The History of Agricultural Education in Kenya, 1922-1954

A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

by

Joseph James Corry

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To Professors: Philip D. Curtin
Robert L. Koehl
Marvin P. Miracle

This thesis having been approved in respect to form and mechanical execution is referred to you for judgment upon its substantial merit.

Robert M. Bock
Dean

Approved as satisfying in substance the doctoral thesis requirement of the University of Wisconsin.

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THE HISTORY OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN KENYA, 1922-1954

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Preface

The agricultural history of Kenya during the colonial era can be roughly divided into three time periods: 1900-1922, no policy; 1922-1954, a policy of limited development; 1954-1963, a policy of intensive development based on the Swynnerton Plan (see pp. 1-2 and 179-185). The objective of this study is to examine the various programs in agricultural education developed between 1922 and 1954 which provided a training base on which the Swynnerton Plan was able to draw. The first chapter provides a background presentation of English educational history. A comparison of the development of English agricultural education with the American experience in the same area is included, and the reports of several colonial study commissions are presented to illustrate the type of influence exerted from outside the Colony. Chapters Two through Five tell the story itself while Chapter Six summarizes the strengths and weaknesses of the agricultural education effort up to 1954. The final chapter presents a general outline of the major developments since 1954 and some additional conclusions on policy.

Agricultural education is the phrase most commonly accepted for describing the activities presented in the subsequent chapters. The word, education, implies concern for both the principles of teaching and learning and the requisite practices to put those principles into operation.

The word, training, is usually more restrictive, referring principally to the practice required to gain skill or facility in a given area. Colonial administrators of both education and agriculture were always under pressure to provide maximum service to the European community and to serve the African community at a level sufficient to keep the peace. Training, not education would have been the preferred policy and while it might be more appropriate to view the programs undertaken in that light, the phrase agricultural education is employed in this study because of its general acceptance.

Another phrase which requires some clarification is cash crops. Any crop can be grown and sold for cash, but in the colonial era, the phrase had a much more restricted meaning in Kenya. It was used to describe those crops which were reserved only for cultivation by European farmers; crops such as coffee, tea, and pyrethrum. It is in that sense that it is always used in this study.

There is also some potential confusion surrounding the first eight years of education. Educationists changed their identifying terms with considerable frequency. Since the changes in name do not affect agricultural education, I have employed the same terms throughout; elementary will always refer to the first four years of education and primary to the second four years.

Two Swahili words, which are used with great frequency in English speech in Kenya, are used occasionally in this

study. Shamba can be used interchangeably with farm. A baraza is a public meeting usually called by the officials to announce new policy statements.

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My family and I had the good fortune to live and work in Kenya from February, 1967 to April, 1969. In the preparation of this study, I had the opportunity to conduct a considerable number of interviews as well as to use archival sources. I owe an immense debt of gratitude to present and past officials of Kenya who were willing to give so freely of their time to discuss this subject. They were a constant source of reinspiration to complete the task.

Excellent assistance was provided in gaining access to documents. I am indebted to Mrs. M. E. Luckham of the library of the Ministry of Agriculture, to Nathan Fedha of the Kenya National Archives, and to I. R. Wallace of the Embu Institute of Agriculture.

A special note of thanks is due to Mr. G. R. Henderson, a former Agricultural Officer in Kenya. I had the opportunity to meet Dick in 1964 while he was on official business in the United States. He was so enthusiastic about the agricultural potential of Kenya that I decided to study her agricultural history and eventually selected this topic. To my immense good fortune, Dick was still living in Kenya

for much of my own stay there and he was a great help to me.

One of the assets of the Wisconsin African History program has been the personal qualities of its graduate students. Evening seminars were at times a painful but always a productive experience and my appreciation goes out to all my colleagues.

Financial support plays a vital role. I owe a great debt of thanks to my employers at the University of Wisconsin and University College, Nairobi (on secondment from the Ford Foundation at the latter) who made it possible for me to have flexible work schedules. Without exception, all these people were a great encouragement to me.

This study was conducted under the sponsorship of Prof. Philip D. Curtin. In this era, much is being written about the inability of students to be in contact with their professors. In the fourteen years since I took my first course from Prof. Curtin, he has always been of immense assistance to me and a genuine inspiration.

Throughout the years of graduate study, I have been blessed with a steady and helpful partner. To Barbara, and to Ellen, Jennifer, and Emily, I offer my humble and heartfelt thanks for their willingness to sacrifice the time that husband, or father might have spent with them.

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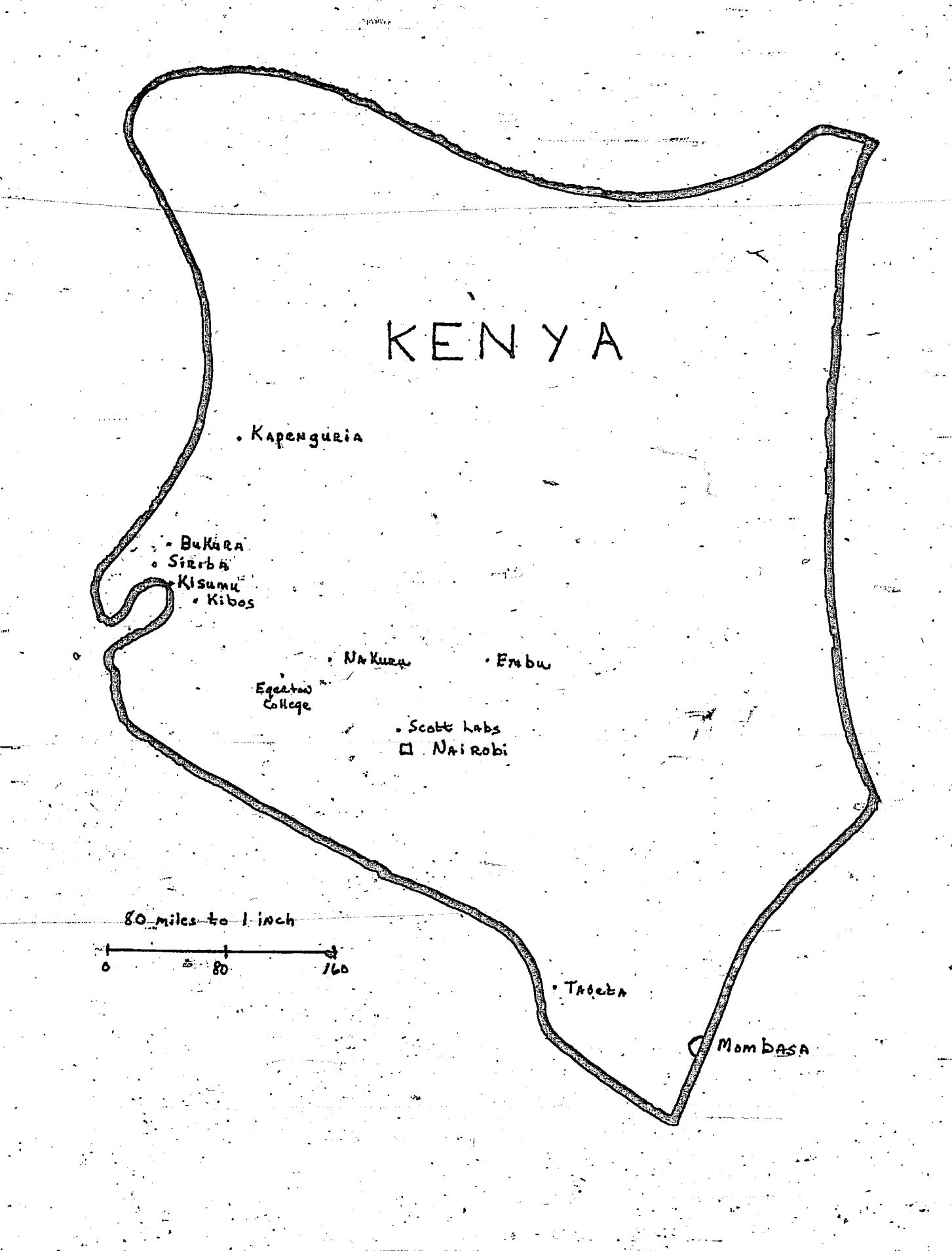
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Introduction

In 1954, A Plan to Intensify the Development of African Agriculture, more popularly known as the Swynnerton Plan for its author, R. J. M. Swynnerton, Assistant Director of Agriculture, was set in operation by the Government of Kenya.[1] The plan called for a basic shift in African agriculture from an emphasis on self-sufficiency in food crops to commercial farming involving cash crops. Such a shift represented an economic position directly opposite to that demanded by the European settler-farmers for all of the previous colonial history.

The plan was a crisis response to the situation known as the Mau Mau Emergency. Swynnerton himself alluded to the political situation when he suggested that "In the long term the greatest gain from the participation of the African community in running its own agricultural industries will be a politically contented and stable community."[2]

One of the most remarkable aspects connected with the plan was that it was put together in two months; certainly something of a record for so significant and comprehensive a proposal. That it was done so rapidly was a testimony to Swynnerton's ability, and outstanding cooperation from all the people consulted. It was also reflective of a base in agricultural development built over the previous thirty years but particularly as Swynnerton noted, out of the projects in the Ten Year Development Plan of 1946.[3]

Acknowledging the existence of a base, however, does

not in any way suggest that African agriculture had received adequate attention in the previous years of colonial rule. The Swynnerton Plan generated massive funding for African agriculture, nearly £7,000,000,[4] but it also opened to Africans the kinds of fundamental farming requirements previously barred to them.

The heart of the Swynnerton Plan was the manner in which it directed that special attention be given to these basic requirements during the first five years of intensive development covered in the plan. African farmers should be assisted to consolidate fragmented holdings into economic units for which they should be guaranteed security of tenure and assisted by technical personnel to plan every acre to the best ecological and economic advantage. For this secure, consolidated holding, the farmers needed ready access to water, nearby marketing facilities, adequate credit possibilities, and the opportunity to obtain improved livestock. As a final area for special attention, Swynnerton suggested that the educational program for the children of these farmers had to be such as to impart an agricultural bias.[5]

In recommending the agricultural bias, Swynnerton was reflecting a history of thinking that covered the entire colonial era. The first Governor, Sir Charles Eliot, called on the missions to teach and encourage the Africans in agriculture.[6] This plea was echoed in the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate in 1919,[7] the Conference of Directors of Education in 1933,[8] and the Commission for

Higher Education in East Africa, 1937.[9]

The Department of Education in Kenya was organized in 1911, and the first government school for Africans was opened in 1915, but the majority of Africans attended mission schools. Education was one of the first tasks undertaken by the Christian missionaries who began to arrive in considerable numbers around the turn of the century, and missionary dominance in education continued throughout the colonial era. In 1935, for example, out of approximately 96,500 African students enrolled in schools, 92,500 of them were mission students.[10]

As the material in the next chapter will illustrate, religious bodies have been much more closely connected with popular education in the modern era in Great Britain than has been the case in the United States. Consequently, it is not surprising to find a government employee, the Kenya Director of Education, citing Christianity as the first of his four cardinal principles for African education.[11] Several years later, the Chief Native Commissioner for Kenya confirmed the religious involvement in a memorandum which stated that, "The policy of the Government is that so far as possible Education should be developed through the agency of Christian missions."[12]

Financial considerations played an important part in encouraging religious control of African education. European education had first claim on the education budget. As early as 1923, this inequity was cited by a former administrative

officer in the Colony when he pointed out that the total amount spent on the few European children was the same as that spent on the estimated one-half million African school-age children.[13]

The Department of Agriculture was established in 1903, but until 1922, its efforts were restricted almost exclusively to assisting Europeans. In 1912, one Director of Agriculture commented favorably on the great increase in the number of settlers for that year and observed that it was to such men that Kenya "...must look for rapid development and consequent advancement."[14] Several years later, still another Director suggested that the Department was justified in financially supporting any crop which encouraged settlement, even if that crop was only moderately profitable.[15] A final indication of the Department's settler committment can be found in its contribution of £1,000 to the Land Settlement Advisory Committee whose purpose was to promote settlement.[16]

When the economy of the Colony collapsed in 1921, one of the proposed remedies was to encourage development in African agriculture. Once the Department of Agriculture took up work in the African areas, it developed an interest in training African staff and in the progress of the attempt to impart a rural bias to the education of school children. Consequently, because the subject was education, it might properly fall under the control of the Department of Education or because it was agricultural, it might fall to that Department. The fact that missions were responsible for so much

of the educational system added another dimension to the problem of inter-departmental cooperation. The series of compromises worked out on this matter are discussed in succeeding chapters.

Attempts to develop viable programs in agricultural education faced numerous problems. Among these were the question of priorities between funds available for basic research and those for education and extension, priorities within education for concentrating on the young people or of giving first attention to the adults already farming, and priorities between the amount of time spent on agriculture in the classroom and practical work undertaken on the school garden.. One of the very serious problems was that of teachers in the quantities needed and with sufficient training in agriculture to ensure quality teaching, but the major challenge to experts of either Department was that of motivating Africans toward agricultural education.

Any career needs to hold some perceived attractiveness if people are to be encouraged to study for it, except, of course, those jobs undertaken grudgingly or as the last resort. White collar jobs were in the image of the colonial officers and offered good pay for Africans; agricultural careers had neither quality. Time and again an attempt was made to issue a grave warning that clerical careers were in extremely short supply. Still, what individual does not want to seek the best for himself, particularly if an agricultural career ran headlong into restrictions which

prevented Africans from growing coffee or tea or from raising improved cattle?

On at least two occasions in the inter-war era, policy statements out of London pointed to the unfairness of these agricultural restrictions. The Report of the East Africa Commission in 1925 stated that: "East Africa can only progress economically and socially on the basis of full and complete cooperation between all races."[17] The Commission suggested that restrictions imposed on the growing of certain cash crops by Africans were a barrier to full development. Arabica coffee was an example of a crop which could certainly be grown by Africans under proper inspection. Unfortunately, the Commission hedged, in 1925, on this basic premise by suggesting that the cost of coffee inspection was too great and by claiming that Africans had only a very small interest in growing the crop.[18]

The Colonial Office referred again to this problem, in 1930, in the Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa. It stated that Africans should be permitted to grow those crops and to keep whatever stock that they felt would be the most profitable. Acknowledging that the provision of adequate food for Africans was essential, (also one of the settler arguments to ward off African intrusions into the cash market) it called for the unrestricted production by Africans of stock and crops for profit. If the justification for regulations was to safeguard quality and to control disease, such regulations must be put into operation so as

to apply equally to all races. Some form of market protection was needed until the Africans gained the necessary marketplace experience.[19]

In spite of these statements, the restrictions were maintained until after the Second World War and resulted in considerably less incentive for Africans to take up an agricultural career. Young Africans saw only drudgery in pursuing education tied to the limited agricultural possibilities of their forefathers.

Perhaps inevitably, racial overtones affected the debate about the type of education to provide for Africans. One can, for instance, find a Director of Education alluding to the direct correlation between the overwhelming dependence of Kenya on agricultural production and the absolute necessity to have no racial barriers affecting participation in that production.[20] But place the same gentleman in his own speciality and he can be found to be quite intrigued by a medical report suggesting that the brain capacity of Africans is noticeably below that of the European.[21] Or one can find a future Director of Agriculture recording his belief that: "The African of Kenya, however, possesses little of the spirit of emulation and is apt to consider anything that he does not understand as more or less supernatural and at least beyond his power and to leave it at that."[22]

Forty years later and surrounded as we are by technical achievements by people of all races, we may tend to forget the self-assured and asserted superiority of white over

black in the early part of this century. The tone was most often that of a parent speaking to his children. Only the simplest of things could be taught and these only with the most elementary techniques. If a potential scientific conclusion that Africans possessed a smaller brain capacity added logic to the practice of pedagogy, so much the better for the education policy makers.

Reference has been made earlier to the concentration of effort for settlers by both the Departments of Education and Agriculture. Land awarded to settlers literally split the African population of the country and the constant struggle of the settlers for greater political control over their own destinies took up much of the time and effort of the colonial authorities.[23] The perceived injustice of this "land theft" by the Europeans was so much a part of African thinking in the affected areas that the agricultural value of their own holdings tended to be overlooked.[24] This great attraction of land is such that it is a problem which bedevils the present African government of Kenya even when there are no exclusive "White Highlands" any longer in existence.

One final introductory note concerns the general economic picture in Kenya during the years before World War II. Agriculture was a very risky occupation for both Europeans and Africans in those years. There were only three brief periods of prosperity from 1918-21, 1925-29, and then again after 1936.[25] The world depression of the

early 1930's was harshly felt in Kenya and was compounded in 1929-31 in the western part of Kenya by severe locust infestations which devoured nearly everything. Agricultural officers were forced to leave development activities in both European and African areas in order to combat the invasions. Programs of agricultural education were often running head-on into the psychological barrier of seeking to train for employment in a basically depressed industry.

Chapter One

British and American Programs of Agricultural Education

One of the great dreams of the newly independent nations of Africa, and Kenya is no exception, has been to provide educational opportunities for all its young people. The hope is to provide at least primary education for all, with increasing opportunities at the secondary and higher education levels. Only a relatively small educational base for Africans was developed in Kenya during the colonial era, but it needs to be recalled that the English did not have very much experience in popular education to pass along to their colonies in the early 1900's.[1] It is possible to trace some concern for educating the poor back as far as the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but the principal aim of these early schools was to teach people to live upright and industrious lives within that station of life to which God had called them, --- as obedient members of the working class.[2] This educational effort was exclusively in the hands of non-government voluntary agencies, primarily religious.

It was not until 1833 that the Government made its first grant of building funds to the voluntary agencies and not until 1870 did the Government assume ownership of school buildings through funds allocated to locally elected school boards.

The purpose of the 1870 legislation was to make primary education available to every youngster up to the age of

eleven. By 1900, it was estimated that 80 per cent of the children were attending primary school, and just two years later, another Education Act was passed which added great strength to the quality of elementary education and improved secondary education opportunities for those seeking university places. Opportunities at the secondary level for all young people were not a government objective until the Education Act of 1944.

Despite the intent of the educational program to better prepare the masses for their station in life, vocational training was not included as an integral part of English education. It has always been looked on as further education; that is, education beyond the level at which the majority cease to attend school. General education was always considered to be the essential base before any specialization for a vocational career could be properly undertaken.

This separation was not absolute but few infusions of agriculture penetrated the curriculum. School gardening for boys was an activity of rural schools in the years before World War I, but the subject was usually only successful in proportion to the interest and qualifications of the teacher. An experiment using peripatetic agricultural teachers was tried. It was generally unsatisfactory because the teacher spent as much as two-thirds of his time on the road, his training was often too specialized for the elementary nature of the curriculum, and he was on hand for too

short a period to have much impact on the students.[3]

The food shortages of the First World War provided considerable impetus to the school gardening program and brought about attempts to involve the entire rural environment as a teaching backdrop for other subjects in the curriculum. In the period following that War, one notable development was the movement to establish Young Farmers Clubs.[4] These voluntary associations were visible evidence that agriculture could be made interesting if challengingly presented and the clubs provided group reinforcement for peers of comparable interests.

As educational opportunities became available to the lower classes, one of the interesting facets was the demand by parents to increase the opportunities for grammar school education rather than vocational training. The significance of this very human factor is that it also occurs in Kenya where attempts to encourage technical education were often vigorously opposed by African parents who wanted their children to have literary education which appeared as the greater good.

In the United States courses in agriculture were offered in the school system from the early 1800's, but they only began to be common as subjects in elementary schools shortly after 1850, reaching a peak about 1910.[5] Before the First World War, facilities for secondary education in rural areas were few and far between. Some secondary boarding schools experimented with teaching agriculture through school

farms. The consensus resulting from those experiments was that they were failures because either the students labored on a large scale farm which the students said was not relevant, or if the scale was deliberately kept small, the demonstration sessions had too many listeners and not enough participants.[6]

With the boarding school experience providing at least one basis, agricultural educationists in the United States changed their program from classroom education for all students regardless of their vocational intent to a national program aimed only at secondary school students who had chosen to make agriculture their career. Two factors combined to help make this decision a good one. Secondary school facilities of the day school variety were being constructed in the rural areas in increasing numbers. The program itself received a big boost through the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 which provided federal funds for textbooks and laboratories for the new courses in vocational agriculture.

The important difference here between either the British or the British colonial experience and the American national program is the provision of funds for vocational agriculture not in separate schools for further education but as one curriculum choice within a regular secondary school. In the first place, this was an elective course chosen by students who had decided to make farming their career. Secondly, emphasis was placed on projects which

were carried out on the home farm of each student, which meant that both parent and pupil were involved in the demonstration and experimentation. This feature was responsible for much of the success enjoyed in vocational agriculture since 1917.[7] Kenyan secondary students never had the same opportunity because they were restricted almost exclusively to boarding schools. Only since 1960 have some home projects of the American style been tried at Chavakali in Nyanza and subsequently at several other selected secondary schools.

In the United States, voluntary membership clubs for farm youths originated at the turn of the century. These early organizations took the form of corn, pig, or canning clubs and were sponsored by county and state governments. Enthusiasm over their success spread nationally and eventually coalesced in a national organization of 4-H clubs. They are supported through funds made available in the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 and are a direct concern of the Cooperative Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture.

A second group, the Future Farmers of America, was organized in 1928 for boys fourteen to twenty-one years of age enrolled in the vocational agriculture courses developed out of the Smith-Hughes Act. The national direction of this group originates in the Agricultural Education Branch, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. These two organizations have played a key role in promoting agricultural interest among American youth.[8]

Free trade and the general feeling of security in

Britain during the nineteenth century made for small concern about the agricultural future of the country so largely devoted to manufacturing. The food shortages of the First World War focused attention on agriculture as a vital component of the total economy. Fortunately for England, at least a basis for that development had been provided in the educational and research legislation enacted prior to the War.

One of the real difficulties faced by today's authors and students is remembering that the merging of government interests and technological research is relatively recent. Despite the great progress which England achieved as one of the leading lights of the industrial revolution, the government did not involve itself in technological research. The application of the scientific method to agriculture by means of massive government funding was not undertaken until 1909, when the Development and Road Improvement Funds Act was passed. This legislation made some £3 million available for the establishment of national research institutes in forestry, agriculture, and fisheries.[9]

The first step toward this research base was taken only twenty years earlier when agriculture was raised to departmental status within the national government by organizing it as the Board of Agriculture. As one of its early activities, the Board promoted programs of study in agriculture at university level, a policy which ultimately provided the personnel for agricultural research. Practically

nothing in this area existed before the Board became active. For example, it was only at the end of the nineteenth century that Cambridge conferred its first diplomas in agriculture and not until 1908 that it established its first degree program in agriculture.[10]

It was not, however, altogether clear just what kinds of agricultural education were going to be developed at these University institutions. The story is told that the Board of Governors at Wye College deliberately picked the poorer of two farms offered to the college reasoning that if the professors could make that farm pay, then they would indeed have something worthwhile to teach. It is also alleged that these board members expected the professors to prepare good plowmen and good shepherds and that it came as something of a surprise to them to learn that they were committed to a university for higher education in agriculture.[11]

The national program in the United States followed a similar pattern, though generally about twenty-five years earlier than its English counterpart. Each country began by establishing a program in agriculture at university level, followed next by emphasis on agricultural research, and then eventually organizing the teaching and research into a national extension service.

In the United States, the landmark legislation for the commencement of a national program in agriculture was the Morrill Act of 1862 which permitted states to use the income from the sale of federal lands to establish colleges for

practical education in agricultural and mechanical arts. Many outstanding university programs in agriculture had their origin from Morrill Act financing. It was soon recognized that the scientific basis for teaching agriculture at the university was not sufficiently developed and funds were provided for agricultural experiment stations to engage in experimentation and research (Hatch Act of 1887). In 1914, the Smith-Lever Act was passed establishing the Cooperative Extension Service. This Service employed the talent developed in the Morrill Act and drew on the agricultural knowledge gained through the Hatch Act to take the lessons of agriculture into every rural community in every state.[12] The English counterpart was the National Agricultural Advisory Service established in 1944.

Beside the obvious consequences for agriculture in Britain itself, the late development of a national program also had important ramifications for agricultural history in the colonies. Since the colonial power was only beginning to apply the scientific method to her own agricultural problems, she was not exceptionally well-equipped to impart a scientific basis to Kenya's agricultural development.

With some understanding of the relatively late development of education for the masses in England, it is not so surprising perhaps that it was only after the First World War that the British began to develop a policy for education in Africa. Three study commissions were organized in the 1920's.

In 1922, the Colonial Office established the Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa as a vehicle for bringing together educational experts from England, colonial educationists and administrators, economic experts, and representatives of the missions. While the Committee had no executive powers, the fact that its chairman was the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Colonies ensured that it would have a hearing with the Colonial Office.

The Committee's first comprehensive study and recommendations were reported to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on March 13, 1925. The Committee suggested that one of the necessary conditions for the advancement of Africans was improvement of agriculture, but it did not offer any direct recommendations for accomplishing that goal through education. In its only reference to agricultural education, it concluded that apprentices and trainees should be attached to departments such as Medicine, Agriculture, Forestry, and Veterinary Services. These trainees should be placed under a performance bond to ensure several years of service in return for the training. In addition, it recommended that government make every effort throughout its educational system to encourage interest in these technical careers, not only the already-overpopular clerical career.[13]

Despite this mild overture in the direction of technical careers, the position ultimately adopted by the Advisory Committee was strongly in favor of the so-called literary education. Vocational training should be given only after

a good level of general education was achieved. Schools were not the place to turn out skillful cultivators.[14]

The Report of the East Africa Commission was a bit more specific in its treatment of agricultural education. The Commission criticized missionary education for its overemphasis on literary training and suggested that it was necessary "to link up the educational curriculum of all native schools with the arts and sciences of agriculture."[15] The subject of natural science should be the basis for higher education in African schools using that framework to stress applications to daily life involving domestic animals, development of agriculture, sanitation, and personal hygiene.

The third study group, and the one which delved most deeply into the field of agricultural education, was the Second Phelps-Stokes Commission. The background of the two Phelps-Stokes Commissions to Africa and of the personnel who made them up is an interesting tale of an attempt to transfer the American Negro education of Tuskegee and Hampton to Africa. The common theme which inspired the organizers of the group was that literary education was inappropriate to the current stage of African development. The major emphasis, instead, should be technical, basic crafts and agriculture, with a solid mixture of citizenship training.[16]

Operating under these premises, it is not surprising that the conclusion of the Second Phelps-Stokes Commission was that Africans were far more dependent on agriculture

than any other people in the world and hence agricultural education must be correspondingly important in the school plans. The radical changes which were being brought into African lives, such as taxes, land tenure, new market conditions, were all baffling without education. To further complicate matters; the lure of industry and cities was encouraging Africans to leave farming.

The Commission concluded that it was imperative for the schools to impart a sense of the vital importance of agriculture.

> The first step towards agricultural instruction as an educational aim is the development of a real appreciation of its importance in Africa. One of the most unfortunate results of the education so far given there has been the depreciation of agriculture in Native opinion....There is probably no more vital problem of education than that of helping society the world over to understand the primary importance of agriculture to human welfare.[17]

Accounts of Kenya during the colonial era, without regard to the background of the author, be he missionary, government official, visiting dignitary, and so on, speak of the insatiable appetite of the Africans for education. It is almost axiomatic for these same accounts to refer to agriculture in both the European and African sectors as the veritable backbone of the country. If the latter premise was valid, and it was, it might have been expected that agricultural education would be a matter of vital concern for Africans, but the significant distinction is that, while indeed it was Africans who were desirous of education, it was not Africans who were speaking of agriculture as the

backbone of their country. In fact, the education which was most desirable was that which had least to do with agriculture.

As a consequence, all the recommendations for agricultural education were flying directly into the winds of change which, as early as the 1920's, were demanding the opportunity to pursue that type of education which had placed the European in the driver's seat --- namely, literary education. One authority, Terence Ranger, suggests that there actually was African interest in technical education in the very early years of colonial rule. This disappeared, he says, when Africans began to understand that the learning of those technical skills would simply place the graduate in a subordinate position. The demand, thereafter was almost exclusively for literary education.[18]

A. Victor Murray, in his work The School in the Bush, offers an interesting commentary on this phenomenon. He notes that a book called My Duties, which was a compendium of British success stories told in hero-like fashion, was readily available in African territories. Whenever any African began to act on the plane of morality advocated by the book, however, Europeans said he was pushy, not thinking about his own people, a despiser of manual labor, and desirous of becoming a clerk. But the clerk was always higher paid than a manual laborer so that by the colonialists' own principles of moral instruction, an African would have to be judged as a fool if he did not aspire to be a clerk.[19]

The dilemma posed by attempting to implement the two extremes between the general education philosophy of the Advisory Committee and the practical crafts philosophy of the Phelps-Stokes Commission was a considerable problem. On the one hand, it was argued that a man's ability to think would be stultified if practical career training were provided at an early age, while the other argument maintained that if African youngsters were not immersed in agriculture from their first years in school, they would close their minds to it forever. Agriculturalists adopted the latter argument because it seemed as if the educational system was conspiring to steal away potential farmers instead of contributing to what these professionals believed to be the best single economic hope for Kenya's development.

Kenya attempted a compromise between the two extremes. Agriculture as both a classroom subject and a practical exercise in the form of school gardening was inserted into the curriculum. Since an increasing number of young children were being exposed to elementary education, it was thought wise to provide agricultural education. Agriculture was cited as a subject with immense applications in other areas of the curriculum including reading, English, and arithmetic. The intent was to give students a basic education and to make rural life seem so attractive that graduates would not waste their time pursuing clerical careers. But, despite the noble intention, the attempt failed.

