduate to enter a secondary
school has fallen considerably. The unaided _Harambee_ and
private secondary schools gave 7,500 pupils a Form I
(grade 8) place in 1965. This accounted for 40 per cent of
all Form I places. In 1966, they provided 11,000 places
to those joining the first year of secondary education.[15]

Would not recommending that the _Harambee_ schools
be limited, the schools that admit only a fraction of
those who complete primary school at the age of 13 or 14,
aggravate the already chronic unemployment situation in
Kenya, especially among primary school leavers?

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[15]Kyale Mwendwa, "Constraint and Strategy in
Planning Education," in James Sheffield (Nairobi: East
Africa Publishing House, 1967), p. 278.

Curriculum

Despite the fact that the structure of the educational system in Kenya has not remarkably changed since the publication of the "Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa 1925," there have been some steps taken, particularly since independence, to modify the educational system so that it can respond more directly to the needs of the new nation.[16]

The New Primary Approach

One of the most significant steps in the area of curriculum and methods of instruction has been the development of the "New Primary Approach." The philosophy behind it is to discard the old colonial approach of the child passively receiving information dictated by the teacher and to replace it with the modern methods of teaching in which a pupil learns by doing--by participating in learning activities. This will make the student more responsible for his learning by allowing him to be a full participant in the learning process and not just a part of it. The medium of instruction is either through English or other African languages used in Kenya.[17]

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[16]S. H. Ominde, "The Structure of Education in Kenya and Some Planning Problems," Ibid., in Sheffield, p. 289.

[17]Ministry of Education, Trienniel Survey, 1964-1966 and Annual Report for 1966 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967), p. 5.

The methods of teaching in the primary schools dur-
ing the colonial era and the semi-military discipline
advocated at the time was touched upon by the Kenya Educa-
tion Commission.

> Nobody, who is familiar with the primary school
> will be unaware of the occurrence of drill methods of
> teaching; of an authoritarian tone of voice on the part
> of the teacher, of a neglect of activity methods and
> pupil participation; of little attempt at grouping or
> otherwise adjusting instruction to the needs of par-
> ticular children; of a negative approach to discipline
> and formalized presentation of materials.[18]

In 1965, two prominent scholars, Marnixius Hutasoit
from Indonesia and Clifford H. Prator an American, spent
five weeks in Kenya examining the new primary approach.
Among the thirty-one recommendations they submitted to
the Chief Education Officer, the importance of children
becoming literate in their own languages, which should
not be neglected at the expense of English, was emphasized.
They recommended that African languages be given one period
of instruction per day in Standard I, II and III and one
period per week in Standards IV to VII.[19]

The New Syllabus for Kenya Primary Schools

In 1967 a new nation-wide syllabus for use in all
primary schools was introduced. It replaced the former

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[18]Ministry of Education, Kenya Education Commission
(Nairobi: Government Printer, 1964), p. 180.

[19]Ministry of Education, Annual Summary, 1965
(Nairobi: Government Printer, 1966), p. 5.

one based on racial segregation and was designed for a seven year primary school course. The previous separate syllabuses on Gardening, Agriculture, Health Education, Nature Study and Elementary Science were integrated into a collective heading and named General Science.[20]

Aims of the Syllabus

The two aims enumerated were:

a. To provide a balanced primary school education that is responsive to the growth and development of the children;

b. To prepare children for secondary education.[21]

Scope of the Syllabus

Because of the problem of census and registration of births, the syllabus is flexible. But as a general rule it admits children between the ages of about six to about thirteen when they are supposed to graduate from primary school.[22]

Curriculum and Time Allocation

The syllabus stated:

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[20]Ministry of Education, Primary School Syllabus (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967), foreword.

[21]Ibid., p. i.

[22]Ibid.

It is considered that preparation for the Kenya. Preliminary Examination is subsidiary to the main purpose of primary education, which is to help children to develop according to their needs and abilities and to prepare them for their future life and for work in secondary schools.[23]

The syllabus required the approval of the Provincial Education Officer in the reduction or any other alteration of the amount of time allocated to a particular subject. (See Table IX on following page)

Each subject from Standard I to III is allocated 30 minutes. The pupils attend school only half a day. An example of how the half day is utilized is given below.

	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8
8.00	8.15	8.45	9.15	9.45	9.55	10.25	10.55	11.25	11.35	12.05
8.15	8.45	9.15	9.45	9.55	10.25	10.55	11.25	11.35	12.05	12.35

Assembly & Prayer   Break   Break

It should be pointed out that in all Kenya schools, the sixth period coincides with a broadcast lesson through the radio given by the Voice of Kenya under the Ministry of Information.

In Standards IV-VII there are seven 35-minute periods and two 40-minute periods each day. Below an

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[23]Ibid., p. ii.

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF PERIODS PER WEEK*

	Lower Primary Non-N.P.A. Classes (30 Min. Periods)			Upper Primary (40 Min. and 35 Min. Periods)
	I	II	III	IV to VII
English	4	4	7	10
Mathematics	6	6	7	8
Mother Tongue (Reading, Writing, Language Work)	10	9	5	
Geography	–	–	3	3
History & Civics	–	–	2	3
Science (including Agriculture, Gardening and Health Education)	1	3	4	6
Swahili	–	–	–	4 (3 + 1 optional)
Physical Education and Games	5	5	4	3
Art and Craft/ Needlework and Domestic Science	4	4	4	4
Music and Singing	1	1	1	1
Religious Education	4	3	3	3
	35	35	40	45

*Ibid.

example is given.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8:00	8:15	8:50	9:25	10:00 10:20	10:55 11:30	11:40	12:15
8:15	8:50	9:25	10:00	10:20 10:55	11:30 11:40	12:15	12:50

Assem-
bly &   Break   Break
Prayer

The fifth and the sixth lessons coincide with the
lessons aired through radio by the Voice of Kenya.[24]

Main Subjects of the Curriculum

Religious Education. Religious education still
figures prominently in Kenya Primary Schools. It is allo-
cated, as the time-table shows, four periods a week in the
first year and three in the second and third years. In the
fourth through seventh years, it is allocated 3 periods a
week. It has been changed from the first period in the
morning session to the last, possibly to give preference
to the more mentally demanding subjects such as mathematics.
The continued teaching of religion in Kenya schools is
further evidence of missionary inheritance. Is not subject-
ing children to religious education at that age a violation
of their constitutional and democratic rights?

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[24]Ibid., pp. ii-iii.

Negotiations between Protestants and Catholics to formulate a "unified" syllabus for Religious Education were hoped for.[25] The results of these negotiations at the time of this study were not available. Except for a few modifications, such as relating the life of Jesus to the life and experience of pupils in rural and urban areas, Religious Education is still basically the same as it was before independence.

English. In Standards I to III, where English is the language of instruction, the following group categories should be remembered:

1. Classes in which English is a second language, but where teacher and pupils speak a common African language.

2. Classes where English is a second language, but the teacher and pupils do not share a common language.

3. Classes where English is the first language of the teacher and of the majority of the students.

During the first year of English in Standard I, the pupils' mastery of English sounds and simple sentence patterns is emphasized. By the end of the first year, a student is expected to have a vocabulary of about 500 words.[26]

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[25]Ibid., p. 1.

[26]Ibid., p. 14.

The Mother Tongues. The syllabus noted that by the time the child enters school, he can already speak his language. The teacher's job, therefore, is to help the child acquire a more extensive vocabulary as well as to understand language concepts. By the time the child gets to Standard IV, he is expected to be able to:

1. Express various ideas.

2. Appreciate songs and poems.

3. Read for pleasure, understanding, or to find information.

4. Write clearly and legibly at a reasonable speed.

5. Take simple notes,

6. Be able to express his thoughts in writing and orally.

7. Be able to understand simple structures of his language.[27]

Swahili (Second Language). For the Kenyans and non-Kenyans who proceed to upper primary (Standards V-VII) with little or no knowledge of Swahili, the aims as

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[27]Ibid., p. 73.

formulated by the syllabus are:

    1. To develop ability to understand and communicate in Swahili everywhere in Kenya.

    2. To encourage the pupil to read widely from books, journals and newspapers.[28]

Geography. As the time-table shows, Geography has been excluded as a formal subject in Primary I and II. Instead, teachers are instructed to encourage such activities as painting, weather observation, drawing and to know about their local area. (This is spelled out in the Arts and Craft syllabus.) The aims of the syllabus are:

    1. To enable the child, by studying his locality, to understand man's relation to his ecology.

    2. To create an understanding of life in the classroom as an extension of what is happening outside.

    3. To create skills of map reading and direction.

    4. To show how people of the world are dependent upon each other and thereby emphasize international good will and understanding. Teachers are asked to use visual aids including maps, pictures and models.[29]

After pupils have studied their locality in Standard III, a simple survey of the geography of Kenya and East Africa follows. Suggested projects include a visit to a railway station, an airport, a post office and national game parks.

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[28]Ibid., p. 89.

[29]Ibid., p. 93.

In Standard IV, students are formally introduced to countries outside Africa. These are presented under a collective heading, "The New Lands," and include America, Australia, and New Zealand. Some of the topics covered include cotton, wheat, cattle, lumbering, the cold, deserts and the motor car. The author was teaching the above topics in 1963-1964.

In Standard VI, the "Old Lands," meaning Asia and Europe, are studied. Some of the topics covered include:

1. The Ancient Civilization of Egypt and around Rivers Tigris and Euphrates, as well as India and China.

2. The Indian Peninsula and the Far East, China and China Seas and the commercial products of Southeast Asia.

3. Europe: types of farming, industries and cities.[30]

In Standard VII, the last year of primary school, Africa, East Africa and Kenya in particular are studied in more detail.

Africa:

1. Surface features

2. Climates

3. Vegetation regions

4. Minerals

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[30]Ibid., pp. 96-97.

5. Peoples

6. Types of transport

East Africa--Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania:

1. Physical features

2. Climatic conditions in East Africa

3. Vegetation, crops and agriculture

4. Minerals

5. Peoples of East Africa

6. Communications

7. Industrial development

8. Ports and main towns

9. Trade: imports and exports

10. Position in the continent--boundaries

11. World position[31]

History. The aim is to interest the children in understanding man's development from ancient times up to the modern period. A general survey beginning with the Stone Age of Man, the people of Kenya and the early civilizations in Africa are studied.

Standard III--Origins of Civilization

Early man in Africa and Europe

1. The Stone Age

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[31]Ibid., pp. 93-97.

