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THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN NORTH
NYANZA, KENYA, 1904-1939

by

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Analysis of the effects of local politics on education was found to be a useful framework for understanding the multidimensional forces that influenced the pattern and pace of educational development among the southern and central Abaluyia in western Kenya. Overall, four foci of political activity were found to be significant. These included the Administration of colonial Kenya, the missionary factor and ecclesiastical politics, the traditional political system of the Abaluyia, and the African political associations of the 1920s and '30s. None of these was an exclusive category, for there was a certain degree of carryover from one arena of political activity to another. Nevertheless, they comprise a useful framework for analyzing the influence of local politics on educational development.

Christian missions and the colonial Administration were the predominant agents comprising the European factor in African education. For the first two decades, various developments restricted the role of the Administration. These factors included the scarcity of resources, the priority placed on European education, the effects of World War I, and disagreement concerning the content of

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INTRODUCTION

Historians of African education in Kenya, as elsewhere in Africa, have frequently been concerned with the interplay between education and politics. Indeed, in the colonial context there were few aspects of African education that bore no relationship to the political context of events. Some studies have emphasized the role of education in the rise of the "new man" who led the first wave of modern political protest in the 1920s.¹ In the later colonial period, the importance of education was again evident in the rise of a western-educated political elite who spearheaded the drive to independence.² There were also various African attempts to influence the trend of educational development, either through pressure groups or simply as critics of the mission-state system. Yet another variation of the theme is reflected in the

¹See, for example, John Lonsdale, "Political Associations in Western Kenya," ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui, Protest and Power in Black Africa, (New York, 1970), pp. 587-638.

²See, for example, B. E. Kipkorir, "The Alliance High School and the Origins of the Kenya African Elite, 1926-62," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1969).

rise of independent schools in the Central Province.³ All these dimensions of the connection between western-oriented education and politics reveal a two-sided cause-and-effect relationship between them. On the one hand, education was a major causative factor in the development of modern political institutions. Conversely, these political developments had a reflexive effect on the patterns and pace of educational change. In their attempts to influence this process of change, Africans utilized both traditional and modern political instruments to bring pressures to bear on the colonial establishment.

This interplay between education and politics was not limited to the African political arena, for there were many aspects of the colonial relationship itself that rendered the matter of educational development an inherently political issue. This dimension of the situation was inextricably related to the manner in which the colonialists perceived their role as overlords. Until quite late in the colonial period, they believed that

³For the Kikuyu independent schools, see J. B. Ndungu, "Gituamba and Kikuyu Independency in Church and School," ed. B. G. McIntosh, Ngano (Nairobi, 1969), pp. 131-50; Richard D. Heyman, "Assimilation and Accommodation in African Education: the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association," ed. Roderick J. Macdonald, Education for What? British Policy versus Local Initiative (Syracuse [N.Y.], 1973), pp. 57-76; Michael Harry Kovar, "The Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement: Interaction of Politics and Education in Kenya (1923-1953)," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970).

colonialism was inevitably a long-term, almost indefinite state of affairs. It naturally followed that they saw little need to educate Africans for positions of leadership. Since the Africans' role was subordinated for many years, it was thought that education should be of the kind that would help them assume such a role. This meant, among other things, that the Africans had to receive "moral instruction" to inculcate obedience to colonial authority. Frederick Lugard, for example, wrote that "my aim has been to urge that . . . results may best be achieved by placing the formation of character before the training of the intellect."⁴ Attempts to adapt education to African life, so typical of the interwar period, were another manifestation of this tendency. There can be no doubt that in the colonial context, African education implied education for subservience.

From the African perspective in colonial Kenya, the interaction between education and politics involved some particularly harsh consequences. This occurred especially because of the influence of the European settler community. Spokesmen for the settlers frequently emphasized that all European children in the Colony had to receive an education that would prepare them for political leadership. In the face of vehement settler demands for compulsory European education, expenditures for African education for

⁴Frederick J. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (London, 1957, 5th ed.), p. 458.

many years constituted a paltry sum. Furthermore, with the pursuit of separate educational development, each racial community competed for scarce public resources. The settlers also demanded that the content of African education be industrially oriented. Such a bias would have trained African artisans to work on the estates, thus dovetailing with the settlers' economic interests. In fact, all European groups frequently regarded African education more in the light of their own interests than as something of importance in itself. It is not surprising, then, that Africans frequently criticized that system.

A respectable body of literature has appeared in recent years to document the history of African education in Kenya. A sizable proportion of this historical scholarship has focussed on the study of the Christian missionary factor. There have been, of course, the traditional mission histories that have presented only the European missionary role in the provision of schools for Africans.⁵ Others, such as Oliver's survey of missions in East Africa, have devoted little more than cursory attention to education.⁶ More recent studies, however, have included a

⁵Elizabeth Richards, Fifty Years in Nyanza, 1906-1956 (Maseno, Kenya, 1956); Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London, 1899-1916), 4 vols.

⁶Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London, 1965), pp. 212-15 and 263-88.

more thorough analysis of education as an integral aspect of missionary endeavor. In his analytical study of the Church of Scotland Mission in Kenya from 1891 to 1923, McIntosh presented several themes which are of considerable significance in the general context of education in Kenya.⁷ These include an analysis of the industrial work of the CSM, the development of mission educational philosophy and policy, and a consideration of African motives underlying their acceptance of Christianity and western education. Temu, in his history of Protestant missions in Kenya, paid considerable attention to the criticism that African converts made of the mission school system.⁸ His otherwise well-researched work suffers, however, from a lack of balance. He attaches an inordinately large measure of importance to education and its political consequences in the Coastal and Central regions, to the neglect of Nyanza Province. Yet another recent mission study which is significant for its contribution to the history of education is Strayer's thesis on the Church Missionary Society in eastern and central Kenya.⁹ He analyzed the context

⁷Brian G. McIntosh, "The Scottish Mission in Kenya, 1891-1923," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1969).

⁸A. J. Temu, British Protestant Missions (London, 1972), pp. 140-68.

⁹Robert Strayer, "The Church Missionary Society in Eastern and Central Kenya, 1875-1935: a Mission Community in a Colonial Society," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1971), particularly Ch. V.

of interaction, particularly between Africans and Europeans, that occurred in the mission community. Education is presented as a significant aspect of that interaction. Finally, in her study of American Protestant missions in western Kenya, Connolly analyzed the divergence of theological views and how they affected the educational work of the National Holiness Association, the Seventh Day Adventists, Friends Africa Mission, Africa Inland Mission, and the Church of God.¹⁰

In addition to these studies on Christian missions, the literature has included several more general histories of African education in Kenya. The better of the two surveys to be published to date is that by Anderson, who analyzed the role of various pressure groups in colonial Kenya that influenced the course of African Educational Development.¹¹ Despite a reasonably balanced assessment overall, Anderson erred somewhat in presenting each of the pressure groups in monolithic terms. The second survey, by Sheffield, is overly cursory in its treatment and concentrates too much on the European role in African

¹⁰Yolanda Evans Connolly, "Roots of Divergency: American Protestant Missions in Kenya, 1923-1946," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1975).

¹¹John Anderson, The Struggle for the School: the Interaction of Missionary, Colonial Government and Nationalist Enterprise in the Development of Formal Education in Kenya (Nairobi, 1970).

educational development.¹² In addition to these surveys, several administrative histories of educational policy have been written. Undoubtedly the best of these is Schilling's study of the processes of policy formulation.¹³ By concentrating on that process, as well as the policy which it produced, Schilling gave proper recognition to the influence of local factors, including the African factor, and deemphasized somewhat the role of policy statements emanating from the imperial government. Another, less analytical study of educational policy was written by Abbott.¹⁴ She attempted to explore the motives of those who had a hand in the creation of policy, and placed somewhat more emphasis on the role of the various individuals involved. Finally, Stibbs discussed education as one of the major issues exemplifying the concept of trusteeship during the interwar period.¹⁵

¹²James R. Sheffield, Education in Kenya: an Historical Study (New York, 1973).

¹³Donald Schilling, "British Policy for African Education in Kenya, 1895-1939," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972).

¹⁴Sally Abbott, "The Education Policy of the Kenya Government, 1904-1939," (Unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of London, 1970).

¹⁵T. P. C. Stibbs, "Protestant Missions and the Idea of Trusteeship, with Special Reference to Kenya, 1919-1939," (Unpublished B. Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1972).

Yet another approach to the historical writing on education in Kenya has been that taken by the socio-historians and sociologists. These studies have tended to focus on education as an agent of social change.¹⁶ They have, in fact, been stimulated by the much-needed interdisciplinary overlay between education and anthropology. Generally, these scholars have emphasized the cultural foundations of education and of the learning process, and have sought to analyze educational transfer as an aspect of cultural change. A related focus of concern has centered on socialization in traditional society and its relevance to the formal educational process. Other sociologists have sought to identify aspects of traditional culture that either fostered or hindered the growth of education.¹⁷ While many of these studies have not been historical as such, they are immensely useful for understanding the process of change in historical perspective. With regard to Kenya, an attempt at casting the sociological approach into the historical

¹⁶See especially Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago, 1965); Margaret H. Read, "Education in Africa: its pattern and role in social change," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 298 (March 1955), pp. 170-79.

¹⁷Foster has argued this point with regard to the Ashanti and the Baganda. See his Education and Social Change, ch. 1. Van Lutsenburg Mass has refuted this conclusion. See Jacob van Lutsenburg Mass, "Educational Change in Pre-Colonial Societies: the Case of Buganda and Ashanti," Comparative Education Review, XIV, 2 (June 1970), pp. 174-85.

context has been made by Kiteme.¹⁸ In his study of the impact of a European education on the African community, Kiteme contended that the system of education that had evolved by 1940 was the result of a complex interplay of conflict, accommodation, and other social forces operating among the major socio-cultural groups of Kenya. He argued that that system was the outcome of struggles for power and authority among the various groups involved. Whereas the hypothesis may seem interesting enough to warrant investigation, Kiteme's study emerges more as an analysis of political interaction than of socio-historical inquiry. The context of interaction that he attempted to analyze was, after all, inherently political. One hastens to conclude that the sociological approach might best be restricted to the more microcosmic realm of events.

A sizable proportion of the literature on education in Kenya has been centered on special historical topics. Both educationists and historians have taken an interest in the politics of control over what was taught in the African schools. The content of the curriculum was closely related to the colonial relationship itself and the subordinate role which Africans were expected to

¹⁸Kamuti Kiteme, "The Impact of a European Education Upon Africans in Kenya, 1846-1940," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1964).

play within it.¹⁹ Another trend which affected both the content of the curriculum and the methods of instruction was the European philanthropical interest in applying ideas devised ostensibly for the American Negro to the East African educational scene. In their studies of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Jeanes School, Berman and King have drawn attention to this aspect of Kenya's educational history.²⁰ King has succeeded particularly well in casting this theme into a political perspective. Another special topic of interest has been the efforts of Africans to gain control over the mission-state educational system or to create alternatives to it. This has been the sole focus of Kovar's study of independent schools in Central Province, and received considerable attention in Roelker's historical biography of Eliud Mathu.²¹ Finally,

¹⁹George E. F. Urch, The Africanization of the Curriculum in Kenya (Ann Arbor, 1968).

²⁰Edward H. Berman, "American Influence on African Education: the Role of the Phelps-Stokes Funds Education Commission," Comparative Education Review, XV, 2 (June, 1971), pp. 132-145; Richard Heyman, "The Initial years of the Jeanes School in Kenya, 1924-1931," ed. Vincent M. Battle and Charles H. Lyons, Essays in the History of African Education, (New York, 1970), pp. 105-23; Kenneth J. King, Pan-Africanism and Education: a Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa (Oxford, 1971).

²¹Kovar, "The Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement"; Jack Richard Roelker, "The Contribution of Eliud Wambu Mathu to Political Independence in Kenya," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1974).

several studies of particular educational institutions have added to the growing body of historical literature on education in Kenya. These include Kipkorir's thesis and Smith's published history of Alliance High School, Osogo's thesis on Kabaa-Mangu, and Strayer's article on CMS schools at the Coast from 1875 to 1914.²² All have contributed to a better understanding of the historical connections between education and politics.

Yet another aspect of the historical literature has been the micro-studies of local areas. Included in this category are both general histories and studies of educational history. As for the former, Lonsdale's political history of the Nyanza Province deserves mention.²³ It spans the entire period included in the current analysis, and, although more than a local history in its totality, its thought-provoking analyses concerning local events have provided a springboard for further inquiry. In particular, its inclusion of the traditional political process into the realm of historical inquiry for the

²²Kipkorir, "The Alliance High School"; J. Stephen Smith, The History of the Alliance High School (Nairobi, 1973); John Osogo, "The Role of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Kenyan Education; a History of Kabaa-Mangu Schools," (M.A. thesis, University of East Africa, 1973); Robert Strayer, "The Making of Mission Schools in Kenya: a Microcosmic Perspective," Comparative Education Review, XVIII, 3 (Oct. 1973), pp. 313-30.

²³John M. Lonsdale, "A Political History of Nyanza, 1883-1945," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1964).

analysis of events during the colonial period has provided a useful point of departure. It reveals many points at which education and politics were causally related. As for the localized studies of education per se, the contributions of Battle and Kay come readily to mind.²⁴ Battle's study of the Basoga of eastern Uganda, a people not unlike the Abaluyia of western Kenya, concerned itself with the pattern of African responses to the initiatives taken by European educators and administrators. He examined these responses particularly in relation to the economic and administrative changes occurring during the colonial period. Specifically, he concluded that colonial initiatives led to a "positive" indigenous response only if the training offered was perceived to be relevant to the economic and administrative realities of the colonial situation. While this causal connection was in itself a significant contribution to the understanding of African motives for accepting western education, it must be added that Battle's analysis suffers somewhat from the rather mechanical initiative-response pattern of analysis. It does not give proper attention to the initiatives taken by Africans in the interest of their own educational advancement. The realities of the colonial environment did not necessarily dictate that the initiators of events had to be Europeans, or that the respondents to those events had to be Africans.

²⁴Vincent M. Battle, "Education in Eastern Uganda, 1900-1939: a Study of Initiative and Response During the Early Colonial Period," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1974); Stafford Kay, "The Southern

A more balanced assessment is required. In this regard, Kay's study of educational development within the Friends Africa Mission sphere of activity among the Southeastern Abaluyia is more satisfactory. He has emphasized the role of Africans as promoters, critics and catalysts of educational development within the context of local interaction. He did not, however, explore the interaction of traditional politics and educational development.