Chapter Two

The Inter-War Era, 1919-1939

In the period between the First and Second World Wars, three departments in the colonial government played major roles in agricultural education; Agriculture, Education, and Native Affairs. It is apparent now, by virtue of hindsight, that African development did not fare as well as it might have done during this period had there been government concern to ensure cooperation among its various agencies. The experiences and frustrations of many of the junior officers in the field, however were responsible for some interesting cooperative efforts on their part when they came into positions of leadership toward the latter half of the colonial era.

Role of the Department of Agriculture

Interest in the African areas by the Department of Agriculture for the first years of colonial rule up to 1922 can be characterized as rationalized neglect. The major concentration of its activities was clearly in the European areas, though some technical assistance to African farmers was provided beginning in 1910 with the employment of two West Indian Plant Instructors.

One man was stationed at Mazeras near the Coast and the other at Kibos in Nyanza in the western part of the country. Their basic responsibility was that of peripatetic instructors.

For about three weeks of every month, they moved through the African areas offering advice on the cultivation of crops and encouraging the use of improved seeds which were distributed by administrative officers.[1]

About 1920, the shift to the second stage of agricultural development within the African areas began to get underway. That was the first time the Department of Agriculture expressed a significant interest and concern in the potential of the African reserves. The resources of the African areas were too great to be neglected, and the production of export crops such as maize (Indian corn), sorghum, millets, and groundnuts (peanuts) should be encouraged. These crops, the Department hastened to add, should not pose a threat to the European growers nor should improved farming within the African areas diminish the labor supply because increased development would ultimately mean increased wants.[2]

The Department's interest in entering the field of African agriculture coincided nicely with the work of the Governor's Committee established at the end of 1921 to suggest ways to end the Colony's fiscal crisis of that year. This group, known as the Bowring Committee after its Chairman, the Colonial Secretary, Sir Charles Bowring, met from March to October in 1922. One of its recommendations stated that the African areas must contribute to the export economy of Kenya. The proposal was primarily aimed at the production of African food crops and did not in anyway allude to removal

of restrictions on cash crops such as tea or coffee. The major thrust of the agricultural contribution was to be maize production.[3] The first objective of this program was to prevent famine. Secondly, it was hoped to improve both the quality and variety of the African diet through the introduction of new food crops such as Irish potatoes.[4]

The Department of Agriculture committed itself to a policy of dual development. It publicly recorded its recognition of the responsibilities to the European and African areas and suggested that the dual aspects of this new policy were fully compatible. In view of the limited funds and limited staff available, however, the Department did not propose to establish a comprehensive agricultural development plan for all the African areas of Kenya. Instead, it decided to concentrate its activities in the areas with the highest population densities, Nyanza Province and Kikuyu Province.[5]

One of the logical implications of the development policy, was that European agricultural officers would need to be appointed to the Reserves. Prior to 1923, the only time that officers of the Department of Agriculture went into African areas was by request of Administrative Officers. In 1924, three Senior Supervisors and six Supervisors (all European) were assigned to work in African areas and by 1937, the number of such officers in the Reserves had increased to seventeen.[6]

The provision of officers was probably the major

contribution by the Department in the 1920's. The allocation of departmental funds was still heavily weighted in favor of services most useful to the European settlers.[7] Retrenchment, made necessary by the world-wide depression of the early 1930's, and the appointment of a new Deputy Director of Agriculture in 1931, combined to stimulate new agricultural plans for the African areas. The economic crisis brought the inevitable review of the use of existing resources.

The new man, H. Wolfe, came to his post from Tanganyika where he had observed both greater quantities and greater proportions of men and financial resources expended for Africans. The basis of his reorganization was the consolidation of scattered demonstration plots into larger and more efficient Local Native Council seed farms, greater experimental work, inspection of produce and organized marketing facilities and a comprehensive survey of the agricultural possibilities of the Reserves. Another major step was the formation of Native Agriculture Committees involving a local Agricultural Officer and selected members of the Local Native Council. The Committees provided an opportunity for grass-roots discussion on agricultural projects and proposals.[8] These improvements were solid but not spectacular in immediate results. They were, nevertheless, important contributions to a growing base of departmental knowledge about the problems and potentials of the African areas of Kenya.

The decision in 1937 that the agriculture and veterinary services should be separated and set up as individual

departments seriously slowed further improvements. There had been a rivalry among the services for many years. The idea of separation had been brewing at the time of the Agricultural Commission in 1929 for that body felt constrained to say they could not recommend separation because they could not conceive of agriculture without livestock services.[9] The decision to separate was made in large part on the basis of a recommendation by an outside study commission headed by Sir Alexander Pim.[10]

The services operated as separate departments until several years after independence, but the validity of the concern of that early Agricultural Commission was in large measure borne out by events. If anything, the chief veterinary officials were even more conservative than their counterparts in agriculture in their reluctance to allow Africans to enter new fields such as the raising of grade cattle. Although individual officers in the field often achieved satisfactory levels of cooperation, the split seriously hampered the potential development of agriculture in African areas.

Agricultural Training Schools[11]

The first formal attempt to provide training for Africans was in 1915, with the establishment of a school at the Kibos farm under the general direction of the Plant Instructor. Twenty-two young men, most of them sons of chiefs and headmen, attended the school. The school provided basic training

in agriculture so that the trainees would return to their areas to become better farmers.

Practical work was the major emphasis though at least one hour a day was devoted to reading and writing. The first reports indicated that more formal classroom work was desirable but impossible to accomplish until an African school teacher could be hired. Some encouraging progress was made, however, and a number of the young men displayed both considerable aptitude and a willingness to learn.

The Kibos School operated until 1921 when the general financial crisis in the Colony brought about a reduction in many government services. The Kibos School was one of the victims of the Department of Agriculture's economy measures.

Training prospects brightened rather quickly, however, because by the end of 1921, the Bowring Committee made its recommendation to post European officers in the African Reserves. These officers needed supporting staff, particularly to maintain regular contact with African farmers. It was apparent that African agricultural instructors would have to be trained, and the Department of Agriculture established two schools. One school, at the Scott Laboratories, at Kabete, just outside Nairobi, was opened in 1923, and, the following year, a training program was begun at Bukura in Nyanza Province. A north-south line through Nakuru was used to segregate attendance, with all potential pupils living west of the line attending Bukura and those

to the east attending Scott. Housing and classroom facilities at the schools permitted enrollments of up to fifty at Bukura and sixty at Scott.

The routine at the schools was no picnic. The days were long with combined hours of schooling and practical work running from 6:45 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. and from 6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. The emphasis during training fell heavily on practical agriculture, because these future agricultural instructors were supposed to learn how to improve existing African methods of agriculture rather than to introduce new methods. The training program was conducted over a three year period with the exception of the first few years at Scott when the course was two years.

The practical work carried on throughout the course involved plowing, harrowing, cultivating, planting and harvesting crops, nursery work, the growing of vegetables, and the care of cattle and poultry. First-year students spent one day a week in the classroom learning elementary botany and the names of tools and implements. Second- and third-year students spent at least two days a week in the classroom where they studied botany, soil composting, the measurement of crop yields, selection of seeds and crops, stock and crop rotation, and the principles of mixed farming.

Recruiting qualified candidates for these schools was never an easy task. The Department hoped that it could establish the admission standard at a level of accepting

only those who had passing certificates for the primary school examination given after the first eight years of schooling. But students who were successful on the primary examination almost without exception sought either additional schooling or employment in clerical careers.

The agricultural training schools were in competition with training schools from practically every other government department but particularly with Alliance High School, the Railway, Post Office, Medical Department, and Teacher Training schools. At least in the western part of Kenya, the latter five schools were referred to as the "popular resorts" because of their location near to Nairobi and their training for white collar careers.[12]

The non-white collar aspect of work as agricultural instructors often plagued recruiting because most Africans thought of schooling as providing a way to escape from the drudgery of agricultural labor. Most Agricultural Officers firmly believed, however, that an agriculturalist could not be expected to teach improved methods unless he had had the experience of performing those techniques himself.

From the viewpoint of the potential student, the decision to commit himself to a training program which involved practical work also involved a difficult internal tussle with his own cultural heritage, for much that the students were asked to do was considered women's work. Students from these prewar years recall that the women walking by Bukura on the way to the village used to tease

them for doing women's work.[13] Whether the students were correct in perceiving that the women teased them for that reason is not as important as the fact that the young men were convinced that that was the reason.

It was also difficult to recruit a cross-section of students from the many different groups of Africans within Kenya. The pastoral areas were particularly slow to provide candidates for training. For example, in March, 1933, the Principal at Bukura received a letter stating that the Baringo Local Native Council wished to hire two agricultural instructors immediately but they did not want any Jaluo. In his reply, the Principal reluctantly had to point out that no apprentices from pastoral areas had to that date completed training.[14] In fact, it was not until December, 1935, that the first nine agricultural instructors from among the Kamasia, Elgeyo, Marakwet, Nandi, and Lumbwa peoples completed the course.

In the face of the kind of recruiting difficulties outlined above, each of the schools found it necessary to accept young men with as little as two or three years of schooling. This comparatively low educational level of entry, however, created an interesting problem for the Department. The dilemma was the necessity of teaching basic school subjects such as English and arithmetic in order that the agricultural instructors would be able to grasp the fundamentals necessary for their jobs and the danger of teaching the school subjects so well that the graduates

would be tempted to move on to clerical careers.

Ultimately, the decision was to teach the school subjects, but at almost every annual staff meeting for field officers, the time taken away from agricultural subjects in order to present school subjects was discussed. Finally, in 1934, it was again proposed to accept only those who had passed the primary school examination. When Bukura opened in January, 1935, only one student was on hand for the twelve places available while Scott fared slightly better with nine out of nineteen. Of necessity, the decision was made to accept students with lower qualifications; a fact with which the Department had to live until 1950. Although the rule for accepting only passes on the primary examination remained on the books, it took all those years for the supply to catch up with the demand.

Age was another qualification for admission. Because it was suspected that African farmers would not accept agricultural expertise from mere youths, no candidate was admitted under seventeen years of age so that he would be at least nineteen upon graduation. It is doubtful if even nineteen had any special magic about it, but once the Department had decided on a policy of training youths instead of older men as agricultural instructors, it was probably a reasonable standard.

The inability to attract a higher caliber of candidate for the post of agricultural instructor was a source of great frustration to the Principals of the schools. These

officers and most of their colleagues serving the African areas sincerely believed that the only solid path of progress for Africans lay in developing the agricultural base. They were dismayed when they could not attract the young men on whom depended the future of the development program.

The overwhelming dominance of the missions in the primary school system offered a convenient scapegoat to the recruiting failures. Since the missions controlled primary education they must obviously be guilty of neglecting to teach the values of agriculture in their schools or otherwise the young men would come forward to fill the quotas. As one of the alleged proofs of this disinterest on the part of the mission teachers, it was pointed out that in 1935, the year when only one man came forward for training at Bukura, sixty-two of the sixty-five primary passes in the area served by Bukura were graduates of mission schools.[15] The pique of the hard-working field officers was understandable but it was misdirected. The missions might well have done more for agriculture, but the real problem was that, in the minds of the primary leavers, agriculture could not measure up to the status and salaries of its competitors.

The problems of recruitment did not mean that the schools had large numbers of vacancies. The opportunities for Africans in further schooling or employment never matched the demand for them. Consequently, even though the agricultural schools were a distant second choice, they obtained full quotas of trainees in almost every year.

Moreover, once candidates were admitted, they were not inclined to leave, because of the opportunity for further study on the elementary school subjects, and because they were fed, clothed, and offered a small wage during training.

In the normal course of events, increasing enrollments at primary schools made it possible for the schools to recruit students with more schooling, if not with primary passes. As the quality improved it seemed appropriate to shift to a two-year course, and this was done just before World War II.

By the late 1930's, a certain degree of school spirit had caught on among the trainees. At the behest of the students, school badges, team badges, prefect badges and formalized completion certificates were provided. Even the practical work, though hardly viewed with the same type of enthusiasm that promoted the badges, was recognized as a fact of life for the program they had chosen.[16]

For the first decade of the operation of the schools, the practical work had been conducted on a large-scale farm at Bukura and on the demonstration and experimental section of Scott. About 1930, the Department became very interested in the successful results on a smallholding developed by one of the agricultural instructors at Scott. It had been possible on this smallholding of four and one-half acres to demonstrate that mixed farming, cattle and crops, could produce an annual profit of over 600 shillings (almost $150).[17]

The mixed farming also appealed because of its potential as a partial restorer of soil-fertility in the Reserves, where land scarcity prevented continuation of the practice of shifting agriculture.

Smallholdings at the training schools also provided an opportunity for developing greater individual responsibility on the part of each trainee. Techniques were taught on a scale similar to that which instructors would confront in the field. The hope was that future instructors would be more confident of their suggestions and more self-reliant in their total approach.

The Department had earlier developed a number of demonstration farms throughout the Reserves which in the interest of efficiency were laid out basically on a scale considerably greater than the customary African holding. But African visitors had been known to react negatively to the large-scale approach alleging that the demonstrations could not be duplicated on their own farms.[18] Hopefully, the use of smallholdings would help to overcome that obstacle.

While Scott had room for only one smallholding, Bukura developed many sites varying from just a few acres up to fifteen acres. Over the years, the Bukura smallholdings were an experimental measurement for the acreage needed to achieve reasonable profits and still maintain soil fertility. Placing the students on the smallholdings was also another way of deemphasizing the school-subject side and thereby, hopefully, better identifying the major purpose of the

schools for potential applicants.

Within the Department considerable enthusiasm was generated for the smallholding as an important contribution to African agricultural development, although it did not provide a solution to the problem of fragmented holdings and the uncertainty of land tenure. Many agricultural and administrative officers were dubious, and rightly so, that any lasting results could be achieved until land consolidation and the definition of rights in land were clarified, a program which only got underway in the 1950's.

In times and places where resources are scarce, cases inevitably occur where two well-intentioned groups find themselves unable to agree on a common means to achieve a desirable end. The colonial period in Kenya was marked by the establishment of a great variety of missions. In the area served by Bukura, the Seventh Day Adventists (S. D. A.) were very active. Their religious belief that Saturday is the Sabbath day and therefore the day of rest causes considerable problems in a country like Kenya where the normal work week involves six days, Monday through Saturday.

Apparently, the principal of one of the S. D. A. schools was a concerned agriculturalist and on several occasions in the late 1930's, he attempted to enroll some of his graduates at Bukura. In 1939, the Principal of Bukura agreed to an experiment with the understanding that the boys could have Saturday off but would then have to work on their own time on Sunday. After only one month, however,

he was convinced that the boys were not putting in a full day's effort on Sunday. He said that the other students knew this and were upset at the way their colleagues were putting something over. He therefore gave the S. D. A. students the option of conforming to the standard rules or of being discharged. The boys chose to be discharged. A volley of acrimonious correspondence went on for the next several years, but no S. D. A. students came to Bukura, at least under special conditions.[19]

Agricultural Instructors

The Department could conceivably explain away its recruiting difficulties in the face of competition with white collar jobs or an inadequate emphasis on agriculture in the school curriculum. But the manner in which the Department treated the agricultural instructors also had an effect on potential candidates, and it bore sole responsibility for that situation.

It did not have a program to assist the students who completed the Bukura-Scott courses to locate positions. Typically, the officer in charge of either Bukura or Scott would send out a list of the potential instructors to the District Agricultural Officers. Almost invariably, the cover letter accompanying these lists would also contain a notice from Head Office that field officers could not expect any increase in their funds in order to hire additional instructors.

The Department's staffing requirements were not geared to absorb all the successful trainees from Bukura and Scott. Fortunately, positions as agricultural instructors and produce inspectors funded by Local Native Councils (L. N. C.) were available. Many of the graduates began their careers in L. N. C. positions with the hope that they would be able to transfer to Departmental vacancies as they occurred.

For other graduates, simply no jobs were available. In the early 1930's, the world-wide depression forced the Kenya Government to enter a period of severe retrenchment in its staffing policies at all levels, and the African staff in the Department of Agriculture was cut back by 25 per cent.[20] For several years, this resulted in an increased percentage of jobless graduates and was a contributing cause to the reorganization of training on smallholdings. These would prepare the students to perform either as instructors or as managers of their own farms.

Not all the agricultural instructors were graduates of Bukura and Scott. Some men were simply hired and then trained on the job. This practice caused some consternation for the Principals of the agricultural schools whose own graduates subsequently might not be hired, but it occurred during a favorable farming cycle when increased revenues permitted increased staffing.[21]

The informality of the placement procedure was one of the real weaknesses in the prewar training program. Had

the priority for agricultural development in the African areas been higher there would have been more direct relationship between the resources expended on training staff and the Department's ability to find jobs for those graduates. It is true that, right from the early days of Bukura and Scott, one school of thought held that graduates unsuccessful in obtaining jobs would at least be better farmers as a result of attending the course. A second contributing factor to the lack of a formal placement program was the Department's reliance on the Local Native Councils to pick up the slack where Government funds were not available. But neither of these arguments, valid in themselves, took into account the harmful effect on morale for the instructors and potential trainees which this apparent lack of career interest by the Department carried with it.

Another status problem stemmed directly from the instructors' job classifications. Apparently because the Government was slow in setting up the civil service classifications for Africans (and Agriculture was among the last of the Departments to have its classifications established), agricultural instructors did not qualify until the mid-1930's.

The total number of agricultural instructors at work in the Reserves was approximately 350 by 1936. Just under 100 of these men were assigned to the posts established for the Department of Agriculture.[22] The others were employed by Local Native Councils at salaries slightly less than the low-paying Government positions. Even more important

for the long-run impact on a career, the time spent on the L. N. C. payrolls could not be counted as government service in the event an L. N. C. instructor transferred to the Department's payroll.

Once these classifications were established, the terms also tended to be rather rigidly interpreted. For example, one of the agricultural instructors in the Embu area owned a shamba and a plow. His Agricultural Officer asked for clarification of the ownership of these items. He acknowledged that the instructor earned money from renting his plow but he felt that it was useful for agricultural demonstrations and that it would be a loss to the district if the instructor were required to sell it. The Senior Agricultural Officer replied, that the shamba could be kept if no government time was spent on it but the plow must be sold. It was considered as engaging in trade, and the instructor was therefore competing with private enterprise.[23]

At no time was the job of agricultural instructor ever blessed with an aura that would make it a cherished position as compared to others available to Africans. Prewar white collar jobs in Kisumu, Nakuru, Nairobi, and Mombasa may by today's standards be menial and racially degrading, but they always had the advantage of the mystique that lends itself to the big city job and the man who has been there with stories of a life far different than that experienced in the rural areas.

The agricultural instructor had no such advantage. In fact, he was the man seen everyday and, before World War II, primarily viewed by his fellow Africans as an enforcer of agricultural regulations. One of the African politicians remembers them as men with hippo whips.[24]

The conscientious instructor was liable to the occupational hazards of the law enforcement officer. One instructor, Mwikaria Njanduvi, was directed by his Agricultural Officer to make an inspection of villages, compost pits, and crops. As he made his rounds, he called on a woman to remove an ash heap near her house. The woman reportedly then asked her two daughters to help, but one refused and attacked Mwikaria with a panga, inflicting a deep wound on the left knee and another on the right leg above the ankle. The mother and daughter then joined in the attack and beat Mwikaria on the shoulder and head. The official report indicated that Mwikaria was in the hospital and would be off duty for at least twenty days.[25]

On a more positive note, the Agricultural Commission of 1929 recommended that the agricultural officers stationed in the Reserves should meet annually to discuss their mutual problems. The first such meeting was held in 1930 and proposed an annual refresher course for African instructors in each province --- the details to be worked out at the provincial level.

Bukura was the first to set up such a course in 1934. Its two weeks were spent reviewing very basic techniques,

such as crop husbandry and seed selection. Four hours each day were spent in lectures and four hours in practical work. Including six teacher trainees from Maseno Central School along with six agricultural instructors added to the innovative aspect of the first course. But innovations can also precipitate additional problems because the teachers preferred to listen to lectures in English and the instructors preferred Swahili. The Principal solved the problem by having the lectures given in Swahili and then translated into Dholuo.[26]

The refresher course was held again in 1935 with eight agricultural instructors and several teacher trainees in attendance. From the experience of these first two courses, it was obvious to the Bukura Principal that the agricultural instructors had retained little from their previous Bukura training. He suggested that performance in the refresher courses should become a criterion for promotion.[27] The agricultural officers in the field, however, rejected the suggestion. In their view, the courses were an opportunity for the instructors to update their general knowledge of agriculture without undue pressure while promotion was to be granted solely on the basis of performance in the field.[28]

These refresher courses were conducted on a once-per-year basis until after World War II when the number was considerably increased as staffing permitted. The idea of refresher courses was a significant innovation in agricultural training. As the Department's overall knowledge and

experience of Kenyan farming conditions increased, it was able to pass this knowledge along to the men in the field.

Adult Education

All the training provided by Bukura and Scott was for young people except for the refresher training, which did not get underway until the mid-1930's. For some reason, the Department had despaired of teaching adults in any formal fashion. In setting its priority for the education of youth, it referred to failure in teaching older people[29] though it is not possible to determine where or how that negative experience was obtained.

In fairness, the thin staff of agricultural officers and minimally trained agricultural instructors could not have given much attention to adult education in any formal sense. Consequently, whenever they had a new policy to present or a new crop to introduce, they attempted to concentrate these educational efforts at a public meeting known as a baraza.

The technique of instruction via barazas was used by all departments, but, although the people of an area were expected to attend whenever one was called, the technique was not a conspicuous success. Attendance was often very small even though agricultural officers would send out warnings fourteen days in advance and follow that up with another announcement two days in advance including the enticement that free seed would be distributed. On the

day of the baraza, often only a small fraction of the expected farmers would attend.

One perceptive District Commissioner highlighted some of the problems of barazas:

> It is important to have a definite programme of instruction in the field for each area. Lectures are apt to be very tiresome affairs, and to drag an old man five miles along a thirsty road to tell him to dry his hides in the shade will achieve little except an emphasis of the thirst, when the old man knows that his women require the skins for clothing, that if he sells them he gets the same middleman's flat-rate however they are dried and he's got no skins either for sale or clothing anyway. A careful study of the requirements of each area is necessary beforehand. No officer should be expected to perjure himself by diarising a certain number of lectures delivered during the month; nobody realises more than the old native the utter boredom of a repetition of counsels of perfection; probably the officer would do far better to let the old man talk; they love talking and hate listening, particularly to an old, old story; and the officer, leaving a meeting at which he has only interjected an occasional apposite remark, will probably feel that both he and they are better off for a closer understanding of one another's point of view.[30]

Education for adults was also potentially available by observation of the Department's demonstration plots. In this type of effort, however, poorly planned or operated demonstrations, can be worse than having none at all. The same astute critic of the barazas suggested that the Africans considered the demonstration plots to be useless. By contrast with their own shambas, the government spent large sums of money and produced crops that were often worse than their own.[31] Others were convinced that every time the government sought land for the plots it was just another

way of stealing more land.

An informal device to teach both young and old was that of agricultural shows. The first such show for Africans was held at Maseno (Nyanza Province) in 1924. Some 25,000 Africans were estimated to have attended, a number considered quite remarkable. While it is practically impossible to measure the educational benefit derived from these shows, they did provide a social outlet where, on a voluntary basis, progressive African farmers could demonstrate success and potential African farmers could see the possibilities for development.[32]

Another feasible area for agricultural education was the indirect teaching involved in labor of Africans on European farms. Viewpoints on the value of this training run the whole gamut from optimism to pessimism. European farmers, who needed the labor, were inclined to speak well of the training they offered. On the other hand, there was always the basic question of whether the things observed on European farms were transferable to the Reserves, particularly when the lessons may have been primarily on crops barred to African production.

It was ironic that the Europeans who farmed were the men with the loudest political clout and the absolute conviction that they were the progressive backbone of Kenya. Yet the accepted colonial generalization was that any African who farmed was automatically assigned to the most backward category and viewed as clinging to the old ways

in a manner that made it impossible to teach him.

The Department of Agriculture had neither the research base to teach the "right" methods nor the familiarity with techniques for teaching illiterates. African agricultural methods were the result of experience. Many of the European's methods of agriculture, and some of his crops, were not immediately transferable to African areas. Those poorly operated demonstration plots referred to earlier were symptomatic of the Department's needs to undertake many years of research, most of it conducted right under the skeptical eyes of the African farmers, before it could speak confidently about its suggested methods or crops.

The honest course would have been to acknowledge these deficiencies. Instead, that unsaid admission was replaced by a false sense of superiority, and was a trademark of colonial power in Africa. It was unfortunately carried over into too many of the ostensibly well-meant foreign aid projects of the 1960's.

The Department said publicly that it recognized its dual obligation to assist both European and African farmers.[33] But its top officers were stationed in Nairobi where Europeans dominated the political, social, and economic spheres of life. While travel was admittedly difficult and almost impossible in the African areas during the rainy seasons, the Head Office staff made little effort to visit the African areas. Most of these major officials were brought in from outside the Colony and their eyes and ears

were almost exclusively captured by Europeans. Consequently, they had very little first-hand knowledge of the situation in African areas other than those adjacent to Nairobi.

That is one reason why the recommendation of the 1929 Agricultural Commission for annual meetings of the European officers stationed in the Reserves took on added importance. These men knew both the problems and potentialities of the Reserves and their annual meetings forced the Head-Office staff to give consideration to their ideas. They helped bring about the refresher course for instructors, they badgered the Department constantly until they forced it to make a special request for speeding up the classification of African staff, and they plugged away, albeit unsuccessfully in this era, for permission for Africans to grow cash crops and to be allowed to own grade cattle.

Some of their concern must have influenced the Director into putting forward a proposal, which for its time was quite radical and almost twenty years ahead of its time. The Department suggested, in 1937, that a floating sum of £25,000 be provided from the Land Bank so that progressive African farmers could obtain ten-year development loans. Because of opposition by both the Land Bank and the Provincial Commissioners, the proposal unfortunately died aborning.[34]

Agriculture in Schools

Bukura and Scott produced an average of about fifty

to sixty graduates each year, most of whom pursued professional careers in agricultural service. The Department of Agriculture was convinced that it could not develop a viable training program for those Africans already farming. Yet, somehow more and more Africans would need to be trained in improved methods of agriculture.

What better program could be devised than to teach agriculture to the young people attending school in increasing numbers every year? When the Department was first beginning to take an active role in the Reserves, it was estimated that 42,000 Africans were in schools. By 1936, this figure had climbed to just over 100,000 of which almost 97 per cent were enrolled in elementary schools, slightly over 3 per cent in primary schools, and only 0.2 per cent in secondary schools.[35]

No one, of course, consulted the Africans as to whether agriculture should be taught in the schools or if so, how it should be done. The first Africans to have even a semi-official voice on the subject of education were not appointed to the Colony's Advisory Committee on African Education until 1936.[36] It has been alleged that the primary purpose for the teaching of agriculture in African schools was simply to train laborers for employment on European farms. No doubt some Europeans had such a motivation, but for those civil servants involved in the African areas, it seemed simply and overwhelmingly evident that the majority

of Africans would have to live by the soil. Development, then and now, requires a broad and prosperous agricultural base and the proper use of human resources was therefore of necessity initially focused on agriculture. It was natural that an agricultural bias would be inserted into whatever education was offered to Africans in order to stimulate the interest of young people in the land. The present African government has adopted the same premise; President Kenyatta has as one of his key policies that of "back to the land."

Even though the colonial government adopted the policy that agriculture must be a basic part of the educational system, there was some initial sparring between the Departments of Agriculture and Education as to just what should be their spheres of influence. The Education Department suggested on several occasions in the 1920's that all teaching of agriculture, including the schools at Bukura and Scott should be conducted under its auspices by agricultural officers assigned to them for those purposes.[37] Agriculture was never prepared, however, to relinquish control over the training of its own professionals.

Recommendations issued in 1927 by the Committee on Agricultural Education for Africans suggested that agriculture should be a compulsory subject in elementary schools. In secondary schools, while not compulsory, agriculture should be accorded a prominent place in the curriculum so that students would be aware of the importance attached to

it by the Government. European instructors should be in charge of agriculture during the last four years of secondary school and also for training the African teachers teaching agriculture at the lower levels.[38]

Both Departments were, however, cognizant of Education's inability to provide enough European teachers with agricultural backgrounds to make the Committee's recommendations feasible. Over the next several years, the representatives of the two Departments discussed the issues and ultimately reached agreement in a Memorandum of Understanding concluded in 1930 and officially published in 1931. While the entire document is reprinted in Appendix A, it can be summarized as establishing that agriculture as a subject within the regular schools would be the responsibility of the Department of Education while vocational agriculture would be taught by the Department of Agriculture at its training schools. The Department of Agriculture would also undertake to train teachers of agriculture for the Department of Education with finances provided by the latter. The Department of Agriculture agreed to provide advice and technical assistance where possible in the elementary and secondary schools.

Publication of the document provided an additional basis by which the officers from the two departments undertook programs of cooperation. Officers of the Department of Agriculture assisted in the development of the agricultural part of the new syllabus for primary schools drafted in 1934.[39]

The school syllabus existing prior to the Memorandum had been criticized because the literary courses and the technical components did not seem to be interconnected.[40] Both Departments accepted the premise that agriculture should not be taught as a vocational training subject, but they were still faced with a number of difficult questions. Was it necessary to develop certain skills, such as reading and writing --- and in which language, vernacular, Swahili, or English --- before agricultural training could have a lasting effect? How many hours in any week were necessary to give the curriculum an agricultural bias? How much of the rural environment surrounding practically every school could be interwoven in writing topics, science examples, and so on? Finally, since almost 97 per cent of the students were enrolled in elementary education,[41] how much sophisticated knowledge could be dispensed and what kind of practical training on school gardens could be undertaken without placing too much of a physical strain on the younger students?