Shelter

Clothes

Discovery and use of fire

Methods of hunting and weapons used

Methods of fishing

Cave paintings

2. The New Stone Age:

Improved weapons and tools

Beginning of agriculture

Beginning of spinning and weaving

3. The Bronze and Iron Ages:

The discovery of the use of metal objects

made from bronze and iron

Home life

In Standard IV, the growth of civilization is taught, focusing on how people lived in ancient Egypt. In Standard V, Mohammed and the spread of Islam are introduced. The History of East Africa in the nineteenth century is taught in Standard VI. The last year (Standard VII) is devoted to the History of East Africa in the twentieth century.[32]

General Science

This is a collective term which combined the previous

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[32]Ibid., pp. 100-102.

separate syllabuses on Gardening, Agriculture, Health Education, Nature Study, and elementary science.

Aim: 1. Use the ideas suggested by the syllabus for use of the children;

2. Use the "child's world" as the focus of teaching;

3. Provide a learning atmosphere in which a child learns science by activity method.

Various kinds of equipment such as drawings, collection of pictures and simple experiments are encouraged.

Methodology: Teachers are instructed to divide their lessons into three steps.

1. An introduction where a teacher demonstrates a point in science:

2. A stage of observation and inquiry;

3. A stage of student activity.

In Standard I, "Living Things" are studied according to their needs, distribution (where they live), special features (how they move and protect themselves). This is continued through Standard III. The topic for Standard IV is "Our Earth, Our Sky and The Universe." The study of sound, light and magnetism is also introduced.[33] This is continued in more detail as the child progresses from lower to upper grades.

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[33]Ibid., p. 111.

Mathematics. Mathematics includes Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry. The New Highway series, Highway Arithmetic Books 1-3, are used in the lower primary (Standards I-III). In the upper primary (Standards V-VII), Highway Mathematics Books 5-8 are in use. Teachers are asked to make sure that children understand the concepts, principles and processes through logic, and not by memorization. The subject should be related to Kenya; and the colonial practice of figuring out, for example, how long it took a train to run from London to Liverpool should be discarded. Teachers should guide the children from the beginning to understand counting and sorting through individual and group activities. New concepts are introduced as pupils proceed from lower to upper primary.[34]

Administration

The Minister of Education (a member of the President's Cabinet) heads the Ministry of Education. According to the tradition established by the British, he does not necessarily have to be a professional educator. He is assisted by two Assistant Ministers. When racial segregation in education was abolished, the Ministry of Education was reorganized.

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[34]Ibid., p. 58.

There are four main units under the overall supervision and control of the Permanent Secretary, who is assisted by a Chief Education Officer and his Deputy. Each section is headed by an Assistant Chief Education Officer. One of them is in charge of primary education, its administration and teacher education. The second is responsible for secondary and technical education. The third is in charge of Finance and Establishment, and the fourth, formerly known as Chief Inspector of Schools during the colonial era, is responsible for academic standards and curriculum of schools and Teachers Colleges, and for examinations.[35]

Provincial Administration

The administration of primary education is divided into seven regions. Six of the regions are each headed by a Provincial Education Officer. The North Eastern, partly for reasons of population scarcity, is not. The Provincial Education Officer is assisted by a Provincial Inspector of Schools and a woman Education Officer, who supervises girls' work (mainly domestic science) in both primary and secondary schools.[36]

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[35]Ministry of Education, Triennial Survey 1964-1966 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967), p. 3.

[36]Ministry of Education, Annual Summary 1965 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1966), p. 4.

Local Administration

The power to supervise and administer most primary schools in Kenya is delegated to the County Councils (formerly Native Councils) and municipalities. They carry on their duties through school committees, and the County Education Officer is the committees' executive. Their decisions and judgments can be vetoed by the Minister.[37]

Organization

The change-over to a seven-year primary course was accomplished throughout Kenya in 1966. As mentioned before, a new comprehensive seven-year syllabus was introduced in 1967.

In 1965, seven counties suffered from shortage of funds and subsequently dismissed teachers. To express sympathy for these teachers, the Kenya National Union of Teachers called a nationwide strike. One of their demands was that the government should employ all teachers in public schools. The strike was called off as soon as the government agreed to examine teachers' grievances and accepted in principle the employment of all teachers in public schools by one employer.[38]

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ministry of Education, Annual Summary, 1965 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1968), p. 4.

Teachers Service Commission

A Teachers Service Commission Bill was tabled in
Parliament by the Minister for Education. The Bill was
passed by the National Assembly and the Teachers Service
Commission, a para-governmental organization, was created
to be the employer of all teachers in Kenya public schools.[39]

In brief, the duties of the Teachers Service Com-
mission are:

> To recruit and employ registered teachers for
> service in any public school; to promote or transfer
> any such teachers; to terminate the employment of
> such teachers; and to delegate to any person or body,
> with the consent of the Minister and subject to such
> conditions as he may impose, any of its powers.[40]

In cases where a teacher may want to transfer his
services from one local authority to another, he must
apply to the Teachers Service Commission headquarters. If
a teacher wishes to resign from the Teachers Service Com-
mission, the County or Municipal Education Officer may
accept the resignation, but must report to the Commission
for up-to-date record keeping.[41]

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[39] Ministry of Education, _Triennial Survey 1964-1966_,
op. cit., p. 18.

[40] Ministry of Education, _Annual Report, 1967_
(Nairobi: Government Printer, 1968), p. 13.

[41] Ibid., p. 4.

The Education Bill

This Bill became the Education Act of 1968. It reiterated the broad powers of the Minister of Education and his right to delegate some of his powers to local authorities. The local authorities were required to establish education committees of ten counselors and five members appointed by the Minister. The Bill also stipulated that "every primary school maintained by a local authority shall be managed by such local authority."[42] The managers of those schools that were financed locally but not locally controlled were offered the choice of either handing the school to the local authorities or running it as an unaided school.[43]

The relationship between the Teachers Service Commission and the Kenya National Union of Teachers was described as "cool." A recognition agreement with the Union was signed in 1968 in the presence of the Minister of Education. The Commission and the Union can negotiate disputes or grievances under the jurisdiction of the Teachers Service Commission, and report to the Government their recommendations. Several grievances have been

[42]Ibid., p. 4.

[43]Ibid.

resolved, including that of Teachers Insurance Benefits
and the authority of the Commission to discipline teachers.
The Commission is financed by a budget from the Ministry
of Education.[44]

Kenya Institute of Education

The proposal of an Institute of Education was made
in 1963 by a visiting mission organized by the International
Bank for Reconstruction and Development, at the request of
the governments of Kenya and the United Kingdom. The Insti-
tute was to maintain and improve the quality of education
by systematic in-service courses for teachers and research.
It was also to serve as a coordinator of training programs
for various grades of teachers and to conduct research on
unique educational problems facing Kenya.[45]

In 1966, the Institute was started with six members,
a Secretary, two Education Officers, a shorthand typist, a
clerk and an office messenger.[46]

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[44]Ibid., p. 13.

[45]The Economic Development of Kenya (Baltimore:
The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), p. 237.

[46]Kyale Mwendwa, Progress Report 1967-1968
(Nairobi: Kenya Institute of Education), p. 6.

Membership.   Membership has grown from six to over

eighty, drawn from the following:

Professional staff:

1. Kenya government officers appointed by the

Public Service Commission of Kenya . . . . . . 15 members.

2. Teachers appointed by the Teachers Service

Commission of Kenya . . . . 23 members.

3. Staff on technical assistance . . 20 members.

Total . . . . 58 members.

In addition to the 58 professionals, there are 47 more

supporting personnel.[47]

The Duties of the Institute.   The Institute was

charged with:

1. Subject to the provisions of the University of

Nairobi Act, Kenya Polytechnic Act, and Egerton College

Act, and of decrees, notices, orders, rules and regulations

made under these acts, to coordinate the work of all in-

stitutions in Kenya recognized by the Ministry as devoted

to the education and training of teachers.

2. To conduct, or to provide for the conduct of,

the examination or assessment of persons undergoing courses

of education and training as teachers, excepting persons

undergoing such courses at the University College, Nairobi,

Kenya Polytechnic, Nairobi and Egerton College, Njoro.

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[47]Ibid.

3. To make recommendations to the Minister concern-
ing the successful completion of an approved course of full-
time training as a teacher or of such part-time or short
courses being required by the Minister to undertake for
the purpose of regulations of the Teachers Service Com-
mission (Qualifications for Registration) Regulations
1967.

4. To promote, to provide, or to cooperate in the
provisions of conferences, lectures, demonstrations and
courses of education and training for the benefit of
teachers and others engaged in, or proposing to be engaged
in, education.

5. To undertake and to promote educational
research.

6. To publish, and to ensure the publication of,
books, pamphlets, or other materials used in the conduct
of education, or concerning the purpose, content methods,
material requirement, or any other aspect of education.

7. To provide educational and professional services
for teachers and for public officers and others engaged in
education, or in work related to education.

8. To advise the Minister on matters relating to
education.[48]

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[48]Laws of 1968, The Education Act, No. 5 of 1968
(Nairobi: Ministry of Education, 1968), pp. 1-2.

A Word About the Principles of Teaching and Learning

To meet the needs of the Kenya youth, and to be able to build a nation of mentally and physically healthy citizens, teachers must be well informed about the principles of teaching and learning. The practice of using a cane (colonial inheritance) by teachers to deliver their lessons must give way to the use of psychology in learning situations. The principles of teaching and learning reinforce each other and a teacher's effectiveness is partly determined by his understanding of the process of learning and growth. An effective teacher-education program is essential to produce the maximum growth in students and the kinds of responsible citizens that Kenya desires.

Butler outlined the following principles of teaching. The author thinks they can be useful in Kenya.

1. The objective should be most worthwhile.

2. Pupils learn through self-activity.

3. Learning should be unitary not fragmentary.

4. The energy of the pupils should be released so that they apply themselves fully.

5. Teaching should be provided for individual differences.

6. Teaching should be diagnostic and remedial.

7. The physical and social environment for learning should be ideal.[49]

[49]F. A. Butler, Improvement of Teaching in Secondary Schools (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 19.

The Educational Policies Commission of the United States outlined the following principles of teaching;

    1.   Development and growth should be continuous. Learning begins before a child first comes to school and continues during the time when the child is in school and out of school.

    2.   Behavior is learned. As a child reacts to his environment, certain patterns of growth and behavioral characteristics are formed which become part of his growing personality.

    3.   Learning and growth are facilitated by security and adventure. The growth of a child during early years is the result of shifting balance. A sense of personal insecurity is detrimental to the learning desired for democratic citizenship.