Several themes and trends receive consistent attention in the literature cited above. One such theme is the interplay between education and politics. Secondly, most of these sources reflect the concern for documenting the role of Africans in the events comprising the African past. However minor their role may at times have been, Africans did not represent a tabula rasa on which anything could be written. Africans expressed their interests and registered their protests to the extent that they could sometimes circumscribe the viable alternatives that European administrators could consider. A third consideration arising from the literature is the trend from the general to the particular. Whereas earlier studies were concerned with educational administration and policy, more recent studies have paid greater, and in some instances almost exclusive attention to African education at the

Abaluyia, The Friends Africa Mission, and the Development of Education in Western Kenya, 1902-1965," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973).

grass-roots level. Recent historiographical trends in the treatment of the colonial period have correspondingly shifted somewhat from the study of elites to the analysis of peasant society.²⁵ This localized approach to the study of the interplay between African politics and education therefore seems to be warranted.

Two additional themes unfold in the educational history of the southern and central Abaluyia. First, the spatial reference of the study affords an opportunity to consider the relative significance of both internal and external factors in the patterns and processes of social change. The inclusion of three missions for analytical study provides a better opportunity to assess the relative significance of the missionary factor in African education. Of these three mission societies, only the Church Missionary Society (CMS) actively followed a policy of African educational development. The Mill Hill Mission and the Church of God Mission placed higher priority on evangelical work; only after more than two decades of activity did they take a greater interest in education. Nevertheless, advancement in education was not limited to the CMS sphere alone. Therefore, even though the missionary presence was the most significant factor in the provision of educational opportunity to Africans, it

²⁵E. S. Atieno-Odhiambo, "Some Reflections on African Initiatives in Early Colonial Kenya," East Africa Journal, VII, 6 (June 1971), p. 31, has argued that such a change in emphasis is needed.

clearly is not an adequate explanation for the patterns of educational growth that occurred. The indigenous factors of leadership, pressures caused by a rapidly expanding population, and the extent to which education was perceived as an important asset for advancement in colonial society were all operative to some extent in different areas of Buluyia.

A final theme which was found to be significant was the role played by Africans in their own educational advancement. In order to correct the distortions inherent in the archival records, oral evidence was collected to substantiate the dimensions of this role in local society. Some African leaders served as facilitators and promoters to such an extent that the mission-state system would hardly have succeeded without their efforts. At the same time, Africans often raised their voices to protest various aspects of that system. There were, in fact, frequent manifestations of conflict in the interaction between African and European educators. After 1929, when the African option of creating independent schools was perceived as a potential threat to the established educational system, that protest became a greater force with which to reckon. Although the theme of African participation in the process of educational development has been documented elsewhere,²⁶

²⁶Battle, "Education in Eastern Uganda"; Kay, "The Southern Abaluyia."

the varieties of their methods and the degree of their participation warrant further study.

As the study of educational activity in its political context progressed, it became apparent that it provided ample opportunity for an operative analysis of the Abaluyia political system itself. Wagner's anthropological study of the Abaluyia can be criticized for the rather static and stale picture of society which it presents.²⁷ He did identify some of the agents of change which were then impinging on Abaluyia values and social structure. He did not attempt, however, to analyze the effects of these agents on traditional society. Despite its exhaustiveness, his study of the Abaluyia is more of a structural-functional approach than a diachronic analysis of changes occurring in that society over time. Particularly for this reason, the study of education in political and historical perspective provides an operative situation that is reflexive in effect, for it provides a better understanding of the very factors that affected the pattern and pace of educational development. Specifically, it not only enhances one's understanding of the changes that occurred within the scope of educational development, but also amplifies the political processes that accounted at least in part for those changes. The emerging analysis provides something of a socio-historical

²⁷Günter Wagner, The Bantu of Western Kenya (London, 1970 reprint), 2 vols.

approach that supplements our understanding of Abaluyia society in the early twentieth century.

The southern and central Abaluyia inhabit the locations of Bunyore, Kisa, Marama, and South Wanga.²⁸ Throughout the colonial period, these locations comprised a part of the large North Nyanza District.²⁹ With the coming of independence in 1963, they became a part of the much smaller Kakamega District. At the same time, certain changes were made in an attempt to bring the provincial boundary into line with the cultural frontier of the Abaluyia and the Luo.³⁰ With the exception of the western sub-locations of Kisa, the area included in these locations as of 1963 was taken as the spatial limits of the study.

Chronologically, the period from 1904 to 1939 is most deserving of study. Since Christian missions were the most active agents in the provision of African education, it seems logical to commence with the beginning

²⁸The study includes only some of the southern and central Abaluyia. The locational groups of southeastern Abaluyia which were in the Friends Africa Mission sphere of influence have been studied by Kay. Of the central Abaluyia, East Wanga, North Wanga, and Bunyalla are excluded.

²⁹The district was called North Kavirondo until 1944, when its name was changed to North Nyanza.

³⁰Four sub-locations in the vicinity of Maseno were added to West Bunyore Location, two were added to Kisa Location, and Mudhiero was taken from Marama Location to become a part of Siaya District.

of mission activity in North Nyanza. This is not meant to suggest that the commencement of mission work necessarily constituted an abrupt break with the past in African society, or that it is the only significant date. Opposing schools of thought have built up as to whether the colonial period overall led to such a break from the pre-colonial past.³¹ In this context, the Abaluyia had probably known rapid social change and extensive cultural assimilation for generations. They had come from very diverse origins, and the gradual process of migration constantly brought new peoples into Buluyia. Rapid change would certainly have occurred as these immigrants were integrated into Abaluyia society. As for the concluding date, the experience of another world war had such profound political consequences as to differentiate the post-war period from the interwar years. The year 1939 therefore stands out as a logical concluding date.

Several terms pertaining to the history of education in this period require definition. The term "local" refers to events at the district and sub-district levels of interaction. The overall nature of African-European relations in Kenya, however, requires at times a more macrocosmic perspective. Unless otherwise stated, the

³¹For a discussion of these opposing schools of thought, see R. Hunt Davis, "Interpreting the Colonial Period in African History," African Affairs, LXXII, 289 (Oct. 1973), pp. 383-400.

term "education" refers to western-oriented education. Western education was not, of course, the only type of education with which Africans were acquainted. In his well known book, Facing Mount Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta went to considerable length to argue this very point.³² Many other writers, both African and non-African, have emphasized the role of indigenous education in African society.³³ The important distinction between western education and the indigenous process of socialization is that the former imparted certain skills that enabled its recipients to assume positions of leadership and productivity in the modern nation-state. The latter prepared the individual for responsible adulthood in traditional society. Thirdly, and particularly in the context of current Africanist historiography, the term "development" requires comment. It may be possible, as Walter Rodney has argued, that the education of Africans during the colonial period did not contribute to the improvement of society overall.³⁴ With regard to African education, however, such judgments cannot be made until the context

³²Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (New York, 1962), pp. 95-124.

³³For the Abaluyia, see Joseph A. Lijembe, "The Valley Between: a Muluyia's Story," ed. Lorene K. Fox, East African Childhood (Nairobi, 1967), pp. 1-41.

³⁴Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (Dar es Salaam, 1972), pp. 261-87.

of interaction between educated Africans and the larger society in which they came to play a role as leaders is better understood. Surely there were some respects in which the society at large suffered for the sake of the chosen few who received education. Conversely, the educated members of African society frequently voiced the people's grievances more effectively than they could have done without the literary skills they received. At any rate, the term "development" as used in the educational sphere has a somewhat different connotation. It refers to the growth and extension of educational opportunity at any or all levels of a clearly defined system.

The methodology pursued was to identify, collect, and utilize both archival and oral evidence that was potentially germane to the focus and scope of inquiry. The original document files of the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi and the microfilm collections of the Kenya National Archives at Bird Library, Syracuse University, were utilized. Such archival holdings of mission societies as were available were also studied. These included, for the most part, the Church Missionary Society Archives in Nairobi and at CMS headquarters in London, and the International Missionary Council Archives at Edinburgh House, London. Archives of the Mill Hill Mission Society at St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, London, and of the Church of God at Anderson, Indiana were not made available to the author. As for Mill Hill Mission sources, however, the availability of the hitherto unutilized

mission diaries at St. Peter's Mission, Mumias, Kenya, was a compensation of considerable importance. For the Church of God, archival sources were limited to items of correspondence found in the microfilmed collections of Friends Africa Mission Archives and education files in the Kenya National Archives. Historical records at the Kima station were apparently destroyed when the resident missionaries feared an Italian invasion at the commencement of hostilities along the Kenya-Abyssinia frontier in World War II. Other archival sources, such as the Public Record Office collection of original correspondence (C.O. 533) and manuscript sources at Rhodes House, Oxford, were also utilized. The overriding limitation of all the aforementioned sources is, of course, the fact that they were compiled predominantly by Europeans of one persuasion or another. The perspective which they reflect is necessarily limited by this fact, and the role of Europeans in the events discussed therein is somewhat exaggerated.

To correct this distortion, oral interviews were conducted throughout southern and central Buluyia. Community leaders who had had a part in the events surrounding the evolution of educational development or who had observed them as non-participants were identified and interviewed. Both the individual and the group interview formats were employed. Every attempt was made to ascertain

that each group represented a cross-section of the clans comprising the local community, and at least one interview was conducted in each sub-location throughout the spatial reference of inquiry. The content of the interviews included basically two emphases. First, biographical material was collected to provide a framework for evaluation of the oral data obtained. Secondly, questions involving the patterns of sociological interaction and political action were discussed as a means of identifying the process and pace of educational change in the local community. Although the interviews did not always provide the desired results, they did frequently provide a useful perspective from which to evaluate the archival data, and occasionally went considerably beyond the written sources in both depth of analysis and in descriptive detail.

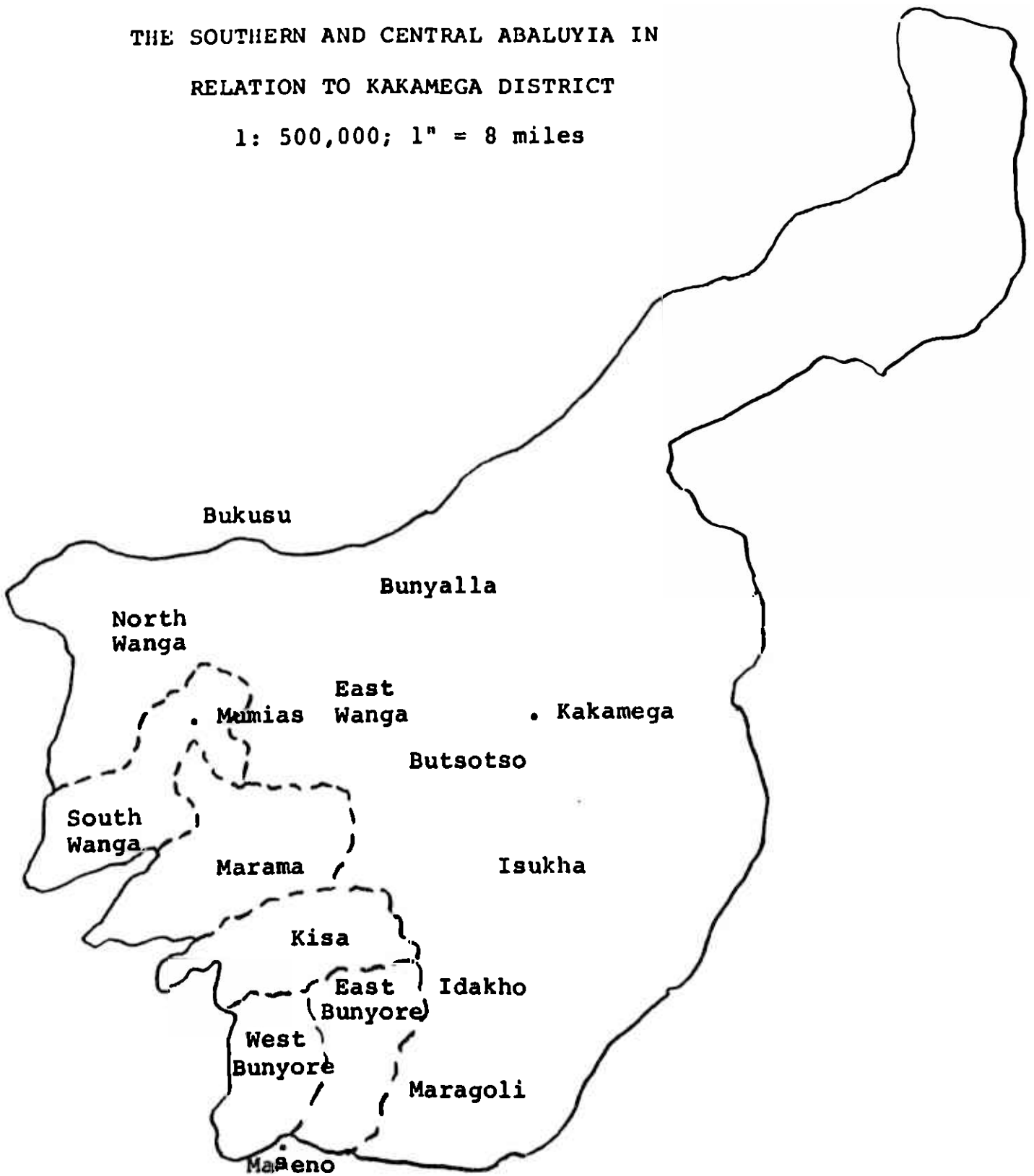
CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The Abaluyia and the Luo minority who are the subjects of this study live in a part of the southern and central regions of the old North Nyanza District. They occupy a contiguous tier of locations along the western flank of what is now Kakamega District, including East and West Bunyore, Kisa, Marama and South Wanga. To the east of them live the Luyia-speaking groups of South and North Maragoli, Idakho, Isukha, Butso and Kabras. To the north of Wanga are Bunyala and Bukusu, and to the west live a wedge of Luo who separate them from the westernmost Luyia-speaking groups in Busia District. Throughout the colonial period, a Luo minority consisting of approximately twenty per cent of the population lived in South Wanga and in Marama. Beyond Bunyore to the south, the Abaluyia also face the Luo, from whom they are separated by the Bunyore hills and the rapidly descending landscape towards the Kano Plain. The area included in these five locations is only twenty-eight miles in length from Maseno in the south to Mumias in the north, and varies in width from eight or nine miles in Bunyore to

THE SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL ABALUYIA IN
RELATION TO KAKAMEGA DISTRICT

1: 500,000; 1" = 8 miles





WESTERN KENYA

- Old Nyanza Province Boundaries
- - - - - Provincial Boundaries as of 1963.
- · - · - District Boundaries.
- 1: 1,500,000;
- 1" = 45 miles

fifteen in Marama. Living in this small area of 266 square miles were 177,400 people as of 1962, with some of the highest population densities to be found anywhere in rural Africa.¹

These high population densities among the Abaluyia are attributable primarily to the favorable physical environment. Most of the area lies between 4,500 and 5,000 feet in altitude. Despite regional variations, the soils are generally very fertile. In Bunyore, the soil conditions range from limited areas of acidic and heavily leached soils along the southern border, to the more fertile loam soils of the broad granitic belt which traverses the southern locations of the province. As one proceeds northwards into Kisa, Marama, and South Wanga, the soil type gives way to a somewhat sandier clay loam. Except for occasional swamps along the rivers and streams and granitic outcroppings in South Wanga and southern Bunyore, the soil is cultivable and is capable of supporting high population densities. With the annual rainfall varying from 55 to 75 inches, the area is also very well watered.² Throughout the area there is a double

¹W. T. W. Morgan and N. Manfred Shaffer, Population of Kenya: Density and Distribution (Nairobi, 1966), p. 20.