The resulting syllabus, while undoubtedly clear and understandable to the experts who drafted it, was extremely complex. It covered every conceivable agricultural task from the proper size of gardens, to rotation of crops, even to experimental work. For the teacher without specialized training in agriculture, attempting to teach that syllabus must have seemed a very formidable task. The average teacher would have had to undertake reams of private research or to attend specialist courses. To expect him to do the former

without pay incentives was sheer folly and specialized courses were not developed on any scale before the War. Successful implementation of the syllabus was achieved only by random individual teachers, and, while well-intentioned, it did not produce any large-scale results.[42]

One of the real cooperative efforts revolved around attempts to upgrade teachers' qualifications in agriculture. African teachers were included in the annual agricultural instructor refresher courses held at Bukura from their very outset in 1934. Those few European teachers with English agricultural qualifications discovered that these had only limited transferability to Kenyan conditions. In what was an interesting and practical experiment to provide local agricultural knowledge in 1934, the Department of Education seconded a European teacher for four-and-one-half months of intensive instruction in agriculture under the Principal of Bukura.

The teacher received basic instruction in crop and animal husbandry by means of practical observation on the farm, on safaris in the district, and through considerable discourse with the principal. The two men seem to have gotten along very well and when the Principal reported enthusiastically on the progress of his pupil to the Department of Education, the latter agreed to an additional three months training. There was a definite sense of academic rigor to the program. The student was required to take six examinations; three on agriculture, two on botany,

and one general examination as a final.

After the final examination, the Principal reported that his pupil was certainly now qualified to teach elementary agriculture, both practical and theoretical.[43] The Director of Education responded that he considered the project such a success that he would repeat it as soon as he found another suitable officer.[44] Unfortunately, he apparently never did, since the project was not repeated.

The Director of Education was a frequent guest at the annual staff meetings of the European agricultural officers stationed in the Reserves. As an outgrowth of these meetings, agricultural staff were invited to assist in inspection of the school gardens, it was agreed that school gardens would closely follow agricultural policy for their area, and a program of cooperation between the Local Native Council seed farms and schools was established.[45]

Establishing a policy for cooperation between Departments can, of course, lead to some unanticipated antagonisms. A headmaster may ask for an agricultural instructor to assist with classroom teaching of agriculture because none of his teachers is qualified. The instructor's superior may decline because if he agrees to one such request, he will be unable to meet all the demands and still keep his agricultural instructors on other projects. Or, as often happened with the frequent change of officers, the advice of one man may not be that of the next. For example, one

headmaster complained that he was advised by the previous agricultural officer to plant soya beans in the school garden for sale to the Nairobi market and now this particular officer tells him that's silly.[46]

On the other hand, the agricultural officer may be asked to make a study which is then ignored. One such example resulted at the Government African School at Kapsebet. That school was located in Nandi country, a group that was primarily pastoral, and the study report suggested that animal husbandry should be the primary emphasis, particularly since the Veterinary Department maintained a station nearby at Baraton. Yet, several years later, the school was criticized in an inspection report by the Department of Education for its almost exclusive concentration on maize.[47]

The national policy of cooperation had many local variants. The Senior Officers for Education and Agriculture in Nyanza Province reached an agreement that the class schedule was to be set aside during periods of the year when maximum time on the land was needed. In return, the Department of Agriculture instructed its agricultural officers to draw up a scheme of planting for school gardens and to place written instructions in the school log books. Agricultural instructors were directed to visit schools at least once each month.

But carrying out the cooperative plans was a difficult proposition. The traditional school holidays often came

during the best planting and harvesting seasons. Many schools did not have funds for the proper tools. The land assigned to the school garden was frequently of such uncertain tenure that any long range planning for its use was difficult. Agricultural officers objected to scheduling the school garden work for the last period of the day because the children were too tired, but education officers felt that scheduling during earlier periods left the children too tired for their academic subjects.[48] Under those circumstances, the following charges and counter-charges were certainly not unexpected. "I feel that the largest stumbling block is lack of desire amongst the teachers." and the reply suggesting that "....I think the present unsatisfactory condition is largely due to the lack of encouragement and advice from your Department," (Agriculture) particularly since the charge continued, most schools were never visited by a representative of the Department of Agriculture.[49]

Obtaining land for school gardens was another problem because sites were, after all, carved out of the already scarce land in the African reserves. It was not so difficult to get land required for school buildings, but when acres of land were requested for school gardens, suspicions ran high. When land for school gardens was finally conceded, it was often the land considered least suitable for farming which was why the Africans were ultimately persuaded to

relinquish it to the school.[50]

Government officials often differed on the amount of land needed to operate a proper school garden. Should the plots be simply large enough to demonstrate the best methods for existing crops and the potential for some new crops? Should they be large scale seed farms which provided not only training for students but a seed facility for area farmers? Should they be operated at a profit? This debate has never really been resolved.

It must also be borne in mind that of the 1,504 schools in operation in 1936, 1,453 were operated by the missions.[51] Their main purpose in establishing schools was to assist evangelization. While agriculture could conceivably have served their interests by keeping their converts close to home rather than have them wander off to the cities, they really had all they could do to teach the four "r's", reading, writing, arithmetic and religion.

The Department of Education did establish two schools which had a unique agricultural emphasis and which were quite successful in their agricultural programs. At Kagumo School in Central Province, the program was set up to blend literary and vocational education. The three years of schooling at Kagumo were for Standards IV, V, and VI and it was "the" Government school for those standards in Central Province.

The school was divided into A and B streams. Those in Group A were identified as students most likely to pass

the exams for secondary school or clerical careers. But even this group spent at least seven hours each week on the school farm or workshop. The Group B students were identified as those likely to be eligible for Scott, the National Industrial Training Depot at Kabete or as potential successful farmers in their own right. They were given a good literary education but spent three full mornings on the farm and workshop.[52]

The best known example of a successful agricultural education program in the prewar era, and deservedly so, was the school at Kapenguria among the Suk. The Principal of the school from its founding in 1931 until 1944 was Mr. G. K. Chaundy. He was, in fact, the first European officer posted to that area and, when he arrived, he found the Suk stricken with famine, suffering from prolonged drought, and devastated by several recent locust plagues. The principal crop of the Suk was eleusine which they planted along the hillsides, a practice which resulted in fairly widespread erosion.

Chaundy found the Suk very skeptical about the usefulness of a school. He spent his initial efforts in traversing the entire district, making himself known to the people and learning the language. When he began the school, his immediate emphasis was on agriculture, introducing Irish potatoes as a new crop for the school garden. So successful was this crop, particularly spectacular amidst the famine, that many people asked to send their sons to

the school.

Chaundy did not restrict his education efforts to the school garden. He found one chief who was willing to let out a small plot of land which Chaundy developed as a demonstration seed farm under the direction of an African agricultural instructor. The seed farm was a success and other chiefs were persuaded to give land for similar plots. Chaundy placed some of his successful students in charge of these plots. So successful was the total program that by 1940, erosion was checked and sufficient new crops introduced so that famine seemed an unlikely possibility.[53]

There are several articles which cover the story of Kapenguria in greater detail but the question for our purposes is, could Kapenguria have been mass produced in prewar Kenya? Probably not. Chaundy was an unusually well-qualified agricultural educationist, a very rare combination in those days. He was allowed an unusually long tenure at his post in Kapenguria, something that didn't seem possible in most other areas. He arrived at a time when nothing but improvement was possible, and he came into an area relatively untouched by previous European officials so that there were no memories of bright ideas gone astray. This takes nothing away from the success of Chaundy's innovation; it merely indicates that he had a psychologically favorable latitude not available to many other officers. He also received from the Department of Agriculture, an African agricultural instructor who was not only apparently

well-qualified but who took pains to learn the Suk language. It is most unfortunate that this unidentified individual has not received some public credit for his efforts.

A number of weaknesses are apparent in the prewar program of agriculture in schools. Although fairly generous allotments of time were given to agriculture in the syllabus, there was little anyone could do to enforce that provision. School children and their parents were in many cases simply not in favor of teaching agriculture in the schools. Not entirely without reason, the parents saw this as a way to keep their children in a position of subservience. As a generalization, the quality of agricultural teaching was very poor. Little effort was expended during teacher training on the teaching of agriculture as a specialty. Not until the late 1930's, was there even a semblance of a textbook relevant to East African agriculture. Children often would up cultivating the school garden for the personal use of the headmaster, or they were assigned to garden tasks as a form of punishment. Funds generated from successful gardens often disappeared into the general account with little attempt to plow the money back into the land. It was frequently alleged that no tools were available for use by the students. Agricultural instructors and teachers were often guilty of setting bad examples with their own farms.[54]

As an unfortunate climax to this situation, under the pressure of war, schools were directed to concentrate on

the production of food crops in order to reduce boarding costs, to cultivate as much land as possible for the total food effort, and to cease experimentation except where it served an essential purpose.[55] The schools, like the whole countryside, resorted to practices designed to get as much out of the land as possible for the war effort; practices which were educationally despicable and were very harmful to the land.

Jeanes School[56]

One agricultural effort under the direction of the Department of Education was so unique that it deserves to be treated as a separate topic. In the years before World War II, it was a practical impossibility for the various mission stations to provide educational facilities for all would-be students within the immediate proximity. To extend their reach, missions often established several out-schools, or bush schools. Students attended the bush schools for the first three years of elementary education and the best students then went on to the school at the main station. The teachers available had no professional training and were most often former students who had completed no more than the standard to which they were assigned to teach. Supervision from the main station was very weak, since the staff there was usually fully occupied with teaching and the after-hour responsibilities of a boarding school situation.

In the American South a situation quite similar existed

for Negro students and through the philanthropy of a Miss Jeanes, a system of peripatetic teachers was developed to provide new ideas and increased supervision.[57] This Jeanes system was well-known to the members of the Second Phelps-Stokes Commission (1923-24), and they recommended that a school be established in Kenya for the training of visiting teachers.[58]

Their recommendation was accepted by the Kenya Government and development funds for an initial five-year period were provided by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. The Jeanes School was established in 1925 at Kabete, just outside of Nairobi. The operation of the school was placed in the hands of a specially recruited staff which retained considerable autonomy for its ideas and methods of operation though it operated under the aegis of the Department of Education.

Candidates for the course were normally men already teaching in the bush schools. Approximately twenty-five trainees were accepted each year. These men were usually at least twenty years of age and many of them were married and attended the course with their families. This concern to include wives in the training program so that both could act as examples in the community was unique to the Jeanes program.

The course was two years in length. During that time, Jeanes teachers were instructed in methods for studying their own communities in order to select the best potential

community development projects. The training program paid particular attention to the development of teaching skills but also included lessons in medicine, agriculture, and handicrafts.

When the training was completed the Jeanes teacher was assigned to visit a number of the bush schools. He was instructed to spend at least several days at each school suggesting new teaching methods and new subject matter to the teachers, introducing extra-curricular activities, and advising on ways to use the school buildings for community education activities involving the local adults. Finally, he was to make certain that the teachers and village officials developed the habit of contacting the specialized government officials, such as the agricultural instructor, for assistance.

The system of Jeanes teachers possessed, at least in theory, considerable potential for agricultural education, because their training program involved a concentration on agriculture. Advocates of the system suggested that the ideal graduate would be exemplary of all that was good in the old English squire-landlord. The successful Jeanes teacher would introduce the newest scientific agricultural methods on his own garden and he would persuade his friends and neighbors to do the same.

It was not expected that the Jeanes graduate would become a fully qualified teacher of agriculture in the bush schools, nor that he would attempt to duplicate the

specialist skills of an agricultural instructor. He was taught how to do the best possible farming for the food crops of his own district. Then, through the example of his own garden and his leadership in the village community, he would lend support to the instruction and advice of the administrative and agricultural officers. In return, these officers were requested to give the Jeanes teachers assistance by providing them with issues of seeds, notifying them of barazas and demonstrations, and in general, encouraging them and giving recognition to them as leaders of better agricultural practices in the Reserves.[59]

In the part of their training program devoted to agriculture, Jeanes teachers were given background knowledge in areas such as basic food crops, markets and marketing, preventative innoculation, breeding, seed-selection, crop rotation, and the use of new implements. Dairy and poultry work were undertaken in the second year of the course.

On the site of the school, a six and one-half acre smallholding was developed to show how a family could feed itself and pay for clothes and school fees from a farm of that size. The smallholding was intended to be the heart of the agricultural effort and that emphasis tied in very well with the Department of Agriculture's interest along the same lines. One astute visitor, however, observed that the smallholding was placed on perfectly flat ground. Since so much of the agricultural land in the Reserves was on sloping ground, this gentleman suggested that if the

teachers later used all the methods they saw demonstrated on flat ground, they would be in for trouble on their own shambas.[60]

The early Jeanes trainees had not anticipated the manual labor requirements of their future role as agricultural leaders, nor were they aware of the grand design for rural development which at least some of their most idealistic teachers visualized as the role of Jeanes teachers. Like their counterparts at Bukura and Scott, school to them meant desks, readers, and blackboards. To ask them to study food crops, to better public health by locating mosquito breeding grounds, and to preserve their culture by learning folklore, songs, and games was not the cup of tea they had come to understand by the term education.

Over the long pull, however, the staff seems to have been quite successful in generating an esprit de corps which included some sense of the value of agriculture for African development. While recruiting was never easy and, like the Agricultural Training Schools, was said to be detrimentally affected by the desire for clerical careers, those who came to Jeanes generally left imbued with a spirit of community development.

A number of interesting innovations, new at least for Kenya, were undertaken by the Jeanes staff. One of the most important was the truly impressive number of ways in which they sought to keep in contact with their graduates. A Swahili language paper was published each quarter. An

English summary of the same paper was prepared for Inspectors of Schools, District Commissioners, and others with similar responsibilities. Staff members toured every part of the country at least once a year, spending as much time as possible with individual teachers but at a minimum, holding a district meeting for all the teachers in the area. Each year at Kabete, a three-week intensive refresher course was conducted during one of the months when the regular school system was closed for a holiday.[61] Jeanes staff gained valuable insights from these annual visits which they were in turn able to put into the next training session. In this program of follow-up contact, the Jeanes program was unique and well in advance of anything the Department of Agriculture conducted for its agricultural instructors.

A short-lived innovation was an attempt at direct cooperation with the Department of Agriculture. In 1934, the Jeanes staff conducted a one-year course for eleven experienced agricultural instructors with special emphasis on the principles of cooperative marketing and teaching skills. At the conclusion of the course, the Department of Agriculture officially expressed its appreciating including among its compliments remarks to the effect that the course had resulted in improvement of the instructors' ability to convey information, improvement in their ability to keep to the subject under discussion, better understanding of cooperative principles and improved assimilation of techniques of produce grading. Every indication was given

that future courses would be welcomed.[62] But within two months, the Department changed its attitude and took the position that little of real value had been achieved. No further courses were conducted.[63]

This negative attitude assumed by Agriculture defeated the dreams of the Director of Education that the cooperation evinced in inaugurating the course foretold an era of cooperation for agriculture, medicine, and education through the auspices of the Jeanes teacher. But the attempt to provide departmental staff with a broad picture of the techniques and programs needed for comprehensive development in the African areas was a forerunner of the successful multi-department program conducted at Siriba College in the postwar era.

Cancelation of the course did not terminate cooperative efforts in the field. As the result of a suggestion received from an agricultural officer, a policy was established that all Jeanes teachers were to make regular visits to agricultural seed farms to acquaint themselves with the local agricultural policy. Another cooperative effort was the field day, held in some districts as often as once a quarter. During the field day, agricultural officers brought Jeanes teachers up-to-date on local policy, and emphasized some topic pertinent to the season such as seed selection or weeding. After the mid-1930's, the quarterly newsletter published by the Jeanes School always contained a short article by the Director of Agriculture stressing some soil

conservation technique such as contour planting, anti-erosion measures, compost pits, and the planting of Napier grass.[64]

In the early 1930's, the work of the Jeanes teachers in such areas as housing, sanitation, handwork and gardening, were favorably reported by administrative officers throughout Kenya. Among the most successful gardening activities were distribution of seeds, promotion of compost pits, and encouragement of students to start gardens at home. The school received considerable international publicity and schools were established in other parts of Africa on the Kenya pattern. The pioneering aspect of the School affected both staff and students and this crusading spirit was favorably commented upon in the early years.

As the decade of the 1930's came to a close, however, enthusiasm for the Jeanes effort began to wane. Instead of the usual laudatory remarks, administrative reports began to contain comments to the effect that Jeanes teachers were only useful in backward areas where the Government had not developed any African departmental field staff such as health workers and agricultural instructors. In the more developed areas, the Jeanes teacher was in the way and at least one officer accused them of being mainly anti-government agitators. The Inspector of Schools for the Department of Education was lukewarm about the value of Jeanes teachers but hesitant at the practical difficulties of trying to phase them out.[65]

The Principal of Jeanes knew that there were shortcomings. In the self-evaluation which was refreshingly typical of the entire Jeanes operation, he suggested that the weaknesses were teachers reverting to old methods, bush schools at which no progress could be reported year after year, and agricultural and hygenic stagnation in the teachers' own villages.[66]

Adequate supervision was a continual problem in the program. Despite the worthy effort of the follow-up program, the Jeanes system suffered badly from any program of systematic weekly or monthly supervision in the field. The question of deciding who were the proper supervisors for the Jeanes teachers presented serious difficulties. Most of the teachers were sent to Jeanes by their missions and therefore reported to the missions on their return. But they needed assistance in agriculture and health to fully perform their duties, and the question of whether officials from other departments could deal directly with them or only through their mission supervisors was never fully resolved.[67] Moreover, the bush school teachers to whom the Jeanes teachers were supposed to offer advice had none of the composite training of the Jeanes program. As limited as the education of these teachers was, it was in the literary educational pattern offered by most missions. These would-be colleagues as well as village officials with a smattering of literary education were simply not in tune with the efforts of Jeanes teachers.

In the face of all these difficulties, the reaction of the Department of Education to the take-over of the facilities at Jeanes by the military at the start of World War II is not surprising.

> It has become increasingly clear in recent years that Jeanes Teachers are being replaced by specialist workers trained in the different Departments engaged in Native Welfare, and it has, therefore, been decided to discontinue the training of Jeanes Teachers at the end of the year.[68]

Administrative Officers and Agricultural Education

This third stream of agricultural education is the most difficult to document because agricultural activity for administrative officers was an ad hoc operation usually performed out of personal interest or an observed need of the people they were serving. For example, one can reminisce with a retired administrative officer who can recall being the first to introduce potatoes in one area and staging the first agricultural show in another area.[69]

The assignment of agricultural officers to the Reserves in 1922, made it necessary for the Commissioner of Native Affairs and the Director of Agriculture to delineate the "chain of command" between the administrative officers and the agricultural officers. Moreover, since only seventeen European agricultural officers were stationed in the Reserves by the late 1930's, there were some African areas which were not even visited by agricultural officers before the Second World War and others which received visits only

infrequently. Some agricultural programs for these areas were originated by administrative officers.

The method adopted placed Agricultural Officers under the operating control of the District Commissioners (D. C.), although the A. O.'s advice on agricultural matters was paramount. For example, Agricultural Officers conferred with D. C.'s regarding plans for agricultural development, and discussed their proposed safaris with D. C.'s. They made their monthly reports, however, directly to the Director of Agriculture, including points of agreement and disagreement with their D. C.'s, with a copy sent to the D. C.'s. The D. C. authorized action on any agricultural matter in special circumstances, but he reported doing so to the Director of Agriculture. The D. C. was permitted to communicate directly with the Director of Agriculture on the understanding that copies were sent to the Agricultural Officer in his area.

On the other hand, the African agricultural instructors received instructions only from their Agricultural Officers. If the D. C. was disatisfied with the performance of any instructor, he reported that fact to the appropriate Agricultural Officer.[70]

The need for administrative officers to assist agriculturally reached its "on-paper" high-water mark with the scheduling of a two-week agricultural course for administrative officers taught by staff from the Department of Agriculture.[71] The course was endorsed by the Governor's

Office but no records were located confirming the actual staging of the course or its outcome. The proposal never surfaced again and one can only surmise that despite good intentions, each department found its personnel just too busy and too thin to cross departmental lines for additional training.

The more important question was the degree of cooperation achieved in the field. The overall impression is that officers in a given district, regardless of their departmental attachments, and allowing for normal personality conflicts, got on quite well, even to the point of supporting each other with their respective department heads in Nairobi. One can, for example, find the record of an agricultural officer whose mules had died in a disease-prone area and who was requesting permission from his department to charge the cost of gasoline for the car he felt it necessary to purchase to make his rounds. His colleague on the administrative side was so concerned that he asked his Provincial Commissioner to intervene on behalf of the Agricultural Officer because he feared the Department of Agriculture would just sit on the request.[72]

Some of this cordiality in the field appears to have been treated with suspicion in Nairobi. On at least one occasion, the Director of Agriculture reminded his three provincial Senior Agricultural Officers that their task was to execute policy. They were not to give in to pressure from their Provincial Commissioners to formulate agricultural

policy.

The Director recognized that different applications of the overall policy were essential because of geography. Senior Agricultural Officers were free to advise at the provincial level when Head Office had already accepted differential policies, but any new suggestions were to be discussed first with Head Office before they were shared with administrative colleagues.[73]

A policy position such as that need not have stifled cooperative projects at provincial and district levels and under normal circumstances probably would have been effectively ignored. Unfortunately, most of the cooperative potential among officers of the various departments, agriculture, medical, education, and administrative were badly ham-strung by the inter-war situation in which all European officers were subject to fairly frequent transfers. First, this tended to stifle their enthusiasm for learning the vernacular languages which would have been most useful for a greater understanding between them and the Africans. It also made it difficult to carry out any long range cooperative scheme because one could never be certain that a new man would share the earlier enthusiasm for the project.

Chapter Three

The War Years, 1939-1945

The outbreak of World War II had immediate repercussions for Kenya because of the presence of the Italian enemy in Ethiopia. Many of the European agricultural officers were immediately called to active duty and increasingly large numbers of Africans were drawn into the military service as the war progressed.

Agricultural education was, of necessity, a low-priority item and activity in this area may best be characterized as a holding operation. It should be noted, however, that many of the projects for the postwar period grew out of planning sessions conducted during the War.

Agricultural Training Schools

By 1940, the system of training at Bukura had been developed almost exclusively along the lines of mixed farming on smallholdings. During the two year course, certain second-year students were selected to take charge of a smallholding which they then farmed with the assistance of two or three junior trainees. As an incentive, the senior in charge was allowed to keep any profits generated from the smallholding. The average holding was about six and one-half acres, though an attempt was made to have a variety of sizes in keeping with the varying sizes of holdings in the African areas in western Kenya.

The primary purpose of these smallholdings was to provide media for teaching agricultural instructors. Hopefully, the holdings were also representative of African farming conditions and thereby useful as experiments on the appropriate mixture of stock and crops of varying acreages. It was recognized, however, that the number of students assigned to these plots represented a similarity only to a monogamous family with no children of marriage age, which for its time was an uncommon condition in the area surrounding Bukura.[1]

Since the change to a two-year course in 1938, the trainees were not to be under eighteen years of age, and a renewed effort was made to require a passing certificate on the Kenya African Primary Exam (K. A. P. E.). With the manpower demands of the War, however, it would have been impossible to operate the school if these rules had been rigidly enforced. Instead, the Principal concentrated on selecting young men who were motivated toward agricultural careers, regardless of their qualifications.

Interestingly enough, within a few years of operating under these relaxed standards, he felt that he was accomplishing more in the two-year course than had been accomplished in the three-year program when the qualifications of the trainees were not very different.[2] Some of this increased success is probably attributed to the use of the smallholding system. Another contributing factor was improved esprit de corps among the students which reflected

itself in participation in extra-curricular activities such as sports and Boy Scouts and in the formation of an alumni, or Old Boys, association. Bukura also had the good fortune of having the same man, Malcolm Graham, as Principal from the mid-1930's to 1944. He was vitally interested in the educational process and in developing techniques for motivating students.

The Principal of an agricultural training school was forced to be a man of many parts. Using Bukura as an example, about 1943, the Principal was also the District Agricultural Officer for the 300 square mile area around the learning site. This task took him away from Bukura for at least ten working days each month. It was expected that the Bukura farm, a large-scale farm which was maintained in addition to the trainee smallholdings, would carry on the investigational and experimental work for that district as well as serving as a demonstration farm for the surrounding area. Fifty-eight students were under instruction in 1943, assigned in groups of four to the smallholdings then in operation. The Principal devoted what limited time remained to the instruction of these students.[3]

The agricultural training school at Scott Laboratories in Kabete was located at the southeastern edge of the Kikuyu Reserve. Because its location there was so remote from the main Kikuyu farming areas, its total size too limited, and its main emphasis so heavily devoted to coffee research, the Department entertained plans to move it

beginning as early as the late 1920's. The original plan envisioned a new school at Embu ninety miles north of Nairobi, but development funds in the form of a Colonial Loan were not approved prior to World War II.

Late in 1939, the Department decided to close the training school at Scott and to train instructors at six seed farms financed by Local Native Councils at Fort Hall, Nyeri, Meru, Machakos, Kitui, and Embu. The principal justification for this decision was that, whereas Scott was devoted almost entirely to coffee research, the L. N. C. farms were capable of demonstrating mixed farming techniques on smallholdings, seed production and selection, and soil conservation techniques. The Department of Education supported the proposal on the grounds that pupils had been reluctant to attend Scott because so much of the work there was devoted to coffee. The grand total of £500 was alloted for the development of all six new training sites. While it was hoped that the desks and beds from Scott could be distributed, it was acknowledged that funds were sufficient to provide only for the building of rough huts for student housing.[4]

In the Department's instructions to the responsible Agricultural Officers, they were told to plan only three or four lectures a month, leaving the bulk of the training in charge of an agricultural instructor. As quickly as circumstances permitted, they were to adopt the Bukura system of training the students primarily on smallholdings.

Under no circumstances were they to let the management of the schools interfere with their more important experimental and extension work.

> It is fully realised that the training to be given on seed farms cannot be of a high academic character. This is neither expected or desired. The training, in the main, should be of a practical nature with sufficient book work to enable the apprentice to keep accurate records and make accurate measurements. The type of boy required for training is one with character, who is not afraid of hard work and who is about 18 years old. He should be able to impart his knowledge readily and forcibly to others.[5]

Agricultural Officers were given just two months to arrange for the opening of the new schools, by January, 1940. Not surprisingly, after one school was in operation for only three weeks the Agricultural Officer was presented with a grievance letter citing poor quality of food preparation, no board and bucket for washing clothes, no week-ends out, and soap very inferior to that formerly issued at Scott.[6]

Although the evidence is skimpy, it does appear that at best, these seed farm schools were a minimum educational effort to train agricultural instructors. In fairness to the officers in the field, one can glean from their correspondence on matters such as exchanging student tests for grading purposes that they made an effort to keep up some kind of standard.[7] But under the pressure of wartime food production quotas, the educational activities of the Department were low priority items as the following example of the situation at Embu will suggest.

Although Bukura and Scott had with great relief ceased to teach school subjects as preparation for the primary examination, the recruiting difficulties of wartime must have forced the seed farm schools to return to that practice. In 1943, the Inspector of Schools in Central Province visited Embu in order to certify its suitability as one of those schools preparing students for the primary examination. His report charged that the teacher in charge of the school, and its only teacher, was totally unsatisfactory. Absolutely no class records were kept and the pupils' work books showed no evidence of his perusal even though they were filled with mistakes.[8]

Within a month of the Inspector's visit, the apprentices wrote to their Agricultural Officer stating that those who were about to complete their three-year course had not been taught how to write their reports, how to prune fruit, nor had they learned much of anything about plant pests, farm accounts, tobacco, black wattle, coffee, cotton, and so on. In all their time at the school they had had no textbook on agriculture and now were about to graduate without any real knowledge of their expected work as instructors.[9]

Although no recorded action followed their complaint, the teacher charged as incompetent by the Inspector resigned within a few months. At the time of the teacher's resignation, the Agricultural Officer at Embu wrote a comprehensive report on the situation, in which he suggested that a successful agricultural school needed a well-run farm, a

full-time resident agricultural officer, and an excellent African teacher. None of these conditions were met at Embu and more harm than good was being done. The existing school was developing such a bad name that when the proposed new one was eventually constructed, it might not be able to overcome the bad reputation.[10]

He recommended that the students be sent home for later recall, or sent to another school, or simply employed in the field until such time as the new school was opened. But the school limped on, and two years later the Acting Senior Agricultural Officer reported to Head Office that Embu still had no teacher, and that Fort Hall was operating with a most unsatisfactory teacher. He recommended that all the schools be closed and that work be undertaken immediately to build some decent facilities at Embu. He suggested that only Embu reopen when its facilities were ready, using the African teacher from Machakos. This suggestion was ultimately adopted by the Department.[11]

Written evidence for the attitudes of agricultural instructors toward their training and their jobs is very difficult to find. Fortunately, the Old Boys Club at Bukura, organized in 1939, provided at least two occasions for correspondence with officers of the Department of Agriculture which give us some insights into the situation.

When the Club was established, the annual refresher course for agricultural instructors was placed on a voluntary attendance basis and the dates set up to follow immediately after the meeting of the Club. Little is recorded about

the tenor of those "alumni" meetings until 1945. Early in that year, the Chairman of the Old Boys Club wrote a lengthy letter to his Agricultural Officer concerning the conditions and training of agricultural instructors.