    4.   Each individual child is unique and should be treated with dignity.

    5.   Learning is simultaneous. A child may learn several different things at once. If a child is learning to read, he is simultaneously building attitudes which are related to those experiences associated with reading.

    6.   Learning is made easy and rather permanent by example--whatever we wish to see in our children, it is up to the teachers to reflect it.[50]

Harold Spears has written widely on matters related to teaching and learning particularly in the areas of Educational Psychology and Sociology. Some of his principles included:

    1.   Good teaching is characterized by drawing out rather than putting in.

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[50]National Education Association, Education Policies Commission: Education for all American Children (Washington, D. C.: 1948), pp. 4-7.

2. Learning is an active process, not passive.

3. In teaching pupils citizenship, teaching about democracy is not as effective as teaching through democratic procedure.

4. The learner cannot be divorced from his environment.

5. The pupil who is learning is working for himself and not for the teacher.

6. Teachers must not mistake conformity with learning.

7. Learning begins where the learner is not where the teacher is.

8. The teacher deprives the child of a vital part of his education unless he permits him to participate in all three of the related facets of the learning process; 1) planning the experience, 2) carrying it out, 3) evaluating it.

9. Growth in school cannot always be measured in school terms, semesters or years.

10. Praise is a greater educational force than blame. Although there are certainly wrong answers to questions, they should not be emphasized over the correct answers.[51]

These principles as enumerated have relevance for teachers in Kenya. They emphasize that the student is the "center" of action in the learning process.

In the United States, this is made relatively easy by the fact that, generally speaking, teachers and students are largely part of the same culture, drawing from the same culture, drawing from the same common values and ideals.

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[51]Harold Spears, Some Principles of Teaching (New York: Prentice Hall, 1949), pp. 25-49.

In Kenya, this was not always so because most teachers did
not have deep roots in the society of which they were a
part. Students and teachers, as pointed out earlier, be-
cause of norms imparted during the colonial days, did and
do sometimes regard themselves as independent entities that
have nothing in common with the masses. There was, there-
fore, a lack of community interest between teacher and
student. This was (and is) complicated further by a large
force of expatriate teachers, some of whom have had no
previous experience in Africa, while others sometimes dis-
play European intellectual arrogance. In Tanganyika
(Tanzania), the problem of using white teachers in African
schools was summarized by Robertson:

> In Africa this community interest is less obvious,
> and the European, whether he likes it or not, is
> apart. He enjoys an immeasurably higher standard of
> living, and most of his cultural interests derive
> from a distant land. He is not simply a grown up
> edition of the boys he teaches. . . . The African
> teacher, while he may have learned little about teach-
> ing methods, seems to have picked up the aloof ap-
> proach at the same time. Nor has he succeeded in
> ridding himself of the worship of factual knowledge
> as such. Success, too, is determined by examination
> results.[52]

As the Kenya Education Commission indicated in 1964,
most Kenya teachers do not consider education a "drawing
out process" but rather a "putting in" process. This means
that students receive information and then parrot it back
during examination periods.

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[52]Kenneth Robertson, "Aspects of the Pupil-Teacher
Relationship in English and East African Secondary Schools,"
Overseas Education, January, 1955, p. 139.

In the area of learning and disciplines, Kenya teachers should ponder the words of Dewey, a great teacher and philosopher:

If there is sufficient intrinsic interest in the material, there will be direct or spontaneous attention which is excellent so far as it goes but which merely does not give power or thought or internal mental control. . . . True reflective attention, on the other hand, always involves judging, reasoning, and deliberation; it means that the child has a question of his own and is actively engaged in seeking and selecting relevant material with which to argue it. . . . The problem is one's own . . . , hence also the training secured is one's own . . . it is discipline.[53]

The role of teachers in building a viable nation cannot be underrated. Teaching pupils the techniques of passing examinations instead of teaching them how to think and apply the power to think in solving problems is the wrong way of building the nation. The following were recommended as good qualities of a teacher in three leading Western countries. The author thinks they can be useful in Kenya.

1. He is guided in all his thinking and doing by democratic concepts based upon profound respect for the dignity of the individual.

2. Maintains himself in a state of maximum efficiency and promotes the health of others.

3. Is familiar with the various approaches of man to both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of his work and uses them appropriately in his work and in his leisure time.

4. Has developed his personality for harmonious living with himself and with others.

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[53] John Dewey, The School and Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 150-151.

5. Is conscious of the values in his own and other cultures, continually re-examines and interprets them in the light of new conditions and experiences, is able to work understandingly with those of other cultural groups.

6. Participates effectively in school and community affairs.

7. Has intellectual vigor, has an inquiring mind, is well informed and continues to keep abreast of social and economic trends, sees the relevancy of knowledge and applies his knowledge to specific situations.

8. Has a continuing mastery of subject matter in a subject area and insight into its basic assumptions, has facility in interpreting content to students in terms of their experience.

9. Has knowledge of human growth and development and can use it to improve learning situations.

10. Uses school as one of several institutions for the progress and improvement of man.[54]

[54]C. A. Richardson, H. Brule and H. E. Snyder, The Education of Teachers in England, France and the United States of America (New York: UNESCO Publications, 1953), p. 274.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study analyzed some selected historical forces and movements that led to the development of primary education in Kenya. The historical periods covered were (1) the Pre-colonial period, 1844-1888, (2) the Colonial period, 1889-1963, and (3) the Post-colonial period, 1964-1970.

Materials for the study of these three periods were obtained in the United States, Kenya and England. The literature pertinent to each period was organized and analyzed.

It was found that, until Independence was won in 1963, Kenya comprised the "Colony and the Protectorate." The Colony was the inland territory, while the Protectorate was a narrow coastal strip of land ten miles wide, leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Africans form the majority of the population. There are four main African cultural and linguistic groups: the Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and Hamitic. Other ethnic groups include Europeans, Asians and Arabs.

The first Europeans to visit the Kenya coast were the Portuguese in 1498. They were in search of a route to India and they established slave-trading posts along the coast. The Portuguese commercial activities were later challenged by the Arabs who, in the seventeenth century, were frequent sailors to the coast. There was a series of clashes between the Portuguese and the Arabs; but gradually the Arabs managed

to take over the control of the coastal belt and the slave trade until the nineteenth century, when other Western powers, notably Britain, began to appear frequently in the Indian Ocean.

The exploration of the inland territory began with the European members of the Church Missionary Society. Johann Ludwig Krapf and Johannes Rebman are credited as having been the first Europeans to see Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya. John Speke is said to have been the first white man to see Lake Nyanza. The explorations of David Livingstone, which served as a stimulus to other missionary groups, have been noted.

Early missionary activities were confined to exploration, and whatever formal educational activities they involved themselves in during the first forty to fifty years were of secondary importance. It was also pointed out that, between 1895 and 1911, Central Kenya was only beginning to be occupied, and there is no history of education available in that period.

In the beginning, various African groups reacted sharply to the European occupation in different ways. Some attacked the Europeans; and the Europeans, in turn, attacked them. This had disastrous effects on the interrelationship between the two races.

As more and more European powers began to be interested in the scramble for Africa, and in order to avoid conflicts over territorial aggrandizement among themselves, it was proposed that a conference be held in Berlin. At the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, in which the United States participated, the European powers agreed on what they

called "spheres of influence." This meant that Africans had entered an age of colonialism. Although most African countries are at present politically independent, the Portuguese, the first Europeans to appear in East Africa, are also the last to maintain a ruthless and cruel rule in Angola and Mozambique. The Portuguese government will soon come to grips with reality for it is impossible for them, despite military and financial support from some of their NATO allies, to deny Africans their freedom forever.

From the beginning, missionaries were faced with financial problems which they never solved. They depended on contributions and donations from parishioners at home. In some cases, there was a conflict of interest between the missionaries in the field and those who supported them. One case in point is that of Dr. David Livingstone, who terminated his services with the London Missionary Society. The Society felt that Livingstone's pre-occupation with a broad diffusion of Christian principles through extensive travel was contrary to their immediate desire for definite numbers of African converts in supposedly fixed geographic areas.

To find solutions to their financial problems, some missionaries began to seek government support; others began commercial activities to support their endeavors. However, they often emphasized their humanitarian motives and attempted to disassociate themselves from some of the policies

of the Colonial Government.

It should be noted that when European missionaries arrived in Kenya, they did not meet an educational vacuum. The fact that there were no "schools" does not mean that African children were not educated. A scholarly account of pre-colonial traditional African education is given by Jomo Kenyatta in his book, <u>Facing Mount Kenya</u>. It is clear from Kenyatta's book that African children learned by living and doing. John Dewey, in the twentieth century, was an advocate of this philosophy--or so it might be argued.

As missionary groups entrenched themselves, often through bitter and hostile competition for a foothold, they began to demand that Africans abandon some of their customs that missionaries considered un-Christian. In return, Africans would enjoy full membership in churches and their children would be allowed to attend school and receive religious education as well as have literacy in reading, writing and arithmetic. No thought was given to the fact that many of those African customs were consistent with their culture and, as such, fitted them better than the European ones that were being imposed.

In 1922, the Phelps Stokes Commission, which was largely an American missionary initiative, published a report that was somewhat critical of some of the missionary and government policies in regard to African education.

By 1923, Africans were already paying for the
literacy education geared towards Bible reading, and the
Church Missionary Society demanded school fees from all
its pupils. In 1925, literacy education, which Africans
were then paying for, was reported to be creating idlers
instead of workers.

In 1925, a second report by the Phelps Stokes Com-
mission was again critical of the government's indifference
to African education and the missionaries' pre-occupation
with Bible studies. To ward off any further criticism of
her educational posture towards her African subjects, the
British Government published, in the same year, the first
official memorandum regarding the development of African
education. The memorandum may be found in Appendix I.

Other major factors that affected the development
of primary education in Kenya included the building of the
Uganda Railway, World War I, the circumcision controversy
of 1929, World War II, and the Mau Mau uprising of 1952.

The railway was partially responsible for the
racially segregated educational system that was found in
Kenya until 1963. Some of the hundreds of Indians, brought
in as laborers for its construction, decided to stay in
Kenya after the railway was completed. The railway was
also responsible for the increased number of European
settlers, who installed themselves in the hinterland in

what they came to call the "White Highlands." They kept cattle and grew cash crops (coffee, tea, etc.), which no Kenyan was supposed to grow. The policies pursued by the settlers were endorsed by Sir Winston Churchill, then the British Colonial Secretary, who assured a Kenya settler delegation/that Britain subscribed to the policies of white supremacy in the highlands of East Africa.