²C. P. E. Brooks, "The Distribution of Rainfall over Uganda, with a note on Kenya Colony," Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society, L (1924), p. 327; "Rainfall at Mumias Station, 1904-1916," DC/NN.3/1, North Nyanza Political Records, Kenya National Archives, Syracuse University Microfilm, (hereafter, K.N.A., S.U. Mic.), No. 2282, reel 78; East African Meteorological

rainfall regime, with a major rainy season occurring from March to June, and a minor rainy season following from August to October.³ The dry season is short, lasting from November to February.

The very favorable physical environment has enabled the Abaluyia to develop a highly productive agricultural system. The area of western Kakamega District from Bunyore to Wanga is part of the Star Grass-Kikuyu Grass ecological zone, which is noted for its high agricultural potential.⁴ The landscape is intensively humanized, with two crops grown each year in most areas in correspondence with the rainfall pattern. The most common crops grown during murotos, the long rains, include wimbi (finger millet), mtama (sorghum), maize, and pulses. The crops grown during the murumbi or short rains are sweet potatoes, simsim, pulses, and beans. The typical peasant farmer also owns some mixed livestock and fowls. In Bunyore, less reliance is placed on wimbi and mtama, but bananas

Department Summary of Rainfall in East Africa, 1956 (Nairobi, n.d.); S. H. Ominde, "Land and Population in the Western Districts of Nyanza Province, Kenya" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1963), pp. 46-53.

³Kenneth R. Dundas, "The Wawanga and Other Tribes of the Elgon District, British East Africa," JRAI, XLIII (1913), pp.47-48; Norman Humphrey, The Liguru and the Land: Sociological Aspects of some Agricultural Problems of North Kavirondo (Nairobi, 1947), pp. 31-35.

⁴Ominde, pp. 83-86, 252-67.

have been adopted more widely as a supplementary food crop. The southern locations of Bunyore and Kisa are part of an intensively cultivated zone stretching from the eastern locations of the province to the Uganda border on the west. In this area, the limitation of land has led to increased adoption of cattle tethering, with pastoralism being a relatively minor aspect of the local economy. To the north in Wanga, a transitional zone characterized by more mixed farming, a greater emphasis is placed on pastoralism.⁵

At the commencement of colonial rule in the late nineteenth century, the Abaluyia were organized politically into patrilineal, exogamous clans. With the exception of the area encompassed by the Abawanga kingdom, each clan was generally independent and free to engage in its own relations with other clans. Even under the political hegemony of the Abashitsetse dynasty, individual clans retained their social, economic and ritual functions. Each locational group was comprised of a smaller number of large, politically active and dominant clans, with a large number of small clans and clan segments living as allies among them. Clan size varied considerably from several thousand to only a few hundred, with the smallest clan segments including only a few households. New,

⁵M. H. Grieve (Agricultural Officer, Kakamega) to Carter Land Commission, September 13, 1932, Kenya Land Commission Papers, S. U. Mic., No. 1925, reel 10; Ominde, p. 98.

smaller clans were occasionally constituted through the ongoing process of fision as the largest clans reached the maximum size and split up into smaller units. At the same time, the political system was characterized by the formation of larger political units by means of inter-clan cooperation, accomplished either through the formation of ad hoc alliances or by the more permanent ties of kinship and marriage.

Although frequent reference has been made to the territorial identity of Abaluyia clans, a settlement pattern comprised of clans as territorial units was found only among the more populous southern locations of Buluyia. As described by Wagner for the Maragoli⁶ and by Sangree for the Tiriki,⁷ the main feature of this pattern was that each clan occupied and controlled a common plot of land. Individual lineages or families resided on specific hills or ridges within the common holdings of the clan. This contiguity of land holdings and settlements among members of the same kinship group gave the clan a certain spatial or territorial identity. However, there were certain attenuations which affected this pattern over the passage of time. Quarrels and pressures on the land often forced clan sections of individual households to leave the area

⁶For the best discussion of clanship among the Abaluyia, see G. Wagner, The Bantu of Western Kenya (London, 1949, rep. 1970), I, 53-76; Walter H. Sangree, Age, Prayer, and Politics in Tiriki, Kenya (Oxford, 1966), pp. 4-5; and John Osogo, "The Significance of Clans in the History of East Africa," Hadith II, ed. B. A. Ogot (Nairobi, 1970), pp. 30-41.

⁷Sangree, p. 5.

of their own patrilineal kinsmen and to settle elsewhere. In such circumstances these exiles had the option of settling among their affinal kinsmen or among other acquaintances. If they were accepted by the host clan, these alien groups became known as Abamenya, or tenants.⁸ They were seldom if ever required to give up their rights to the land if they met their obligations to their new hosts. Over the passage of time, the Abamenya became a significant and sizable minority. In Maragoli by 1938, they accounted for about one-third of the residents in certain areas. Among the central and southern Abaluyia, this settlement pattern was characteristic of Bunyore and Kisa, and to a lesser extent, South Marama.⁹

In areas to the north such as North Marama and South Wanga, certain historical circumstances in the late nineteenth century led to the development of a significantly different settlement pattern. This pattern was characterized by more dispersed clan settlements with correspondingly greater heterogeneity in the clan affiliation of contiguous kinship groups. It has been described by

⁸Wagner, I, 56,84.

⁹This conclusion is based on data collected from personal and group interviews conducted throughout the area from August 1972 to February 1973.

de Wolf with reference to the Bukusu of Bungoma District, who inhabit the area just to the north of the Abawanga.¹⁰ A survey taken in two sub-locations in East Bukusu revealed that members of more than thirty clans resided in each sub-location. No clan community comprised more than eleven per cent of the total population. Although clan sections controlled their land in much the same manner as in the southern locations, their holdings were not as contiguous to those of other sections of their clan. Correspondingly, there was a greater admixture of kinship groups occupying contiguous plots of land. This lack of territorial identity among the clans, also characteristic of South Wanga and North Marama, was the result of historical circumstances quite different from the manner in which the pattern of settlement evolved in the southern locations. One such factor was the predominance of large fortified villages in the late nineteenth century in such areas as Bukusu and Wanga.¹¹ In the dispersal which followed the breakup of these large villages, the various kinship groups which had resided therein apparently made little effort to reconstitute their territorial identity. In North Marama an important factor which attenuated clan territoriality was the fact that much of the area was

¹⁰Jan J. de Wolf, "Religious Innovation and Social Change among the Bukusu" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1971), pp. 47-51.

¹¹C. W. Hobley, Eastern Uganda, an Ethnographic Survey, (London, 1902), p. 14; Humphrey, p. 14; A Handbook of Kenya Colony, p. 244; Guy Barnett, By the Lake (Cambridge, 1965), p. 65. See also R. T. Scully, "Fort

acquired through conquest from the Batsotso.¹² As warfare was usually an inter-clan activity, the spoils went to the most successful warriors with little regard for their kinship affiliation.¹³ The lack of clan territoriality in North Marama and South Wanga naturally lessened clan solidarity in those areas.

A common feature of the settlement pattern throughout the area inhabited by the southern and central Abaluyia was the large number of Abamenya living among landlord clans. The origin of the tenant system probably dated back to the days of internecine warfare, famine, and epidemics.¹⁴ In such circumstances, it was frequently of mutual benefit for a tenant-landlord relationship to be established. The host clan would have welcomed the tenants as a means of increasing their numbers and enhancing their strength. The Abamenya might have sought to become tenants to one of the larger and more powerful clans as a means of insuring their own security. Although the attenuating circumstances of colonial administration led to some change in the motives underlying the tenant-landlord relationship, the system continued to function

Sites of East Bukusu, Kenya," Azania, IV, 1969, pp. 104-14.

¹²Gideon S. Were (ed.), Western Kenya Historical Texts (Nairobi, 1965), pp. 153-4.

¹³Wagner, I, 57-8.

¹⁴Humphrey, p. 21.

without any structural change. A man's motives for leaving his own clan were then more frequently related to quarreling and land pressures. He might also wish to leave his own clan area because of his pragmatic assessment of certain ecological factors, or because of a witchcraft accusation.¹⁵ In any case, he would approach a close acquaintance of another clan to whom he was usually related through marriage or through his mother. If the would-be grantor was willing, he referred the request to the elders of his clan. The elders inquired into the prospective tenant's history, character, and his reasons for leaving his own clan. Significantly, the basis of the elders' decision hinged as much on the man's social qualities as on the question of land availability. If the elders granted the request, the Omumenya could both cultivate and settle on the land granted to him. Provided that he performed the necessary obligations toward his sponsor, his tenure on the land was assured.¹⁶ After his death, the land passed to his sons. After three or four generations of residence among the same clan, the Omumenya's descendants were considered as adopted members

¹⁵Gunter Wagner, "Maragoli Land Tenure," EN/8, Elgon Nyanza Political Records, K.N.A., S.U. Mic., No. 2282, reel 68.

¹⁶Report of Committee on Native Land Tenure in the North Kavirondo Reserve, 1930 (Nairobi, 1931), pp. 11-12.

of the host clan. However, they retained their own clan name and frequently could marry into the host clan.¹⁷

Although some aspects of the Abaluyia system of land tenure are exemplified in the foregoing discussion of the tenant-landlord relationship, there are several salient features of the system which remain to be described.¹⁸ First of all, the rights of a clan to the land on which it settled were based on conquest or on prior right of settlement. Secondly, the control over cultivable land was divided between the individual cultivator and the elders of the clan. Furthermore, a man's right of usage for cultivation could not be wrested from him. So long as he remained in good standing within the community, those rights were inherited by his sons. It was particularly in the right of disposal that the clan elders could exercise their authority to protect the collective rights of the clan. This distinction between right of usage and right of disposal provides a key to an adequate understanding of the Abaluyia land tenure system. Finally,

¹⁷Wagner, The Bantu of Western Kenya, I, 56.

¹⁸This is a brief summary of data collected from the following sources: E. A. Andere, "Abaluyia Land Law and Custom," EN/7, Elgon Nyanza Political Records, K.N.A., S.U. Mic., No. 2282, reel 68; Wagner, "Maragoli Land Tenure"; "Record of Evidence Presented to the Committee to Investigate the System or Systems of Native Land Tenure Within the North Kavirondo Native Reserve, 1930," DC/NN.8/1, North Nyanza Political Records, K.N.A., S.U. Mic., No. 2282, reel 102; Wagner, II, 75-100; Humphrey, pp. 19-23.

the control of a given plot of land depended upon the use to which it was put. Whereas the use and control of cultivable land was vested in individuals, plots used for grazing, salt licks, and forests were held and used in common.

In the working of the land tenure system as well as in socio-political affairs generally, leadership was vested in a clan head and his council of elders. The role of clan head was ordinarily held by one person, who was variously called the liguru, omukasa, omukali, omwami, or omukulundu.¹⁹ The liguru seldom acted arbitrarily, but referred matters to the council of elders for discussion. He owed his position to group concensus, and could lose it if he usurped his authority or displayed undesirable traits of character. To be chosen, he had to possess such important qualities as fair judgment, wisdom, impartiality, and hospitality. Probably his most important function was the adjudication of disputes among members of the sub-clan or clan. Such disputes frequently arose over boundaries, destruction of crops by livestock, or cultivation rights on fallow plots. The clan head was also trustee of the communal clan holdings.²⁰

¹⁹Humphrey, et passim; Andere, "Abaluyia Land Law and Custom," pp. 2, 4-7, 20; Record of Evidence presented to the Committee on Land Tenure in North Kavirondo, p. 5.

²⁰Andere, "Abaluyia Land Law and Custom," et passim. See also Humphrey, pp. 14-19.

He also had to be consulted when any change in land usage was contemplated, as in the case of rights extended to Abamenya. In a more modern context, his permission was necessary before land could be set aside for the construction of dukas or schools.²¹ He and the council of elders also had certain powers to regulate social affairs, such as hearing divorce proceedings and ascertaining that all interested parties in the case were present at the hearing.²² As keeper of the peace, the clan head's powers loosely included both executive and judicial functions.

Although there were certain leadership roles in Abaluyia society which were more specialized than that of the liguru, authority generally was diffuse and un-specialized.²³ The more specialized roles included rain-makers, diviners, sorcerers, sacrificial priests, and war leaders. The responsibilities of a leader generally extended into several realms of everyday activity, with little distinction between the political, judicial, or ritual

²¹Record of Evidence presented to the Committee on Land Tenure in North Kavirondo, p. 14.

²²E. A. Andere, "Abaluyia Customary Law Relating to Marriage and Inheritance," EN/7, Elgon Nyanza Political Records, K.N.A., S.U. Mic., No. 2282, reel 68.