> When we ask for a proper scale of salaries, we are informed indirectly that "we are not eligible or that our course does not standize [sic] us for this or that scale." And yet, Bukura Training School is 20 years old. The Native Agricultural Course sprang up in the province somewhere in 1918 at Kibos in Central Kavirondo under the management of a certain settler, the centre from which it was transferred to Bukura in 1924. Therefore the Agricultural training as a whole is 27 years of age. As a rule, a person 27 years old is adult, and when a person is adult it is assumed that every part of him is adult; if not, there must be something going wrong or not quite right, or some lack of nourishment. And so it is with Bukura Training. The Bukura Course has not yet been clarified. Although considerable modification in the course has occurred, we believe that the quality of Bukura products is now lower than formerly. The truth is that Apprentices at Bukura do not now know where they stand and Bukura itself appears to be at a standstill.[12]

The critical tone of his letter continued with charges that substandard boys were still being accepted, then trained as smallholders, and some eventually hired as instructors. Three categories for training were suggested; top boys for instructors, volunteers for smallholding training, and old men for new methods courses. All the courses should be strictly graded so that any certificates issued would mean something.

The writer added that all instructor trainees should be guaranteed jobs if they passed the strict exams because

many instructors were needed in the field. The terms of service should also be made equal with other departments. The Chairman referred to a former classmate of his at primary school who did not obtain a passing certificate but who thereafter joined another government department and was drawing twice the salary the Chairman was drawing as an agricultural instructor.

Interestingly enough, the Agricultural Officer for North Kavirondo District supported the truth of these contentions.[13] From the record of previous staff meetings, it seemed that there was generally widespread understanding on the part of the European officers serving in Nyanza that these categories of complaint on the part of their instructors were valid and Head Office had been encouraged on numerous occasions to do something about it.

Still, in every bureaucracy, there are points in the line of hierarchy, at which officers undertake to defend the status quo rather than pass on the complaint to a higher official. In this case, the Senior Agricultural Officer for Nyanza decided to reply. Since the setting for the complaints had arisen out of an Old Boys Club meeting, the S. A. O. directed the Chairman to see to it that members gained the maximum benefit from such meetings by sticking to the proper topic, which was agriculture, and noted that items such as terms of service, while of interest, were certainly secondary to the main purpose. He charged that:

> Unfortunately it is only too apparent that many Agricultural instructors have been attracted

> to the Department by the lure of Government scales of salary rather than by any particular love of the land. If we are to obtain an efficient African staff—everything must be done to change this.....You as Chairman of the B. O. B. C. are in a position to instil in our Instructors' minds the right attitude of thought and I request you to endeavour at all times to do this.[14]

But the all-inclusive statement of the Chairman suggests the deep sense of frustration felt by the agricultural instructors. Once they graduated from Bukura they were stationed in remote areas, often for many years on the non-official payroll of the Local Native Councils. They were expected to present the Department's policy, but in return they had practically no opportunity to advance themselves other than a few extra shillings a month after many years of service.

The friction generated by this difference of opinion was an important prelude to the next conflict which developed at the annual Old Boys meeting in December, 1945. The Old Boys met for their reunion at Bukura on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of December. The refresher course was scheduled to begin on the 17th but the Principal new to the post that year, closed the course immediately when he discovered that the instructors had not brought their own maize meal as directed, and had refused to buy it locally. He alleged that the food boycott was engineered by the group prior to their arrival at Bukura.[15]

In response, the Chairman of the Old Boys Club accused the Principal of being totally unprepared for the course,

that he was ill-tempered and refused to discuss the matter with any of the delegations they sent to see him.[16] After some time, the Senior Agricultural Officer ruled that he was convinced of advance collusion on the part of the Old Boys. He held the Chairman of the Old Boys Club accountable and ruled that until responsibility could be demonstrated, no further meetings of the Club would be permitted.[17] No meetings were held or refresher courses conducted in 1946. The refresher courses were restarted in 1947, and then with only a maximum of ten instructors all from the same district. The Old Boys Club was never revived.

Agriculture in the Schools

The prewar shortage of staff qualified to teach agriculture in the schools was intensified by the wartime manpower demands. During the inter-war period there had also been a continual decline in the age at which African children began elementary school so that it was approaching the ages common to Western countries. For children of this age group, it seemed educationally inappropriate to stress the theories of science.

Accordingly, in late 1940, the Departments of Agriculture and Education reached agreement on a new policy for agricultural education in the elementary schools. Nature study was adopted as the subject to provide the foundation for science study, including agriculture, to be taken up at a later age. The teaching of practical agriculture on

school gardens was recognized as extremely difficult in view of the lack of staff and youth of the pupils. Schools were encouraged to undertake school gardening in those locations where an officer of the Department of Agriculture could be made available for assistance. School gardening would be carried on only where a good example could be set for the surrounding area.[18] The rather vague and noncompulsory nature of these curriculum stipulations was not philosophically acceptable to the Department of Agriculture but it was recognized that this was probably the maximum possible under the wartime conditions.

In anticipation of the postwar needs, the Colonial Office in 1942 circularized all the colonies on the subject of agricultural education officers. The dispatch suggested that since the prewar demand for officers with this training had been on the increase, a large demand for agricultural education officers could be expected by the end of the War. Each colony was asked to report the ways in which it imparted a rural bias to its education and its assessment of the number of agricultural education officers it would require.[19]

Kenya responded that the proposal was warmly welcomed by the Departments of Education and Agriculture and by the Governor. Three posts within the Department of Education were suggested; a senior officer in Nairobi and two itinerant officers, one to cover Central and Coast Provinces, and the other to cover Rift Valley and Nyanza Provinces. G. K. Chaundy, the very successful officer at Kapenguria school, was recommended

for the post of Senior Agricultural Education Officer.[20] The recommendation to appoint Chaundy was accepted, and he began his new duties on January 1, 1944.

Since many problems of coordination had existed between the Departments of Education and Agriculture for the previous two decades, it is not surprising that much of Chaundy's initial efforts were expended in defining the working relationships. He suggested that his primary function was to develop and maintain the agricultural work in all government and mission schools. Accomplishing that task required visits to each of the areas concerned and the cooperation of other Departments in outlining policies. Copies of all reports would be shared with the Agriculture and Veterinary Departments and no reports which dealt with interdepartmental policy questions would be issued without prior consultation. When agreement on policy was reached, reports would then be issued by the Director of Education with copies to other Departments.[21] Because this first statement did not stress the role of administrative officers in formulating policy at either the district or provincial levels, an addendum was later added to make the policy understanding much more responsive to the potential for cooperative effort by all departments.[22]

The Director of Agriculture provided initial support by writing to his three Senior Agricultural Officers in Central, Coast, and Nyanza Provinces to call particular attention to the new post. The Director asked that they

give Chaundy all possible assistance, particularly in suggesting to him the needs of agricultural education in their respective districts and apprising him of the agricultural policy for their areas.[23]

While the post of Senior Agricultural Education Officer was established in response to the Colonial Office initiative, a number of committees within Kenya were studying plans for postwar development --- many of which included ideas on the subject of agricultural education. At the national level, the Committee on Postwar Employment of Africans recognized that the trend toward seeking urban employment would undoubtedly continue. It suggested that Government therefore had the responsibility to do everything possible to make farming for Africans a profitable exercise.

> We are therefore of the opinion that the Government is not justified in expediency or equity in preventing or dissuading, call it what you will, the African from growing any crop which experience has proved can be grown with profit and with small initial outlay of capital. On the contrary, we strongly recommend that he be encouraged and assisted to grow crops which normally assure a good cash return.[24]

The alleged problem of disease control could be regulated, the Committee asserted, particularly if the Government provided an agricultural school in each of the larger provinces.

At the district level, there were a variety of reactions. The agricultural development plan for Kericho District covered over ten pages of detailed suggestions, but not one word of

it was devoted to a need for agricultural education in that district.[25] On the other hand, in Central Kavirondo District, the Committee on Postwar Development stressed that agricultural training had not previously been popular because agriculture was not viewed as a money-making career. The Committee suggested that every Primary School after the War should have an agricultural specialist on its staff and that agriculture should be a compulsory examination subject.[26]

At one of the meetings of this Committee, the Venerable Archdeacon Owen, for many years the Chairman of the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association, was reported to have said that it was unnecessary to have a provincial agricultural school because the Africans educated there would not utilize that education for the betterment of agriculture in their own areas.[27] Whether or not he made such a statement, the circulation of the story that he did brought forth an interesting reply from one of the silent majority of Africans. Again this statement is of particular interest because there are so few recorded sentiments of Africans regarding agricultural education.

The Archdeacon's remarks were challenged on the grounds that the educated African was indeed very interested in the land but since he had had no capital, he previously had first sought wage employment to earn the capital. Educated Africans recognized that the postwar rehabilitation of the land in Nyanza was absolutely essential and that an agricultural school was an important component of that plan.

Properly trained African assistants were essential to teach soil conservation. The population was increasing at the same time that the land was deteriorating and agricultural education to preserve soil fertility was a must. Consumer demands were also increasing and the majority of the people could only satisfy these demands through improved agriculture. Since the people of Nyanza were both pastoral and agricultural, the combined veterinary-agricultural school at Maseno was a must for postwar development.[28]

Other Proposals for Agricultural Education

In the closing days of the War, two interesting proposals for training Africans in agriculture were suggested by Europeans who are better known for other activities during the colonial history of Kenya.

The first scheme was suggested by that colorful character, Col. E. S. Grogan, whose career started well before the War and carried on to independence.[29] As was his want by virtue of personality and influence, Grogan first broached his ideas directly to the Governor in September, 1943. At the request of the Governor, the Director of Education and the Chief Native Commissioner then met with Grogan to assist in refining the idea.

The proposal at this stage was described by the two official participants as extremely vague. Grogan was apparently suggesting that training in dry farming and irrigation be provided for Africans at the site of one of

his large land holdings, Taveta, in southeastern Kenya. The majority of the students would become independent agriculturalists and craftsmen but since some would undoubtedly join Government, Grogan proposed that representatives of Government should visit the site without delay. Since the site was adjacent to the border with Tanganyika, there were also inter-territorial ramifications to be explored. While admitting that the proposal had possibilities; both officials felt the project was too ambiguous to warrant a site visit.

Just about ten days later, Grogan prevailed on these officials to meet again, with the Director of Agriculture also in attendance. On this occasion, he suggested that the center should be of university or college status, and that it would issue a really meaningful diploma based on a learn-while-working system not as a collar-and-tie place. It was agreed that an estimate of costs, both capital and recurrent for an institute training some 300 pupils should be drawn up.

Before the end of 1943, the Director of Agriculture instructed one of his agricultural officers to visit the site and review the project with Grogan. The officer reported that the land in question was known as the Jipe Estate owned jointly by Lord Egerton, Sir John Ramsden and Grogan. They expected to relinquish some 19,000 acres of the estate retaining only 1,000 acres along the shores of Lake Jipe. The officer reported, however that Grogan

and his colleagues might be seeking an exchange of land involving areas adjacent to their present holdings including the Kitovo springs and forest and some land in the Ziwani area. Grogan had by then expanded the scheme to include fisheries, horticulture, stock farming, a school farm operated on a commercial basis, an experimental and research station, a demobilization center, and a settlement project for disabled veterans.

In forwarding his comments to the Governor's Chief Secretary, the Director of Agriculture stated rather wryly that the scheme appeared to be much larger now than as previously discussed. The Director wanted the questions on exchange of land, water supplies, and the details of the school and research station spelled out more clearly. He was pleased that Grogan included experimentation and research but noted that Grogan had previously always opposed the research proposals put forward by the Department of Agriculture. He was not prepared to say that the proposal represented the greatest need of the colony in terms of African education.

At the next gathering of officials in April, 1944, Grogan stated that he wished to explode the theory that settlers were not interested in the development of the African, and that he wished to provide ammunition in the United Kingdom for the friends of Kenya. He stated that he had yet to work out details of the scheme but he envisaged someone like an agricultural officer as principal

of the institute and that all the training would be associated with the proper use of the land.

On the question of land, it became fairly apparent at this meeting that the key issue in the proposal was the exchange of land, though the Colonel did offer a sum of £50,000 to help defray the capital costs of the institute. The government officials expressed concern that the Africans would not necessarily approve the exchange, particularly the loss of the Kitovo springs. Grogan replied that they should be given additional grazing lands for any they might turn over but they were already using his land for grazing purposes and he had to turn them off once every year to remind them who owned it. He expressed confidence that the entire scheme would pay for itself. If the Africans were genuinely interested in education, they would provide their labor free in return for maintenance.

In July, Grogan expressed his philosophy of education as follows:

> My wish is to lay the foundation of a large scale centre where--- through generations--- African "Dick Whittingtons" can be helped to perform efficiently the simple transactive tasks, which must necessarily be the lot of the multitudes; and if perchance the odd Dick Whittington's capacity and ambition tend towards London herself he may pass on with the added and vital advantage of knowing something about the basic tasks of civic life. He will have the foundations which give purpose to the higher education.
>
> I want Taveta to become the Mecca of those who seek skill for its own sake and are prepared to strive in sacrifice to that end.
>
> In fine I want it to be the "Tuskagee" [sic] of these parts issuing diplomas of efficiency which will command widespread respect.[30]

All traces of the proposal disappear at this point, but two reasonable possibilities can be offered for its demise. In that its educational attitude suggested the Tuskegee approach, the proposal was thirty years or so behind the times. The African soldiers of the Second World War had been trained in skilled mechanical jobs, not home-crafts, and their horizons broadened much too far to take any backward steps into the simplistic education offered in the plan. In its implied premise that Africans needed additional generations of European tutelage, Grogan's plan was typical of old settler sentiment. A second reason the plan never got beyond the drawing boards was the suspicion on the part of the civil servants that its main intent was to get better land for Grogan and his associates.

In today's independent Kenya, Egerton College is the multi-racial school at which qualified students earn their diploma in agriculture. As the institution for this purpose, it is overwhelmingly African in the makeup of its student body, though, until 1962, it was exclusively European. So rigid was the interpretation of the European-only clause in Lord Egerton's deed of the land for the college that, in 1957, the first full-fledged African Agricultural Officer, P. T. Mirie, was asked to leave the premises after he had checked in for a conference that should have included him.[31] Then in 1959, when Makerere dropped its diploma program, only four years before independence large sums of money had to be expended to develop a diploma program for Africans at

Siriba College, rather than opening Egerton to Africans. (see pp. 107-110)

Yet in the waning days of World War II, the eventual integration of Egerton was anticipated in a proposal which falls into the interesting category of the "what might have beens" in history. The Study Group on War Memorials chaired by Colonel (later Sir) Michael Blundell proposed an integrated scheme for improving land use and general agricultural development. To accomplish that purpose, the Group suggested that an agricultural college be established to train youths of all races --- and specifically that Egerton College be enlarged for this purpose. Egerton students would work and study together, though not housed together, "...with the idea of demonstrating the fact that land problems are common to all regardless of race, and of promoting racial harmony." He suggested an intake of fifty students each year and that the greater proportion of these students should be African.[32]

The Department of Agriculture did not respond favorably to the suggestion. It offered as objections its belief that many Europeans would not contribute to a project which suggested teaching all races at one place, that the maximum total student enrollment at Egerton could feasibly be only sixty of which fifty places were already reserved for Europeans, and that because the practices of farming were so different for the different races, it was impractical to attempt to train together. A soil research institute was suggested as a more suitable war memorial. Without analyzing the merits

of the Department's objections, the negative response was sufficient to kill the idea.[33]

Yet, the spirit in which this proposal was offered was so unlike that of the Taveta scheme as to suggest the different type of experience and understanding on the part of those Kenya Europeans who served with Africans in the War. This leavening of realism was to make for many progressive steps in the postwar era, though they tend to be overshadowed by the spectre of Mau Mau.

Chapter Four

Developing a Base for the Swynnerton Plan - Continuation of Existing Programs

Wartime planning studies undertaken at all levels of Government by groups such as the Committee on Postwar Development in Central Kavirondo culminated in January, 1945 in the appointment of a national Development Committee. After reviewing the earlier studies and analyzing the work of its own sub-committees, the Committee published a report in July, 1946 which established the guidelines for postwar development.

The basic principle of development planning was stated to be:

> ....to use the natural resources of the country, including man power, in a manner calculated to increase the national income of Kenya in the shortest space of time so as to raise as quickly as possible the standard of living of the majority of the inhabitants,....[1]

The Committee suggested that there were two priorities for achieving this development. The proper utilization of soil (including minerals), water, and forests, was one of these.[2] In African areas, intensive soil conservation measures involving rigorous enforcement where necessary were emphasized. The Department of Agriculture's policy on mixed farming was accepted as the basis on which to keep additional areas from needing reclamation measures and for maintaining the soil balance in those where fertility was restored.[3]

The other major priority was said to be the proper

utilization of the manpower of the country, particularly that of the African sector. The Anglo-Saxon fetish for the nobility of work was still a major concern of these postwar planners for they made special note of the fact that economic disaster faced Africans unless they could be convinced of the principle that everyone must work.[4]

One of the unique contributions to the final report originated in the sub-committee on Joint Agricultural and Vetrinary Services. While acknowledging the responsibility of the Agriculture and Veterinary Departments to develop sound agricultural practices, it was suggested that only the Administration had the power to enforce the required rehabilitation measures in the African areas. Officers of technical departments would therefore need to work through administrative officers at both the provincial and district levels and the administrative officer was to be considered as the "captain of the team" in each case.[5]

On the surface, the tone of the report and the style of administrative practices it suggested were not all that different from the prewar era. Colonial administrators still viewed Africans as basically unappreciative of the value of the land, as lazy, and as therefore in need of enforcement measures in order to be saved inspite of themselves.

But as distasteful as that style may have been for Africans, more effort and more money were put into development. Teamwork at the provincial and district levels may

have developed out of a perceived need for enforcement but it developed nonetheless. Consequently, when African demands erupted into the violence of Mau Mau, the crisis agricultural program, the Swynnerton Plan, had a considerable base on which it could mobilize resources for a quick step forward.

The Committee touched briefly on agricultural education. It made several general references to the need for increased vocational education[6] and for continued instruction in elementary agriculture in elementary schools.[7] It called for all possible steps to be taken to encourage Africans to pursue careers as veterinary assistants and agricultural instructors.[8]

Agricultural Training Schools

Although the training of agricultural instructors was an item of low priority throughout the War, an interesting proposal for the training at one location of comparable staff from several departments was developed. Ultimately the cast of characters involved in the planning operation included agricultural, veterinary, education, and administrative officers, but the full story dates back to the inter-war period.

When Bukura and Scott began as training centers in the early 1920's, no building funds were available and the schools developed on an ad hoc basis out of savings from the recurrent funds of the Department. In addition to the unsatisfactory financial arrangements, experience soon

demonstrated that other sites would be preferable. Although Bukura was geographically centrally located, it was not on main routes for economic or administrative purposes and was virtually inaccessible during the rainy seasons. On the contrary Scott, while near to Nairobi and easy to reach, was located on the very edge of the Kikuyu Reserve and had very limited land available.[9]

The Department of Agriculture put forward proposals for capital funds for new agricultural training schools as early as 1930. That first proposal was submitted to the Governor as part of the Department's request for inclusion in the Colony's application to the Colonial and Welfare Development Loan. The project did not rate highly in the list of priorities drawn up by the Kenya Government and was not funded. A similar request in 1937 had the same fate.[10]

In 1926, meanwhile, the veterinary services division of the Department of Agriculture decided to establish separate training facilities for training veterinary assistants.[11] Separate training also helped to compartmentalize separate administrative relationships for the African agricultural instructors and veterinary assistants, but of even greater importance, it resulted in an artificial division of crop and animal husbandry. Many officials both inside and outside the Department of Agriculture recognized the folly of this kind of division for African agricultural development. But the difficulty was compounded by the official separation

of veterinary services and plant industry into two distinct Departments, Veterinary and Agriculture, in 1937. From that point on, a naturally agreed upon merger of their training activities became unlikely.

In July, 1940, the Department submitted a new application for funds and specifically named Maseno (Nyanza Province) and Embu (Central Province) as the sites for the new schools. This proposal contained an important new wrinkle because Maseno was designated to be developed as a joint effort with the Veterinary Department for a combined training center.[12]

The Provincial Commisioner of Nyanza was principally responsible for promoting this cooperation at Maseno. Administrative officers developed considerable interest in the idea of presenting agriculture as one united package. As far back as 1931, the District Officer for Central Kavirondo had insisted that the only sensible thing to do was to move Bukura to Maseno, along side of the veterinary school, so that at least African visitors could observe the demonstration activities side-by-side.[13]

Early in 1939, the Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza called the attention of the Governor's Chief Secretary to a recent meeting of his District Officers at which these men registered their unanimous opinion that Bukura should be closed, and that Maseno should be operated as a combined agriculture and animal husbandry center. Among other things he wrote:

> ...the proper care of the land itself has come to be realized as the fundamental problem, taking priority in importance either to the raising of cattle or the growing of crops, and it has become absolutely obvious to anybody with eyes to see that, by concentrating instruction in animal husbandry at Maseno and agriculture at Bukura, we are actively preventing the natives from realizing the essential interdependence of these things, while the proper care of the grasslands is a problem which is being left in the air because of the reluctance of either department to appear to encroach into the domain of the other. It ought now to be completely obvious to anybody not blinded by prejudice that there must be a single centre at which a boy may learn all that concerns him to know as a farmer about crops, about cattle, about grass and manure, and about the prevention of soil erosion.[14]

Because of the prodding of the Provincial Commissioner, Agriculture and Veterinary agreed to the joint proposal for Maseno in the application for funds made in July, 1940.

The Native Welfare Committee delayed consideration of the plans for the new schools for almost eighteen months. Since it was wartime, additional delay was necessary, because the original plans had to be reviewed to eliminate reliance on imported materials.

These delays were fortunate, however, since they provided an opportunity to include the Department of Education in the project. As far back as 1937, the Department of Education displayed an interest in training teachers at the proposed new agricultural school at Embu, but at that time it had proposed no plans of its own to join in that project. Now, in October, 1941, the Director of Education suggested that he be allowed to establish teacher training centers in conjunction with the new schools at Embu and

Maseno. There were, he suggested, already many memoranda agreeing on the importance of agriculture in the curriculum, but it was also apparent that the Department of Agriculture could not even consider providing sufficient staff to serve as agricultural demonstrators at schools. Therefore, the regular primary teachers would have to teach agriculture and what better way for them to receive their training than as part of a combined center.[15]

After the cost estimates were revised to provide for the inclusion of Education, the proposal was resubmitted. This time there was a year's delay while the Standing Finance Committee reviewed the proposals. By August, 1943, the Government's internal housekeeping was in order, and the Governor, Sir Henry Moore, forwarded the request to the Colonial Office.

It called particular attention to the anticipated value of combined training. Each Department would benefit by increased numbers of African specialists; and the aim of the combined training centers was not to make confirmed agriculturalists out of all the prospective teachers, but to expose them to enough of the subject to improve their teaching. Because the Government believed that the majority of primary pupils would have to return to the land, better agricultural teaching was seen as essential. Agricultural instructors at both sites and veterinary assistants at Maseno would benefit by the opportunity to get some expert training in in teaching techniques.[16]

Although approval of the request was received from the Colonial Office in January, 1944, innumerable problems prevented either school from being constructed for several years. Typical of these difficulties, the Director of Public Works reported that the cost estimates would now be in the neighborhood of £100,000 rather than the £46,690 which was requested in the original request and approved.[17] Eventually, the projects were restudied and an application for additional funds put forward and approved. By late 1946 bids for construction were accepted, and each of the centers moved slowly forward to their opening dates in 1949.

The Combined School at Maseno - Nyanza Province

The Colonial grant included funds for the new schools at both Maseno and Embu, but a significant difference in inter-departmental training evolved at each site. The Embu program involved only the Departments of Agriculture and Education, and the combined training amounted primarily to adjacent locations with some shared facilities.

Maseno, on the other hand, was a sincere attempt at integration of training for Agriculture, Veterinary, and Education. The principal champion of the training merger was the Provincial Commissioner (P. C.) of Nyanza regardless of the person holding the post between 1939 and 1949. The cooperation fostered by the Nyanza P. C. was the single most important reason for the difference in degree of integration.

When the good news of the grant was received in January, 1944, the P. C., K. L. Hunter, immediately notified his District Officers and told them that construction would begin forthwith.[18] Within a week of that enthusiastic announcement, he learned that the supposedly permanent water supply was in fact inadequate to the needs of the combined center. Because of wartime staffing problems, it was over a year before a proper water survey could be conducted and alternate plans proposed. In any event, the report of the Director of Public Works on the increased costs would have delayed construction, but the speed with which the P. C. wanted to move is another example of the leadership role he played in getting the combined school in operation.

Although the grant was awarded on the basis of the combined approach, provincial planning sessions continued to reflect the serious difficulty of getting these departments to cooperate effectively. During most of the decade from the initiation of the idea in 1939, to its fruition in 1949, the leadership of the Veterinary Department appears to have been the chief villain. Perhaps the most obvious explanation for the obduracy of the veterinarians is that they regarded the impending arrival of agricultural students and teacher trainees as an invasion of their private preserve.

For example, in the very early stages when the idea was being generated into a proposal, the Provincial Commissioner wrote to the Governor's Chief Secretary to describe the terms of an agreement for operating a combined

training center at Maseno. Within a few weeks, the Director of Veterinary Services was on record as opposing the use of the word combined as he had understood that there would be two separate institutions merely located adjacently. He simply lost that argument.[19]

When the grant was awarded in 1944, the P. C., Mr. Hunter, met with his committee composed of the Senior Veterinary Officer, the Senior Agricultural Officer, and the Inspector of Schools for Nyanza Province. The report of that meeting indicated that all those present were unanimously agreed that the agricultural objective was to provide African staff with a basic background in all aspects of farming and a specialty qualification in either crop or animal husbandry. Therefore, the school would operate with a combined first year, after which those who seemed most inclined toward animals would be enrolled in the veterinary section while those whose antitude was toward the land would enroll in agriculture. Several other suggestions were made, and the P. C. asked the Chief Secretary to discuss the proposals with the Department Heads in Nairobi.[20]

The inevitable six months' delay followed before the Chief Secretary distributed the proposals to the Department Heads for review. This was an invitation to trouble, and it was not long in coming. Almost immediately, the Director of Veterinary Services complained that the site was already too restricted for the veterinary breeding herd, and now

more land would be required for crops and playing fields. Then the Director of Education decided that the land available was insufficient for his long range target of 350 teachers in training and announced that his department would pull out.[21]

Only the Departments of Agriculture and Veterinary were, therefore, on hand for the January, 1945, meeting with the P. C. for Nyanza under the auspices of the Chief Secretary. At this time the Director of Veterinary Services objected to the administration of the entire farm and the school under a single manager. The Director of Agriculture responded that the two departments could not continue to work in water tight compartments. The Provincial Commissioner supported this last point.

> My one concern is to ensure the greatest possible cooperation and understanding between the Agricultural and Veterinary employees in the field. For some years, this spirit has been conspicuous by its absence.[22]

He insisted that the students should live, play, and study together to develop some common bonds for future cooperation. By the end of the meeting, the two Departments compromised on everything except student housing. Ultimately, the Governor was forced to rule that the veterinary and agriculture students would indeed live together.[23]

But this apparent agreement was short-lived, because the Director of Veterinary Services subsequently announced that the breeding herd could not also be used as the

demonstration herd for mixed farming and that a separate herd would have to be created for that purpose. This raised the question again about the sufficiency of the land available. In that correspondence, however, the Director revealed his true objections to the project --- his belief that the school would result in the training of white-collar Africans. "For many years we have had to struggle against the sense of superiority that is apt to develop in the African who is given the least smattering of education."[24]

Once again, the Governor intervened and, not only forced a workable agreement between Veterinary and Agriculture, but also insisted that Education return to the project. He accepted the idea that long-range plans might not make the present site the best possible, but funds for the project were available and the concept of combined training merited a test.[25]

A long interval then followed between final building design, letting of the bids, and construction itself, so that the shaky truce of late 1945 was still under stress in the planning sessions of 1948. Fortunately, K. L. Hunter was still Provincial Commissioner and still insistent that a truly combined center be put in operation.

He was apparently successful in keeping the departmental officers from torpedoing the project with their interminable objections. Another squabble in 1948 involved the question of management, with the veterinarians insisting they must

manage the part of the farm which included their breeding herd. Agriculture then took the position that it, therefore, must have jurisdiction over the portion of the land allotted for farming. The P. C. continued to insist on one farm manager under the direction of the Principal of the school, and his view ultimately prevailed.

Still another agreement was hammered out touching on management details. The three departments agreed that the Principal of the school should be an officer appointed by the Department of Education. The Director of Agriculture was to appoint one staff member who would be responsible for implementation of agricultural policy as outlined by his Director. This agriculturalist would teach his professional subjects and would operate the farm. The Veterinary Department would also appoint one staff member who would carry out the policy for stock management as laid down by his Department. He would teach the animal husbandry subjects and be the livestock manager on the farm. Each department would undertake to draw up a syllabus for its section of the curriculum but with the closest possible collaboration between all the departments. As far as possible, first-year students would undertake a common course. Siriba was selected as the name of the school.[26]

Further policy matters were placed in the hands of an Advisory Committee made up of the Provincial Education Officer, the Provincial Agricultural Officer, the Provincial

Veterinary Officer, the Provincial Medical Officer (after the training of Health Assistants was added to the curriculum in 1951), the Principal of the School, and the Provincial Commissioner with the latter as Chairman. The daily operation of the school was clearly laid down as the responsibility of the Principal, an officer of the Department of Education. The detailed professional training in each area was in the hands of the staff members supplied by their respective departments.[27]

After following the disputes in the many years of planning, one might expect the actual operation of the school to be a repetitive story of disagreements and self-centered attempts of each department to protect its own empire. It is a pleasant surprise, therefore, to find that Siriba functioned in a spirit of cooperation that was in the widest possible fulfillment of the aspirations of those who originally conceived the plans.