The settlers demanded exclusive educational privileges for their children, and it was through their pressure that the first Education Department was introduced in Kenya in 1911. Also, several Indian sects--Moslems, Hindus, and Goans--demanded their own separate educational facilities.

In 1913, the First African Official Government School was opened. In 1914, World War I broke out. Funds from African taxes and the colonial treasury, that would otherwise have been devoted to educational programs, were now diverted to the war effort. Thus the government's initiative in developing African education was crippled right from the beginning.

In 1929, missionaries intensified their attacks against African customs. The practice of circumcision among girls was singled out as the most repugnant to Christianity. However, to the Africans concerned, it was a happy and a proud moment when a boy or girl reached the age of manhood or womanhood. When the missionaries issued an ultimatum that their African adherents, as well as teachers in their

schools, repudiate this custom, many Africans found it quite unreasonable. Subsequently, those African Christians who declined to sign the declaration of loyalty to the Church, signifying that they had denounced the custom, were excommunicated; and the teachers who would not do the same lost their jobs. Some schools were closed for lack of teachers, and African children became innocent victims of this educational crisis. To find solutions to the spiritual and educational crisis created by missionaries, indigenous independent churches and schools began to spring up. In 1952, during the peak of the Mau Mau nationalist movement, the independent schools were ordered closed by the Colonial Government for allegedly being hotbeds of "subversion." Research has proved this allegation to be incorrect.

World War II had the same retarding effect on the development of African education as did World War I. There was no money to be allocated for any substantial development of African education.

In view of this broad historical outlook of educational development in Kenya, it was quite clear that education provided by both the missionaries and the Colonial Government was severely limited, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and that it was at the mercy of whatever social, political or economic climate existed in England. It was not designed to prepare Kenyans for the services of their own country, but rather to instill the cultural values

of the colonizing power and to train individuals with

subservient attitudes for service in a colonial state.

This is not to imply a wholesale criticism of the

many individual missionaries and colonial representatives

who sometimes worked hard, in some cases under difficult

situations, to teach and organize educational work in Kenya.

Their original efforts, although colored by their prejudices,

will hopefully, through time and under indigenous conditions,

eventually evolve into what will be the most important in-

strument"of Kenyan democracy.

The other significant development in the history of

primary education in Kenya was "The Beecher Report" of

1949. This Report set out the guidelines for African educa-

tion from 1950 to 1960, just two years prior to independence.

Beecher, who was the Archbishop for Mombasa at the

time, recommended that the goal of primary education should

be to enroll 40 per cent of the school age population, in

which 10 per cent should proceed to what were called "inter-

mediate schools," and less than one per cent to continue for

high school education. Also, the Report recommended that

African elementary education take eight years, as opposed

to seven for Europeans and Indians. The African leaders

and Independent Schools rejected these recommendations be-

cause of the obvious curtailment the Archbishop placed on

the development of African education.

Since the attainment of Independence in 1963, there have been several modifications in Kenya's educational system. Some of the major changes included the abolition of racially segregated education, the institution of a seven-year universal primary education for all children, and the Africanization of the educational machinery, especially in administration. Other major changes during the Independence period can be seen in Appendix VIII.

CONCLUSIONS

Primary education in Kenya at its inception was entirely limited to the activities of Christian churches. There was little in the nature of its organization to suggest or determine the eventual place and importance of the present elementary school in Kenya as we know it today. In fact, these early beginnings were little more than a reflection of the convictions, prejudices and other dispositions that the early missionaries brought with them.

Education for personal identity and consciousness was never the intention of European missionaries. They never realized that whatever education they provided was later to serve as the genesis of African political and diplomatic activities. At that time they would have been distressed by the suggestion.

The missionaries taught the 3 R's with a great emphasis on religious (Christian) and Western values. Because of the general European attitude of racial superiority, the missionaries discredited African customs and sought to acculturate the Africans, whom they considered to be in a "barbaric" state. Later, Africans rejected the missionaries' grand design of assimilation and reaffirmed their own rights to educate their children and to worship through their own institutions.

Since Independence, the Kenya Government has taken steps to correct the deficiencies inherited from colonial rule. There has been a substantial expansion of educational facilities, as the statistics in the Appendix show. However, all these are modifications or stop-gap measures because, when critically examined, the educational system in Kenya is still largely British oriented.

Presently, the curriculum and the syllabuses found in Kenya schools are somewhat geared towards British examinations which, generally speaking, judge pupils on how well they can learn and present facts on demand. The power to think or reason is discounted.

The teachers spend their time going through past examination papers in order that they may pick out the most obvious questions to be asked next time. The pupils do the same. The techniques of passing qualifying examinations from primary to secondary and from secondary to

university are studied. It should be pointed out that these British standards were developed regardless of the unique problems and needs of Kenya. For example, the Kenya Junior School Certificate, which is taken by pupils from private and government schools, is formulated according to the Cambridge Syllabus, with few changes.

The inherited colonial practices suggest that a more thorough examination of the education currently provided must be made. Kenya's present and future educators should address themselves to such questions as these:

1. What is the purpose of education?

2. What roles is the school supposed to play in national development?

3. Does the school help the people to understand their problems?

4. Does it help the people to solve them?

5. Does it help the people to work together toward their common objectives?

6. Does it help promote understanding of, and appreciation for, other nations' cultures?

Only when educators, government leaders, parents and pupils think seriously about these questions can there crystallize in Kenya a system of education designed to serve a potentially great society in which at present, unfortunately, a gap between the rich and poor, the leaders and followers, is widening.

The major conclusions drawn from this study, from which other minor conclusions can be made, include:

1. Both missionaries and British colonial officials benefited from the activities of each other--neither group could tackle its task adequately without the cooperation and help of the other.

2. Missionaries and colonial government authorities were not interested in education for citizenship. The religious groups were interested in spreading literacy as part of their evangelical work. The colonial government was interested in training subservient colonials, not citizens.

3. The railway across Kenya contributed somewhat to the racially segregated system of education that evolved.

4. The missionaries' lack of compromise and accommodation of African customs led not only to the organized movement of independent schools and churches, but also to unnecessary racial antagonism. The independent schools that were closed in 1952 by colonial authorities were neither subversive nor the breeding grounds of Mau Mau nationalists, as alleged by the British Government.

5. The racially segregated system of education undermined national unity and identity.

6. The examination system in primary and secondary schools is imported from England. This violates the basic principles of good education, which must derive from its environment and must be an outgrowth of its culture.

7. Primary education (also to some extent, second-
ary education) is "above" the community. When pupils com-
plete primary school, since they have not been prepared as
parts of the village culture, they flock into the towns in
search of white-collar jobs. It is wrong to criticize
pupils for these attitudes, mainly because they have been
brought up thinking that their education entitled them
to something better than village life.

8. The ethnic and regional imbalance inherited
from colonial times has not been overcome. The 1967
Standard I entrants attest to this fact.

9. The educational set-up in Kenya (1970) is
still basically the same as it was during the colonial era.
Except in the field of administration, which has been
completely Africanized, other facets of education are still
molded on alien British standards, and some expatriates
are still found in strategic positions, both in the Ministry
of Education and in the Kenya Institute of Education.

10. The continued teaching of religion in schools
is divisive and thus inconsistent with unity and nation
building. It denies the child his democratic and constitu-
tional rights so long as the child is subjected to religious
teaching in schools. It creates a gap between a child and
his parents, especially in those homes where parents believe
in traditional African religions.

11. The heavy reliance on expatriate teachers can undermine political socialization and national unity unless their backgrounds are thoroughly scrutinized, which is not the case at present.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

EDUCATION POLICY IN BRITISH

TROPICAL AFRICA*

As a result on the one hand of the economic development of the British African Dependencies, which has placed larger revenues at the disposal of the Administrations, and on the other hand of the fuller recognition of the principles that the Controlling Power is responsible as trustee for the moral advancement of the native population, the Governments of these territories are taking an increasing interest and participation in native education, which up to recent years has been largely left to the Mission Societies.

In view of the widely held opinion that the results of education in Africa have not been altogether satisfactory, and with the object of creating a well-defined educational policy, common to this group of Dependencies-- comprising an area of over 2 1/2 million square miles with a population of approximately 40 million--the Secretary of State decided in 1923 to set up an Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa.

The Committee feels that it has now reached a point at which it is possible to formulate the broad principles

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*Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1925), pp. 3-8.

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which in its judgment should form the basis of a sound educational policy, and with the approval of His Majesty's Government, set forth these views to the local Governments, together with some indication of the methods by which they should be applied.

The following outline has accordingly been drawn up. Supplementary memoranda on special subjects may be added from time to time.

ENCOURAGEMENT AND CONTROL OF VOLUNTARY
EDUCATIONAL EFFORT

Government welcomes and will encourage all voluntary educational effort which conforms to the general policy. But it reserves to itself the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all Educational Institutions, by inspection and other means.

COOPERATION

Cooperation between Government and other educational agencies should be promoted in every way. With this object Advisory Boards of Education should be set up in each Dependency upon which such agencies and others who have experience in social welfare should be accorded representation. These Boards would be advisory to the Government, and would include senior officials of the Medical, Agricultural, and Public Works Departments, together with missionaries,

traders, settlers, and representatives of native opinion, since education is intimately related to all other efforts, whether of Government or of citizens, for the welfare of the community. The Board should be supplemented in the provinces of Educational Committees.

ADAPTATION TO NATIVE LIFE

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race. Education thus defined will narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community whether chiefs or peasantry. As a part of the general policy for the advancement of the people every department of

Government concerned with their welfare or vocational
teaching--including especially the departments of Health,
Public Works, Railways, Agriculture--must cooperate closely
in the educational policy. The first task of education is
to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency
of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be
made for the training of those who are required to fill
posts in the administrative and technical services, as
well as of those who as chiefs will occupy positions of
exceptional trust and responsibility. As resources
permit, the door of advancement, through higher education,
in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by
character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted
to profit by such education.