²³Günter Wagner, "The Political Organization of the Bantu Kavirondo," ed. M. Fortas and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, African Political Systems (London, 1940), pp. 235-6; Wagner, I, 80-2.

aspects of the role. This was particularly the case with the position of clan head. The role was not well articulated, for it did not denote a clearly defined office entailing explicit rights and duties.²⁴

This lack of specific definition to the role of clan head, together with the various personal qualities which were regarded as requisites of leadership, meant that the recruitment pattern in traditional Abaluyia society was based more on achievement than on ascription. The only structural or ascriptive qualifications for the position of clan head were kinship and age. The liguru had to be a member himself of the kinship group whose leader he was. Although he also had to be advanced in age, he was not necessarily the oldest living elder. Otherwise recruitment was dependent on the possession of those informal, personal qualities which lent men influence. Wagner, wrote,

The status of a clan-head was, as a rule, tacitly assigned to that clan-elder who, by his personality as well as by a number of personal qualities. . . , stood out among his age-mates and who, in all matters and on all occasions where the interests of the clan community as a whole were concerned, proved himself capable of taking the lead.²⁵

These personal qualities were based on achievement and motivation. They included a reputation as a brave and successful warrior, impartiality in the adjudication of disputes so as to preserve and enhance the unity of the

²⁴Ibid., I, 76.

²⁵Ibid., I, 76-7.

clan, freedom from witchcraft accusations, and respect for tribal customs. The candidate also had to be wealthy, and was expected to be generous and hospitable in the manipulation and distribution of his wealth. Wealth was, in fact, both a means of acquiring prestige and of extending it through the proper distribution and sharing of such relatively scarce commodities as livestock and grain. It was also important for the clan head to be a persuasive orator, so that he might carry the day when arguing a case before the council of elders. A successful and dynamic clan leader who possessed these qualifications was able to gain considerable influence and status. By attracting tenants from other clans and by using his power and wisdom to acquire more land for the cultivation of his followers, he could greatly increase the size of his following.²⁶

Although the clan was the largest corporate unit in traditional Abaluyia society, it was possible for political relations to occur on a broader scale. This could be done by establishing an inter-clan alliance on an ad hoc basis to meet a particular challenge or need. Another field for inter-clan cooperation was the clan cluster, whether it was based on common genealogical origin or on kinship ties established through marriage. These links facilitated the process of cooperation and enabled political relations to be pursued on a scale which transcended clanship. Paradoxically, such clan alliances could be established even

²⁶Ibid., I, 77-83.

though there were no permanent institutions in the traditional political structure to facilitate the process of cooperation. The paradox can best be understood if a distinction is made between political structure and political function. Along this line of analysis, Wagner described the political system of the Abaluyia as follows.

The concept of 'political structure' . . . requires a wider definition than is customary to become applicable to Kavirondo society. There is no political structure as distinct from the kinship and social structure; that is, there exists no system of institutions that serve explicitly and exclusively the purpose of maintaining the tribal unit as a whole. To enable one to understand the organization of the tribal unit, the emphasis must, therefore, be shifted from the concept of the political institution to that of the political function.²⁷

The distinction clarifies the fact that the clan, while often the basis of factious quarreling and fissiparous tendencies, did not always present a problem of scale in the field of political activity.

The degree of cooperation among clans on the local level was attributable to a variety of factors. Friendly relations among the six or eight clans comprising a local community usually dated back to the period of their original settlement on the land. As long as land was available, new clans were welcomed by those already residing in the locality. Acceptance of new immigrants was based more on assessment of the contribution they could make to the community as a whole than on common historical

²⁷Wagner, "The Bantu of Kavirondo," pp. 200-1.

origin or cultural affinity. If such immigrants were known for their skills as hunters, rainmakers, smiths, or warriors, their acceptance into the community was more likely.²⁸ The dispensation of these specialized skills in exchange for protection and land for settlement frequently became the basis of a symbiotic relationship between clans. Once the new immigrants were settled, the link could be strengthened through marriage. Conversely, there were certain cases where marriage was the enabling factor in the settlement of a new kinship group into the community.²⁹ Diachronically, relationships were reaffirmed through such common social activities as circumcision rituals, dancing competition, and the annual obwali ritual held to insure an abundant harvest.³⁰

All this led to an ongoing relationship which facilitated cooperation in warfare when the need for common defense arose. Cooperation in warfare was probably the most frequent expression of this bond of unity between the clans constituting a local community. Although it was only the larger clans that possessed sufficient strength to engage in warfare, the smaller clans were an integral part of these activities. Warriors of the smaller

²⁸Personal Interview, Henry Wafula, Buchenya Sub-Location, Marama, November 15, 1972; Group Interview, Bungazi Sub-Location, South Wanga, February 1, 1973.

²⁹Examples of the pattern appear repeatedly in the oral data. Group Interview, Shiraha Sub-Location, Marama, November 1, 1972, is only one case in point.

³⁰Group Interview, Ebusamia Sub-Location, East Bunyore, January 23, 1973.

clans would often participate on their own initiative, particularly if they were members of the same circumcision groups or were related through marriage to members of the larger clans.³¹ The smaller clans also played a significant role in the omusangu ritual which was enacted to prepare the warriors for battle. The priest who conducted this ritual was recruited on the basis of success rather than kinship. As long as a priest's incantations led the warriors to success in battle, his position as ritual specialist was not challenged. What frequently happened in response to the community's varying fortunes in battle was that the priesthood for the omusangu ritual was passed around from one clan to another.³² In this manner, the smaller clans could play an important part in the activities of the group as a whole.

The foregoing aspects of Abaluyia ethnography are significant as a background for understanding the patterns of educational development. Although much has been made of the chauvinistic tendencies in inter-clan relations, there were frequent instances when cooperation occurred between or among clans. There were, in fact, pre-colonial precedents for such action. Furthermore, the territoriality of clans had frequently been attenuated to the extent that

³¹Wagner, "The Political Organization," p. 229

³²Group Interview, Ebusamia, Jan. 23, 1973.

minimized any possibility of corporate action by the various segments. As a result, when a development project presented a challenge of scale, participation frequently occurred on an inter-clan basis. It is also significant for the sake of understanding later developments that patterns of leadership were primarily achievement-oriented. As education became more widespread, the skills of literacy were valued by some as an alternative means of acquiring the power and authority which were the marks of an effective leader. In this context, education was really viewed more as a means to an end than as an end in itself.

When viewed against the background of pre-colonial Abaluyia history, the capacity for interclan cooperation is all the more striking, for the most predominant aspect of that history is its heterogeneity. Any tendency to regard the Abaluyia as a single historical or cultural entity has beclouded the facts concerning their extremely diverse origins.³³ The area was inhabited by both Bantu and non-Bantu clans that moved into Buluyia from different places over a period of several centuries. This pattern of diversity was characteristic not only of the Abaluyia generally, but of the various locational groups as well. Each location among the central and southern Abaluyia was comprised of one or more clan clusters and of various unrelated clans and clan segments. In Bunyore, the Banyore

³³For a survey of this period, see Were, A History, pp. 57-129.

proper were comprised of twelve large clans that all claimed descent from a common ancestor, Anyole. In Kisa, inter-clan politics were centered around the mutually hostile and independent clan clusters of the Abashisa and Abasamia. In South Marama, by far the largest and politically most dominant clan was the Abamukhula. It was subdivided into five sub-clans which were localized throughout most of the sub-locations of South Marama. The basis of inter-clan relations in North Marama differed from that of South Marama only in that there was no large, dominant clan. In South Wanga, where a centralized political system was established, the context of inter-clan relations was attenuated somewhat from the pattern elsewhere. This was due particularly to the development of an incipient state system.

Historians have differed considerably on the question of when the process of centralization and political differentiation occurred within the Abawanga kingdom. Were has concluded that Wanga existed as a centralized state throughout most of the 250-year period from the arrival of the Abashitsetse to the commencement of colonial rule. In his chronological framework, he has divided the history of Wanga into three phases.³⁴ The first phase, extending from the settlement and conquest by the Abashitsetse to about six generations ago (c. 1787) was a time of slow growth and relatively little political development. The

³⁴Ibid., pp. 119-127.

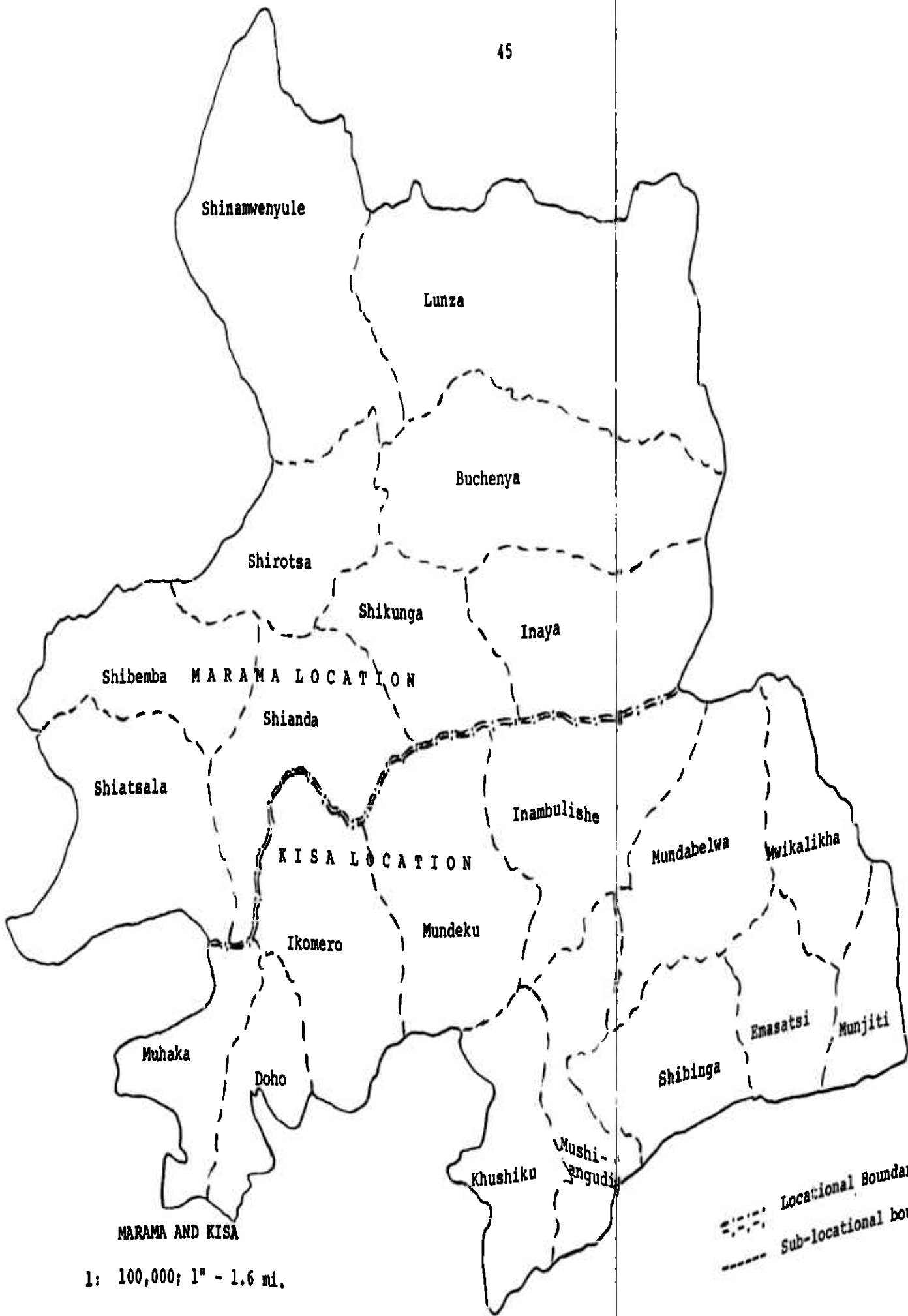


EAST AND WEST BUNYORE

1: 100,000; 1" = 1.6 mi.