One hundred and fifty students were enrolled for the two-year course --- fifty in teacher training, fifty in agriculture, twenty-five in veterinary, and twenty-five in medical. In the early years of operation, considerable attention was paid to maintaining a balance among the students not only as to numbers but also as to entrance standards. All the students had obtained passes on the Kenya African Primary Examination. Another factor, which no doubt helped to keep a cooperative spirit among the

students, was that all the successful graduates would go out to jobs of equal pay, in contrast to so many of the previous training programs.

In their first year, students spent approximately two-thirds of their time in general studies and one-third on their professional subjects. This ratio was reversed for the second year. The original idea to run combined courses during the first year was difficult to put into practice. Scheduling difficulties only allowed for integration in the courses on civics and current affairs. Outside of the classroom, however, the professions were well mixed in the housing arrangements and they competed in athletics according to their housing. Every student spent one hour in the morning in field work on the farm or house gardens.

Not every aspect of the combined operation worked perfectly. It was still difficult to generate enthusiasm for agriculture among the teacher trainees. While they demonstrated a willingness to discuss the theoretical aspects of agriculture, they showed a marked reluctance to engage in the field work. Yet, their exposure to the many facets of agriculture may have made its mark over the long run. Several of the Siriba trained technical assistants in agriculture have commented that they made their best progress in the field thanks to some of their old classmates.[28] Apparently as the teachers settled down to married life in their communities, they took an interest in improving their own shambas and turned to their Siriba agricultural

classmates for help. Their gardens then became good examples within their communities and in turn generated increased respect for the advice of the agriculturalists among other farmers in the area.

The otherwise outstanding cooperation between Agriculture and Education was temporarily disrupted in late 1951 and early 1952 when the Education Department announced its intention to enroll an additional 150 students for preparation as teachers at the next highest salary grade, which meant that they were therefore, out of phase with the agricultural trainees. The Provincial Agricultural Officer expressed his feeling that the balance would be greatly upset and that it would be many years before agriculture would be able to recruit at that level.[29] Eventually, Education only recruited twenty-five students for training at the higher level, and Agriculture also found it possible to recruit at a higher standard and to establish the same terms of service.

Embu

In contrast to the early planning efforts at Siriba, the proposals for Embu invariably seemed to be several years behind in both spirit and results. One important advantage of the Nyanza site was its possession of land, a provision not easily resolved in the Embu area. Beginning in 1935, a series of meetings were held with the various clan elders of the Kichugu Division of Embu District in an effort to

obtain a site for the school. When the District Officer and the Agricultural Officer returned from another unsuccessful meeting in late 1939, the D. O. reported to his Provincial Commissioner:

> ...we took pains to explain to the people the advantages of the proposed school and the need for land. We were politely informed that their needs were also urgent and, in view of the increasing population in that area, they would be failing in their duty to their children if they agreed to the setting apart of so large an area as 400 acres.[30]

Eventually, in 1941, the elders agreed to sell land adjoining Embu township if a government primary school was included as part of the project. This land amounted to 700 acres, because the Department of Agriculture insisted on a minimum of 400 acres for its school and experiment station, and the Department of Education wanted over 200 acres for its schools and school farms.[31]

Once the Departments of Education and Agriculture agreed to the joint proposal, the general progress of the project was tied to the success of their request. Nevertheless, like Siriba with its unexpected problem of water supply, Embu had some difficulties of its own which added to the delay. One six months' delay was caused by a Department of Education official who could not attend the first site meeting, and, until she did, the site plans could not be forwarded to the Director of Public Works.[32]

Another six months' delay ensued while the two Directors argued out an alleged inequity, which apparently gave Education only 170 acres out of the 230 it felt absolutely

necessary. Perhaps because no Provincial Commissioner acted as promoter and referee for the school, the terms of cooperation were much less well-defined on this project than at Siriba. Education maintained that it needed the full 230 acres in order to operate the farming activities of the primary school and the teacher training center. Agriculture replied that its 453 acres would provide the agricultural facilities for the schools as it was to do at Siriba. But, in this case, Education insisted on carrying on its own farming effort, and a compromise was eventually reached on the acreage.[33]

In the long run, these two schools were set up as completely separate institutions, even geographically separated by a road. Both departmental schools were opened in 1949, and minimal cooperation between the two schools lasted just one year. Initially, the agricultural students obtained their arithmetic and English instruction at the teacher training institution, in return for classroom and practical agriculture at the Department of Agriculture's school. But in 1950, the Education Department hired a European teacher with an agricultural background and decided that this gentleman should teach agriculture to the teacher trainees which ended the mutual assistance program.[34]

Within a year, that European teacher left and a provincial committee examined the future of the Education

farm. It was decided then that only a small fruit and vegetable garden would be maintained and that the education students could see demonstrations on the agricultural farm.

In early 1949, Mr. G. B. Rattray was appointed as Principal of the new school and an opening that same March was anticipated. He was directed to study the existing syllabus and to make recommendations for changes through his District Agricultural Officer and the Senior Agricultural Officer for the Province. He had hardly begun his study when he discovered that, despite plans for the school having been developed for almost ten years, no one had apparently remembered that furniture would be needed for classrooms and living areas.[35] The opening was postponed until August 10, 1949, when the school was officially opened, by the Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell.

During the delay a meeting of District Agricultural Officers was held at Embu to finalize the syllabus. It was agreed that in addition to classroom teaching, a smallholding similar to African farms in the Embu area should be developed for practical demonstrations. One of the officers in attendance, however, felt so strongly that one smallholding was not sufficient that subsequent to the meeting, he wrote a lengthy paper outlining his views. He argued that one of the smallholdings should indeed be the typical, mixed, primarily subsistence holding. But he said there should be at least two others geared to the market economy, one stressing dairy activity, and the other

vegetable production. Only through ocular demonstration of the viability of these activities, he maintained, would prospective agricultural instructors be able to comprehend fully the agricultural potential of their land and thereby pass that knowledge along to the farmers.[36]

A copy of his proposal eventually reached Head Office and the reaction is interesting, because it reveals the basic unwillingness, as late as 1949, to cut the Africans in on a full share of the agricultural market. The Director suggested that the proposal was very thoughtful but he doubted the ability of Africans to comprehend the complexities of the market situation.

> It must be remembered that the first and all-important feature of agricultural training is to instil in the mind of the African the necessity for the Colony to remain self-supporting in its food requirements, a problem which is going to become increasingly difficult as the population increases. It would therefore be wrong in my opinion to show at Embu an area where the production of foodstuffs can be incorporated in the small-holding plan or any other system which might to the African mind appear more attractive.[37]

Student enrollment that first year was approximately sixty students; eight of the students were second-year carry-overs from the old seed-farm school, while the rest were first-year students. By 1950, only twenty-six students remained from the previous year's intake and twenty-five new first-year students were admitted.

These first enrollees qualified for the school by obtaining a pass on the Kenya African Primary Examination. In their first year of the two-year course, they were

expected to take elementary agriculture, botany, animal husbandry, elementary science, bookkeeping, hygiene, English, and arithmetic. In the second year, the program consisted of advanced agriculture, botany, animal husbandry, nutrition and science. Students in both years were expected to spend at least twelve hours a week of practical work in the fields.[38]

This standard of a mere pass on the KAPE examination was lower than was felt desirable and efforts were continually made to upgrade the entrance requirements. By 1955, two years of schooling beyond KAPE was the minimum requirement. Students with passes on the Kenya African Secondary School Examination were encouraged to attend, and in 1955, thirteen of the thirty entries did have that qualification. By 1957, the minimum entry level was raised to a pass on the KASSE exam. It is interesting that as the standards went up, the number of students successfully completing each year's work declined. Then enrollments began to decline, and Principal Rattray's disgust at the alleged self-importance of the KASSE students became more and more pronounced. By 1958, only fourteen students were enrolled in a school with accomodation for 100.[39]

The reasons for this sad misuse of a needed training facility are not easy to find. One can compare the failure at Embu with the success at Siriba. In doing so, the most intriguing explanation, though probably only correct to a small degree is that, left to its own devices --- as at

Embu --- the Department of Agriculture was demonstrating its basic lack of interest in training Africans. When forced by the situation to cooperate and measure up to other Departments, as at Siriba, it could achieve success.

Again, responsible only to itself, the Department was much slower to develop the farm lands at Embu than at Siriba. Apparently, the development proposals for loan funds applied only to buildings and did not include funds for developing the land. By 1950, the people near Embu were grumbling about the failure to develop the land.[40]

Another factor difficult to measure was the effect of the Mau Mau Emergency on recruitment. Enrollments did not significantly decline in the first years of the Emergency, but after the initial outbreaks, Embu disciplinary problems increased, reflecting the militant atmosphere in the area. As the Principal moved to combat the unrest, his heavy handed treatment may well have discouraged applicants, despite their otherwise general desire to get an educational certificate and a job. In 1957, for example, when only thirteen KASSE passes were enrolled in the first year, the group presented a list of complaints at the beginning of the second term. They were all promptly suspended on the grounds that such insolence could not be tolerated. Ultimately, only one student was disciplined and permanently suspended, but five others left in sympathy.[41]

As entrance standards rose, attracting candidates was difficult when little in their previous education would

encourage them to pursue agriculture as a career. The officers of Central Province recognized this problem by criticizing their own move to higher standards without preparing suitable propaganda in the secondary schools.[42]

Embu also suffered by comparison with teacher training schools, including the one located directly across the road, where student amenities were superior. It is interesting to note that the students at the Embu Institute of Agriculture went on strike in 1968 for reasons similar to the 1957 strike, charging that the food, bedding, and clothing allowances were not up to the standards of teacher training institutions.

There may be a tendency to scoff at the student concern for amenities, but it is a very real problem in a society where every step up the educational ladder is expected to be measured by increased status and privileges. It was hardly an attraction to have facilities of a standard below that of many of the secondary schools from which the students were being recruited. As Guy Hunter has written:

> A diet of maize meal, squalid and overcrowded dining halls, sub-barrack room dormitories, inadequate light and space for study and recreation in a latitude where it is dark by 7:00 p.m. all the year round --- these conditions are simply not good enough for young men who have a serious syllabus to master, an important job to do, and a need for self-respect and even some privacy.[43]

Bukura

During the long years of controversy preceding the

opening of Siriba, Bukura was left with the task of preparing agricultural instructors. Under the two-year training program inaugurated at the outbreak of the War, the average enrollment was fifty-five to sixty students. While ostensibly the entrance requirement was a pass on the Kenya African Primary Examination, the Department was still a long way from attracting students of this caliber. Out of fifty-five students enrolled in 1947, nine had passes. Over half of the balance had less than five years of schooling.[44]

Unfortunately, and perhaps because of the Department's efforts being concentrated at opening Siriba, the farm management of Bukura appears to have been badly neglected. In 1947, the Department was forced to admit publicly that the smallholdings were overcropped and overstocked with some 150 head of cattle on approximately fifty acres of very poor permanent pasture. The cattle were infested with liverfluke said to have resulted from inadequate water supply. No disease-preventing cattle dips were anywhere on the premises --- hardly the proper state of affairs for a combination training school and demonstration farm.[45]

But better days were ahead. In 1948, the Department appointed two new officers to Bukura. Mr. Norman O. Whitton was appointed as Principal, a post he held until 1954. Also appointed was the only African to graduate from Makerere in the postwar 1940's, Peter Vuyiya. Mr. Vuyiya remained at Bukura until 1957. Both men took considerable interest in training procedures and apparently got on well

together.

In addition to the training for agricultural instructors, Bukura held a number of refresher courses for assistant agricultural instructors and agricultural instructors already at work in the field. Since the immediate postwar emphasis in agriculture was on soil conservation, these courses were primarily devoted to such techniques. While only three courses were held in 1947, the number was increased to ten a year by 1953. The courses were two weeks long, and progress reports on each man attending were sent to the District Agricultural Officers. Men who did poorly were often required in the same year to attend special intensive elementary courses. Teachers' short courses emphasizing simple techniques for improving school gardens were also conducted, and visits by farmers' groups from the area were encouraged.[46]

Since the case for moving Bukura to some other site dates back to the early 1930's, a number of proposals in the intervening years suggested uses for the site, if and when the move took place. Among these, were its development as an agricultural experiment station, its sale as a site for a mission school, and even some consideration, during that brief period of Education's withdrawal from the combined institution at Siriba, that it might be used for training teachers.

With the development of the smallholdings at Bukura, however, the idea that it might be used as a place to train adult farmers seemed to be the one with the most appeal.

The idea, originally put forward by Malcolm Graham, eventually received the strong support of the Provincial Commissioner, K. L. Hunter. In his arguments for the idea, Hunter admitted that his first thought had been to use Bukura for those young men who couldn't quite make the grade at Siriba, but when they finished their course they would be without land and probably without a desire to return to the land. Adult farmers already possessed land, had some capital, and training for them promised immediate results.[47] While it is unlikely that Graham and Hunter were the only European officials considering the possibilities of adult agricultural education, it is only in the mid-1940's that official support for farmers' training began to develop culminating in a large-scale program at the end of the 1950's. (see pp. 162 - 176)

Agricultural Instructors

By the mid-1950's, an increasing number of Africans with university training in Agriculture began to be available to the Department of Agriculture. It was perhaps only natural that the Department seemed to focus most of its concern for African staffing on this group, and agricultural instructors were somewhat overlooked.

In the inter-war years, the Department itself was still groping for research solutions to the problems of African agriculture, and the instructors themselves had only very limited training. In that situation, they were often used

more as policemen than as teachers. About 1940, this situation began to change, and, gradually over the next decade, the compulsion aspect of the instructors' job was replaced by greater emphasis on persuasion. Increasing African involvement in project planning at the local level through Local Native Councils, District Agriculture Committees and District Education Boards was one reason for the change. Greater emphasis was placed on the team approach, because departmental officers were more concerned about developing coordinated projects.

Increased numbers of staff were also available to each department. Agricultural instructors increased from 450 on the staff in 1947, to 1200 by 1959 with an additional 1000 men designated as assistant agricultural instructors.[48] In addition, the quality of instructors was improving, and with the frequent use of refresher courses, the instructors were better able to explain policy and projects to the farmers.

For a brief period in the early and mid-1950's, female agricultural instructors were employed in several areas. The experiment was begun in Kericho, because the District Agricultural Officer there had found it impossible to get the Kipsigi women to attend barazas on agricultural development. He then persuaded the African District Council to hire two older married women who worked four days a week. The women were trained by the D. A. O. to work on specific projects such as soil control, and they worked solely within

their own areas.

The experiment was successful enough to spread to other areas with Nyanza reporting a total of twelve women at work by the end of 1952, and Central Province indicating forty-six employed during that year. The use of these women also received the official support of Head Office, and recruiting of additional numbers was encouraged, always on the condition that funds were provided by the African District Council. Training was still on the basis of one project at a time and still provided by the European D. A. O., though consideration was being given to more formal training programs.

By the mid-1950's, the program appears to have gone by the boards. The Department never could make up its mind on what type of establishment to set up for women, and then the infusion of Swynnerton Plan funds made it possible for the first time to fully staff an area with male agricultural instructors on the Department's payroll. African District Councils then were able to use the funds previously tied up for agricultural instructors for other purposes, and the money for female instructors was among the first to disappear in this fashion.[49]

Typical Educational Activities of a District Agricultural Officer

Agricultural Officers never agreed among themselves about their educational activities. Some felt their prime endeavors should be in research-oriented activities such

as seed farms and experimental stations. Others saw themselves principally as advisors able to assist their junior staff to carry out the actual field work. Certainly few, if any, primarily saw themselves as educationists in any usual sense if for no other reason than no career opportunities existed for specialists in education within the Department of Agriculture.

On the other hand, one former District Agricultural Officer contended that everything he was trying to do involved education.[50] No program, he said, could operate without some kind of education. The conscientious D. A. O. had many opportunities to be involved in educational activities with agricultural instructors, with schools, and with farmers.

Every pay day offered the opportunity to hold a short baraza for the agricultural instructors on some subject of immediate importance. The D. A. O. had to make certain that he set up a schedule to get his instructors to the various refresher courses where they could be given an intensive briefing on some new program, such as the introduction of a cash crop like coffee. But since the instructors' familiarity with that crop might be limited to the two weeks in the course, the D. A. O. had to establish seasonal barazas to demonstrate each process that affected the farmers; steps such as planting, spraying, pruning, harvesting, and so on. Given the minimum educational experience of many of his instructors, the D. A. O. had to be prepared to repeat this

process each year and for almost every crop.

Despite his other commitments, he would get involved in the school program. While the detailed work on the school garden was left to the instructors, the D. A. O. would speak at the schools to encourage young men to pursue agricultural careers, would organize competitions for the best school gardens and for the best answers to the examination questions. Finally, he would help to organize a Young Farmers' Club on a regular basis.

With the development of farmers' training centers, the great bulk of the training for farmers fell on the center staff and on its instructors, but the D. A. O. still maintained responsibility for crop development in his own area. He had to think through his program carefully, so that it was not just a pet project that would be forgotten when his replacement appeared on the scene. He had to educate his departmental counterparts, so that they agreed on the policy and the best ways to implement this policy. They had to agree on priorities, so that the residents of the district were not caught in the middle. Finally, the perceptive D. A. O. knew that he had to get the women interested in agricultural training and give them an opportunity to benefit from the various training opportunities available.

During the immediate postwar years, it would have been difficult for any D. A. O. to be as thorough as the ideal. The Department was still badly short-staffed and frequent transfers resulted with little opportunity to learn

about a district in depth. In the two years, 1946 and 1947, six changes of Agricultural and Assistant Agricultural Officers in one district in Nyanza Province took place. The District Commissioner for that area reported that agricultural work in the district was very backward, and he contended that even more than administrative officers, it was vital for agricultural officers to be in an area long enough to get to know their districts and to get the confidence of the people before real progress in agricultural development would be possible.[51] Only with the funds provided by the British Government to support the Swynnerton Plan was it possible for the first time to create a fairly solid staff.

Agriculture in the School System

The emphasis given agriculture in the school system during the postwar era can be roughly divided into four periods: 1. Five years between 1945-49, when a modest effort was made to improve procedures and practices; 2. A period of concerted effort between 1949-54 as a result of the Beecher Report on African Education; 3. A brief period of specialized interest in programs at the intermediate school level about 1956; 4. A kind of holding operation until independence, because the emphasis shifted to adult training through Farmers' Training Centers.

When the Department of Education established the position of Senior Agricultural Education Officer in 1944, a new statement of cooperation for agricultural education

between the Departments of Education and Agriculture was one of the first results. The two Departments agreed that only rudimentary work involving nature study and soil conservation would be undertaken at the elementary level. Agricultural science was to be a classroom subject at the primary level, and this was to be taught in close coordination with practical work, so that ample land would be needed for each primary school. The Department of Agriculture was responsible for all agricultural training at the post-primary level except where an agricultural center was not established. In such cases, the Department of Education might provide such training at its schools but always in conformity with the agricultural policy for that area. The Agricultural Education Officers of the Department of Education were to be responsible for all the agricultural work in elementary and primary schools. Agricultural officers were to work with them on agricultural policy matters and were welcome to visit the schools. The Department of Education also undertook to encourage some of its students to go on for specialized agricultural training.[52]

By 1945, two Agricultural Education Officers were employed as field officers by the Department of Education. After a year or so on the job, they suggested that they stop being itinerant inspectors of agricultural education and set up as managers of large school farms in association with teacher training colleges. These farms would train teachers of agriculture in secondary schools, and "serious"

agriculture would only be taught at secondary schools using a real commercial farm as the basis for the practical work.[53] Agriculture would be eliminated altogether in primary schools' curricula.

The reaction of senior field officers in the Department of Agriculture to these proposals was almost totally negative, but for an interesting variety of reasons. One response suggested that secondary schools were not known to be a source of farmers, and the proposal seemed like an ideal job for the Agricultural Education Officers, providing them with peace and quiet in addition to farming at Government expense.[54] It was argued that the Department of Agriculture should sever all its connections with school agriculture, leaving it to the Agricultural Education section of the other Department. This new proposal was unnecessary because sufficient numbers of teachers would soon have agricultural training as a result of the new schools at Siriba and Embu.[55] Another argument had it that too many Africans were already engaged in agriculture and that the education policy should not be agriculture for all students, but instead, to make better farmers of a few. Serious training in agriculture should wait until an age when boys were ready to decide their futures. Attempting to set up school gardens around every school often meant that poor land had to serve as the demonstration sites whereas concentrating efforts at a few schools in high potential land might achieve the best results.[56]

While the proposal did not come to fruition, its

presentation adds insight into the frustrations inherent in this false line of development effort in agricultural education. The maximum staff in agricultural education achieved by the Department of Education occurred in 1947, when it employed three men, one in Nairobi, and the two proposers of reform who had responsibility for all of Central Province and all of Nyanza Province. It was a hopeless task. Not only were the two field officers to inspect every existing school, but they were expected to help design and lay out the garden for every new school, of which a great many were coming into existence in the postwar period. Knowing also that they were wasting untold man-hours in travel, the officers felt they could accomplish far more by staying in one place.

The arguments of the agricultural officers were also reasonable. The school system had, to that time at least, produced few if any agriculturally oriented students. The officers in the field were already spread too thin to perform their direct agricultural tasks and assisting the schools was a difficult burden on this already heavy load.

Yet, the official position of the government was that:

> In a rural community, the teaching of agriculture must form an essential part of education.... It is the policy of the Government that the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments shall cooperate in this work in the schools and help in the establishment of model agricultural holdings which will serve as instructional centres for the whole community.[57]

That statement is typical of the pronouncements made over the years. Agreement was not hard to reach at the

level of theory, but once discussions reached the level of implementation, successful projects were not easy to achieve.

School gardens were a cherished part of the agricultural education programs. In the rationale for such gardens, it was possible to draw on a variety of purposes --- to make the child interested in plants and the soil in which they grow, to build an interest in the art and profession of farming, and to provide interesting and suitable practical work, which could develop the childs' powers of observation and reasoning without giving him unnecessary, dull and uninteresting work.

In some instances, the program did work successfully. One account described in glowing terms an apparently successful school farm at Kisii where the layout was beautiful, the farm fund thriving, and the boys so interested that the Young Farmers' Club had to restrict its membership.[58] In another instance, the parents were reported to have undertaken to do the heavy garden work for the very young children. Not only did this cooperative activity help to bring those gardens to a higher standard, but the community involvement helped to make it possible to use the gardens as demonstration plots for the entire area.[59]

From the point of view of the headmasters of schools, the school garden was often viewed as among the most difficult of his tasks. A not untypical letter from such a headmaster to his mission superior suggested that there were very few teachers with any degree of specialization

in agriculture. Agriculture was only one of the subjects they were required to teach. If one asked for assistance from the local agricultural instructor, it might be months before he showed up and then his teaching ability was dubious. This particular letter suggested that agriculture would only be successfully taught when both its theoretical and practical aspects were taught by a qualified teacher.[60]

At the district level, one of the agricultural officers offered to provide training for teachers at the Embu Agricultural Institute because he saw it as hopeless to demonstrate approved agricultural practices through teachers without such training. Why not concentrate agricultural education in a few schools with trained teachers?[61] The reply from the Provincial Education Officer suggested that it was the policy to require every school to have a garden and it would therefore be improper to single out certain schools for special agricultural teaching.[62]

A key question for practical agriculture at schools, particularly where school farms were established rather than just gardens, was whether the aim of these farms/gardens should be primarily demonstrational without concern as to profit or loss or if profit should be the major objective. Mission schools had difficulty raising capital funds for school farms, particularly when the program of intermediate school farms was developed in the 1950's. A request for a Government loan on the same basis as that afforded to Government schools for farm development was denied with the suggestion

that missions should draw on their own resources, since they would be able to repay themselves from the farm profits within three or four years.[63]

This position on profits was in direct contrast to that taken by the Department of Agriculture. The Director of Agriculture believed that a training farm would largely fail in its objective if it tried to be self-supporting. He suggested that the profit motive had historically made the teaching process ineffective wherever it had been tried in the past. Satisfactory training could not be achieved on a commercial basis.[64]

It was difficult to give up the school program, even if the results seemed so pathetic. Everyone kept expecting to be able to turn the corner with the next generation of students. The alleged emphasis on "white collar" education seemed to be driving every graduate into the few major cities where unemployment was already a problem. Consequently, it should not be surprising that the Government report on African Education published in 1949 (most commonly known as the Beecher Report) also took a firm position promoting additional agricultural education in the schools.

Archdeacon Beecher was well-qualified to chair the committee on African Education. For most of the War years, he was one of the Europeans designated to represent African interests in the Legislative Council --- until he was able to work himself out of the job by insisting that an African succeed him. In an article published just after the War, the

Archdeacon had pointed out the increasing problems in education and their effect on rural life. The Colonial Development and Welfare Fund had announced grants to Kenya totaling £350,000 per year. But as the Archdeacon noted, on the basis of the schools which would be in existence at the end of the first postwar five-year plan, recurrent expenditures for those schools would be £500,000 per year. Yet, the taxes needed to support those recurrent expenditures were in large measure being stifled by the cash crop restrictions still in effect in the African areas, which in turn helped to make rural life unattractive and contributed to the drift to the towns. A massive program of rural reconstruction was needed, requiring large-scale capital loans. Such a program would also assist the Africans to advance in the partnership of ruling East Africa.[65] Unfortunately, the farseeing implications of these proposals were not appreciated, at least not until the Mau Mau emergency. Then the Government embarked on its first large-scale grant program to African agriculture --- under the aegis of the Swynnerton Plan.

The recommendations of the Beecher Report[66] suggested that agricultural educational activities should be a special activity of the primary schools.[67] No formal training in agriculture should be undertaken at the elementary level, but elementary schools should impart the right attitude toward agricultural labor and an appreciation of the importance of the land.

The program developed in the primary years should

recognize that those students would not likely be employed as simple laborers. As in the elementary school, the agricultural curriculum should develop an appreciation of the land and the courses should also impart an awareness of where the landowner could turn for more help.

The Report suggested that teacher attitude was vital to the success of any agricultural program in the schools. Hence agricultural information should become an integral part of teacher training. The Report also noted that, in those schools where officers of the Agriculture Department paid frequent visits, interest in agriculture was great, and the school gardens were excellent. Therefore, the Department should involve itself in the curriculum as much as possible. All of these suggestions were accepted by the Government.

With regard to agricultural training at the secondary level, the Report suggested that the administrative and technical officers of the Government should give every encouragement to the students who were going to attend the agriculturally oriented schools at Wundanyani, Kapenguria, and Kikuyu. In the Government's official response to the Report, put forward in 1951, the Government stated that Kapenguria and Kikuyu were not achieving their objective of training students likely to return to the land as farmers. It suggested that the schools might be better used to train teachers of agriculture.[68] Wundanyani never did open as a secondary school of agriculture, and Kikuyu had already lost

all its pupils by the time the Government response was published. There was, however, considerable awareness of this need to train teachers of agriculture. Scattered individual efforts, such as a one-week course for headmasters at the Church of Scotland Mission in Tumutumu were not uncommon,[69] though not ever sufficient to reach all the teachers in active service. The Beecher Report took a small step toward filling the need by recommending that sixty out of the 2,625 teachers in training each year be given specialized training in agriculture.

While refresher courses for teachers, sponsored by the Department of Agriculture, dated back to the prewar days at Bukura, the frequent turnover of officers in both departments often meant that the thread of continuity and cooperation was lost. A good example of this occurred in Nyanza in 1951 when the Educational Officer at Kisii called the attention of his Provincial Education Officer to the fact that while the first refresher course at Bukura for the year had been very successful, all the remaining courses were scheduled at times that did not coincide with the school holidays.[70]

Apparently this particular Education Officer was extremely serious about the value of these courses, because he then on his own, organized such a course for the August holiday. One hundred and two teachers attended the one-week program in which he involved both the local Agricultural Instructor and the District Agricultural Officer. Among the

many agricultural subjects covered, he reported that the demonstration of compost making was particularly successful and thirteen of the teacher trainees requested a booklet on the subject.[71]

He was quickly supplied with the booklet by the Provincial Agricultural Officer, but the accompanying letter called his attention to the fact that compost making was not the accepted policy in South Nyanza.[72] The aggrieved and chagrined Education Officer responded that with the best of intentions he had followed the primary school syllabus which specifically encouraged compost making. This was a serious failure in liaison between the two departments since the agricultural policy had apparently been changed a full year previously. The Education Officer grimly expected considerable confusion when he had to correct the training given and also bring the error to the attention of every headmaster in his area.[73]

Agriculture, both theoretical and practical, was a part of the regular curriculum at teacher training centers, but it was not a subject in which a compulsory pass was required. Agricultural officers were frequently asked to scrutinize the examinations and practical work. In 1952 in Nyanza Province, several agricultural officers who had been requested to perform this duty arrived at the training centers only to discover that the students had already been allowed to depart for home. In this instance, the negative result brought a renewed effort at cooperation. The

Provincial Agricultural Officer informed his counterpart that November was an extremely busy season for agricultural officers. As a result, the Provincial Education Officer agreed to move the agricultural exams to a time between July and September which was convenient for the agriculturalists. The Principals of the teacher training centers were supplied with lists of the specific areas in agriculture which needed concentration, and a special point was made to praise the cooperation of the agricultural staff and to call attention to the existing level of cooperation between the two departments.[74]

The reluctance of Education to make agriculture a compulsory pass subject in the teacher training centers was a source of irritation for some agricultural officers. From their point of view, Kenya was basically an agricultural country. If it was not a compulsory subject then one of the key factors for African development was being deemphasized. At least one education official suggested that it was impossible to make the subject compulsory because the failure rate would then be so high, a critical reduction in the number of teachers available would result. On the other hand, some agricultural officers did not favor compulsion either, because they despaired that the subject could be properly taught under the auspices of the Department of Education.[75]

The other potential source of agricultural teachers for the classroom was the staff of the Department of

Agriculture, particularly the agricultural instructors. The classroom use of agricultural instructors tended to wax and wane depending on the degree of individual initiative and cooperation among field officers of the Departments of Agriculture and Education. On occasion, experiments were tried in which agricultural instructors were assigned to teach agriculture at a given number of schools. Some of these were quite successful,[75] but in the final analysis, this method was stymied by problems of both quantity and quality. Not enough agricultural instructors had teacher training. Their own technical training had been geared to field demonstrations and inspections. In the immediate postwar period, many of the best instructors were those whose training had been conducted in Swahili, because their English competence was minimal. This conflict about the language of instruction was brought home when the new syllabus on Gardening and Nature Study was produced in 1949 by the Department of Education. Copies were offered to Agriculture, but when the Senior Agricultural Officer for Nyanza asked for 150 in Swahili, he was informed that it had only been published in English. Some of his best instructors were thereby prevented from making direct use of the syllabus.[77]

Many officers of the Departments of Education and Agriculture made a determined effort to make the program work. But in the face of the rapid growth of the entire educational system, it was a discouraging exercise. Sir Philip Mitchell, as Governor of Kenya in 1950, recognized

the difficulties inherent in this effort when he wrote that the educational system had done little to interest pupils in the land. The effect of that failure cut two ways. The influential educated minority showed little interest in the land and the Agriculture and Veterinary Departments could not get enough staff. The school curriculum was still pegged to the English examination system. Under the circumstances, it was too much, he said, to expect to be able to incorporate an agricultural bias in education.[78]

The Government had accepted the Beecher recommendation that agricultural programs should be emphasized at the primary level. But by 1954, even this program was proving difficult to implement. The Director of Education decided that a new policy agreement between Agriculture, Veterinary Services, and Education was necessary, which would call for a reduced program of agricultural education in the schools. In his letter outlining the new proposal, he put the case bluntly and to the point.