RELIGION AND CHARACTER TRAINING

The central difficulty in the problem lies in find-
ing ways to improve what is sound in indigenous tradition.
Education should strengthen the feeling of responsibility
to the tribal community, and, at the same time, should
strengthen will power; should make the conscience sensi-
tive both to moral and intellectual truth; and should impart
some power of discriminating between good and evil, between
reality and superstition. Since contact with civilization--
and even education itself--must necessarily tend to weaken
tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs, and

in view of the all-prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African it is essential that what is good in the old beliefs and sanctions should be strengthened and what is defective should be replaced. The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects. Such teaching must be related to the conditions of life and to the daily experience of the pupils. It should find expression in habits of self-discipline and loyalty to the community. With such safeguards, contact with civilization need not be injurious, or the introduction of new religious ideas have a disruptive influence antagonistic to constituted secular authority. History shows that devotion to some spiritual ideal is the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty. Such influences should permeate the whole life of the school. One such influence is the discipline of work. Field games and social recreations and intercourse are influences at least as important as classroom instruction. The formation of habits of industry, of truthfulness, of manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplined cooperation, is the foundation of character. With wise adaptation to local conditions such agencies as the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements can be effectively utilised provided that good

Scout Masters are available. The most effective means of training character in these ways is the residential school in which the personal example and influence of the teachers and of the older pupils--entrusted with responsibility and disciplinary powers as monitors--can create a social life and tradition in which standards of judgment are formed and right attitudes acquired almost unconsciously through imbibing the spirit and atmosphere of the school.

THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

The rapid development of our African Dependencies on the material and economic side demands and warrants a corresponding advance in the expenditure on education. Material prosperity without a corresponding growth in the moral capacity to turn it to good use constitutes a danger. The well-being of a country must depend in the last resort on the character of its people, on their increasing intellectual and technical ability, and on their social progress. A policy which aims at the improvement of the condition of the people must therefore be a primary concern of Government and one of the first charges on its revenue. But success in realising the ideals of education must depend largely on the outlook of those who control policy and on their capacity and enthusiasm. It is essential, therefore, that the status and conditions of service of the Education Department should be such as to attract the best

available men, both British and African. By such men only
can the policy contemplated in this memorandum be carried
into effect. It is open to consideration whether a closer
union between the administrative and educational branches
of the service would not conduce to the success of the
policy advocated. Teachers from Great Britain should be
enabled to retain their superannuation contributions, dur-
ing short service appointments to approved posts in Africa.

GRANTS-IN-AID

The policy of encouragement of voluntary efforts
in education has as its corollary the establishment of a
system of grants-in-aid to schools which conform to the
prescribed regulations and attain the necessary standard.
Provided that the required standard of educational
efficiency is reached, aided schools should be regarded
as filling a place in the scheme of education as important
as the schools conducted by Government itself. The
utilisation of efficient voluntary agencies economises
the revenues available for educational purposes.

The conditions under which grants-in-aid are given
should not be dependent on examination results.

STUDY OF VERNACULARS, TEACHING AND TEXT BOOKS

The study of the educational use of the vernaculars is of primary importance. The Committee suggests cooperation among scholars, with aid from Governments and Missionary Societies, in the preparation of vernacular textbooks. The content and method of teaching in all subjects, especially History and Geography, should be adapted to the conditions of Africa. Text-books prepared for use in English schools should be replaced where necessary by others better adapted, and foundations and illustrations being taken from African life and surroundings. Provision will need to be made for this by setting aside temporarily men possessing the necessary qualifications. In this work cooperation should be possible between the different Dependencies with resulting economy.

NATIVE TEACHING STAFF

The Native Teaching Staff should be adequate in numbers, in qualifications, and in character, and should include women. The key to a sound system of education lies in the training of teachers, and this matter should receive primary consideration. The principles of education laid down in this memorandum must be given full and effective expression in institutions for the training of teachers of all grades, if those principles are to permeate and vitalize

the whole educational system. The training of teachers
for village schools should be carried out under rural
conditions, or at least with opportunities of periodical
access to such conditions, where those who are being
trained, are in direct contact with the environment in
which their work has to be done. This purpose can often
best be served by the institution of normal classes
under competent direction in intermediate or middle rural
schools. Teachers for village schools should, when
possible, be selected from pupils belonging to the tribe
and district who are familiar with its language, tradi-
tions and customs. The institution of such classes in
secondary and intermediate schools should be supplemented
by the establishment of separate institutions for the
training of teachers and by vacation courses, and teachers'
conferences.

Since, in the early stages of educational development
the training given to teachers must necessarily be very
elementary, it is indispensable, if they are to do effective
work, that they should from time to time be brought back
for further periods of training--say every five years.
The greater efficiency which would result from this
system might be expected to compensate for any consequent
reduction in the number of teachers which financial
considerations might render necessary.

VISITING TEACHERS

As a means of improving village schools and of
continuing the training of their teachers, the system
of specially trained visiting (or itinerant) teachers is
strongly to be commended. Such teachers must be qualified
to enter sympathetically into the problems of education
in rural areas. Visiting the schools in rotation, they
will remain some time with each, showing the local teacher
out of their wider experience how a particular task should
be done, or a better method introduced. By bringing to the
village schools new ideas and fresh inspiration and
encouragement they will infuse vitality into the system.
As far as possible the visiting teacher should be of the
same tribe as the pupils in the group of schools he
visits, knowing their language and customs. The visiting
teachers should be prepared to learn as well as to teach.
They should be brought together annually for conference
and exchange of experiences.

INSPECTION AND SUPERVISION

A thorough system of supervision is indispensable
for the vitality and efficiency of the educational system.
The staff of Government Inspectors must be adequate, and
their reports should be based on frequent and unhurried
visits and not primarily on the results of examinations.
It is their duty to make the educational aims understood

and to give friendly advice and help in carrying them
out.

Each mission should be encouraged to make arrange-
ments for the effective supervision of its own system of
schools, but such supervision should not supersede Govern-
ment inspection.

TECHNICAL TRAINING

Technical industrial training (especially mechanical
training with power-driven machinery) can best be given in
Government workshops, provided that an Instructor for
Apprentices is appointed to devote his entire time to
them; or in special and instructional workshops on a
production basis. The skilled artisan must have a fair
knowledge of English and Arithmetic before beginning his
apprenticeship in order that he may benefit by instruc-
tion and be able to work to dimensional plans. Instruc-
tion in village crafts must be clearly differentiated
from the training of the skilled mechanic.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Apprentices and "Learners" in vocations other than
industrial should be attached to every Government depart-
ment, e.g., Medical, Agricultural, Forestry, Veterinary,
S rvey, Post Office (telegraphy), etc., and should, as a
general rule, sign a bond to complete the prescribed course

of instruction together, if so required, with a prescribed period of subsequent service. It should be the aim of the educational system to instill into pupils the view that vocational (especially the industrial and manual) careers are no less honourable than the clerical, and of Governments to make them at least as attractive--and thus to counteract the tendency to look down on manual labour.

EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN

It is obvious that better education of native girls and women in Tropical Africa is urgently needed, but it is almost impossible to overstate the delicacy and difficulties of the problem. Much has already been done, some of it wise, some of it--as we now see--unwise. More should be done at once (not least in regard to the teaching of personal and domestic hygiene), but only those who are intimately acquainted with the needs of each colony and, while experienced in using the power of education, are also aware of the subtlety of its social reactions, can judge what it is wise to attempt in each of the different Dependencies.

We are impressed by the fact that mere generalisations on the subject are not needed and may be misleading. In regard to the education of its girls and women, Tropical Africa presents not one problem, but many. Differences in

breed and in tribal tradition should guide the judgment of those who must decide what it is prudent to attempt. (a) Clever boys, for whom higher education is expedient, must be able to look forward to educated mates. (b) The high rate of infant mortality in Africa, and the unhygienic conditions which are widely prevalent make instruction in hygiene and public health, in the care of the sick and the treatment of simple diseases, in child welfare and in domestic economy, and the care of the home, among the first essentials, and these, wherever possible, should be taught by well qualified women teachers. (c) Side by side with the extension of elementary education for children, there should go enlargement of educational opportunities for adult women as well as for adult men. Otherwise there may be a breach between the generations, the children losing much that the old traditions might have given them, and the representatives of the latter becoming estranged through their remoteness from the atmosphere of the new education. To leave the woman of a community untouched by most of the manifold influences which pour in through education, may have the effect either of breaking the natural ties between the generations or of hardening the blessing if it makes women discontented or incompetent. But the real difficulty lies in imparting any kind of education which has not a disintegrating and unsettling effect upon the people of the country. The hope of grappling with this

difficulty lies in the personality and outlook of the teachers.

Female education is not an isolated problem, but is an integral part of the whole question and cannot be separated from other aspects of it.

ORGANISATION OF SCHOOL SYSTEM

School systems in their structure will rightly vary according to local conditions. It is suggested that when completed a school system would embody the following educational opportunities so far as the conditions prevalent in the Colony or District allow:

(a) Elementary education both for boys and girls, beginning with the education of young children.

(b) Secondary or intermediate education, including more than one type of school and several types of curricula.