⋮⋮⋮⋮ locational boundary

----- sub-locational boundaries



Shinamwenyule

Lunza

Buchenya

Shiotsa

Shikunga

Inaya

Shibemba MARAMA LOCATION

Shianda

Shiatsala

KISA LOCATION

Inambulishe

Mundabelwa

Mwikalikka

Ikomero

Mundeku

Muhaka

Doho

Khushiku

Mushi-angudi

Shibinga

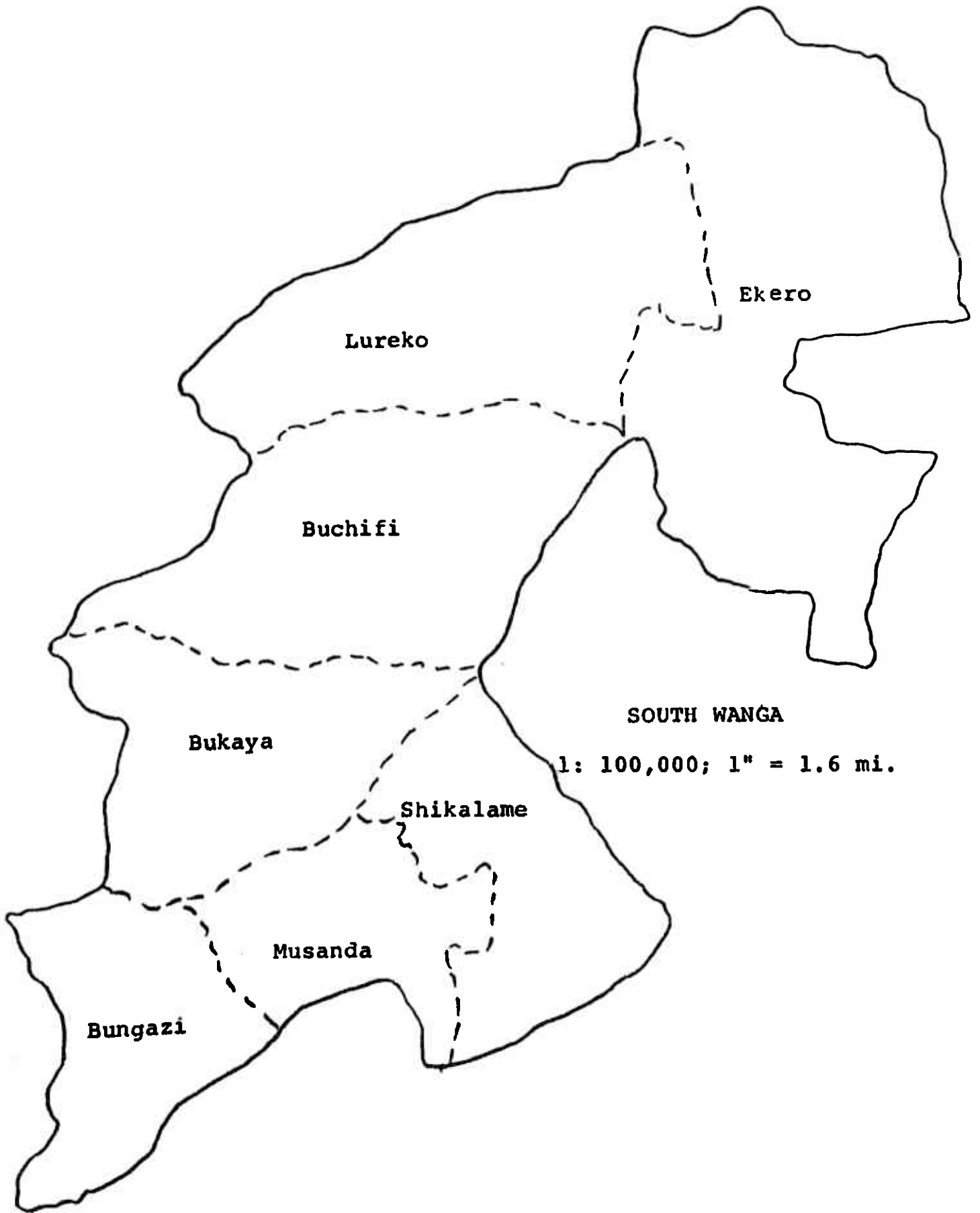
Emasatsi

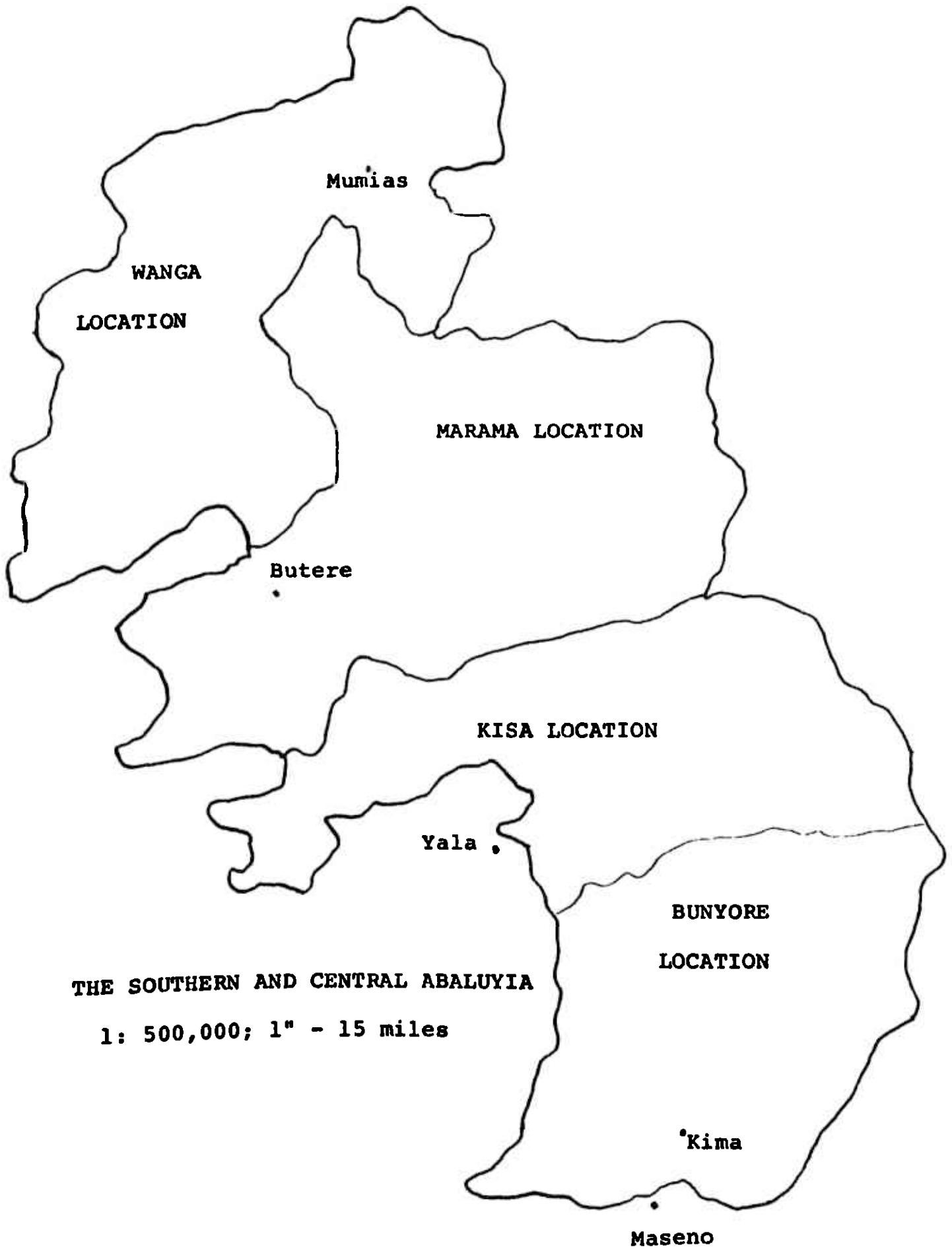
Munjiti

MARAMA AND KISA

1: 100,000; 1" - 1.6 mi.

--- Locational Boundary
- - - Sub-locational boundaries





THE SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL ABALUYIA
1: 500,000; 1" - 15 miles

second phase began with the reign of Nabongo Netya (c. 1760) and continued through the reigns of Osundwa (c. 1787-1814) and Wamukoya (c. 1814-1841). It was characterized by more aggressive and adventurous leadership and considerably more activity both in internal and external political affairs. The third phase of pre-colonial Abawanga history presumably began about 1840 with the reign of Shiundu, and ended in 1894 with the establishment of a British protectorate. Were considers the process of political differentiation and centralization in Wanga to have been an evolutionary development. According to his view, the process of political centralization was already well-established by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Dealing has come to a radically different conclusion.³⁵ He has asserted that prior to the first decade of contact with the British (c. 1885-1895), the Abawanga political system differed little from other Luyia-speaking groups in the area. The power of the Nabongo or king and the degree of political complexity associated with it was apparently derived primarily from the stimulus of outside forces. A convenient political alliance with Europeans and the possession of guns were crucial external factors in this rapid process of change. Prior to about 1885, the only unique feature of the Wanga political system was the existence of symbolic, ritual leadership which

³⁵James R. Dealing, "Politics in Wanga, Kenya, c. 1650-1914," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern U., 1974), espec. pp. 1-12, 327-366.

transcended kinship ties. Although this ritual kinship represented a significant potential for political centralization, no such development occurred until the commencement of colonial rule. According to this interpretation, based on a very careful study of Wanga oral traditions, it was the ability of Abawanga leaders to exploit the possibilities of contact with external forces that brought about this rapid development. For the sake of later developments, it is important to point out that this newfound power and authority of the Nabongo was not legitimized in the minds of non-Abashitsetse clans. It is of considerable significance for the sake of this study that the leaders within the Abawanga authority structure apparently did not have a strong traditional basis for that authority. For the most part, the authority and power which they possessed within the context of colonial administration was vested in them by the alien bureaucracy.

The herald of this early contact with Europeans was Joseph Thomson, a British explorer sent out by the Royal Geographical Society to explore the little-known interior of East Africa. He travelled from the east coast through Maasai country in search of a more direct route to Buganda. His brief visit to western Kenya in 1883 was the beginning of a twenty-year period during which Mumias became increasingly important as a link in the line of communications between Mombasa and Uganda. Correspondingly, the degree of European influence at Mumias and in the surrounding

area gradually grew from a few sporadic visits during the 1880's to a fairly steady flow of travelers and resident administrators throughout the 1890's. Thomson arrived at Mumias on Dec. 3, 1883, and remained for a short time before exploring other parts of western Kenya and returning to the coast.³⁶ The following year, James Hannington was sent to Uganda by the Church Missionary Society as the newly-appointed Bishop for Eastern Equatorial Africa. Traveling along the same route, he arrived at Mumias in November, 1885.³⁷ He soon resumed his ill-fated journey to Buganda, only to be murdered at Lubas in Busoga at the behest of Kabaka Mwanga.

The next European to visit Mumias was Frederick Jackson, a representative of the I.B.E.A. Company. Jackson was sent out in 1889 on a rather ill-defined mission of establishing the Company's influence in the Lakes region. He camped temporarily at Mumias and remained there a month before proceeding to Mt. Elgon. Only a few months later, the German explorer Carl Peters arrived on the scene and attempted to establish a rival claim over the Nyanza area.³⁸ This checkmate led the Company to take new steps to secure western Kenya as a British

³⁶ Joseph Thomson, Through Masai Land (London, 1885), p. 285.

³⁷ E. C. Dawson, James Hannington, First Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa: a History of his Life and Work, 1847-1885 (London, 1887), p. 359.

³⁸ Were, p. 157; Marjorie Perham (ed.), The Diaries of Lord Lugard, II (London, 1959), 16.

"sphere of influence." In 1891 they sent James Martin to Mumias to establish a permanent supply depot for the caravan route to Uganda. For a decade thereafter, a steady flow of administrators and missionaries passed through Mumias enroute to Uganda. By 1901, with the completion of the Uganda Railway, Mumias lost its importance as a link in the supply line to Uganda. However, it had by then become important in its own right as the center from which administrative control was gradually extended throughout Buluyia.

There were several reasons why Mumias was chosen as a supply depot on the caravan route to Uganda. First of all, it was already established as the center of the caravan trade by the Arab and Swahili slave-traders. Various caravan routes from farther upcountry converged at Mumias, where the Arabs and Swahili often rested and collected supplies before proceeding to the coast.³⁹ The British believed that Mumias would provide a good base from which this trade might be controlled. Secondly, the abundance of food in the district surrounding Mumias made it a point of strategic importance for the large caravans. Numerous early travelers commented on the availability of food in Nyanza, in contrast to the lack

³⁹Were, pp. 143-8; John M. Lonsdale, "A Political History of Nyanza, 1883-1945," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1963), p. 98.

thereof along much of the way from the coast.⁴⁰ Thomson wrote of his journey in 1883 that "for the first time since leaving Taveta we revelled in such luxuries as fowls and eggs, Indian corn, sweet potatoes, groundnuts and other good things which tasted simply delicious after the fare of the Masai country."⁴¹ A third reason for choosing Mumias was the friendliness which Mumia showed toward strangers.⁴² This friendliness would have been a

⁴⁰Sir John Wallace Pringle (I.B.E.A. Co. employee and member of Uganda Railway survey team), *Diary*, May 14, 1892, MSS 46 V., Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London; Rev. Nickisson, "From Mombasa to Mengo, being an Account of the Journey of 750 Miles through Central Africa made by the Missionary party under Bishop Tucker in 1892," MSS 468, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London; Ernest Gedge, *Diaries*, Jan. 14-16, 1893, MSS 4 V., Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London; Thomson, pp. 478-9; Perham, I, 387, 393; Brian O'Brien, That Good Physician, Albert Ruskin Cook (London, 1962), p. 41; Alfred R. Tucker, Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa (London, 1929), p. 81; H. H. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, II (London, 1904), 135; J. R. L. Macdonald, Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa, 1891-1894 (London, 1897), p. 95; E. C. Dawson (ed.), The Last Journals of James Hannington (London, 1888), p. 209; Frederick D. Lugard, "Travels from the East African Coast to Uganda, Lake Albert Victoria," Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, N.S., XIV (Dec. 1892), p. 823.

⁴¹Joseph Thomson, "Through the Masai Country to Victoria Nyanza," Royal Geographical Society Proceedings, N.S., VI (1884), p. 707.

⁴²William H. Jones, *Diary*, "Behind My Bishop Through Masai Land to Kavirondo," Oct. 6, 1885, Acc. No. 267, Unofficial Papers, CMS Archives, London; C. M. Dobbs, "Kenya Tribal Societies," MS Afr. s. 515 Rhodes House, Oxford; Tucker, I, 215; Lugard, "Travels from the East African Coast," 822; Thomson, Through Masai Land, p. 285; Hobley, p. 80; Were, pp. 162-3.

significant consideration at a time when British authority depended on tenuous, informal agreements with surrounding chiefs. The fact that such diverse groups as Luo, Baganda, Arabs, Swahili, Maasai, and runaways from the passing caravans were all permitted to reside in Mumia's village was additional indication of his open and welcoming attitude to strangers.

Mumia had his own reasons for befriending the Europeans. He already knew, through his contact with the Arab and Swahili traders, that friendship with strangers could provide him with much-needed political allies. The guns he had received in exchange for ivory from the coastal traders were an important factor in warding off such traditional enemies as the Ugenya Luo, the Banyalla, and the Babukusu.⁴³ When Europeans began to arrive on the scene, Mumia again viewed them as potential allies whose special skills and superior weaponry might be utilized in defense of the Abawanga state. He confronted both Thomson and Hannington, the first European visitors, with pleas to invoke the supernatural on behalf of himself and his people. He begged Thomson to exercise his presumed rainmaking powers, and was much impressed with Thomson's apparent ability to oblige.⁴⁴ When Hannington arrived at Mumias, the Nabongo asked him to "make medicine for his enemies, who keep him in constant terror." Mumia also expressed an interest in having a resident

⁴³Ibid., p. 163.

⁴⁴Thomson, pp. 504-5.

missionary at his village.⁴⁵ By 1890, when Sir Frederick Lugard passed through Mumias, the Nabongo's interests in his European visitors were becoming more pragmatic. He wanted Lugard to give him guns in exchange for ivory, much as he had done before with the coastal traders.⁴⁶ These incidents show that Mumia befriended the British in the hope of consolidating his political position at the expense of his enemies. In addition to these political motives, Mumia received some material benefits from Europeans. By frequently exchanging gifts with them, he received such novelties as European clothing, a clock, knife, looking glass, necklaces, and beads.⁴⁷ Although some of these trinkets were of spurious material benefit, they probably did have the value of enhancing Mumia's prestige among his admiring followers.