> There are still many people who believe that an emphasis on Agriculture in the schools will lead to young men and women taking up agricultural occupations. Those who hold these views forget such points as availability of land, land tenure, cash incomes in Agriculture and other occupations, the lure of urban life, the desire for white collar jobs, prestige, etc. I do not think it is necessary to elaborate the fallacy that if only Agriculture could be taught efficiently in schools there would ipso facto grow up a large number of keen young agriculturalists.[79]

Responses to this letter from the Provincial Agricultural Officers indicated that they were inclined to

agree,[80] but both Directors of Agriculture and Veterinary Services were unwilling to do so. A compromise was eventually worked out and another statement on agricultural educational policy was set forth.

Elementary schools would concentrate on simple demonstrations and particular attention would be paid to promoting enthusiasm on the part of teachers so that the notion of drudgery in farming would be avoided at all costs. Instead of a school farm, agriculture at primary schools would be taught through smallholdings. The primary schools were to be the center of local life and provide sound practical knowledge of agriculture and animal husbandry. Secondary schools were to concentrate on academic pursuits except for one or two, which would have a mixed program. Special emphasis would be given to agriculture for teachers in training, particularly to acquaint them with the aims of the Swynnerton Plan.

The political, racial, and emotional overtones involved in the agricultural bias were such that very few were willing to write off the school program, even though it was carried on without conviction. By the late 1950's, however, the new emphases of the Swynnerton Plan and the rapid growth of farmers' training centers meant that Agriculture's interest in school agriculture would be proportionately diminished.

Chapter Five

Developing a Base for the Swynnerton Plan - Some New Aspects of Training

In addition to the programs such as those for agricultural instructors and school gardens which had their roots in the inter-war period, some other programs came to the fore in the postwar era. Among these were a full scale degree program at university level and the first serious efforts to provide training for adult African farmers. These programs do not necessarily directly relate to one another, but ultimately, each in its own way contributed to the pool of trained personnel on which the Swynnerton Plan was to draw.

Makerere[1]

The most well-known of the institutions of higher education in East Africa is Makerere University College. For many years, until the universities in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were developed, it was the university for East Africa. Although Makerere was established at Kampala, Uganda in 1922, the first Kenyan students did not enroll until 1929. Their late entry resulted directly from the slow growth of educational opportunities for Africans in Kenya. The first secondary school, Alliance High located just outside Nairobi, did not begin operation until 1926. It was not until 1936 that the first Kenyans enrolled in the agricultural course.

As of 1936, the agricultural course was a five-year program. The first year was really a continuation of a secondary school program in general education. The second year concentrated on science. Subjects such as plant and animal physiology, agricultural chemistry, agricultural botany, survey and elementary agriculture were introduced in the third year. The fourth year involved practical work at two agricultural research stations in Uganda, and, in the fifth year, the students returned to the campus to study advanced and experimental agriculture, agricultural mycology, agricultural entomology, diseases of stock and basic economics. The entire resident staff for the course consisted of one man on secondment from the Uganda Department of Agriculture. He called on his colleagues to assist with the sections of the course for which they had expertise.

The agricultural course was not popular among Kenyans for all the reasons which affected recruitment to the Department of Agriculture's Training Schools, such as low status and low career pay. But in the case of Makerere, this student negativism was compounded by the Department's failure to take any significant interest in the course prior to 1937. In that year, the de la Warr Commission on Higher Education requested estimates on the numbers of graduates the Department would consider hiring over the next ten years. The Department expressed a willingness to take on some fifty-five graduates.[2]

A second outgrowth of the de la Warr Commission was

the proposal to convert the Makerere certificate course to a diploma course comparable to those awarded in the United Kingdom. The proper curriculum for such a course in agriculture became one of the major items for discussion at the 1939 Conference of the Directors of Agriculture for Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. Having directed the preparation of a syllabus the previous year, the 1940 Conference approved a draft syllabus, but the Directors of Agriculture for Kenya and Tanganyika called attention to the fact that the standards were so high very few students from their countries could qualify, at least for some years to come.[3]

The diploma course in agriculture was also a five-year program. From the layman's point of view, it did not look very different from its predecessor, but the caliber of entering students was improving every year, and while titles of courses remained the same, the material was on a higher plane so as to turn out a more advanced graduate. The diploma course was no more attractive. Over the years, 1940-1952, the annual total enrollment averaged about six students, and less than a dozen students from Kenya received diplomas in that period.

One must also keep in mind that the science laboratory facilities at Makerere were unable to accomodate large intakes of students each year. Even so, up to 1946, the existing laboratory spaces had never been filled. In anticipation of postwar growth, however, the Principal suggested that the annual enrollment in science be divided

with ten entries for Medicine, five for Agriculture, five for Veterinary Science, and five for Teachers of Science.[4]

In a joint reply to the quota proposal, the Kenya Department Heads for the above areas suggested that there had previously been a preference for the Arts curriculum because only one additional year was needed to obtain the teacher certification, instead of the extra two years in their areas. They urged the Principal to seek additional accommodations for science students and affirmed their determination to find ways to get more secondary students to select science.[5]

Despite the affirmative response to the de la Warr Commission, the Department of Agriculture did not create any positions for Makerere graduates. When the first diploma graduate in agriculture, P. B. Mbatia, completed his course in September, 1939, he was hired as an agricultural instructor on temporary terms and paid 50 shillings per month. After five months, he resigned on grounds of insufficient salary. Both his Agricultural Officer and the District Commissioner recommended that he be given a raise because of the high quality of his work. After several bureaucratic delays, he was rehired at 75 shillings per month, but still on temporary terms. A year later, when he requested leave, he was notified that employees on temporary terms were not entitled to vacation. In February, 1942, his salary was raised to 90 shillings per month but the terms were still temporary. Two months later, he

discovered that a Makerere classmate had been employed on permanent terms by the Veterinary Department at 150 shillings per month. Apparently, despairing of ever changing the bureaucracy, the young man resorted to performing his tasks in an unsatisfactory manner and was then terminated in August, 1942.[6]

Some of the interdepartmental inequity was subsequently removed by creating a post of African Agricultural Assistant for Makerere graduates. By 1944, six graduates were employed, forming a core of African staff unchanged until the 1950's when Makerere improved its agricultural program. Annual staff reports indicated that the performance of these men was generally quite good. Still, they were by no means treated on equal terms. A European diploma holder expected to take up his first position as an Assistant Agricultural Officer. It would be 1954 before the first African received that title and then with the important racial qualifier of Assistant Agricultural Officer (African).

Transportation was another symbol of discrimination. In 1945, the Agricultural Officer in charge of one of the African Agricultural Assistants requested permission to buy a motor cycle so that the Assistant's advanced training could be used by the A. O. for special work in any part of his district. The Director of Agriculture declined the request on the grounds that African Assistants would no doubt use these cycles to spend too much time motoring through their districts whereas they should move slowly, by foot and

bicycle, in order to maintain close contact with the farmers.[7]

Within the Department, some members of the European field staff worked diligently to ease the discriminatory barriers imposed on their African assistants. One of these was P. C. Chambers. It was Chambers who had initially urged Head Office to establish a suitable salary and title for Mbatia. In meeting after meeting, Chambers raised the question of recruiting and properly staffing the Department with Makerere graduates. Finally, after a decade of effort, he was able in his own way to achieve a milestone. In 1949, while serving as Senior Agricultural Officer for Nyanza, he called for a special staff short course for Agricultural Officers, Assistant Agricultural Officers and Makerere trained Agricultural Assistants. The advance announcement simply stated that all the men attending would dine together, and the course was carried off without incident.[8]

In 1946, some comments by the Director of Agriculture lent hope that the Department was becoming increasingly aware of the potential contribution of educated Africans. He said that it was urgent to find more highly trained Africans, since, until such men could be put to work in the Reserves, the country could not rise to a higher standard.[9] On another occasion, the Director spoke of the need to instruct African farmers in improved agricultural practices, and he acknowledged that the Department's Makerere graduates had demonstrated their competence to do so.[10]

Early in 1947, the Colonial Office published an extensive

memorandum on the subject of agricultural training at Makerere suggesting ways to increase both the number of students enrolled and the quality of the program.[11] Eighteen months later, the Chief Secretary asked the Directors of Education, Agriculture and Veterinary Services to comment on the memorandum.[12] As it happened, the delay provided them with an opportunity to make Makerere the scapegoat for the relative lack of interest in agriculture.

Of the twenty-one Kenyan students admitted to Makerere for 1949, eighteen were admitted into Arts, two into a partial science course and only one into the full science course, of which only the latter included the biology course. Since biology was a prerequisite for admission to veterinary science, agriculture, or medicine, only one of those departments could hope to receive a graduate from among the 1949 entries. The Directors contended that some of the rejected students would have qualified in the United Kingdom and that one of the rejectees had won the biology prize at Alliance High School. How were these departments to carry out their development plans when they would ultimately be receiving so few graduates?

They suggested more reasonable admission standards and recommended that the Government of Kenya request a special meeting of the Makerere College Council to increase the number of science admissions. If that request failed, they indicated that consideration should be given to conducting special courses at Kabete with the Government grant to

Makerere reduced accordingly.[13] The Government forwarded the opinions of the Directors. In April, 1949, the Council discussed the Kenya complaint but succeeded in defusing the hostility by suggesting that the entire situation be reviewed with the Inter-University Council which was due to visit Makerere in July.[14]

In preparing materials to be put before the Inter-University Council, the Kenya Director of Agriculture called attention to the fact that as of June, 1949, he had only six Makerere trained men on his staff. He anticipated his need for the decade beginning in 1950 as an average of eight men each year.[15] Presented with the need for African staffing in all Departments, the Council decided to upgrade Makerere to degree granting status and a Faculty of Agriculture was included in that decision. Eventually, the position of Professor of Agriculture and Chairman of the Department was advertised and the successful candidate was Fergus Wilson.

The new chairman took up his post in 1952 at a time when the diploma course had all but ceased to exist. Although the original advertisement for the Chair had suggested that development of a three-year undergraduate as well as postgraduate courses was envisaged, the total staff allotment for the 1951-56 quinquennium amounted to three persons. There were no facilities for teaching or research, no endowments, no equipment, and no provisions for funds to purchase land for a farm.[16]

In a private note to the Director of Agriculture in

Kenya, Wilson doubted that people had any idea of how low agriculture had sunk at Makerere. As an example, he showed that the Estimates for 1951-56 quinquennium allocated more money to the Medical School for office stationery than the total allocated to Agriculture for textbooks, apparatus, furniture and equipment, office stationery, and scholastic materials.[17] In contrast to this rather gloomy picture, Wilson called attention to Kenya's Egerton College which offered a two-year diploma course to Europeans. There, one could find an excellent and developed mixed farm, accomodations for both married and single students, adequate staff quarters and a full-time administrative and teaching staff of seventeen.[18]

While acknowledging that poor pay and promotion prospects for Africans undoubtedly carried some weight as arguments for the lack of interest in agriculture, he was convinced that many students would come forward as soon as Makerere could offer them a first class course. "The answer lies not in deploring the choice of African students but in the steady building up of a first rate School of Agriculture, raising its standards year by year until degree status is achieved."[19]

The timing of his appointment seemingly could not have been worse. The Estimates for the Quinquennium were already approved through 1956. Commitments were already earmarked to other schools and faculties from the £1,000,000 grant of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Wilson put the case in its harshest terms to the East African Governments.

He requested £230,000 within the next five years for capital development and a further sum of £20,000 for recurrent expenses in the same period if the Governments wished to give agriculture recognition and support.[20]

For the three governments to act promptly on any proposal was unexpected, but in this case, they agreed to provide the full £250,000 within ten weeks of Wilson's request. He gives the major credit for this support to the Governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew B. Cohen.[21] Cohen's interest in the agricultural program can be traced at least as far back as the Colonial Office Memorandum of 1947 of which he was the author.

The provision of funds marked the turning point in Makerere's role of providing agricultural graduates. Although it took several years before sufficient and qualified staff could be hired, buildings constructed and the farm laid out, Wilson continued as Chairman of the Faculty until 1964, and he provided the leadership necessary to keep the cycle of improvements in full swing. Typical of his successful efforts was the special attention he paid to establishing a long vacation employment program. The program served two purposes. It forced the Departments to be aware of potential agricultural officers, and it gave valuable practical experience to the students.

The Makerere turnaround was so successful that by 1958, fifty students were enrolled as opposed to three in 1952. So greatly had the quality of students seeking admission

improved, that of those fifty students, eighteen qualified for the degree course which was inaugurated that same year.[22]

Although Wilson had outlined in his 1952 development proposal his intent to move as quickly as possible to a full degree program, his announcement that 1958 would be the last year in which diploma entries could also be accepted was apparently a surprise to Kenya. Reacting with alarm, the Department initially tried to deter Wilson by suggesting that they might not be able to absorb many degree holders but they could anticipate requiring five to six diploma holders for every degree holder, or at least twenty a year. Taking the Department at its word, the existing African diploma holders must have certainly proven themselves an asset, because they were referred to as "the very marrow of our Agricultural Development plans."[23] Wilson expressed a willingness to continue with a diploma program for not more than ten years, but Kenya decided to convert Siriba to a diploma course.

The original Wilson thesis had been that enrollments in agriculture would cease to be a problem just as quickly as the prospective students could determine that they were receiving a quality program. A little more than half-way through his tenure at Makerere he suggested that that ideal was being realized.

> There can be no doubt that the offering of a degree course in agriculture has exercised a marked influence upon the quality of student wishing to find a professional career in agriculture; in recent years there has been a steady rise in the

academic standards of students entering the Faculty.[24]

By 1964, over twenty students were enrolling in the degree program each year, and the Kenya share was averaging about five students each year.

Overseas Training

In the last years of colonial rule, so much British and American money was available, it sometimes seemed as if every African Assistant Agricultural Officer had the opportunity to go overseas for study. But except for these last years, Africans were restricted from participating in overseas training.

The first recorded request by an African agriculturalist to attend an overseas course is that of Samuel Mbugua, a Makerere graduate. Upon learning of his impending transfer to Embu in 1946 as a teacher for the agricultural school there, he requested overseas training at Trinidad. Trinidad was the site of the tropical agricultural college for the British Empire, and many of the European officers passed through there before taking up their first assignments in Kenya. Although his request was forwarded to the Director of Agriculture, his immediate superior commented that he did not think the time was yet appropriate for sending Africans overseas. The Director agreed, stating that an African could not profit from a course at Trinidad. Mbugua repeated his request a year later with the same result.[25]

There was not, at the time Mbugua made his requests,

any organized program for overseas training. Moreover, during the next few years, most of the stimulus for such training was to come from non-Government sources. Perhaps the first of these was the independence of India. Almost concurrently with the celebration, the new Indian Government began offering scholarships to Kenya. The reaction of the British Government was fairly quick, and within a few months three Kenyans were on their way to the U. K. Though none of the young men was from the Department of Agriculture, one was a Veterinary Assistant by the name of Paul T. Kirie, who stayed long enough in the U. K. to earn an agricultural degree. He returned to Kenya in 1954 to become the first fully qualified Assistant Agricultural Officer (African).

Americans will find interesting the comments of the Agricultural Advisor to the Colonial Office with regard to the suitability of American training for colonial subjects. While he did not believe the dollar shortage (1948) would permit many to go to America in the first place, his guidelines were as follows:

1. Stay out of the South even at the expense of missing similar farming conditions. Good White schools would not admit most colonial subjects and the standards of Negro colleges are too low.
2. Do not send men to the United States if you want them to think, write, and ultimately direct research --- (most interesting in view of the usual American generalization that the rote training required of Africans to pass the

British examination system stifles the student's ability to think for himself).

3. If you want primarily good District Agricultural Officers, send the students to one of six universities whose standards are at least equal to Wye or Harper Adams (the six listed were Cornell, California at Berkeley, Iowa State, Wisconsin, Michigan State, and Illinois).

In any event, it was almost another decade before American foreign aid dollars began to flow into Africa and to provide a challenge to this interesting thesis.[26]

In 1949 the North Nyanza Local Native Council applied internal pressure for overseas training at Trinidad, when it offered to provide the finances. The Senior Education Officer for Nyanza stated that selection would have to be excellent so that the person sent would not be corrupted by the "undesirable influences" of Trinidad Colony, whatever that meant.[27] The Senior Agricultural Officer thought that a better policy would be to secure more Makerere graduates. He had at that time only four Makerere graduates who might qualify for this overseas study, and he did not believe the province could spare them. While this latter reason may from one point of view appear as just a convenient excuse, and it conceivably was, a tremendous shortage of talent existed, regardless of race, and the field officers were always concerned at their inability to put more staff on the innumerable projects that could have used attention.

The following year, 1950, the North Nyanza Local Native

Council repeated the offer, and this time, after discussion within the province, it was agreed that it might be very worth while to send three or four progressive farmers to Britain to observe farming there. The Director of Agriculture gave his approval to that proposal.[28] Later that year, the British Council made funds available for an African Assistant Agricultural Officer to take a three month tour of agricultural facilities in the U. K.,[29] and in the following year, the same organization made funds available for additional farmers.[30]

The dike had been broken. While the demand for overseas training has always been greater than the opportunities available, many Africans have been able to go and the program has been a continuing one right up to the present day.

Youth Organizations

A movement with considerable potential for stimulating youthful interest in agricultural development was young people's voluntary organizations. The experience of the 4-H movement in the United States and the Young Farmers Clubs (Y. F. C.) in the U. K. was available to draw on, but, probably because organizing such clubs would represent an additional duty for any field officer, the movement was relatively slow to get started.

The first evidence of interest dates from 1946, when a retiring District Commissioner turned over his personal

files on the 4-H movement to the Chief Native Commissioner.[31] There is also some indication that the Senior Agricultural Education Officer, G. K. Chaundy, encouraged the formation of Young Farmers Clubs and requested a staff member to take charge of this development.

Nothing significant appears to have developed from these initial ideas. It was not until 1949 that Thomas Hughes-Rice, a Senior Assistant Agricultural Officer entered the picture as an innovator in agricultural education. Hughes-Rice, convened a conference on Young Farmers Clubs in Nyeri District which attracted over 200 delegates and resulted in the formation of four clubs before the end of that year with memberships ranging from sixty to one hundred and twenty young people. So impressive was this initial effort that the Provincial Agricultural Officer (P. A. O.) called it to the special attention of the Director of Agriculture. While some rumblings of political unrest were apparently already coming to the surface in that year, the P. A. O. suggested that increasing the police force was not the answer. Rather, an effort to win the confidence and cooperation of young people through personal example and leadership was needed, such as offered through the Y. F. C. movement. By 1951, with the cooperation of other Agricultural Officers, the clubs numbered twenty-five, and the Community Development Officer for that area referred to them as the finest possible Community Development project in the area.[33]

On the basis of this success, the Commissioner for

Community Development directed the teaching staff at the Jeanes School, postwar site of the Community Development training, to publicize the Y. F. C. movement to all the courses attending the school. He declared that if the Community Development Assistants did nothing else but foster such clubs, they would not be wasting their time, though he added the caveat that he knew that couldn't be done.[34]

In July, 1953, a special five-week course for twenty-five Young Farmers Club leaders was organized at the Jeanes School. In the advertisements for the course, these clubs were said to encourage post-school youths to take up agriculture instead of drifting to the towns, to provide Department Officers valuable contact with young men, to create an informed public, and to foster the idea of self-help. Plans were also made to give additional attention to these clubs in the refresher course for Community Development Assistants scheduled for the latter part of 1953.[35] In 1955, these clubs were an important part of the training program for the Rehabilitation Assistants being trained at Jeanes.

The 1955 report for Central Province indicated a total of thirty-nine clubs with 4,122 members.[36] Clubs were also organized in Nyanza Province and the movement made reasonable progress right up to independence, particularly in view of the fact that no officer in any department was assigned specifically to develop the program.

Soil Conservation Service[37]

By the beginning of the 1930's, the serious results of several consecutive years of locust invasions, the first stages of serious overcrowding in the Reserves and some generally inept farming practices in both European and African areas provided dramatic evidence of the need for a program of soil conservation. An interested and enthusiastic Agricultural Officer, Colin Maher, received permission in 1936 to establish the Soil Conservation Service. Maher embarked on a lengthy trip to the United States to study soil conservation practices there, and serious organization of the Service was undertaken upon his return in 1938.

For the next two decades, the Soil Conservation Service of Kenya operated as a semi-autonomous division of the Department of Agriculture. In the process, the Service established its own training program.

Recruiting Africans for the Service faced all the disinterest that was such a headache for Bukura and Scott, but Maher and his top aides made it a personal task to seek out and interview potential candidates. Thanks to a close association with the Principal of Alliance High School, a number of its graduates joined up and ultimately became some of the best officers at the rank of Leveller, the highest rating available to them.

Everyone realized that the majority of the men were recruited because it was a job offer in a tight labor market, and that made the tasks of training all the more important.

Training was conducted primarily by two techniques; a quasi-school at Kitale and through on-the-job training in a kind of apprenticeship system. For the most part, the training was racially integrated, in itself a bold move in the early 1940's. During the period of the heavy rains, when construction work was practically impossible, everyone returned to the headquarters at Kitale where, during a two month period, refresher courses were conducted for the old hands, and new recruits were introduced to the problems and methods. Lectures were integrated and in the practical instruction such as tractor repair, Europeans and Africans worked side-by-side in learning that operation. Each of the basic subjects was covered in meticulous detail, step-by-step, and then repeated so that the same understanding was achieved by each member of the future teams ranging from laborer at the lowest level to European Officer or African Leveller at the top. This determination to keep things simple but to impart perfection is reflected in the Handbook for Soil Conservation Service Officers, which covers literally almost everything an officer would ever encounter, --- from the duties of the officers and the purpose of the Service to the use of a line level, the proper care of tents, and the requirements for sanitation and health. (See Appendix C for excerpts)

The apprenticeship training was carried on in the spirit that the most qualified man taught those less qualified. If that meant an African was teaching a European, so be it.

In 1940, this kind of racial acceptance in Kenya was unique.

The attention to detail and the apprenticeship system were important contributions to the success of the teamwork required to complete any assigned project. They, among other things, contributed to an esprit de corps which is still reflected in the enthusiasm of the men who served in those days, European or African.

Discipline was exceptionally strict but, it was firm and fair. Rules for tents, sanitation, and health were strictly enforced. Discourtesy was not permitted toward either race. It was known and made a lasting impression that a European officer would be reprimanded for mistreatmemt of his African staff or a European farmer rebuked for being abusive to the African staff. Much of the work was carried out on European farms by African teams living in tents on a corner of the farm for the duration of the project. The enforcement of the strict rules not only protected the health of the men but kept the European farmers from being impressed with anything but the quality of the work. In the early years, many Europeans resented the African Levellers' ability to speak excellent English and insisted on speaking up-country Swahili. Maher instructed his Levellers that the remedy for this treatment was to respond in grammatical Swahili, which was incomprehensible to most farmers.

One of the great contributions to morale was the team effort where Europeans and Africans worked side-by-side. It was not unusual for Maher himself to participate in the manual

labor on a project, and the fact that all officers knew every task and also performed them as the occasion demanded contributed immensely to a sense of fair play. It may seem odd today, but one of the early African staff recalls that the first time he saw a European with his hands dirty was at his first tractor driving session, when the European instructor crawled out from under the tractor he had been fixing. Even if the absolute accuracy of that remark might be open to question, the fact that it was relatively rare everywhere but in "their" Service was an important factor in morale.

Differentials in pay and rank according to race were present in the Service as they were throughout Kenya, but Maher battled constantly to improve both pay and promotion prospects for his African staff. He achieved his most significant breakthrough in 1949. After many years of debate, Makerere-trained staff had only just obtained the opportunity to be promoted to Assistant Agricultural Officer (African), but Maher was successful in getting three of his African Levellers, possessing only their Alliance High School certificates, promoted to the same category. The effect on African morale in the Service was immensely favorable.

Another plus for morale was the frequent field trips by Maher, as the Officer in Charge. The six field stations of the Service were scattered throughout Kenya. One of the stations was a 350 mile trip from Kitale which took some

three to five weeks to complete. But a serious effort was made to visit each station every three months. This concern was appreciated by the staff and was in stark contrast to the limited travel undertaken by the top officials of the Department of Agriculture.

Not everything about the Service appealed to Africans. The life in tents, located for months away from any cities, was hard and relatively unattractive. For some, the sense of accomplishment in seeing with their own eyes the achievement of their efforts was not enough, and on at least two occasions, almost half of the African staff left to seek other jobs.

The heavy reliance on apprenticeship training also had its difficulties. Despite the emphasis on instruction in the basics, not every veteran staff member had learned his lesson perfectly or he may have grown careless in technique and the error was then passed along to his trainee. Two checks were in operation to help rectify that situation --- the policy that all the leading officers must learn everything required of their men, and the annual refresher courses.

In the early 1950's, the Service was brought more directly within the Department of Agriculture, so that the project teams worked in direction with the Provincial and District Agricultural Officers. There is little question that some of the spirit of autonomy was lost, but there was some compensation in broadening the base of involvement

so that the crops and cattle policy of a district could be more closely coordinated with the needs of soil conservation.

Farmer Training Centers

Ever since the program for development in the African Reserves had begun in 1922, most officials despaired of providing training for illiterate adults. By 1946, however, among the adult population was a large body of ex-servicemen who, at Bukura, were proving to be highly successful agricultural students in contrast to the younger trainees just out of school. Gradually over the next few years, more and more experimentation was undertaken with programs to provide agricultural training for those adult men and women who had already responded to the call of the land by becoming farmers. In 1970, a program of adult farmer training may appear to have been an obvious candidate for development. It was, in fact, among the last to be so developed, but was perhaps the most important new program of the entire colonial period.

The idea, however, had been around for many years. As far back as 1932, the District Commissioner for South Kavirondo asked permission to start an adult farm institute. He suggested that he would undertake to train one hundred illiterate farmers for two-week periods, emphasizing proper use of land, improved methods of cultivation, importance of seed selection, and livestock management. Both the Provincial Commissioner and the Senior Agricultural Officer supported

the proposal, but it received the cold water treatment in Nairobi.

The Director of Education thought that such a school would prejudice the start of a regular Government African School in the area, and he also thought the Kisii would resent the proposal. Above all, he doubted that illiterates could learn anything worthwhile in so short a period and stated that agricultural improvement had to depend on the next generation of Africans. The Director of Agriculture expressed his approval, but only if the course were for a minimum of one year.[38]

These points about the aptitude of illiterates and the minimum length for training were the two basic arguments responsible for preventing the development of farmer training until the 1950's. Very few officials were willing to place any stock in the suggestions that illiterates could be taught. Agriculturalists, many of whom had studied for many years themselves, were certain that short courses would have absolutely no residual value. Consequently, even those officers who supported proposals for training farmers invariably stipulated that the farmers would need to be in residence at the training sites for at least a year. The great social and economic cost that such uprooting would impose on African farmers appears either to have been lost sight of or to have been relegated as being of lesser importance than the need for this minimum in-depth training.

The validity of the one year training program was

first tested by the Department of Agriculture in 1950, when it established the family farm institute at Bukura. Bukura was available as a training site because of the transfer of the program for agricultural instructors to Siriba.

The Bukura program, in addition to being the Department's first attempt to provide formal training for adults, also involved an experiment in group farming. Many of the colonial officers and scholars believed that Africans are communal by nature and that to force on them the private initiative of the West was bound to hinder instead of enhance development. It was also true that agricultural officers and administrators had generally been disappointed with the way in which the people of Nyanza appeared to reject their suggestions for agricultural improvement. Consequently, group farming looked like the best approach to alleviate the food shortages and soil deterioration resulting from over-cropping for the war effort. This experiment might also inspire the Africans to accept new agricultural methods.