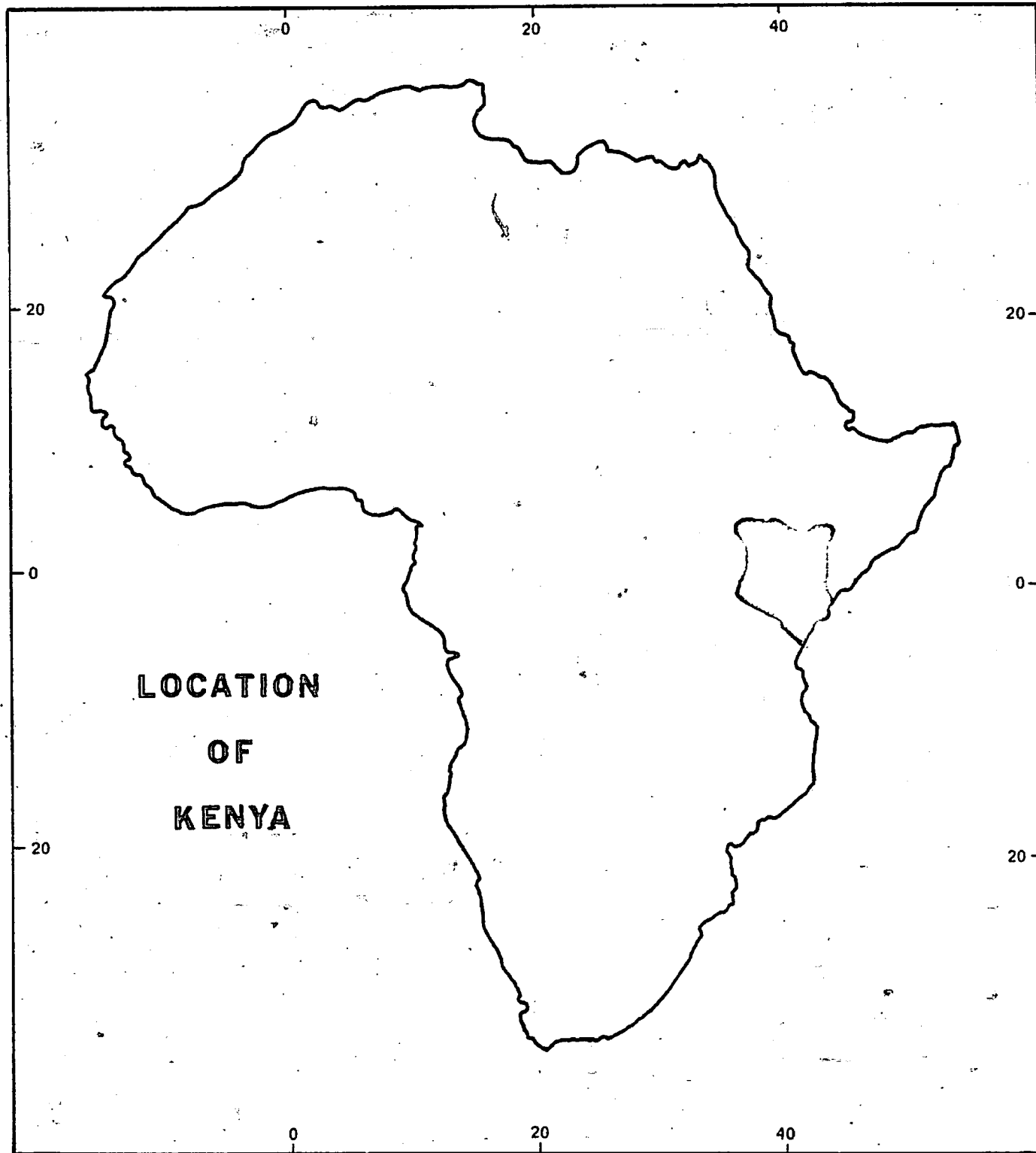(c) Technical and vocational schools.

(d) Institutions, some of which may hereafter reach University rank and many of which might include in their curriculum some branches of professional or vocational training, e.g., training of teachers, training in medicine, training in agriculture.

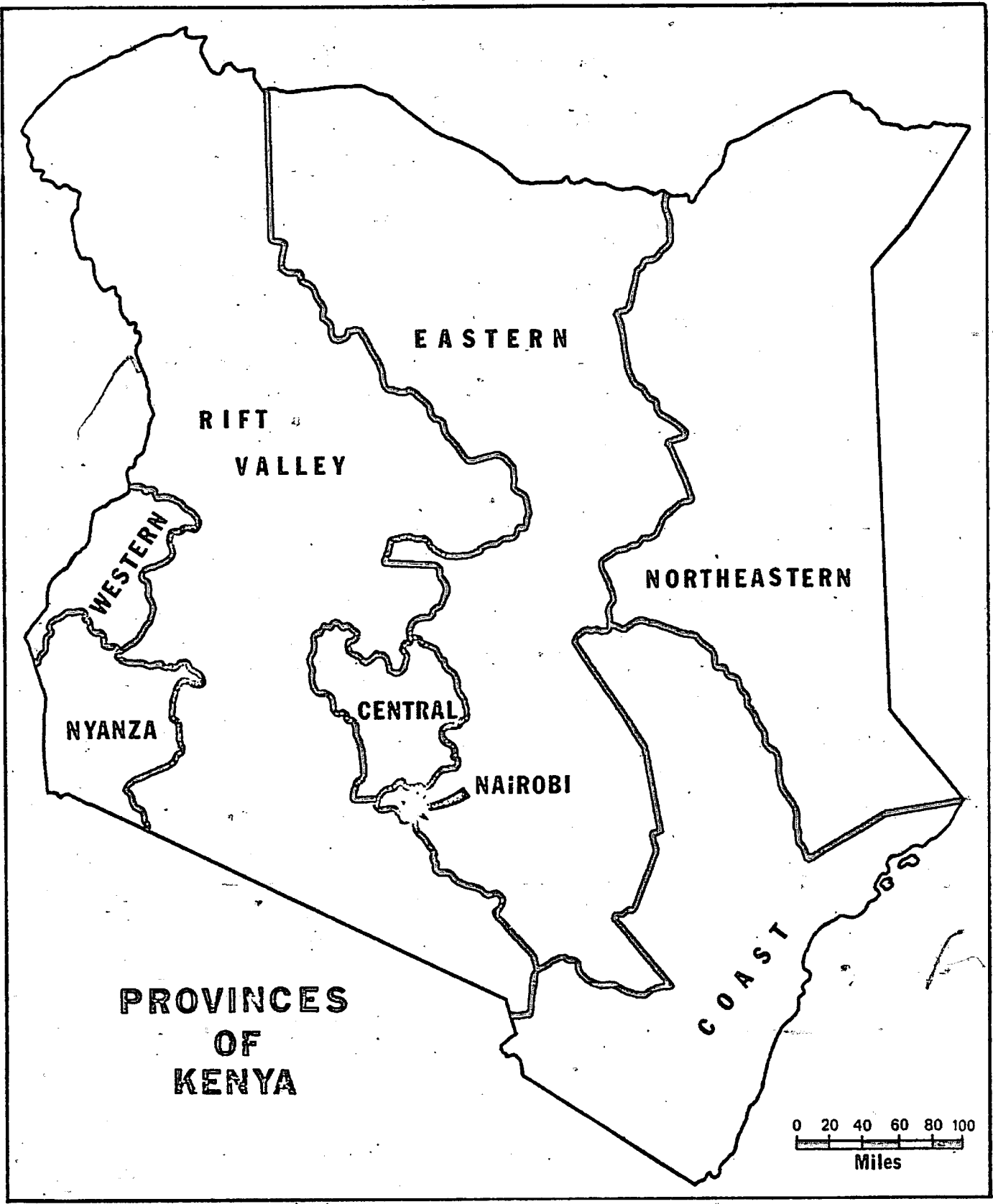(e) Adult Education. This, which is still in an experimental stage, will vary according to local need. But it is recommended that those responsible for the administration of each Colony should keep adult education

constantly in view in relation to the education of children and young people. The education of the whole community should advance _pari_ _passu_, in order to avoid, as far as possible, a breach in good tribal traditions by interesting the older people in the education of their children for the welfare of the community.
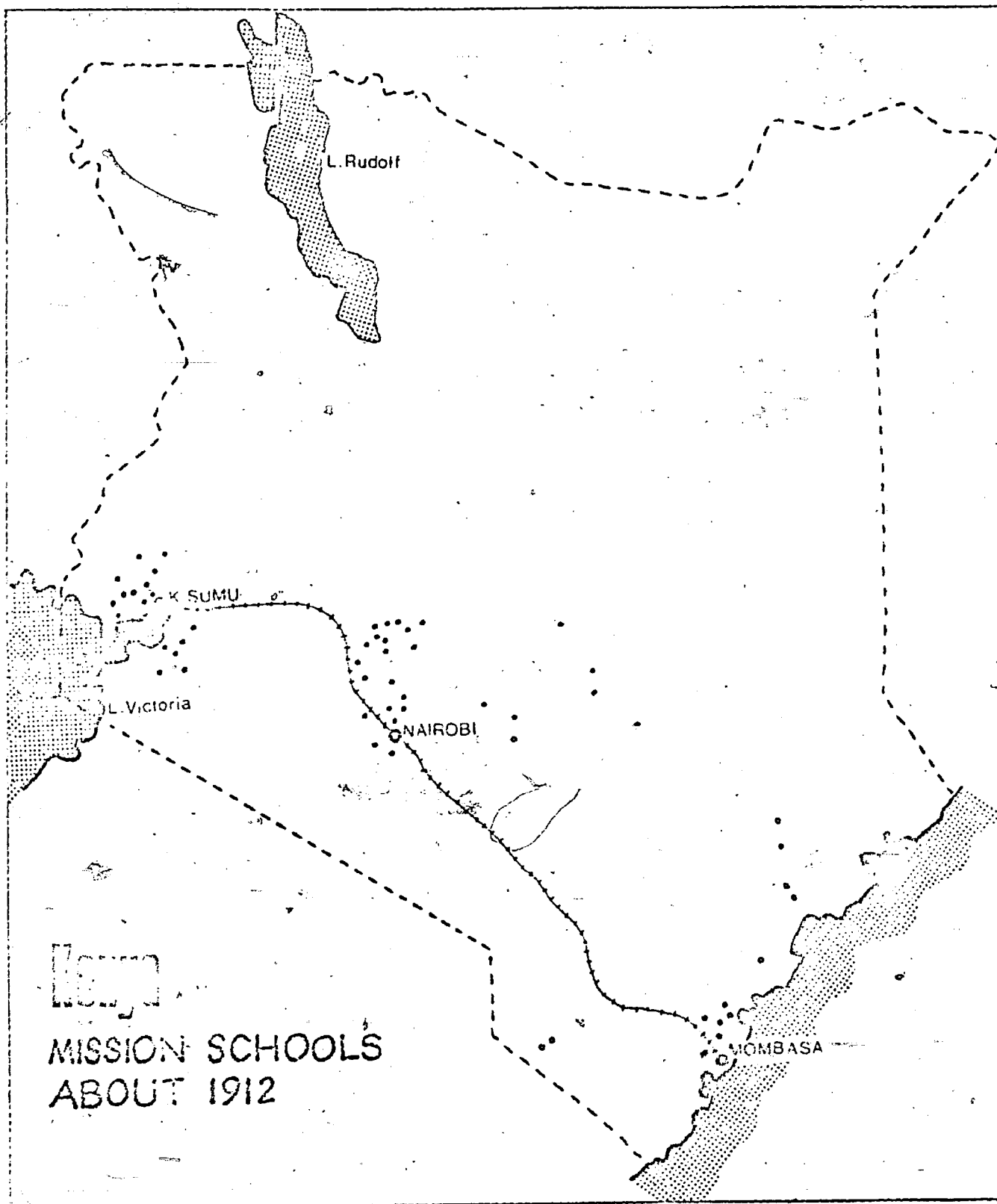
APPENDIX II