In the 1890s, the marriage of convenience between Mumia and his British acquaintances led to the establishment of Mumias as the center of administration for Nyanza. This development was a natural consequence of the importance of Mumias on the caravan route.⁴⁸ Already in 1889, with the arrival of Frederick Jackson of the I.B.E.A. Company, the first attempts at establishing an administration were made. In his attempts to establish

⁴⁵Dawson, p. 210.

⁴⁶Perham, I, 402.

⁴⁷W. A. Crabtree (CMS missionary at Masaba) to R. H. Walker (Namirembe), Sept. 30, 1902, CMS Archives, London.

⁴⁸Hobley, p. 81.

a British sphere of influence, Jackson made so-called treaties of friendship with various chiefs throughout the Nyanza area. No practical or real effort at administering the area was made under the Company's authority, however, as the agents at Mumias were too occupied with protecting the caravan route. In 1894, with the establishment of a British protectorate over Buganda, western Kenya passed from the hands of the company to those of the new Buganda government. Colonel Colvile sent out Spire to establish an administrative post at Mumias.⁴⁹ His duties were confined to the consolidation of the British position at Mumias and to the pacification of the troubled Wanga perimeter. When Spire ran into trouble in 1895 with the warlike Babukusu, he was replaced by Charles William Hobley. Although Hobley's duties were still confined primarily to the limited objective of protecting the caravan route to Uganda, he was also given instructions to "build a permanent station and gradually establish an administration over the various sections of the turbulent collection of tribes, collectively known . . . as the Kavirondo."⁵⁰ By carrying out this mandate, the aggressive Hobley was to make a considerable imprint on the area before his tenure in Nyanza ended in 1900. He extended the area of effective control throughout

⁴⁹Were, p. 157. For a more detailed history of the establishment of administration in Nyanza, see Lonsdale, ch. 3, pp. 81-137.

⁵⁰Hobley, p. 80.

much of Nyanza by conducting various military campaigns, and made the first attempts at establishing a civil administration.

Hobley's major undertaking during his administration in Nyanza was the extension of effective British domination throughout much of the area. He was charged with the more limited objective of protecting the trade routes, and was to interfere in local politics only if necessary to meet that end.⁵¹ He chose to carry out these rather ill-defined guidelines in the broadest possible way. He conducted military campaigns against any community or clan which chose to harrass the trade routes, to undertake skirmishes against fellow Africans who had already demonstrated their loyalty and friendship to the British, or to grant asylum to gunrunners from the caravans. Hobley's policy was to demonstrate the futility of resistance with the use of force wherever necessary, and to honor peaceful agreements whenever they could be secured. Since administrative control gradually extended outward from Mumias, it is not surprising that the traditional enemies of the Abawanga state were among the first groups Hobley chose to attack. His first show of strength came in 1895 against the Bukusu, followed shortly by campaigns against the Banyala and the Ugenya Luo.⁵² Conversely, those groups which had been traditional allies of the

⁵¹Lonsdale, p. 89.

⁵²Were, pp. 165-9.

Abawanga, such as the Marama and Kisa, apparently accepted British domination without resisting.

Other Abaluyia groups to the east and south, including the Maragoli, and Banyore, were less fortunate. Between 1896 and 1900, Hobley undertook campaigns against each of these groups.⁵³ His pretense for doing so was, as before, to secure the freedom of movement along transportation routes passing through the area. In keeping with the pattern of inter-clan relations among these politically decentralized groups, in the Abaluyia response to the British, the clan and clan cluster were the effective level of political action. Whereas some clans chose to cooperate, others disregarded British authority and interests. The result of this decentralized pattern of response was that Hobley's military campaigns against these groups were comparatively minor operations. One such campaign was against the Abamangali in Bunyore, whom Hobley attacked in 1896 after they had raided the more friendly southern Abalogoli.⁵⁴ Two years later, he conducted a similar campaign against another Bunyore clan for refusing to supply porters. These minor campaigns were the extent of the military pacification among the central Abaluyia. By 1900 British domination among most Abaluyia groups was more or less complete.

⁵³Lonsdale, p. 109.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 114.

On completion of the military phase of occupation, Hobley and his successors could turn their attention to the difficult problem of searching for a workable system of administration. The pattern adopted by the British wherever possible was that of indirect rule. According to this system, traditional chiefs or headmen who were accepted and respected by the local people were to be appointed as the local agents of administration. Among most of the Abaluyia, the absence of dominant and powerful traditional rulers whose authority transcended the bounds of kinship was to become a major obstacle in the implementation of that principle. One early administrator expressed the frustration resulting from this problem.

There are but few chiefs who exercise authority over an extended area; but many petty ones, some of whom are able to muster a few dozen, and others a few hundred followers. The chiefs are really not more than headmen of villages or small districts, and in most cases hold but little influence.⁵⁵

John Ainsworth, who became Provincial Commissioner in 1907, put it more succinctly. "There is no unity amongst the different clans, and not much in the clans themselves."⁵⁶ It was an overstatement. Nevertheless, it attests to the difficulty which early administrators faced. Considerable experimentation was necessary before a system was finally rationalized and instituted.

⁵⁵S. Bagge, (P.C.), Kisumu Province Annual Report, 1905-6, p. 26, K.N.A., S.U. Mic., No. 2801, reel 32.

⁵⁶J. B. Ainsworth (P.C.), Nyanza Province Special Report, 1909, p. 31, K.N.A., S.U. Mic., No. 2801, reel 32.

The first attempt to resolve this administrative dilemma was instituted by C. W. Hobley, and remained in effect until 1907. He initially found that the most workable approach was to select a representative chief from each locational group through whom negotiations could be conducted. Experience soon taught him that although such chiefs might have been useful in establishing peaceful inter-tribal relations, they could not recruit labor from clans other than their own.⁵⁷ The method worked only in the case of such chiefs as Mumia, whose traditional basis of authority transcended the bonds of kinship. Hobley concluded that in other areas, the traditional pattern of decentralized political authority was the only practical basis for establishing civil administration. Although it is not clear just how he instituted this policy, in all likelihood he selected the heads of at least the largest clans as the administrative agents. It was both a tedious and time-consuming policy, but Hobley knew enough about local conditions to make it work. When Hobley was replaced by administrators whose knowledge of ethnography was more negligible, this decentralized system became unworkable and led to chaos. The situation was summed up by Ainsworth upon his arrival in 1907 as the newly-appointed Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza.

⁵⁷Lonsdale, p. 122.

Nobody seemed to know whether there were any chiefs, or who they were if such did exist. . . . It was, indeed, some time before it was possible to get at a true idea of what was the matter. . . . Headmen had begun to refuse to recognize their chiefs, and in some instances were setting up as rival chiefs, having no authority except their own, and many people were setting up all over the place as headmen, refusing to turn to recognize either a chief or anyone else, and claiming to bring in everything direct to the Government. . . . The administrative officers not knowing one chief or headman from another in many instances knew not whom to recognize.⁵⁸

It was clear to Ainsworth that a new system was a dire necessity. The able Ainsworth promptly turned his mind to the problem and, with the assistance of Geoffrey Archer as his hand-picked District Commissioner in North Nyanza, instituted the "Buganda system" in 1908. They were both acquainted with conditions in Buganda, where a well-differentiated bureaucratic hierarchy provided a convenient framework for alien administration. What they proposed was to use the Abawanga state in much the same manner. According to their perception of the situation, Wanga was to the rest of Buluyia what Buganda was to the rest of Uganda during the initial stages of colonialization.

What they apparently did not know and did not bother to find out was that the extent of the Wanga state had actually been contracting toward the second half of the nineteenth century,⁵⁹ and that the small Wanga state bore

⁵⁸Ainsworth, Nyanza Province Special Report, 1909, p. 73.

⁵⁹Were, p. 174.

no comparison to Buganda. By conferring only with Abawanga informants, Archer acquired an inflated picture of the extent of Abawanga influence. Armed with such hastily drawn and misleading impressions, he set upon the policy of dividing North Nyanza district into eight locations and appointing a member of the Abashitsetse clan of Wanga as chief in each. Accompanied only by Mumia and his half-brothers Murunga and Mulama while demarcating the boundaries, Archer apparently did not bother to consult the local inhabitants.⁶⁰ The boundaries thus formed did not correspond to ethnic and political realities. Furthermore, Abawanga hegemony was extended into areas where it had no traditional political basis.

Among the southern and central Abaluyia, Archer and Ainsworth instituted several variations of their new system. The area where traditional political loyalties were disturbed least was Wanga, where Mumia was appointed as chief. The location most directly affected by the Buganda policy was Marama, where Mulama was appointed as chief in 1909.⁶¹ The only socio-political basis for his position in Marama was that his mother was a member of the large Abamukhula clan, and that segments of various Wanga clans had settled among some of the clans in north Marama. For Kisa and Bunyore, which then formed

⁶⁰Dobbs, pp. 45-6.

⁶¹C. M. Dobbs, "History of Wanga Domination in Marama," PC/NZA.3/3/1/2, K.N.A., Nairobi.

a part of Kisumu District, a variation of this system was devised. Ainsworth first sent officers to each location to collect lists of "chiefs and responsible headmen."⁶² Not surprisingly, "hundreds" of rival claims sprang up in each location. Ainsworth proceeded to sort out these myriads of claims by identifying one local headman who by all indications commanded the greatest authority and respect in each location, and appointed him as chief. Each location was then divided into several sub-locations, and a headman was appointed over each. Invariably, the chiefs and headmen whose claims were recognized were members of the largest clans. In the case of Otieno in Bunyore, another factor of importance was his alliance with the missionaries whom he had invited to settle at Kima in 1905.

The establishment of colonial administration affected the dynamics of clanship and inter-clan relations in several important ways. The most radical institutional change was the transition from political decentralization to centralization. Political authority had traditionally been based on the principle of common or mythical origin within the clan or clan cluster. The grouping together of a large number of clans into a single location vastly increased the size of the local administrative unit and the basis of political authority.

⁶²Ainsworth, Nyanza Province Special Report, 1909, p. 79.

By reducing the country into more manageable and workable local units, this change in the scale of political operations enhanced the efficiency of local administration. The transition in leadership, however, was not so easily made. There were, in fact, certain attempts to revive the traditional basis of political authority by extending a myth of common origin to a larger number of clans. The politics of kinship was also fostered through the appeals made by various clans for their leaders to be recognized in the administrative system. A second important change in the dynamics of clanship was that chiefs and headmen were now appointed by an external authority, rather than by consensus of the elders in the clan. A third change was that inter-clan warfare was terminated since land could no longer be gained or lost through conquest. Clan boundaries thus became more permanent.

When viewed in the context of subsequent patterns of social change, the initial period of cultural contact between Africans and Europeans in North Nyanza was of considerable importance in several respects. First of all, from 1885 to 1905, the Mumias area had been subjected to the most extensive contact with Europeans. Wanga was not the first area, however, to respond to the modernizing aspects of social change. Although this is an exception to the usual patterns of social change in Africa, it does not come as a surprise with regard to

the Abaluyia. From Mumia's point of view, the context of the colonial relationship underwent a radical change upon the establishment of an effective alien administration. Initially, Mumia had had much to gain from his alliance with Europeans. This alliance enhanced his power vis-a-vis his enemies and established him as an equal in his relationship with the new external agents of change. Since the British military might strike a telling blow at his traditional enemies, he had much to gain from Holey's wars of conquest. Upon the establishment of administration, however, this alliance of equality was terminated. This was not immediately apparent, for Mumia's star was still in the ascendant with his appointment in 1909 as Paramount Chief of North Nyanza.⁶³ What he could not have foreseen was that his alliance with the British was to become a far more permanent relationship than he had ever intended. In the long run, he witnessed a serious curtailment of his political authority, and found himself being used as an instrument of the alien administration. This deceit eventually led Mumia to an attitude of indifference and withdrawal from modern politics. It was an important factor influencing his apathetic reaction to western education. When viewed in this context, it is not surprising that the more extensive European contact in Wanga prior to 1905 bore little relationship to the patterns of change which followed. That contact had primarily

⁶³were, p. 176.

occurred within the confines of the Wanga political court; contact with the common people had been slight and superficial.

Another important antecedent to later patterns of change was the fact that in North Nyanza, the establishment of colonial administration and the commencement of mission activity were almost simultaneous developments. Unlike such mission communities as Livingstonia, Namil-yango, and Freretown, mission work did not precede the establishment of colonial rule. Various studies have emphasized that prior to the establishment of colonial administration, there was frequently only a trickle of interest in education.⁶⁴ The inception of colonial rule, however, created an alien elite which became the main reference group which many aspiring Africans imitated. The establishment of that administration also created a greater need for clerical assistants who could not carry out their duties without a western education. These events in the political realm were an important stimulus for interest in education. In the case of the Abaluyia, the fact that schools were not opened prior to the establishment of administration probably shortened the period of African indifference to western education.

Finally, it is important to note that the extension of British authority in Buluyia was heavily dependent on

⁶⁴See, for example, Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago, 1965), pp. 5, 33-8, and 59-63.

the role of African allies. Those Africans who chose to come forth as allies in one capacity or another usually gained in status and authority from their relations with the colonialists. As in the political sphere, the extension of the educational system was also heavily dependent on the role of these African allies. It was frequently, although not always the same Africans who were active in both camps. The variety of responses to the acquisition of authority and status is demonstrated by the fact that some chose to use their new-found authority as an agent for modernization and access to education. Others chose to exercise their authority along more traditional lines. Those who chose the former alternative usually gained in authority and status from the educational skills they acquired. As the educational system developed, there were to be additional parallels in the patterns of African response in the political and educational spheres.

CHAPTER II

THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
EDUCATIONAL POLICY, 1904-1924.

From 1904 to 1924 the attention that African educational policy received in the arena of European politics in colonial Kenya and the role of Government in the implementation of that policy were factors of small, but increasing significance. Prior to 1910, it was European education that occupied the attention of officialdom at the higher levels of administration in the new Protectorate. Beginning in that year, several schemes for African education were proposed by central government officials who were concerned with the formulation and implementation of "native policy." Prior to 1919, however, apart from the establishment of two government technical schools, these proposals had little effect on the course of educational development. An early restricting factor was the inability to arrive at a workable compromise on the issue of government and mission cooperation in African education. In 1914 the commencement of hostilities associated with World War I required the Kenya Administration to reorder its priorities. Consequently, throughout

the duration of the war, African education suffered from considerable neglect. Not until 1918 with the appointment of an Educational Commission in Kenya, did the role of Government in African education assume any degree of significance. From that time until 1924 the context of political and economic events in the cauldron of postwar, interracial Kenya assured that the issue of African education would receive more attention. Correspondingly, by 1924 the role of the Administration in the implementation of African educational policy was itself taking on greater importance.