In fairness to the promoters of ideas for group farming, they did consider the program to be a test, though their proposals spoke glowingly of the probable results. To obtain funds to construct the necessary houses and other facilities, the Department suggested a five-year scheme to the African Land Utilization and Settlement Board, "to experiment in Group Farming in an area under full Government control and to demonstrate and test the finished article in

the shortest time and unhampered by the whims and prejudices of the participants."[39]

The experiment got underway in 1950 with a group of Luo farmers recruited at random from Central Nyanza. These farmers did not know each other before they arrived at Bukura and generating cooperation for their year in training was a difficult task. In the following year, a group of Abaluyia were recruited, all from one location, and all encouraged to attend by their chief who also visited them several times during training to offer them his encouragement. Cooperation in the second year was considerably improved.

But concurrently with each of the two groups, Bukura also trained six families on individual smallholdings, each with their own plot duly marked with hedges. These families invariably cooperated with each other when the situation warranted, such as at plowing time. Those tasks which lent themselves best to individual effort, they did in their own time. Overall, they left the impression that this type of cooperation was easier to generate than in group farming where cooperation was essential on every project.

While the experiment had perhaps naively set out to prove its point free of the "whims and prejudices of the participants," this vital factor of human likes and dislikes could not be ignored in group farming. More resistance developed to scheduled cooperation than to the spontaneous variety. It also appeared that the individual holdings offered pride of ownership and the spirit of being one's

own boss. Consequently, having tested the theory and found it potentially workable but hardly a panacea, the Department switched entirely to training twenty families each year on individual smallholdings. These smallholdings of varying size and terrain became in addition to their training functions, valuable experiments to determine what proportions of crops and cattle could be grouped to provide adequate food and income of £100 each year for a family.[40]

The Bukura program was not actually the first adult program of the postwar era. In 1947, Thomas Hughes-Rice, the Agricultural Officer responsible for starting Young Farmers Clubs, hit upon the idea of using school premises during vacation periods to hold one-week courses in agriculture for school teachers, progressive farmers, local businessmen, and agricultural instructors. The courses covered a wide variety of subjects such as soil conservation, local trade developments, health and nutrition, and considerable time was spent in touring local facilities which demonstrated progress in these areas. The Department of Agriculture did not provide funds for the courses, and they were made possible through the assistance of the missions, the administrative officers, and other colleagues who provided their services. The principle purpose of the course was to stimulate interest and goodwill toward agriculture and twenty-five to thirty people attended each course.[41] In 1951, when Hughes-Rice was transferred from Nyeri, the courses came to a halt, and it remained for the Jeanes School at Kabete to develop fully

the art of these short courses.

The Jeanes School on the prewar pattern of village teacher training was not reestablished after the War. For the immediate postwar years, it was used as a training site for ex-servicemen. Among the many courses it offered was a nine-month agricultural course for twenty-five ex-servicemen. Those who completed the course successfully were hired by the Agricultural Department as agricultural instructors and in addition to their base pay they received a supplementary sum each month for each year of Army service.[42]

Two courses for these men were conducted, but when the Commissioner of Social Welfare, under whose jurisdiction the Jeanes School was then operated, proposed a third, the Director of Agriculture declined on the grounds that the courses had served their purpose in meeting the immediate postwar demand for agricultural instructors. In a note to his staff, he suggested that the training had been inferior and that the war-earned salary increments of the soldier-instructors had led to morale problems with the other agricultural instructors in the field.[43]

This exchange of correspondence which took place in March, 1948, was the last apparent contact between the Department and the Jeanes School for almost two years. Early in 1950, the Commissioner sent the Director an outline for a proposed training course for farmers. In his cover letter, the Commissioner remarked that unofficial discussions with District Commissioners and other administrative officers

had led to the decision that such a course would be useful.[44]

The Director of Agriculture solicited reactions from his four Provincial Agricultural Officers and included his own aggrieved comment that the Department had not been consulted until the proposal was on the eve of inauguration. The answers he received from his field lieutenants are important because they suggest the difficult reception the Jeanes program was to receive in its early years --- and why the acknowledgment of its success by a majority of agricultural officers within a few years was really quite remarkable. But also contained in the remarks is enough distrust of the Jeanes School to also suggest at least one reason why a proposal to merge the efforts of the two departments in 1956 would go awry.

> Can it be assumed that the qualified resident /the wording of the proposal/ Agricultural Officer at Jeanes is 'au fait' with the policy of the Department. I much prefer training Africans in the Province. Six weeks is absurd ....To attempt more than this might produce a crop of half informed Smart Alecs. I am not satisfied that the atmosphere at Jeanes is the right one to engender a real interest in agriculture.[45]

There was little, however, the Department could do to prevent the courses from going forward, and the Director asked only that Agriculture be fully consulted with regard to the syllabus.[46] In 1951, four of these short courses were conducted for farmers from Kiambu, Fort Hall, Nyeri, and Machakos with an average attendance of twenty-five at each course.[47] Farmer interest and the general success of these first courses made them a regular part of the Jeanes

program. The courses lasted for six to eight weeks. Each course was preceded by a visit of the Jeanes agricultural staff to the home area so that the agricultural material would be as relevant as possible.

The Jeanes courses always provided much more than just farming techniques. The school was administratively located within the Ministry of Community Development (successor to Social Welfare). It conducted a variety of specialty courses on health, physical education, citizenship, local government, and agriculture. In each, some elements of all the others were included so as to provide the trainees with a perspective of many aspects of development over and above their own professional interest. The Jeanes courses deliberately undertook the teaching of illiterates and in the nine years the course operated, they provided ample evidence that this was a viable approach.

This is by no means to say that the immediate response of the farmers was one of unmitigated enthusiasm. There is the classic story of the up-country group which was being seen off at the train by their chief, the district officer, and other dignitaries and as the fanfare was taking place on one side of the train, the unhappy recruits were quietly exiting on the other side. Nor did arrival at the training site ensure immediate desire to learn. Consequently, in the early part of the training period, the Jeanes staff spent whatever time they needed to gain the confidence of the group by getting the members to talk about their families,

local customs, and so on. When the emerging leaders of the group began to ask questions about farming, then the farming part of the course could begin in earnest.

All the staff, European and African, were fluent in Swahili, and the numbers of staff were such that usually an African member was available who could also speak the vernacular of any particular group. Through trial and error, it was determined that six weeks was the most appropriate length for the course. That was the maximum time that most trainees could be away from their homes without excessive worry, and it was the mimimum time in which to get some results.

Not everything about the Jeanes program was successful. The staff was never able to engage in any significant kind of followup program either to measure their own results or to reinspire their alumni. Trainees often returned home emersed in enthusiasm to try some of the ideas of their course only to find themselves isolated as undesirable radicals amidst the conservatism of the family and group structures at home.[48]

In 1953, at the time the Swynnerton Plan was being formulated, something less than 200 farmers a year were receiving training at the Jeanes School, Bukura, and a few other sources. The Plan referred specifically only to financing more of the one-year Bukura-type institutes, but, by 1954, a number of influential agricultural officers were not impressed by the results at Bukura. According to the

statistics they gethered, less than 50 per cent of those attending were showing any results from their training in their actual farming operations. Moreover, the cost of duplicating these institutes and their limited annual output in terms of families trained made it almost impossible to proceed along that route.[49]

The Swynnerton Plan estimated that 600,000 families could be accommodated on African lands suitable for intensive or semi-intensive farming.[50] The Department of Agriculture realized that wholesale and dramatic changes were imperative if anything near that number of farmers were to receive training. Many officers had observed the Jeanes program and were impressed with the results. A short course for Kipsigi farmers was organized at Kabianga. The agricultural officer responsible for that new program admitted that he was inspired by his observation of the results of the Jeanes program. Typical of the letters received from agricultural officers by the Principal of the Jeanes school was the following:

> I have found that Africans who attend these courses invariably return to the District with a more enlightened outlook on problems such as grazing control, limitation of stock, and so on .... The point is that the number of farmers who attend these courses are so few, that their voice is a mere squeak in the multitude.[51]

Along with this new interest in the short course training method, a number of agricultural officers were also convinced that the expansion necessary to reach the Swynnerton training target should largely be undertaken through the

establishment of additional Jeanes Schools in order to duplicate throughout Kenya the effort then being conducted only at Kabete. Discussions along these lines gained considerable momentum through most of 1956. Early in that year, the Principal of Jeanes toured Nyanza with the express purpose of exploring the possibilities for establishing additional Jeanes Schools. In Nyanza, he found a kindred spirit in Thomas Hughes-Rice, the agricultural officer who had originally started farmers' short courses in Nyeri in the late 1940's and was now stationed in Nyanza as the Assistant Director of Agriculture for that area.

The rationale developed by these gentlemen and a number of other officers was that, because the land consolidation and farm planning were just then beginning to catch on, a rural education campaign was imperative to take advantage of this interest. The Jeanes Schools, with their all-around approach to adult rural education, were in a much better position to make a significant contribution than were the existing farm institutes. Many of the agricultural officers observed the limited influence the Department's farms, such as the one at Bukura, had had on the surrounding area. They felt that the Jeanes theory of attempting to reach the whole man was the better way to stimulate rural development. Hughes-Rice suggested that the institutes at Bukura, Kabianga, and Kisii could readily be turned into Jeanes Schools.[52]

The proposal which resulted from their conferences suggested that these Jeanes Schools would be established

for a minimum of one hundred trainees, with a preferable target size of 200. The courses would be for six weeks in length with several weeks between courses for the staff to organize properly for the next. The goal was to train 1200 farmers a year at each site.[53]

Employing Jeanes staff meant obtaining a group of men with training and experience in educational work. As career educationists, the staff had prospects for promotion and more continuity. The use of a broad program including civics, sociology and cultural inputs enhanced the potential of success of the technical training, and the proposed increase in size offered a potentially more economical and efficient operation which would help reach the training goal of the Swynnerton Plan. There may have been an additional attraction for turning training over to Jeanes because agricultural staff were already hard pressed by other aspects of the Swynnerton Plan.[54]

In late November, 1956, agreement on the major points had reached the stage where a draft proposal for District Jeanes Schools was sent to the Secretaries for African Affairs, Agriculture, Education, and Labor and Lands to ask their comments before submission to the Council of Ministers. Included in the proposal was the suggestion that the Principals of these schools would all be officers drawn from the Department of Community Development.

This suggestion was to be the one which defeated, or at least served as the excuse to defeat the entire proposal.

In the course of the joint discussions, some agricultural officers were skeptical that agriculture would be the principle concentration in training under the district Jeanes school setup. Subsequent to the submission of the draft proposal, the Department of Agriculture spelled out emphatically to Community Development that these training institutes must remain under the control of Agriculture. As a compromise, it offered to accept one Community Development Officer at Bukura to teach Jeanes School techniques and civics. If that experiment was successful, the Community Development component of the institutes might be built up over time so that ultimately the question of who should be Principal would simply depend on the best man available from either Department.[55]

Initially, Community Development agreed to the compromise. It named an officer to take up the Bukura post, arrangements were made to add him to the staff there, and announcements to that effect were made by the Department of Agriculture. Then, Community Development balked. This refusal, coupled with the earlier reluctance of Agriculture to accept C. D. leadership of the institutes, effectively put an end to the cooperative effort for a joint expansion of the Jeanes Schools and farm institutes.

This, however, was only the signal for a vastly expanded program operated by the Department of Agriculture. Of great significance to the future success of the farmers' training program was that African leaders were exerting the

initiative for establishing training centers. Three examples are illustrative of the important effect of this African participation.

At the outbreak of Mau Mau, an important Kikuyu, Chief Waruhiu Wa Kungu was killed. In considering a memorial, the Chief's son, David, hit upon the idea of a training center for African farmers, and he donated one hundred acres. To erect the necessary buildings, Mr. Waruhiu embarked on a fund raising campaign which attracted funds from individuals as far away as the United Kingdom and the United States. Of perhaps greater importance, the idea caught on among his own people and leaders in other parts of the country. The local African District Council provided some of the funds for the Waruhiu Center.

Other examples of African involvement took place at Kaimosi and Nyeri. In 1956, the Nandi African District Council allocated 500 acres of land and £5,000 towards the cost of buildings and initial development of a farmers' training center at Kaimosi. Also in 1956, at Nyeri, Paul Mirie was one of those instrumental in persuading Senior Chief Wambugu Mathangania to lease 203 acres of land to the Nyeri African District Council for construction of a farmers' training center. The local African District Council supplied capital funds for the construction of buildings and much of the recurrent expenses.[56]

These centers were all designed with the idea of presenting short courses, rather than the previous year-long

training programs of the farmers' institutes. To accent the change, this type of center was called Farmers' Training Centers. The appropriate length of these courses was the subject of considerable experimentation with many taking four to six weeks, and Kaimosi experimenting with one-week courses. Ultimately, it was determined that courses of ten days to two weeks were best.

The typical training center can accommodate between thirty to one hundred farmers. It charges fees of one or two shillings a day as a means to cover food costs and also out of a tradition that seriousness of purpose is greater if one pays for something. A demonstration farm averaging twenty acres is typical, but the center also has a bus so that farmers can take frequent trips to see the results achieved by progressive colleagues. The staff consists of a Principal, who normally also teaches, and several assistants, usually men who have graduated from Embu or Siriba.[57]

Once established, the centers become a considerable charge on the recurrent revenue of the Department. Debate within the Department has continued as to whether the farms associated with the centers should be operated at a profit to pay for the center's operations or whether they should be operated primarily for demonstration purposes and therefore, undertake some projects which might in themselves have no financial payoff.

The farmers' training program undertaken for the Mau Mau detainees in the Athi River detention camp deserves

mention. The Jeanes School accepted responsibility for this training. Approximately 6,000 detainees were housed at Athi River in 1956, and the challenge to reach that number of "students" was a formidable one.

The successful approach employed was to have the detainees select thirty of their own representatives, all with educational experience through secondary school. The thirty became the teachers and attended class each morning where the particular lessons of the day were outlined to them, and they in turn taught their classes each afternoon. One of the crucial subjects for discussion was that of land consolidation, a process which for many of the men had begun in their home areas since the time of their detention. The land consolidation program involved serious ramifications for the future of these detainees, since the allocations of land were carried out while many of the men were still in the camps.

In the evenings at camp, slides were shown to the detainees which were deliberately chosen from the home areas of the majority. In this way the men were brought up to date with the general and agricultural development in their areas. Without placing any judgment on the "rehabilitation program" of which this course was a part, the agricultural course is generally credited with making the detainees anxious to get out and be a part of the new developments. It is not unusual for those involved in the training to have that particular program recalled to them later in

favorable fashion by ex-detainees.[58]

From its earlier reluctance to train adults, the adoption of the farmers' training program marks the most significant step undertaken by the Department of Agriculture in the field of agricultural education. As recently as 1945, the Department had stated that Africans were not at a level of education which would make it possible for them to plan their own agricultural economy. This gloomy prospect was dispelled within a decade, not because the level of education had improved measurably, but rather because the Department found a means which appealed to the inherent common sense and intelligence of adult farmers. In a few short years, the short course method won great favor as the most potent and popular method of instruction as yet devised. The seriousness of purpose by 1956, with which the Department adopted the program, is reflected in this statement by Leslie Brown, the Deputy Director of Agriculture.

> Coupled with consolidation is the necessity to educate the peasant farmer in methods of farming his nice new gift of a holding in one piece instead of scattered fragments. To meet this need we plan to extend the Department's facilities for each year at the farm institutes;....By spreading our educational facilities over a larger number of people we hope to create many foci of good farming from which sound principles will spread and become general practices.[59]

Chapter Six

The End of One Era and the Beginning of Another

The Swynnerton Plan included a number of proposals for agricultural education, but they were not radical innovations. The recommendations were along the lines of improving the best of the existing programs. Three categories of agricultural education were included; for farmers, for teachers of agriculture, and for children in school.[1]

Farmers could be given specialty training through courses of a few weeks or as long as a year. The specific Swynnerton financial recommendations called for funding three family farm institutes in Nyanza which at that time were still one-year courses. Fortunately, while discussions were proceeding regarding the increased farmers' training required by the overall goals of the plan, the success of the Jeanes School short courses became increasingly evident and the Department shifted its methods accordingly. The Swynnerton Plan was not the primary cause of this shift, but its opportune existence was an important catalyst in achieving fruition of the farmers' training program.

The Swynnerton Plan looked to the future for an improved supply of African staff, noting that while training facilities existed from instructor level right through to Makerere graduate, the numbers enrolled must be increased. Large numbers of African staff were needed as farm surveyors and farm planners, as Assistant Agricultural Officers and as

Agricultural Officers, though at the time, no African had as yet qualified for the latter post. (Paul Mirie was the first to qualify in 1954).

In its recommendations for agricultural education in schools, Swynnerton favored continuing the traditional policy of the Department. Teachers at primary schools had an obligation to encourage interest in agriculture. Great hopes were placed in the farming program for the 300 primary schools proposed in the Beecher Plan[2] and in the ability of the Education Department to train enough specialist teachers for those schools. Five hours out of a total weekly teaching time of forty-five hours were to be devoted to Rural Science. The syllabus was set up to emphasize the primary needs of living things --- food, air, water, and light; growth and reproduction; and the balance of nature --- ecology, decay, and renewal.[3]

These were statements concerning the theoretical basis for teaching agriculture in schools. The Department of Education was only one year away from its suggested policy statement that agriculturalists could not be developed through the schools. Moreover, within another few years, the Department of Agriculture was heavily involved in its own farmer training program and the sentiment of many agriculturalists was expressed most emphatically by the Chief Agriculturalist, Leslie Brown: "No farmer I have ever seen was a better farmer because of what he had been taught at school."[4]

That pessimistic conclusion was not just the result of failure of the agricultural education program in the schools but was a derivative of the vast problems involved in educating African children. Enrollments in African schools increased from 128,000 at the primary level and 184 at the secondary level in 1938 to 330,000 at primary level and 1,700 at secondary level in 1953.[5] Of the children eligible to be enrolled in primary education, however, less than 32 per cent were completing four years and only 3.7 per cent were completing eight years. At the secondary level, only 0.08 per cent of those eligible to be in their twelfth year were so enrolled.[6]

The financial burden of African education was still largely in the hands of the Africans themselves and the missions. In 1947, Eliud Mathu, the first African representative in the Legislative Council, charged that the principle of each community paying for its education meant that 583 shillings were provided for every European child and only four shillings for every African child.[7] In that same year, the Department of Education was expending £171,000 on European education for just under 4,000 students and only £157,000 on African education for just under 227,000 students.[8] The impetus of the Beecher Plan changed the proportions spent in favor of African education but at the time of the Swynnerton Plan, educational opportunities for African children were still severely limited.

In addition to the statistical problem of providing for

numbers of children, frequent turnovers and inadequate staffing remained as significant concerns. The Binns Report cited one example of a school where the agricultural teacher was allowed to spend nearly £1,000 developing a school farm. He went on leave before the project was finished and was transferred to another school upon his return. In the meantime, the farm reverted almost entirely to bush.[9]

The Department of Education had in one sense put its best staffing foot forward back in 1944 when it hired its three agricultural education officers. This concept practically died aborning, however, because within a few years the utter frustration from the immensity of the task led all three officers into other fields or retirement. The posts were never again filled because the idea was unworkable without a sizeable staff and very few men were qualified to fill the slots.

Few incentives were provided for staff in either agriculture or education to be particularly interested in agricultural education. With the exception of the brief period of employment of the three Agricultural Education Officers, no specialist category in this field was available through which officers could seek promotion. Men assigned to agricultural schools and farmers' training centers often looked on it as meaning they were considered to be inferior field officers --- or as cruel and unusual punishment since the evening programs at the schools meant a much longer working day than was true for their counterparts in the

field. On several occasions in the 1950's, the idea of a separate section for agricultural officers who wished to specialize in education was discussed, but each time it was rejected on the grounds that such a separate section would be a dead-end category for those officers.[10]

Agricultural education was the ninth and last priority on the list of nine fundamental items which Swynnerton suggested needed special attention. It really might not have mattered if Swynnerton had ended his list at eight priorities, for his plan was most important because it added a whole new dimension to African farming; namely, the opportunity to compete for profits in every facet of agriculture. It recognized that African farmers would respond to economic motivations when they were given access to markets, resources, and knowledge.[12]

It was not the first time that a Deputy Director of Agriculture had suggested that such a response could be generated. Back in 1934, H. Wolfe had encouraged his colleagues to concentrate on the human factor in their African development work and to set cash goals for African farmers.[13] If for no other reason than the politics of the 1930's, however, Mr. Wolfe's idea was not implemented in any significant fashion.

Counter notions, such as the belief of many that African agriculture needed to be developed on the basis of group farming was one obstacle that needed to be tried and discarded before the Swynnerton Plan could generate the

staff support that it did.[14] Swynnerton cut through two of the old shibboleths, danger of theft, and pests and diseases, which had been raised as barriers to African participation in the total agricultural arena. He pointed out that theft was a matter of law and order and he argued that adequate supervision was provided in his staffing proposals to eliminate the argument about pests and diseases.[15]

The magnitude of the goals of the Swynnerton Plan add meaning to why its contribution was so significant. The increase in the number of African coffee growers was projected to go from 15,000 to 140,000.[16] In field staff alone, the plan called for an additional 130 European officers and 210 African instructors, not including over 600 other employees, most of them African laborers, who would be needed for the farm survey teams.[17] Perhaps the goal which was most meaningful to the individual African farmer was that of raising the surplus output for 600,000 families from approximately £10 per family to £100 or more apiece.[18]

Swynnerton recognized that it would take the closest possible coordination between departments and administration at District, Provincial, and Director level to make the program work.[19] Despite the amazingly short period allotted for its drafting, Swynnerton made a determined effort through interviews and political memoranda to encourage suggestions from every administrative section, including many field officers. The end result of this tactic was that field staff felt a part of the plan in a way they had never

before experienced for a policy promulgated by Head Office.

Once the Swynnerton Plan was in operation, it placed African agriculture in a context that for the first time gave meaning to programs of agricultural education. Success did not come in the area of schoolboy education, however, but rather in adult education, male and female. Once the Department gave the Africans the incentives they previously had restricted, they found that not only were the farmers economically motivated, but they wanted to learn ways to improve on these new opportunities offered to them. Adult farmers had already committed themselves to farming, they had a good basic background in soils and crops, and unlike young people, they were going to school to return to the land not to escape from it.[20]

From its earlier reluctance to train adults, the adoption of the farmers' training program marks the most significant step undertaken by the Department of Agriculture in the field of agricultural education. As recently as 1945, the Department had stated that Africans were not at a level of education which would make it possible for them to plan their own agricultural economy.[21] This gloomy prospect was dispelled within a decade, not because the level of education had improved measurably, but rather because the Department found a means which appealed to the inherent common sense and intelligence of adult farmers. In a few short years, the short course method won great favor as the most potent and popular method of instruction as yet devised. By 1956, the

seriousness of purpose with which the Department adopted the program is reflected in another statement by Leslie Brown, Chief Agriculturalist:

> Coupled with consolidation is the necessity to educate the peasant farmer in methods of farming his nice new gift of a holding in one piece instead of scattered fragments. To meet this need we plan to extend the Department's facilities....By spreading our educational facilities over a larger number of people we hope to create many foci of good farming from which sound principles will spread and become general practices.[22]

The establishment of Farmers' Training Centers was the major development in agricultural education in the colonial era. By Independence, seventeen centers were in operation and over 16,000 farmers attended courses that year. Growth continued until twenty-six centers existed as of 1967.[23] Funds for their development were supplied by the Government of Kenya, the United States Government and church groups.

One of the really striking developments in the use of the courses was that, by 1963, over 5,000 of those attending courses were women.[24] The opportunity for both husband and wife to obtain training has been important in giving both parties to the agricultural process a sense of direction and committment to new methods and new crops.

Recruiting and training qualified African agricultural staff never caught up with the demand during the remainder of the colonial era. But the Department adopted the short course method for the retraining of its existing staff. A glance at the training file for just one district in the

early 1960's would show two-to five-day courses in horticulture, farm planning, plant pathology, sileage making, animal husbandry, and so on. The teaching of these courses was not restricted to the staff of the agricultural schools as formerly but was assigned as a responsibility of every field officer. Directives to field staff indicated that agricultural education for junior staff and farmers was not to be considered an unnecessary chore but rather as part and parcel of every officer's work with the appropriate time set aside for the task.[25]

Agriculture in schools limped along as before; that is, where teachers were interested and qualified the suggested courses and the school garden received some attention. Where the teachers were not so inclined, little was accomplished. Some lessons of the past appear to have been learned, however; the new agricultural syllabus of 1960, suggested that one-half an acre of land at schools was sufficient for the school garden. If well-planned and farmed on the smaller scale, its demonstrational value would be adequate and the drudgery of the physical labor reduced accordingly.[26] Curtailment of size was not a panacea, however, because complaints continued that the garden was primarily used as a form of punishment and agricultural officers threatened to withdraw permits for cash crops at schools because of their inability to maintain adequate disease controls.

An experiment at Chavakali Secondary School at Maragoli, North Nyanza, in 1960, resulted in one rather significant

change in method. A new course entitled Agricultural Principles and Practices was introduced, but not, however, without considerable resistance. Parents were reported to feel that the subject had little to do with educating their children and would result in the crowding out of examination subjects for a second-rate subject. The local education staff was skeptical, with only agricultural officers showing an interest.

The agricultural classes met during four periods each week, but the new component was the home projects. Patterned on an American 4-H activity, each student was required to raise one crop at his home using scientific methods and to keep complete records. Although the early home projects were only moderately successful in terms of the care with which the students carried them out, the course attained acceptable social status with students and parents when, in 1962, the Cambridge School Certificate syndicate accepted it as an examination subject.[27] With time, and with enthusiasm and interest on the part of the qualified agricultural teacher, the course was increasingly successful. Its success was recognized in the 1964 Report of the Kenya Educational Commission and six additional schools were picked to introduce the program.[28]

The traditional school garden program received its coup de grace shortly after Independence. The Kenya Education Commission recommended its withdrawal as a separate and distinct subject.[29] Though it lingers unofficially at various

schools, all the problems discussed in the earlier chapters were cited as reasons for ceasing to continue a program which in many cases resulted in an educationally harmful influence. By incorporating the rubrics of agriculture within general science, it was hoped that new interest in modern agricultural methods would ultimately be stimulated and that practical gardening would become a voluntary activity through the 4-H clubs.

Chapter Seven

Epilogue

In 1963, the Economic Mission of the World Bank suggested that the bottleneck to agricultural development in Kenya would not be the lack of suitable projects or the funds to finance them, but rather a shortage of adequately trained personnel to organize and supervise the projects.[1] By the time that report was written, educational activities had been carried on in Kenya for two generations and agriculture was the number one employer and producer of revenue throughout that same period.

In responding to the inevitable question, what might have been done that was not done, not all the answers fall directly within the field of agricultural education. One of the major factors was certainly the progress and status of tropical agriculture itself. Agricultural development is largely dependent on basic knowledge obtained through research. Many development projects of the last decade have faltered because planners assumed that ideas successful elsewhere could be transferred en masse to another situation. Agricultural research relies heavily on factors of biology which are often only relevant to a given country and often then, even to only sections of that country.

The amount and timing of rainfall are a major concern for agriculturalists everywhere. In Kenya, the amount of rainfall was discovered to vary widely over the country and

its fickle habits within a given area wreaked havoc with some of the best laid plans. For example, an unexpected four and one-half inch overnight rainfall at one research station caused an estimated loss of twenty tons of top soil per acre.[2] So important was rainfall that for years it was the very first item presented in the Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture.

The point is that the early agriculturalists had much to learn about things as elementary as the rainfall pattern before they could make substantial progress from the results of their other research. It is not surprising to read of the long period of trial and error as the conditions in Kenya, not only differing from those of England, but differing considerably across the breadth of Kenya, were tested for the appropriateness of new crops and new methods.

As recently as 1950, a comprehensive agricultural policy review for Central Province concluded that not enough was known about seven of the Province's nine ecological zones to recommend advice on farming in those areas. Officers were advised that they should not recommend practices or crops on which they had less than two to four seasons of experimental results.[3]

Given the lack of research, it is probably fortunate that the Europeans were mostly unsuccessful in promoting agricultural education. Had they succeeded, their advice might have produced worse results than no teaching, particularly for basic African food crops. As it was, many a noble experiment went a glimmering, with the result that

the mud in the eye of the Department made the next recommendation just a little more uncertain in its reception by a dubious populace.

It is conceivable that some changes of style could have resulted in a better program. The most disturbing part of the story up until the mid-1950's was the manner in which the older generation of Africans was simply written off as reactionary and obstructionist. Many of the elders knew far more about farming than the relatively young Bukura-Scott agricultural instructors. Given that the base of agricultural knowledge was much greater when the farmers' training program finally got underway in earnest, there was nothing magic about the methods of training used that could not have been employed earlier. Greater interest and concern by the Department for the adult farmers might have promoted greater enthusiasm for agriculture, which might also have been reflected among the young people.

On behalf of the agricultural officer in the field, however, it needs to be recalled that for all of the inter-war period, at least, he was required to be the complete generalist. He had to survey the situation in his district, isolate the problems, organize what research he could, seek some solutions and then adapt them to local conditions. Only then could he put himself in the position of teaching and persuading the farmers to adopt the new findings. It was not until very recently that the Department felt adequately staffed to establish a separate section for

agricultural education, as recommended by the 1967 Agricultural Education Commission.[4]

Land, crop, and cattle restrictions were among the most serious obstacles to agricultural education. The African Education Commission of 1964, suggested quite correctly that it had been of no value to attempt to develop modern farmers through the educational system, because no African could legally be a modern farmer in his own country. Africans could labor on European farms or they could continue as peasant cultivators in the Reserves, but they were forbidden by law from owning land in the White Highlands and prohibited from growing cash crops until the last decade of colonial rule.[5]

The late adoption of programs for the training of women suggests a serious cross-cultural problem unbridged by the Europeans. The woman's role in agriculture for Kenyan Africans has always been significant, but the educational programs involved a half-a-loaf approach by concentrating almost exclusively on men.