LOCATION

OF

KENYA

EASTERN

RIFT
VALLEY

WESTERN

NORTHEASTERN

NYANZA

CENTRAL

NAIROBI
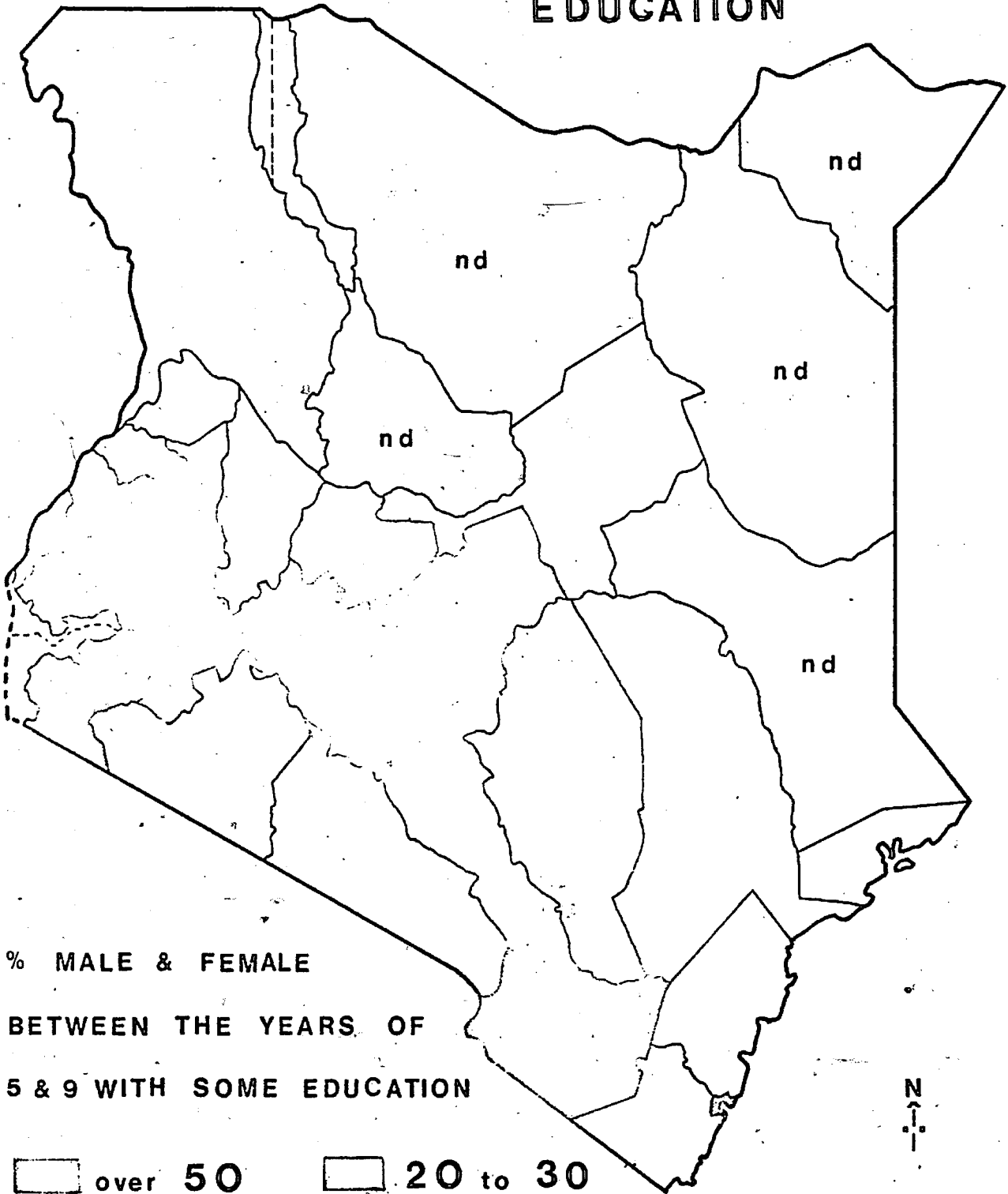
COAST

PROVINCES
OF
KENYA

0 20 40 60 80 100
Miles

(Boundaries as scheduled in the Districts and Provinces Bill 1968)

APPENDIX IV

MISSION SCHOOLS
ABOUT 1912

(adapted from Soja, 1968)

AFRICAN
PRIMARY
EDUCATION

% MALE & FEMALE

BETWEEN THE YEARS OF

5 & 9 WITH SOME EDUCATION

over **50**	**20** to **30**
40 to **50**	under **20**
30 to **40**	nd No Data

N

(after Soja, 1968)

AFRICAN
ADULT
LITERACY

nd

nd

nd

nd

nd

nd
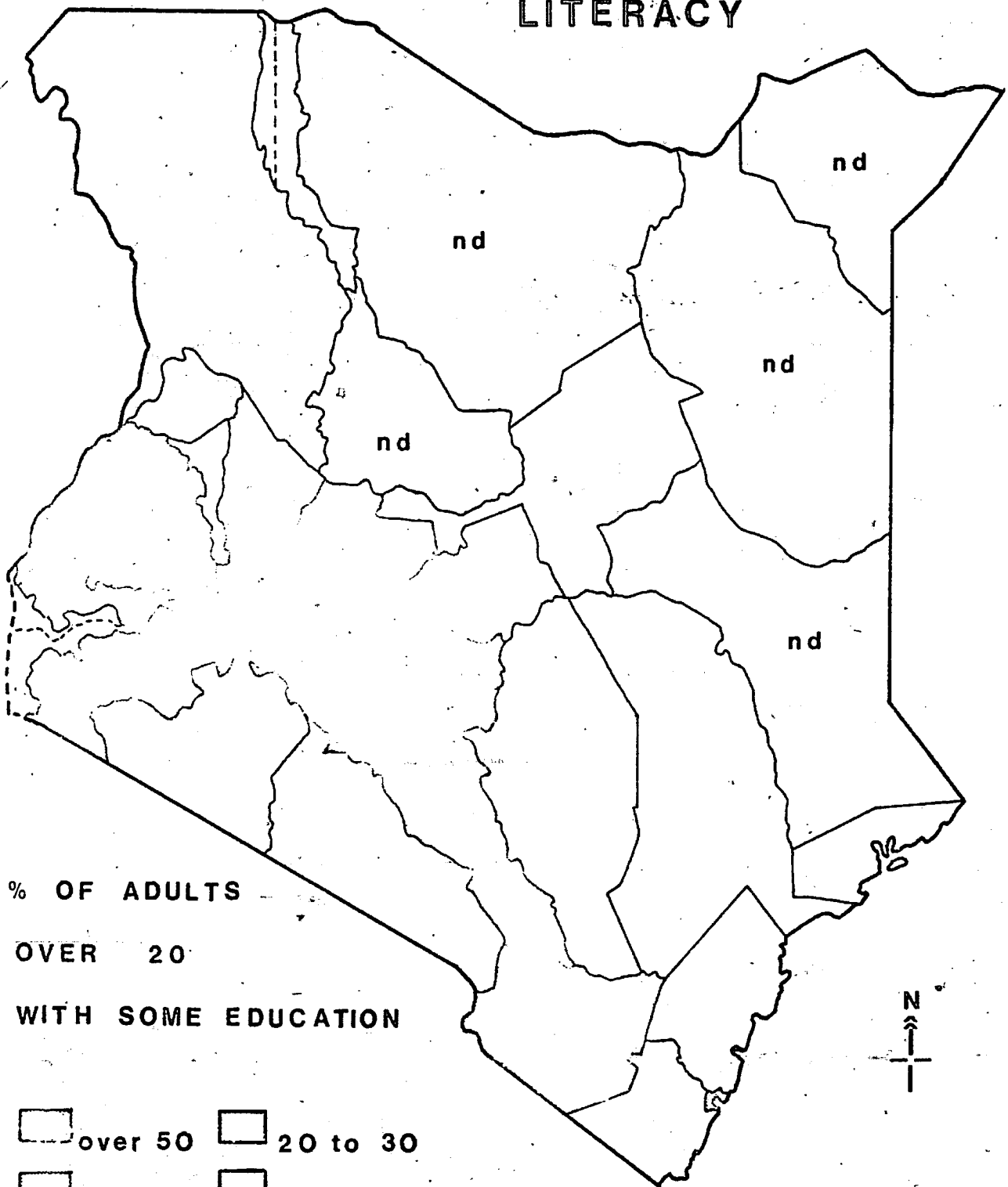
% OF ADULTS

OVER 20

WITH SOME EDUCATION

☐ over 50	☐ 20 to 30		
☐ 40 to 50	☐ under 20		
☐ 30 to 40	nd No Data		

N

(after Soja, 1968)