In assessing the significance of the Administration's role in African education as it affected events at the local level, it seems useful to emphasize the distinction between the closely-related processes of policy formation and policy implementation. The former, along with the policy itself that was the product of that process, has already been subjected to detailed study. In his thesis on British policies for African education in Kenya, Schilling has analyzed the interplay of forces that were concerned with African educational policy and that played a part in its formation.¹ These forces, or interested

¹Donald G. Schilling, "British Policy for African Education in Kenya, 1895-1939," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972), particularly Chapter 1, pp. 1-82. Kenneth J. King, Pan-Africanism and Education: a study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa (Oxford, 1971), is an excellent study of many of the more macro-cosmic factors influencing African educational policy,

parties, included the Colonial Office, the Kenya Administration, the European settlers, the Christian missionaries, and Africans themselves. The process of policy formation resulting from the interplay of these factors was necessarily carried out at a macrocosmic level of interaction. In contrast, the process of policy implementation was more closely interrelated with local events. Correspondingly, whereas the formulation of policy was the concern almost exclusively of Europeans at the higher levels of administrative responsibility, the implementation of policy occurred in the context of frequent face-to-face meetings of Europeans and Africans. Consequently, Africans had a considerably greater role to play in the implementation of educational policy than in policy formation. If this role was less evident in the implementation of various developmental schemes emanating from governmental circles, it was particularly significant in the context of events in the local mission community. Until 1924, the primary role of the Administration in the implementation of educational schemes for Africans was limited to the provision of grants at the few central schools which had been established by that time. The African role in this process was limited to that of responding to the form, content, and amount of education imparted at these central schools.

and also presents some of the main issues comprising the political background to educational development in Kenya. A recent collection of essays dealing with policy issues may be found in Roderick J. Macdonald (ed.), Education for What? British Policy Versus Local Initiative, Eastern African Studies XIII (Syracuse, 1973).

Overall it did not constitute a factor of predominating significance. It was in the extension of the mission community that the role of African agents constituted an important aspect of implementing educational policy. Considering the fact that this study is focussed on the interaction of politics and education at the local level, it seems appropriate to emphasize the process of policy implementation as opposed to the formation of policy.

When the events of the period from 1904 to 1924 are viewed in analytical perspective, it is evident that African education was not an issue which received consideration for its own sake. Each of the interested parties had its own political, economic, or religious axe to grind. Interest in African education as such was viewed either as an adjunct or a necessary consequence of those interests. The Administration was primarily interested in the training of African clerks and junior technicians to provide the much-needed subsidiary staff within the gradually expanding administrative bureaucracy. Those Christian missions that took an interest in African education regarded it as a necessary skill for reading the Scriptures, and thus as a necessity in the process of building an indigenous church. As for the settlers, African education played into their economic and political interests in several respects. Some preferred the uneducated "noble savage" to the products of the mission schools. Those who

did favor education for Africans emphasized the importance of technical training as a means of preparing Africans for work on the European estates. In the early 1920s, when the settlers and other European groups did recognize the importance of African education more widely, it was primarily as a means of limiting the extension of Indian influence into the European preserve of the White Highlands. Against these events, African education was seldom of more than secondary interest.

The first proposal for education emanating from the East Africa Administration, submitted by a three-member Commission in 1905, reflected the racial priorities of Kenya colonial society. It was, in fact, in response to the demands of the small but vocal settler community that Commissioner James Hayes Sadler appointed the board. Although the board's duties were restricted to an inquiry into the educational needs of the settler community, its members nevertheless addressed themselves to the larger issues of Asian and African education as well. As for European education, the Board did recommend the establishment of a government boarding school in Nairobi for European children. As for African education, the Board outlined several principles which were to be followed in subsequent years. First of all, it recommended that the Administration assume the role of rationalizing and coordinating an educational system by regulating the

educational activities of Christian missions. It also recommended that capitation grants be given to missions which had established African schools, and that such grants be given for technical education only.² The Board also expressed interest in replacing Asian artisans with technically trained Africans. This was primarily due to the fact that the former were more expensive for the Administration to maintain on the government payroll. The Government of the colony was virtually being run on a shoe string, and any administrative proposal which promised to reduce recurring expenditures would have been attractive to administrative officials. It was characteristic of this and future assessments of African educational needs that African interests were not taken into consideration. European officials and educators reserved for themselves the right to define those needs. Consequently, the proposal had little more impact on developments in Kenya than to serve as a portent of future attitudes and principles.

With the responsibility for further action on African education depending on official leadership in the East Africa Protectorate, Sadler took up the challenge which the issue posed. On being appointed Governor later in 1905, he took an immediate interest in the issue of African education, and maintained that interest throughout his four-year term. In 1906 he appointed a six-member board, which drew up a proposal for African

²Frederick Jackson to Alfred Lyttleton (Secretary of State for the Colonies, hereafter SSC), Oct. 26, 1905, C.O. 533/4.

education which rather closely followed the recommendations of the earlier report. After considering the educational needs of the other racial communities, the board turned lastly to African education, concluding that "for some time to come the education of the natives of the Protectorate must be mainly left in [the] hands of those Missionary Societies who are devoting themselves to the religious and secular teaching of the black races."³ Having said this, they made certain suggestions for the various mission societies to follow. They first urged the missions to co-operate in the establishment of a definite scheme of instruction. The board then insisted that the various missions consider technical education as the only type of training appropriate for Africans. Underlying this belief in technical education was the reprehensible idea that only by imbuing the African with the doctrine of work could he be rescued from his decadence and laziness. Also implicit in this statement was the belief that the African was suited only for inferior types of employment, and that an education had to be devised which would prepare him for a position of manual labor. The consequence of this emphasis for the African was that education, rather than being the means for acquiring a position of social and political equality with Europeans, was to be one means by which he would be relegated to an inferior status within the structure of colonial society in Kenya.

³East African Standard (Nairobi), Sept. 8, 1906, p. 9.

In contrast to the fate of its predecessor, the report submitted by the board which Sadler had appointed was accepted by the Colonial Office.⁴ With virtually no administrative machinery for implementation of the proposal, however, and due to the added financial burden which technical instruction placed on the missions, putting the proposal into operation was quite another matter. Nevertheless, the ~~£~~500 allotted for technical education of Africans was distributed to several mission central schools. The CMS school at Maseno, however, was not among the recipients. Although the amount of assistance was small, implementation of the proposal was important as a precedent for the future direction of mission-government cooperation in African education.

It was from the CMS central school at Maseno that the next proposal for African educational development in Kenya originated. The proposal owed its impetus to the work of J. J. Willis and Hugh Savile of the Church Missionary Society at Maseno. Willis and Savile were then establishing a school for the sons of chiefs and headmen at the Maseno station. The proposal also caught the interest of John Ainsworth, Nyanza Provincial Commissioner, whose interest in African development in general and educational matters in particular made him responsive to the CMS

⁴Minute by H. J. Read in Jackson to Earl of Elgin (SSC), April 22, 1907, C.O. 533/28.

scheme.⁵ The plan called for a school with a technical department, with the Government to refund the Mission at the rate of ~~₹~~60 per year until the cost of buildings was defrayed. The Government was to agree further to pay half the salary of an English carpentry instructor, Rs. 40 per year for each son of a chief sent for training, and to make an initial grant for the tools required for instruction. The plan also called for a more general education in basic literary skills for the sons of chiefs and headmen. Ainsworth's rationale for such a departure from the rule of technical education only for Africans was as follows.

The ultimate idea as far as the Administration is concerned is that such youths might be used in assisting to carry on the Native Civil Administration. The Chiefs etc. would be required to pay for such education at the rate of, not exceeding, Rs. 10 a year, inclusive of food, clothing and education per boy.⁶

To this proposal the Governor added his endorsement by reiterating the need for educated men to succeed to the posts of chiefs and headmen. The plan had attractive features for both the Administration and the missions, and was to prove significant in the light of developments over the next several years. As for its immediate adoption, however, the Government deferred action pending further study of the Protectorate's educational needs.

⁵Ainsworth, "Memorandum re. Educational Proposals for Kisumu Province," July 7, 1908, encl. in James Hayes Sadler (Gov., Kenya) to Earl of Crewe (SSC), Sept. 15, 1908, C.O. 533/47.

⁶Ibid.

Such a study of Kenya's educational needs was, in fact, authorized the same year. Due to the shortage of funds and the knotty problem of providing educational facilities in a racially mixed community, the Government had assumed very little responsibility in education. Much to the disgust of the settlers, the proposal for establishing a European school in Nairobi had not been implemented. Certain members of the Asian community in Nairobi were also expressing discontent with the lack of educational facilities. Most vocal among the latter were the Goans, who were immigrating to Kenya in larger numbers in response to the need for well-trained clerical assistants in administrative posts.⁷ When the Goans sought permission to send their children to the railway training school for Europeans, government officials were loath to grant such permission. They feared that if Goans attended, European students would boycott the school. Being aloof from other Asians, the Goans preferred having their own facilities or attending European schools. So complicated had the situation become that Sadler appealed for an educational specialist to be sent out to make an official study of Kenya's educational problems.⁸ J. Nelson Fraser of the India Office was chosen to make the study.

⁷Sadler to Crewe, Sept. 17, 1908, C.O. 533/47; Sadler to Crewe (telegram), in Ibid.

⁸C. P. Lucas (Colonial Office) to India Office, Sept. 30, 1908, encl. in Sadler to Crewe, Sept. 17, 1908, C.O. 533/47.

Although the report which Fraser submitted was the most comprehensive study yet completed of Kenya's educational needs, it did not in fact include any particularly new ideas. The terms of his assignment had been to study the problem from the perspective of all major racial groups within the Protectorate.⁹ He recommended that separate educational facilities be provided for each of these racial communities. This policy of separate educational development became the keystone of official policy from that time, and was followed with only minor exceptions until independence in 1963. In view of the very nature of Kenya's multiracial society, the adoption of such a plan was probably inevitable. To facilitate the processes of policy formulation and implementation, Fraser also recommended that some means be established for the provision of a permanent department of education. He also recommended that a Director of Education and a board of education be appointed. A department of education was established the following year, and James Russell Orr was appointed as the first Director of Education in Kenya.¹⁰ As for the content of African education, Fraser had placed primary emphasis on technical training. His

⁹J. Nelson Fraser, Report on Education in the East Africa Protectorate (Nairobi, 1909), Sec. 197.

¹⁰King, p. 105. For Fraser's recommendations and discussion by the Kenya Board of Education, see memos by W. C. Bottomley, May 21, 1910, and by Education Board (C. W. Hobley, Pres.), encl. in Girouard (Governor, Kenya) to Crewe, April 12, 1910, C.O. 533/72.

only departure from this recommendation was that agricultural instruction should be provided as a means of promoting African self-sufficiency. It was technical training on which he placed a higher priority, however, and his belief that such training would be of economic benefit to the settlers was very well tailored to the prevailing climate of opinion among various European groups in Kenya. Finally, Fraser reiterated the often-expressed view that African moral depravity made it imperative that African education be imparted through the various Christian mission societies.

An additional recommendation in Fraser's report was that a government school for educating the sons of chiefs be established. This scheme was, in fact, the product of Fraser's observations of CMS educational efforts at Maseno. The proposal which had already been drawn up jointly by the CMS missionaries and John Ainsworth came to his attention, and served as a prototype for Fraser's recommendation. This plan called for the provision of grants to mission schools for the support of technical education and for educating the sons of chiefs and headmen. He also recommended that grants be given to mission schools on a temporary basis, pending the acceptance of this scheme. In 1910, the Maseno school did receive such a grant of £106, making it the first beneficiary of this

proposal.¹¹ The fact that the proposal had emanated from Maseno greatly elevated its stature as an important educational center in Kenya.

Overall, Fraser's ideas were less significant for their originality than for the more articulate manner in which he expressed them. The comprehensiveness of his study, coupled with the stamp of authority which he lent these ideas as an educational expert, rendered the adoption of his proposal a virtual certainty. His report, in fact, provided the basic guidelines for future African educational policy for nearly a decade.

Although the Colonial Office approved Fraser's twin schemes of technical education and educating the sons of chiefs, their implementation was rendered much more difficult by local factors in Kenya. Inherent in the proposal was a relationship of cooperation between the Government and Christian missions. As events unfolded, the difficulty of arriving at such a working relationship threatened the viability of the proposal. The responsibility of working out the details of implementation was entrusted to a sub-committee comprised of both mission and government representatives. As for the sons-of-chiefs scheme, each school designated as eligible for recognition as an educational center was to have a trained European male teacher, a man qualified to supervise manual work, suitable class rooms with sufficient equipment and

¹¹Fraser, Report on Education, Secs. 257-60.

material, and satisfactory dormitories.¹² The general principle to be applied in the payment of expenses was that one-third of the cost should be borne each by the chief, the Government, and the sponsoring mission. The Board would accept responsibility for only twenty students in any one school, and it was also strongly recommended that administration and teaching be carried on by an English-speaking staff. Both Provincial and District Commissioners were to use their influence to urge the chiefs to send their sons. Fifteen such schools were to be established, with three to be located in or near North Nyanza. These three included Maseno, Kaimosi, and an undetermined Roman Catholic location. All chiefs and headmen who were recognized as such were to be required by Government to provide for the training of their sons or others likely to succeed them. The chiefs were to send two boys each, and the headmen, one. The course of study was to include a combination of literary education and technical training, and was to be of three or four years' duration. It was also to include a "sound elementary religious education," with reading and writing being taught in the vernacular and in Swahili. Had the proposal been adopted, it would have enabled the Government to assume a significant role in the education of

¹²Sub-Committee's Meeting on Education of Sons of Chiefs," April 4, 1910, encl. in Girouard to Crewe, April 12, 1910, C.O. 533/72.

Africans. As events unfolded, however, it fell victim to government-mission disagreement and to rivalry among the various mission societies themselves. By 1912, it was a dead issue.