Something which theoretically could have been changed, but which was a reality of that age was white pseudo-superiority based on race. As long as that mentality was present, colonists of the first half of the twentieth century treated their wards as children, and were dubious that they could grow up in less than a hundred years. In Kenya, the situation was further complicated by the white settlers, who embarked on a vigorous political campaign to protect their

economic, social, and political position of superiority. Priorities in agricultural development were heavily weighted in favor of the European sector and, until the Swynnerton Plan, there was no organized program of development backed by other than token funds.

Once the Department was committed, in 1922, to a development program which encouraged at least increased food production in the Reserves, it had to determine how it would present its programs. On the one hand it could employ persuasion through educational methods or at the other extreme, it could look to the Governor to authorize compulsion. In the inter-war era, this question was almost a moot point, because the Department had so few results from its research that it had only a few programs to offer in the Reserves.

Yet, while research work was attempting to find some solid guidelines for improvement, soil deterioration was becoming a serious problem. The locust invasions of the early 1930's precipitated erosion in many areas and drew forth the comment that future famines could be prevented either slowly through propaganda or immediately through compulsion.[6] Toward the end of the 1930's, the deterioration of the land was already extremely serious in many areas such as Machakos and Kamasia. After several wartime years of squeezing every possible bit of production out of the land, it was a valid generalization that the soil conditions in the African Reserves were very poor indeed.

By 1944, the Director of Agriculture was suggesting

to Government that compulsion was necessary to enforce improved agricultural practices. In his mind, the previous twenty-five years of demonstration by extension methods had resulted in some interesting individual efforts but a steadily deteriorating situation.[7]

At a postwar conference of the Senior Agricultural Officers, it was resolved that a measure of compulsion was undoubtedly necessary because of the urgency of the agricultural situation, but the final success of any policy depended on a body of enlightened African opinion.[8] The Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell, repeated the theme in a dispatch when he commented that if the only way to introduce new methods and encourage soil conservation was through compulsion, then he sanctioned it, but the best method was surely to gain the support of the Africans themselves.[9]

In the face of the deteriorating soil situation, the strong minority resorted to compulsory measures for soil conservation and cattle dipping which have left bitter, lingering memories among the Africans.[10] It was only with the momentum provided for African agriculture through the Swynnerton Plan that voluntary measures became the more attractive policy. By 1958, Kenyan agricultural officers could be found extolling the virtues of persuasion.

> One thing must constantly be borne in mind, when setting about development of an African area, and that is to refrain from trying to rush things across. Be patient and tireless in explanation and preparation of the ground until all suspicion has been overcome. Suggest rather than order; aim at implanting ideas in the minds of those concerned so that in time they

> almost believe that the ideas were their own. Trying to bulldoze new ideas over to the African almost invariably leads to failure.[11]

Suggesting that persuasion may be the most appropriate policy in the long run, does not discredit the proper use of discipline. In the earlier discussion of the Soil Conservation Service, discipline was shown to be an important factor in the success of that program. In the Service, African staff recognized that Colin Maher was continually working to improve their status and pay in return for their adherence to tough but fair standards. While strict, there was a personal quality to this discipline which was not nearly as effectively employed in the relationship of the European Agricultural Officers with their agricultural instructors. To be sure, these officers faced problems of greater numbers and greater likelihood for frequent transfer so that personal knowledge in depth was difficult. The thinly-scattered Agricultural Officers were not as apt to engage in team projects with their African staff. But the major difference is that by developing an esprit de corps, the S. C. S. recognized the human qualities and aspirations of its staff, European and African. For the agricultural instructors, on the other hand, the closest thing to organized esprit, the Bukura Old Boys Club, was allowed to perish.

Despite these problems, enough responsive chords among Agricultural Officers could have been struck had they received some encouragement. Instead, the European officer often felt his superiors had little understanding of the

difficulties he faced in the Reserves.

The results achieved through the program of the farmers' training centers have been most satisfactory. In fact during discussions with some of the staff actively engaged in the program, one gets the impression that they are convinced that they have now found the complete answer to the earlier dilemma of teaching agriculture to the young or the adult.

It is possible, however, that this program might ultimately fall one step short of promoting full-scale agricultural development. Clifton Wharton has suggested that in a development situation, every farmer must acquire knowledge about new inputs, knowledge about new techniques or production, and knowledge about how to economize in production and marketing.[12] The F. T. C.'s have undoubtedly done an excellent job of providing the first two categories of knowledge. Whether they can also teach the third is somewhat questionable, because it is here that the individual farmer must transfer general knowledge to meet his individual problems. This often requires knowledge beyond what is happening on his own small plot of land and for this broad-based type of education, it may have been better if the proponents of the merged F. T. C. - Jeanes School had had their way.

Often these days, but perhaps particularly so in developing nations, education seems to be offered as the panacea for a nation's ills. When emphasized in this

fashion, it tends to cloud the basic problem that the long range goal for every individual is to find some self-satisfying career. Viewed from one perspective, education is a means to that end and too often, it fails as a means because people have been pleased to be educated but without a specific goal for their future. On the other hand, there are those who suggest that it is not proper for education to directly prepare people for employment. In this argument, education is seen as a means to develop a life-style after which the educated person chooses a way to live that fits him.

The new nations are all caught up in massive development plans. Curricula and quotas of students to fill specific curricular slots are major parts of those plans. Over-concentration on literary, or book-learning, education was an old bromide invariably used in any discussion of colonial educational policy, but it is still very much alive as a debate today. "Book" educators are among the best in the world at propagandizing for their cause, and the primary-through-college facilities now dotting the landscape in Kenya are a testimony to their success. Their adversaries are the manpower economists who consult their computers to prove that Kenya is on the verge of overproduction of graduates in certain areas, and certainly underproducing technically-trained graduates.

The colonial government can no longer be blamed for a system of education allegedly constructed to keep Africans out of the cities. The Kenya Government has its own policy

of "back to the land," but the lure of the cities remains and stands in stark contrast to the social and political isolation of life in the country. The patriotism called for in the cry of "back to the land" is perfectly acceptable as a general government policy, but it quickly loses its appeal on an individual basis. Every student wants to test the theories of equality. He wants an equal chance to attend the University of Nairobi and not a computer placement in what he perceives as a second-rate technical education. The new Faculty of Agriculture at the University will not of itself provide large-scale answers, though, for the few agriculturalists it will graduate, it assures some local competitive status alongside the Faculties of Medicine, Engineering, Science and the Arts.

The great challenge to the Government of Kenya is to provide opportunities and status within agriculture. The two are inseparable. If Kenya wants good agricultural instructors and good agricultural officers each of those careers must be made very attractive. If it is truly a national priority to develop the agricultural sector, then rural life will have to offer attractions to farmers which are at least competitive with those perceived as existing in the cities. Among other things this means good roads, good prices for agricultural products, and instead of the growing trend toward absentee landlordism on the part of the Nairobi-based African upper class, some honest-to-goodness national farm heroes are needed.

Another alternative, but a difficult one politically, is that the Government can employ force to push the agricultural sector and its human components in the directions it desires. It is already heavily committed to settlement schemes in the old White Highlands. Politically, these have to be made to work, though not necessarily along the patterns of their original design. There will be a touch of irony if this Government is somehow pressured into a policy of compulsion regarding agriculture.

Agricultural education is only one important component of agricultural development. Independent Kenya has been quite correct to downgrade the emphasis of agriculture as a subject in the primary schools and to concentrate on the Farmers' Training Centers. The Centers have been a vital force for progress among people who were the forgotten generation of the early colonial days.

There is, however, no magic answer for attracting people to a career on the land. If agriculture were somehow a separate island unto itself, the future would be bright indeed because Kenya has outstanding potential to feed itself and to export a whole variety of agricultural products. But the export market is extremely volatile. Any proposed industrial solution runs headlong into the almost total lack of the basic raw materials. The picture becomes most complex when one considers the proposition that the birth rate may soon outstrip the potential for even majority employment under the best of circumstances.

It is, of course, a problem which cannot be wished away nor one which will weather any better through procrastination. For the first few years after Independence, economic planners were concentrating so heavily on industrial development that outside of the settlement schemes, little attention was paid to development in the agricultural sector. In the last few years the vitality of agriculture[12] has become a major concern, and the best hope for a solution lies in the able minds of the Kenyans now devoting some study to this whole area.

Appendix A

The Agricultural Training of Africans*

Proposals for the correlation of the work of the Departments of Agriculture and Education.

1. Elementary Agriculture will be taught in Government schools under the Education Department or in mission schools in receipt of grants-in-aid from the Education Department. In the lower classes of such schools, the teaching will be generally limited to the cultivation of school gardens and teaching incidental to such cultivation.

2. Agricultural instruction on vocation lines may be given in the schools referred to in the previous paragraph provided such instruction is definitely limited to those schools which have pupils in them who are completing the course prescribed for the Primary School Certificate, and is limited to the last three years of the course.

3. Advanced agricultural education beyond that given in classes referred to in the previous paragraph, shall be given only at institutions entirely under the control of the Department of Agriculture, except in the case of the Jeanes School and the Alliance High School, or any similar institution that may be established in future. In regard to these schools, special arrangements, indicated below, will be made.

4. (a) It will be the aim of the Department of Agriculture to restrict admission to those institutions which it controls to boys who are able to profit by the courses and who are likely to prove worth training.

4. (b) It is recognized that for some years to come this restriction will be difficult to enforce but the ideal to be aimed at first will be that the pupils shall have completed the primary school course (Elementary "C") and be physically capable of doing agricultural work.

5. In admitting pupils to the institutions controlled by him the Director of Agriculture will take the following matters into consideration:

(i) Accomodation available.

(ii) Recommendation from the Director of Education in the case of applicants from Government maintained or aided schools.

(iii) Recommendations from District Officers or Agricultural Officers in the case of applicants from private schools.

(iv) Recommendations from District Officers or Agricultural Officers in the case of applicants from native areas in which education facilities are not available.

6. (a) The courses to be given at the institutions controlled by the Director of Agriculture shall provide for:

(i) Training of African Agricultural Instructors for employment in Department of Agriculture.

(ii) Training of Africans as teachers of elementary

Agriculture in schools under the Education Department or elsewhere.

(iii) Instruction to teachers who have completed their course of training as teachers, or who are actually undergoing courses of training as teachers.

6. (b) The Director of Education shall give the Director of Agriculture adequate notice in regard to the probable number of candidates for admission to courses provided under (iii) above and shall make every effort to secure that such a number of teachers in training is sent as will justify the formation of a special group.

6. (c) The cost of any allowances made to teachers in training and the cost of their board shall be a charge upon the Department of Education.

7. The apprenticeship agreement at present used by the Department of Education shall make provision for the preliminary training of pupils in agriculture at an institution under the control of the Department of Education and for the continuation and completion of the training in agriculture at an institution under the control of the Department of Agriculture.

8. The Director of Education shall consult the Director of Agriculture in regard to the appointment of European teachers appointed to give instruction in agricultural subjects in schools of Grade C, and in the Jeanes School and (so far as is practicable) in the Alliance High School. It is noted that this will not be entirely practicable in the case of schools not directly under Government and will be generally impracticable in the case of teachers appointed by the Secretary of State.

9. The Department of Agriculture will provide facilities for the continuance of the general education of apprentices who have not completed the primary school course at institutions under its control and will consult with the Department of Education with regard to the appointment of suitable teachers.

10. (a) The Director of Agriculture will advise the Director of Education generally in regard to school courses in schools under the Director of Education and will endeavour to inspect the elementary agricultural teaching given at schools maintained or aided by the Director of Education and will report to him upon such teaching and will give general advice and assistance in regard to stock or seeds.

10. (b) The Director of Education shall inspect and report upon the work of teachers employed by the Director of Agriculture in terms of the preceding paragraph. (9)

11. It is recognized that the function of the Education Department (In regard to agricultural teaching), is of an elementary and not of a specialised character, excepting at the Jeanes School and Alliance High School or any similar institution which may be established in the future. That being so, the Director of Education shall not establish institutions in which farming (whether for cropping or stock)

is the main purpose of the work conducted.
12. The instruction in agriculture given at the Alliance High School and any other secondary institution established or aided in future and at the Jeanes School shall be given by officers in regard to whose appointment the Director of Education shall so far as is practicable have consulted the Director of Agriculture. The courses in agriculture shall be approved by the Director of Agriculture and he will make every effort to inspect and report upon the agricultural teaching.

*Kenya, Department of Education, "Education Department Circular No. 90 of 5 December 1931," Embu District Agricultural Office, File Education /3, Agricultural Education, Embu, 1927-56

Appendix B

Syllabus at Scott - 1938*

First Year	Second Year
Duties of Apprentices	Crops
Agriculture	Weeds
Labour saving devices	Parasitic Plants
Soils and Tillage	Horticulture
Manuring	Insect Pests
Mensuration	Plant Diseases
Seed Selection	Plant Selection and Breeding
Planting	Forestry
Rotation	Poultry
Agricultural Botany	
Seeds	

Third Year
Field Mensuration
Homestead Planning
Animal Husbandry
Pasture
Bees
Plant Ecology
Agricultural Economics
Farm Accounts
Roads and Bridges
Revision

* Embu District Agricultural Office, File "1944".

Appendix C

Excerpts from the Soil Conservation Manual*

2-Duties of Levellers

A leveller is responsible for-

(a) progress of the work and securing maximum output of work;
(b) discipline, neatness and the courtesy of the Soil Conservation boys under him; securing maximum hours of work from the terracer;
(c) general maintenance of the terracer, i.e. supervising in the oiling and greasing and the tightening up of bolts and nuts where necessary; reporting to the Mechanical Plant Inspector or to the A. S. C. O. if a European officer is in charge of the work when the terracer requires adjustment or repair;
(d) checking terrace capacities (during the process of construction);
(e) getting out terrace lines;
(f) altering the pegs as necessary (but not more than 6 in. vertically up or down except for short distances up to 10 or 15 yards);
(g) checking the profile of bank and channel, plotting the profiles on profile paper against theoretical grade lines and marking the cuts and fills required with maximum allowance of 0.1 feet for high places in the channel and no allowance at all for low places in the settled fills of low places in the banks;
(h) getting daily tasks of 100 cubic feet excavation for farm labourers on European farms (less on hard ground, as agreed by the farmer or officer, more on soft ground, 200 cubic feet where no carrying of earth but digging only is to be done);
(i) preparing a map of any field up to 100 acres to an accuracy of 1 per cent and plotting it in triplicate in the Sketch Map Book;
(j) filling in Levellers' Report Forms, Leveller and Tractor and Machinery Charge Forms, and Design Data Forms;
(k) reporting cases of sickness to the A. S. C. O.;
(l) apportioning hours of work fairly and seeing that there is no waste of labour or time amongst Soil Conservation Service staff under him;
(m) allocating terracer lines to be terraced by each terracer operator and keeping a record of hours worked and length of terrace constructed by each operator; such records to be included in the leveller's report;
(n) keeping the leveller's note book filled in up to date and entering up the tractor log book where there is an S. C. S. tractor; and ensuring that the tractor drivers carry out all greasing, oiling and oil-changing at the correct time, informing them as to necessary oil changes, etc. and reporting to the A.S.C.O. when the 300 and 900 hour changes are nearly due; levellers in charge of a tractor must ask the farmer to note the hours shown on the tractor

clock on arrival on the farm and again on the completion of the work;
(o) applying for and distributing medicine, petrol, diesel fuel, lubricating oils, and grease. The returning of empty drums to the camp;
(p) the leveller will be held responsible for any damage due to negligence, e.g. failure of machines under his care, due to failure to report lack of maintenance on the part of tractor drivers and terracer operators in the units under his supervision.
Note.--All men working with a leveller are under his orders, and he should report at once to the European officer to whom he is immediately responsible any failure to obey him, or other indiscipline.

3-S. C. S. Levellers on Farms

On arrival on a farm the leveller must show the farmer his Leveller's Identification Book and ask the farmer to read it.

Considerable annoyance and waste of time is caused to European officers of the S. C. S. by levellers in charge having left farms to visit neighbouring farms when their daily work is over.

No leveller must leave a farm, whether his work is finished or not, until 4 p.m. (except on Saturday, when he may leave after 1 p.m. or any time on Sunday).

In any case a leveller must always leave word of his whereabouts if he leaves the camp in which he is living.

27-Correspondence, Instructions, Etc.

Letters sometimes have been left unattended to in the files for several weeks. All European Officers of the Soil Conservation Service should take note of the following:--

Instructions.--Working instructions from the senior officer at a station will be handed by the clerical staff to the officer concerned on his own Instructions File, or other appropriate file. If instructions, circulars, etc., are received while on safari, these must be retained and handed to the office staff for filing on return to District Headquarters. This must be initialled and dated when seen; but it is not sufficient to minute "Noted" or "Seen" if specific action is required. According to its urgency, or degree of priority, the letter of instructions must be acted upon as soon as possible and minuted as to the nature and date of action taken.

Files on which action is required will be placed in an officer's inward file box. If an officer finds that letters are not brought to his attention sufficiently promptly he should report this to the clerk in charge of the office concerned.

Correspondence.--Correspondence must be dealt with, according to its urgency, as promptly as possible as a matter of courtesy and efficiency. No colour must be given

to the popularly held belief -- which officers may have held in their unofficial capacities -- that Government Office correspondence is inevitably tardy. High priority must be given to matters concerning repairs to machinery, movement of staff, and the progress of the work programme generally. In the past, in the interests of speed and efficiency, officers of the S. C. S. have often found it necessary, in order to prevent hitches or delay in the workers' programme, to do urgent office work out of office hours. New officers must be prepared to do the same if and when this is necessary and thus obtain and maintain a high reputation in the S. C. S. for energy, promptitude and efficiency.

* Colin Maher, Handbook for Soil Conservation Service Officers (Nairobi, 1947).

Notes

List of Abbreviations

K. N. A., Agriculture 1/414 K. N. A. Agriculture 1/414	Kenya National Archives Ministry of Agriculture (or Labour, Education, and so on) Deposit No. 1, Serial 414
Kisumu P. A. O.	Deposit in K. N. A. from the Provincial Agricultural Office, Kisumu
Embu D. A. O.	Embu, Office of the District Agricultural Officer
C. M. S.	Church Missionary Society
D/E	Director of Education
D/A	Director of Agriculture
D/VS	Director of Veterinary Services
A. O.	Agricultural Officer
D. A. O.	District Agricultural Officer
P. A. O.	Provincial Agricultural Officer
S. A. O.	Senior Agricultural Officer
E. O.	Educational Officer
D. E. O.	District Educational Officer
P. E. O.	Provincial Educational Officer
S. E. O.	Senior Educational Officer
D. C.	District Commissioner
P. C.	Provincial Commissioner
A. I.	Agricultural Instructor

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23. Kenya, Department of Agriculture, "Annual Report on Farmers Training Centers, 1967," 20.

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25. Assistant D/A, Central Province to all D. A. O.'s, Central Province, Dec. 2, 1961, Embu D. A. O., Educ/4/2, Agricultural Education, 1961-63.

26. Kenya, Department of Education, "Proposals for a New Syllabus for Agriculture in African Intermediate Schools," May 5, 1960, Embu D. A. O., Educ/7/1, School Gardens, 1945-63.

27. Robert Maxwell, "Teaching Agriculture in Secondary Schools," East African Journal, 1965, 2: 27-31.

28. Kenya, Report of the Education Commission, I (Nairobi, 1964), para. 284 and 286.

29. Kenya, Education Commission, I, para. 163-167.

Notes

Chapter Seven

1. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Economic Development of Kenya (Baltimore, 1963), 70.

2. Colin Maher, "Soil Conservation in Kenya Colony," Empire Journal of Experimental Agriculture, 1950, 18: 238.

3. Leslie H. Brown, "Agricultural Policy, Central Province," Nov. 30, 1950, Embu D. A. O., Educ/1/1, Education General, 1932-60.

4. Kenya, Report of the Agricultural Education Commission (Nairobi, 1967), 136.

5. Kenya, Report of the Education Commission, I, (Nairobi, 1964), para. 7.

6. Kenya, Department of Agriculture, Annual Report (Nairobi, 1935), 86.

7. Kenya, Department of Agriculture, Annual Report (Nairobi, 1945), 22.

8. "Minutes of Conference of Senior Agricultural Officers," June 10-11, 1946, K. N. A., Kisumu P. A. O. 1/151.

9. Sir Philip Mitchell to Secretary of State for Colonies, Feb. 22, 1947, K. N. A., Kisumu P. A. O. 1/163

10. Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., and John Nottingham, The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya (Nairobi, 1966), 235-239.

11. A. H. Savile and Thomas Hughes-Rice, "Extension Methods in African Areas in Kenya," Sept., 1958, Ministry of Agriculture Library (Nairobi), para. 4.

12. Clifton Wharton, Jr., The Role of Farmer Education in Agricultural Growth, (New York, 1963), 15-18.

Sources Consulted

Archives

Kenya National Archives. Nairobi.

Ministry of Agriculture. Deposits 1, 2, and 3.
Ministry of Agriculture. Provincial Agricultural Office, Kisumu. Deposit 1.
Ministry of Labour. Deposit 1
Ministry of Education. Deposit 1.

District Agricultural Office. Embu, Kenya

Contains some valuable correspondence for the period of the late 1920's to early 1960's not found in any of the agriculturally related deposits in the National Archives.

National Agricultural Laboratories. Nairobi.

Has a number of old files, particularly relating to experimental work on crops.

Informants

This category has been divided as follows:

A. Agricultural Informants - Personal Interviews or Correspondence
B. Agricultural Informants - Group Interviews
C. Others

In Category A., the order of presentation is the man's name, his basic job description either as an Agricultural Instructor or an Agricultural Officer, the type of interview, date of interview if personal, the years of service in Kenya, and at least one post appropriate to this paper (not all the posts held).

Agricultural Informants

Alukonya, Mdidiie. A. I. (Personal, Aug. 9, 1968) 1943- present.

Barwell, Cyril. A. O. (Personal, Mar. 11, 1969) 1949-1965. Principal, Bukura. Director, Farmer Training Centers.

Booth, J. E. P. A. O. (Correspondence) 1920's - 1950's. Principal, Bukura. Principal, Egerton College.

Brown, Leslie H. A. O. (Personal, Oct. 27, 1969) late 1940's - early 1960's. Chief Agriculturalist.

Chambers, P. C. A. O. (Correspondence) 1932 - 1949. Senior Agricultural Officer.

Dearden, John. A. O., Planning. (Personal, June 28, 1968) 1949 - 1960's. In charge of farmer training programs for National Christian Council of Kenya.

Graham, Malcolm D. A. O. (Personal, July 17, 1968) 1932 - 1950. Principal, Bukura. Agricultural Education Officer.

Hughes-Rice, Thomas A. O. (Correspondence) 1940's - 1960's. Assistant Director of Agriculture, Nyanza

Libuku, Reuben. A. I. (Personal, Aug. 9, 1968) 1936 - present.

Maher, Colin. A. O. (Correspondence) 1930's - 1950. Director, Soil Conservation Service.

Maina, James. A. O. (Personal, July 23, 1968) 1955 - present. Deputy Director of Agriculture.

Mbugua, Samuel. A. O. (Personal, July 22, 1968) 1943 - 1962. Teacher of agriculture at Embu.

Mirie, Paul T. A. O. (Personal, June 18, 1968) 1954 - present. Director of Agriculture.

Mulando, James Dodo. A. I. (Personal, Aug. 9, 1969) 1938 - present.

Ndegerege, Joseph. A. O. (Personal, June 20, 1968) 1940 - present. Trained in Soil Conservation Service.

Newton, Charles. A. O. (Correspondence) Soil Conservation Service.

Nixon, Paul R. A. O. (Correspondence) 1943 - 1945. Soil Conservation Service.

Njite, Henry. Technical Assistant. (Personal, Aug. 9, 1968) 1938 - present.

Oates, C. O. A. O. (Personal, Feb. 25 and Mar. 5, 1969) 1927 - 1947. Senior Agricultural Officer.

Obwaka, Dr. P. T. A. O. (Personal, July 9, 1968) 1956 - present. Vice-Principal, Egerton College.

Omamo, William. A. O. (Personal, July 9, 1968) 1955 - present. Principal, Egerton College.

Rimington, G. R. A. O. (Personal, June 24, 1968) 1940's - present.

Sauvage, P. J. A. O. (Personal, July 17, 1967) 1960 - 1968. Principal, Embu. Teacher of Agriculture at Jeanes School.

Shikumo, John S. A. I. (Personal, Aug. 8, 1968) 1947 - present.

Stern, Gert. A. O. (Personal, June 28 and Nov. 19, 1968) 1943 - present, Principal, Siriba College.

Swynnerton, R. J. M. A. O. (Correspondence) 1940's - 1960's. Director of Agriculture.

Vuyiya, Peter M. A. O. (Personal, June 14, 1968) 1948 - present. Teacher of Agriculture at Bukura and Siriba.

Wachira, Titus. Technical Assistant. (Personal, July 9, 1968) 1946 - present.

Wangendo, Harun. A. O. (Personal, Aug. 28, 1968) 1940 - present. A. O. in charge of Soil Conservation Service, Ruiru.

Warinda, H. O. A. O. (Personal, Aug. 8, 1968) 1964 - 1969. Principal, Bukura.

Whitton, Norman O. A. O. (Correspondence) 1947 - 1964. Principal, Bukura. Officer in charge of agricultural training, Siriba College.

Wilson, Fergus B. A. O. (Personal, Apr. 15, 1969) 1948 - 1950. Chairman of the Faculty of Agriculture, Makerere College.

Agricultural Informants Interviewed as Groups

Aug. 8, 1968 - Staff at Bukura
Gagoh, Edward. Mukoko, Athanas. Nyikuri, Samwel. Odnor, John. Ouna, Michael. Shimaka, Thomas. Wanjala, James.

Aug. 8, 1968 - Agricultural Instructors, Bukura District
Abulu, Simeon. Egardo, James. Ehagi, Thomas. Simidi, Efrahim.

Aug. 9, 1968 - Agricultural Instructors, Vihiga District
Atukha, Samwel. Amunga, Harris. Makunda, Aggrey. Ondeyo, Johnston. Otito, Mafatali.

Other Informants

Beecher, Archbishop L. J. (Personal, April 8, 1969)
In Kenya since the 1920's and always interested in African agriculture. Chaired 1949 Committee on African Education.

Blundell, Sir Michael. (Correspondence). Former Minister of Agriculture. Verified his role in the proposal for multi-racial training in 1945.

Hunter, K. L. (Personal, Mar. 25, 1969). Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza for most of the 1940's and pressured Departments into cooperation at Siriba.

Jackman, C. William. (Correspondence). Principal of Siriba College.

Kamau, P. G. (Personal, Jan. 24, 1969). Teacher of agriculture at Embu for twenty years.

Mbugua, Erastus. (Personal, Aug. 29, 1968). One of those rare breed of qualified agricultural teachers whose former students at Kagumo and Jeanes School remember with pleasure.

Patrick, Robert. (Personal, March 31, 1969). Director of Education, 1946-1952.

Porter, John L. (Personal, July 11, 1968). Principal of Jeanes School and long-time proponent of farmers' training.

Prosser, R. C. (Personal, Mar. 27, 1969). Jeanes School. Should have been the experimental Community Development teacher at Bukura had his department filled their commitment.

Shea, H. A. W. (Correspondence). Education Officer in Fort Hall District who developed a strong agricultural program in the schools for a few years in the early 1950's.

Books, Articles and Manuscripts.

Allen, William. The African Husbandman. London: 1965.

Bennett, George. Kenya: A Political History. London: 1963.

Benson, T.G. "The Jeanes School and the Education of the East African Native." Journal of the Royal African Society. (1936) 35:418-431.

Blundell, Sir Michael. So Rough a Wind. London: 1964.

Blunt, D.L. The Agricultural Education of the Kenya African. Nairobi: 1929.

Bradford, E.L. "Bukura Native Agricultural School, Nyanza Province, Kenya." The East African Agricul- Journal. (1946) 11:162-164.

Chaundy, G.H. "The Agricultural Education of a Primitive Tribe: The West Suk of Kenya." East African Agricultural Journal. (1943) Supp. 8:1-11.

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Comber, Norman M. Agricultural Education in Great Britain. London: 1948.

Cowan, L. Gray; O'Connell, James; and Scanlon, David G. ed. Education and Nation-Building in Africa. New York: 1965.

Curle, Adam. Educational Strategy for Developing Societies. London: 1963

Dent, Harold C. The Educational System of England and Wales. London: 1961.

Farson, Negley. Last Chance in Africa. London: 1949.

Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations. Agricultural Education and Training in Africa. Rome: 1965.

Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations. Higher Agricultural Education in Africa. Rome: 1967.

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Goldthorpe, J.E. An African Elite: Makerere College Students, 1922-60. Nairobi: 1965.

Great Britain. Colonial Office. Committee on Education in the Colonies. Memorandum on the Education of African Communities. No. 103. 1935.

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_____. Colonial Office. Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa. No. 142. 1937.

_____. Colonial Office. Report and Proceedings of the Conference of Colonial Directors of Agriculture. No. 156. 1938.

_____. Colonial Office. Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. Mass Education in African Society. No. 186. 1944.

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Publications

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Professor-in-charge-of-thesis