WHITE SETTLEMENTS

APPENDIX VII

COFFEE
SISAL
WHEAT
Kisumu
COFFEE

SHEEP
CATTLE

NAIROBI

RICE
CATTLE
MAIZE

Mtito Andei

Tsabo
SISAL

SUGAR

MOMBASA

COTTON

Approximate Area
European settlement

MOMBASA
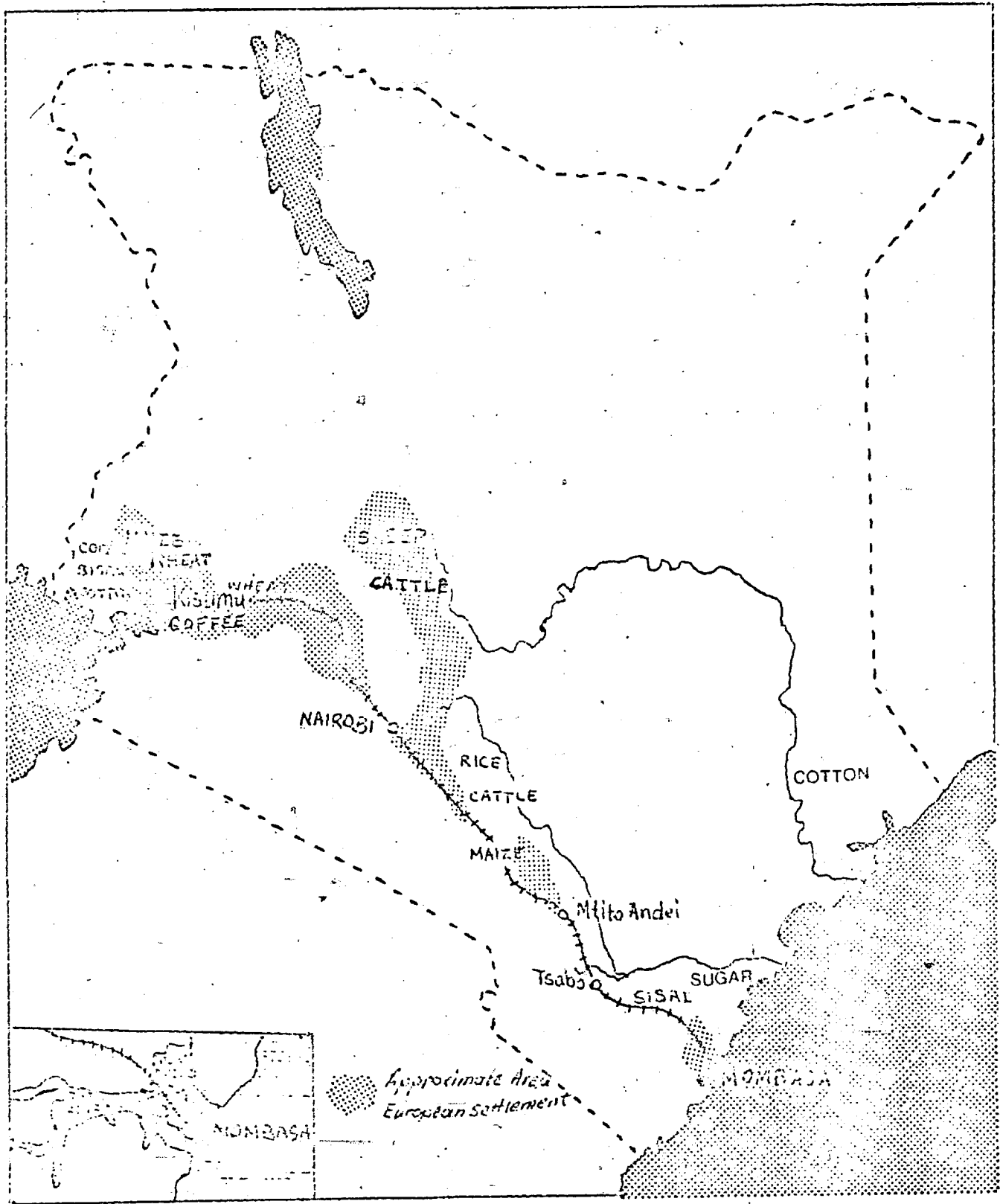
(adapted from Marsh and Kingsmith, 1957)

APPENDIX VIII

THE GROWTH IN EDUCATION IN KENYA SINCE 1963

	PRIMARY		SECONDARY		TRADE TECHNICAL		TEACHER TRAINING		KENYANS IN U. OF E.A.	
	No. Inst.	Enrollments	No. Inst.	Enrollments	No. Inst.	Enrollments	No. Inst.	Enrollments	No. Inst.	Enrollments
1963	6058	891,533	150	31,120	7	938	36	4,300	1	536 (1963/4)
1969	6111	1,282,300	694	115,200	10	2,344	27	7,194	1	1906 (1969/70)

N. B.

1. Primary schools appear not to have grown rapidly but it will be noted that this is due to consolidation of primary schools. The same consolidation has been applied to Teacher Training Colleges, which are being reduced from the original 36 institutions to eventually 17 primary colleges of bigger enrollment capacity of 500 each. The 27 Teacher training College given in the table include 2 Secondary Teacher Training Colleges.

2. In 1963 there were 118 Government aided secondary schools compared with 263 in 1969. Thus the Government has opened 145 new Secondary schools since independence. The number of private schools have also grown from 32 in 1963 to approximately 431 in 1969.

3. Excluded from the above table are the Mombasa Technical Institute and the Kenya Polytechnic, whose enrollment capacities have risen from 294 in 1963 to 623 in 1969 (for Mombasa Technical Institute) and 965 in 1963 to 2,041 in 1969 (for Kenya Polytechnic).

Among the many developments of education since 1963 are the following:

1. Abolition of racial system of education inherited at the time of independence.

2. Establishment of Kenya Institute of Education.

3. The formation of Curriculum Development and Research Centre.

4. Publishing of Education Development Plan 1966-1970.

5. Setting up of the Teachers' Service Commission.

6. Setting up of the Board of Adult Education.

7. Changing of Primary Education from 8 years to 7 years.

8. The awarding of Certificate of Primary Education to every child that sits the Certificate of Primary Education Examination (i.e. the abolishion of "pass and fail" method).

9. Opening up of Kenyatta College as a Training Institution for secondary teachers.

10. Building of Kenya Science Teachers' College to produce Science secondary school teachers.

11. Expansion of Kenya Polytechnic.

12. Introduction of Kenya Junior Secondary School Examination held at Form II level.

13. Extension of University College, Nairobi by introducing several Faculties that will help to produce. the type of man-power we need.

14. The setting up of East African Examination Council, which will eventually administer the examinations instead of Cambridge University.

15. Setting up of Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, whose job it is to publish books produced by the Kenya Institute of Education (the proceeds from sale are used to offer scholarships to some seconadry school pupils).

APPENDIX IX

TABLE XI

STATISTICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION 1960-1970

Enrollment of Primary Schools by Category

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Maintained	736,456	839,745	912,633	880,016	947,022	96,182	1,013,181	1,105,919	1,171,437	1,220,339
Assisted					60,576	33,472	21,730	17,871	27,639	46,122
Unassisted	44,839	30,703	23,133	11,537	7,121	9,235	8,505	9,389	10,604	15,836
Total	781,295	870,448	935,766	891,553	1,014,719	1,010,889	1,043,416	1,133,179	1,209,680	1,282,297

Note: A. From 1960 to 1963, enrollment is maintained and assisted primary schools have been combined. From 1964 (independence), to 1970, enrollment in maintained and assisted and unassisted primary schools is shown separately.

B. Figures for 1960-1966 were taken from the Ministry of Education, Triennial Survey 1964-1966, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967, P. 41. The statistics for 1967, 1968 and 1969 were taken from the Annual Reports prepared by the Ministry of Education, Nairobi: Government Printer, pp. 33, 27, and 34 respectively.

C. Enrollment in 1970 was 1,427,600. The figures were not broken down into maintained, assisted or unassisted schools for the reasons given in Appendix no XI.

APPENDIX X

Organization Chart of the Institute

KENYA INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

A = DEPARTMENT OF
    CURRICULUM
    DEVELOPMENT

1 = Language education section

2 = Natural science education

3 = Mathematics education

4 = Social science education

5 = Technical and commercial
    education

6 = Creative skills and cultural
    education

7 = General methods education

B = DEPARTMENT OF
    EDUCATION RESEARCH

8 = Test development unit

9 = Pure and applied psychology
    unit

10 = Child study unit

11 = Programmed learning unit

C = DEPARTMENT OF IN-SERVICE
    EDUCATION PROFESSIONAL
    DEPARTMENT

12 = Up-grading and orientation
     course unit

13 = Primary schools supervisory
     unit

14 = Special education unit

15 = School broadcasting unit

D = DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL
    SERVICES INCLUDING
    PRE-SERVICE EDUCATION

16 = Conference unit

17 = Library service unit

18 = Production unit

19 = Teachers examinations

20 = Personnel and establishments

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APPENDIX XI

OHIO UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
ATHENS, OHIO 45701

24 May 1971

TO: Mr. H. Njoroge

FROM: G. Linnenbruegge

SUBJECT: Material on texts etc which you wanted for your
         dissertation.

Today I received the following reply from Blackwell's
on my inquiry as to which of the titles which you needed
they could supply.

They are sending some textbook titles by surface mail
and are billing me for them. As to the Highway Arith-
metic Books they can supply and I assume are supplying
Book 8 Pupils and Book 8 Teachers listed at £6.50

They also suggest that one write directly to Longmans
of Kenya at P.O. Box 18201, Nairobi.

The Kenyan African Preliminary Examination for 1959
can be written for from

                    Overseas Service Courses
                    18 Petty Cury
                    Cambridge, England

The Religious Syllabus for Primary Schools

                    East African Publishing House
                    P.O. Box 30571
                    Nairobi.

Will let you know when the material from Blackwell's
comes. Please indicate to me if you are still interested.
Thank you.

Gertrude Linnenbruegge

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
JOGOO HOUSE
HARAMBEE AVENUE
P.O. Box 30040
NAIROBI

2nd November, 71

The Permanent Representative of Kenya
to the United Nations,
866 United Nations Plaza, Room 486,
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017.

(Attention: Mr. F.G. Ng'ang'a)

Please refer to your letter No.83/754/62 and dated 19th October, 1971. The information you requested is as follows:-

(a) School enrolment 1970.

Primary 1,427,600

Secondary........................ 127,000

Secondary technical and
vocational 3,310

(b) (i) Number of Schools

Primary 6,123

Secondary 783

Secondary technical and
vocational 9

(ii) Number of classes per form/standard.

Primary - Classes per Standard

Standard	Classes
1	7,572
2	7,111
3	6,769
4	6,208
5	5,339
6	4,810
7	4,146
Total	42,225

Number of classes per form in secondary schools.

Form	Classes
1	1,171
11	1,077
111	713
1V	590
V	100
VI	91
Total	3,742

Number of classes per form secondary technical and
vocational schools.

Form 1 (J1) 30

Form 11(J2) 26

/2

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
JOGOO HOUSE
HARAMBEE AVENUE
P.O. Box 3-430
NAIROBI

.. ..

- 2 -

Form 111 (G1)	21
Form 1V (G2)	8
Total	85

Analysis of 1971 primary school statistics has been done and the following information is available:-

Total Primary enrolment 1971 1,525,200

Total Number of primary schools 1971 .... ₡ 6,421

Number of classes per standard are:-

std. 1	8,176
11	7,748
111	7,126
1V	6,646
V	5,933
V1	5,313
V11	4,827
Total	45,769

Also note:-

(1) Approximated 1971 Secondary School enrolment -......135,000

(2) Number of Secondary Schools (1971) approximately 680 of which 350 are Government aided and the rest are private schools including Harambee.

(J.T. arap-Letin)
PLANNING OFFICER
PERMANENT SECRETARY

for

PERMANENT MISSION OF KENYA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
866 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA, ROOM 486
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

8th November 1971

Mr. James Ng'ang'a Njoroge
1306 Carriage Hill
Athens, Ohio

Dear Mr. Njoroge:

Enclosed please find a photostat copy of the available
school statistics as per your request. As you can see this is an
extract from the 1970 report which has been compiled specially
because of your request.

I think the officer at the Ministry of Education has tried
very hard since these figures had already been given to the Govern-
ment printer. Please let us know if they are adequate.

If we can be of further help please write or call.

Yours sincerely,

F. G. Ng'ang'a
for: Permanent Representative

FGN:lnc

Enclosure.

72

22063