As for the second aspect of Fraser's recommendations, the sub-committee submitted a plan for the technical education of a more limited number of Africans who were not the sons of chiefs.¹³ To ensure that students would complete the course, a system of indentured apprenticeships of three or four years' duration was to be followed. Per capita grants of £4 to £10 were to be given to Missions annually for those students who agreed to complete the course. The students were to be examined annually by a qualified person selected by the Board of Education. The per capita grants were to be confined to apprenticeships in carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, fitting, bricklaying, market gardening, veterinary work, and medical training. Additional grants were to be made available for special expenditures such as tools, non-recurrent expenditures, and to the Railway and Public Works departments. The scheme embodied two important aspects of governmental control which were to be extended in future years. One of these was the power to determine what was to be taught by granting assistance only for that purpose. The second was an outcome of the need for inspection to

¹³"Sub-Committee's Scheme; Technical Education Grants, 1910-1911," encl. Ibid.

ensure that a certain standard of instruction was being met. As for its implementation, the scheme met with better success than did the sons-of-chiefs proposal. A total of ~~£~~360 was designated in the 1910 estimates for technical education, and it was more or less fully implemented by 1913.

Despite missionary opposition, Orr and Ainsworth drew up a policy for educating the sons of chiefs by establishing additional government schools. The scheme, which they devised in 1913, was to include literary education at the elementary level as well as technical and agricultural training. Each province was to have a school and it was to be under the control of the provincial and district administrations. The system could eventually be enlarged, as funds permitted, by opening branch schools at the district level. A portion of the hut and poll tax was to be earmarked for the scheme. The details of the proposal were contained in a memorandum by Ainsworth, titled "Certain Proposals for the General Education of Natives in Native Districts in the East Africa Protectorate."¹⁴ Compared to the much-worn statements of other Europeans of the time, Ainsworth's support for the proposal was based on a rather independent line of reasoning. He argued that the scheme would

¹⁴Enc. in Ainsworth to Lewis Harcourt (SSC), Aug. 8, 1913, C.O. 533/130.

1) raise the African to a higher status and to more useful citizenship, which would benefit both the African and the state; 2) enable Africans to reach a higher standard of living, thus increasing their wants; 3) increase African agricultural production in the rural areas; and 4) strengthen the character of African students. The entire scheme was based on the view that education was a means by which social, economic, and moral development could all be improved. Through the influence and encouragement of Ainsworth and Orr, the Administration decided to introduce the scheme in Nyanza Province by establishing a government school at Mumias, in North Nyanza.

The choice of Mumias as the potential site for the school was probably based more on events of the past than on the considerations of the present. Mumias, after all, was a district rather than a provincial center. Furthermore, by 1914 local government officials at Mumias were contemplating the abandonment of the Mumias station as the administrative center of North Nyanza district.¹⁵ Due to the prevalence of malaria among the officials at Mumias, a Professor Simpson of the Medical Department recommended that Kakamega be considered as a more suitable site.¹⁶ After putting considerable time into developing

¹⁵Sir Henry Belfield (Governor, Kenya) to Harcourt, May 7, 1914, C.O. 533/136.

¹⁶W. J. Simpson to Herbert Read (Col. Office), June 10, 1914, encl. in Ibid.

the site, Hastings H. Horne, the then District Commissioner, was loath to see the station abandoned. He suggested, with Ainsworth's encouragement, that the station buildings at Mumias be used for the establishment of an industrial school. He argued that despite the unhealthiness of the site, Mumias would have several advantages as a potential educational center. Horne believed that Mumias was "beyond dispute . . . the centre of the most populous and prosperous mixed agricultural community in this portion of the province and that no other part of the district offers equal opportunity for the dissemination of industrial teaching."¹⁷ The curriculum was to include the usual technical subjects of agriculture, carpentry, and blacksmithing. Furthermore, governmental officials realized that for the scheme to work, cooperation and active support would have to be forthcoming from the chiefs. This very consideration might have influenced the choice of Mumias for the school, for officials were undoubtedly aware of the good relations which had existed between Paramount Chief Mumia and Government in earlier years.

Had the proposal been adopted, it is not at all certain that Mumia would have supported the school. Although certain Abawanga chiefs displayed a keen

¹⁷Horne to Colonial Secretary (Nairobi), March 7, 1914, encl. in *Ibid.* See also Ainsworth to Chief Secretary (Nairobi), July 22, 1914, encl. in Belfield to Harcourt, July 28, 1914, C.O. 533/139.

interest in western education by this time, Mumia did not share their interests. Furthermore, the work of the Mill Hill Mission at Mumias was of a more strictly religious character than educational, and western education as such had not yet been given a chance to catch on. Given these conditions, had the school been established, it would surely have encountered rough going. As events soon unfolded, however, the commencement of hostilities associated with World War I led to the shelving of the scheme. From the point of view of educational development in Mumias area, this turn of events was of considerable significance. By 1919, when the Government was again ready to pursue an active role in African educational development, Mumias had become even more infamous for its unhealthiness and was soon abandoned as the center of district administration. It was not considered again as a viable site for the establishment of a government school. The failure to adopt the scheme was one of many reasons contributing to the gradual replacement of Mumias by other areas in North Nyanza as more prominent centers of development.

Abandonment of the North Kavirondo Government School was indicative of the lack of attention which education received throughout the war period. With a portion of the hostilities being fought on East African soil, financial and human resources were required for the war

effort. It was through the Carrier Corps rather than through education, that Africans encountered western culture.¹⁸ Although some youths tried to evade conscription into the Corps by enrolling in village schools, by 1917 the need for new recruits rendered such evasion impossible. At all levels of the Administration, government officials were too concerned with the priorities forced upon them by the war to concern themselves with any proposals for educational development. In 1918, wartime hostilities were about to end and a few administrative officers began to realize that the pace of providing facilities for educating Africans must be quickened. They were concerned that many Africans would return from service in the East Africa campaign with new and potentially dangerous ideas.¹⁹ John Ainsworth, soon to be appointed as Chief Native Commissioner, expressed concern about the possible spread of Mohammedan and Ethiopianist propaganda. The latter doctrine, a generic term for a form of religious independence which frequently contained political overtones, was much feared by administrators as a channel through which discontent with European rule might be expressed.²⁰ It had begun in South Africa in the 1890's,

¹⁸Donald C. Savage and J. Munro, "Carrier Corps Recruitment in the British East Africa Protectorate, 1914-1918," Journal of African History, VII, 2 (1966), pp. 313-342.

¹⁹G. R. Sandford (Governor's Private Secretary) to Provincial Commissioners, Sept. 20, 1917, encl. in Charles Bowering (Acting Governor) to Walter H. Long (SSC), June 3, 1918, C.O. 533/139.

²⁰Ainsworth memo., Feb. 11, 1918, encl. in Ibid.

and had by 1915 spread to Nyasaland in the form of the Chilembwe Rising. Administrators feared the possible fusion of these two doctrines into a groundswell of popular discontent. Ainsworth and Charles Bowring, Acting Governor, believed that one means of stemming this possible tide of political discontent among Africans was to be more responsive to African interests in the provision of educational opportunities. It was typical of Ainsworth's approach to such potential problems to view education as the panacea which would minimize any such possibility.

In March 1918, with these political implications fully in mind, Ainsworth presented a proposal for African education to the Legislative Council.²¹ Rather than recommending any essential change in policy, Ainsworth outlined a scheme which called for more rapid implementation along guidelines already established. It included a more concerted effort to open government secular schools in areas which lacked educational facilities, and a more liberal policy of distributing grants to missions for African technical education. Since they could be used as instruments for imparting loyalty to the British crown, secular schools were a particularly important part of his scheme. Ainsworth would have preferred that only British missions be allowed access to the Africans, for he thought they could instill a greater sense of loyalty

²¹East African Standard, March 2, 1918, p. 17 and March 9, 1918, p. 19.

and nationality than could non-British missions. His proposal called for the expenditure of £2,200 for the first year. This money was to be raised either through implementation of an education levy, or by payment of fees. Upon completion of a preparatory elementary course, the course of study was to be based primarily on technical education. The latter, to be taught to students aged 8 to 14, was to consist of elementary literary education combined with easy handwork. Free-hand drawing, nature study, and geography were also to be included in the curriculum. The preparatory elementary course should be followed by industrial training for students aged 14 to 18. Finally, Ainsworth recommended the appointment of an African education committee to frame a general policy and to work out the details of the proposal.

Among the European settlers, most of whom disapproved of any type of African education not based on the paramountcy of settler interests, criticism of Ainsworth's proposal was almost immediate.²² Hitherto, the settlers had been too concerned with their own interests to take more than a passing interest in African education. The war, however, considerably altered the balance of power in Kenya politics, for the settlers emerged from the war-time experience with a considerably stronger voice than they had had before. Many regarded the education proposal as a threat to their interests, since it might have a

²² Ibid., March 23, 1918, pp. 11, 19.

restrictive effect on the supply of cheap labor. When one of the missions had once considered the possibility of opening an African school at Nakuru, a spokesman for the settlers wrote that "the general opinion here is against it. We have trouble enough to get a day's work out of our boys as it is."²³ Those settlers who did favor any education for Africans were only in favor of technical schools, believing that "rough carpenters and handy men would find ready and permanent employment on the European plantations."²⁴ Furthermore, settlers considered the education of their own children to be far more important than the education of Africans. Considering these selfish and racially oriented interests, the settlers' reactions to Ainsworth's proposal were fairly predictable. The editor of the East African Standard expressed his view as follows.

So far as education generally is concerned, it is our first duty to make thorough provision for the children of the white population, and so long as there is a single European child in the country who is unable to obtain the teaching his parents desire, it is folly to talk of educating the native. As a matter of fact, it seems to us that the scheme put before the members of the Legislative Council by our new Advisor on Native Affairs savours over much of putting the cart before the horse, and there is a marked tendency to pamper the native at the expense of the white man. It must be fully realized that the whole future of this country depends on the white community, and successful development is bound up with the supply of native labour. If,

²³Ibid., July 21, 1917, p. 16.

²⁴Ibid., May 12, 1917, p. 15.

on the other hand, fancy schemes of educating the natives and developing the reserves are going to be lightly embarked upon, what is the future of the white race going to be? It cannot be too clearly emphasized that the white man has to fight for everything he gets, and the wherewithal has to be obtained by the sweat of his brow; why, then, should the native be given similar advantages gratis.²⁵

The Nairobi correspondent of the Standard expressed much the same view when he wrote that "I am afraid for the settlers it [Ainsworth's scheme for African education] means the ruin of the labour supply for white men. At all events we all know what to expect in the future: trouble, and more trouble, with the labour."²⁶

From 1919 to 1923, the issues of forced labor and the Indian-settler struggle for political and economic control of the Colony heightened settler interest in the issue of African education. Along with their criticism of the content of African education, the settlers sought to break the monopoly which Christian missions held on the education of Africans. Thinking that Africans would not come out for labor on European estates if influenced by mission teaching, many settlers were eager to minimize the influence of missions. The issue was stated explicitly by the editor of the East African Standard.

As things are, the average native, after a full course of religious training, is apt to look upon manual labour as something derogatory to his dignity, and generally to regard himself as some sort of super-being. Hence the tendency on the part of

²⁵Ibid., March 23, 1918, p. 11.

²⁶Ibid.

many employers to prefer a thorough paced heathen, not simply because he is a heathen, but because he is not puffed up with nonsensical ideas and does not adopt the manner towards Europeans that is so objectionable in the average mission trained boy.²⁷

This opinion led some of the settlers to hold the view that technical education was more important than religious teaching. A motion to this effect was passed in 1920 by the Nairobi Political Association. The association recommended that a separate department be established to control and guide the technical education of Africans, and that it be placed under the control of a "practical man." They also recommended the "immediate institution of a technical school for natives on a large scale."²⁸ Their scheme to establish a special department for control of African technical education was probably designed to wrest it from the control of the missions and the Education Department so that it might be more amenable to settler interests.

Despite this disagreement with settler opinion, Ainsworth's proposal was adopted by the Legislative Council, and an educational commission was appointed in July 1918.²⁹ The thirteen-member commission included official and non-official members of the Council as well

²⁷Ibid., July 5, 1919, p. 17.

²⁸Ibid., July 24, 1920, p. 33.

²⁹Ibid., March 23, 1918, p. 26.

as non-members representing the missionary societies and the Asian community. Ainsworth himself was one of the official members appointed to the commission. The commission's terms of reference were to inquire into the educational needs of European, Indian, Arab, Swahili, and African children. As for the last, it was instructed to look into the localities where schools were needed, the standard of education to be established in such schools, and the extent to which education should immediately be introduced among the African population. The commission was also to advise on the sources of revenue available for educational purposes and on the advisability of adopting a system of compulsory education. These terms of reference represented the most extensive inquiry to be made into education in Kenya up to that time. Underlying them was a certain sense of urgency, predicated upon the fact that so much ground had been lost since the commencement of the war.

The most important principle set out in the commission's report was its view that African education should be extended through a closer alliance between Government and Christian missions. This was not, of course, a new idea, for it was a return to the approach which had been attempted unsuccessfully prior to 1912. Underlying this recommendation was the chauvinistic view that Africans suffered from cultural deprivation. In the commissioners'

view, it followed that this presumed deprivation could only be alleviated by means of education which was accompanied by moral and religious teaching. For this recommendation, the commission relied heavily on the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-1905. That commission had concluded that "one great element for the civilization of natives is to be found in Christianity," and that "regular moral and religious instruction should be given in all Native Schools."³⁰ The Kenya commission elaborated on this view:

The great danger of secular education divorced from moral and religious instruction is that it tends to break down the native beliefs . . . without replacing such beliefs by any thing else to take their place. The native requires something more than an abstract moral code in place of his primitive moral law and a definite religious belief is necessary if he is to become an honest and respectable member of society. So strongly do the Commission feel on this subject that it recommends in cases where Government schools are now or may hereafter be established among pagan tribes that definite moral instruction based on religion should be given in such schools to replace the restraints of so called superstition and tribal control.³¹

In accordance with this view, the Commission did not endorse Ainsworth's recommendation that secular government schools be established in those areas where no mission schools existed.

The Commission's recommendation that Government establish a closer alliance with Christian missions represented

³⁰ Report of the Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate 1919 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 6, para. 38.

³¹ Ibid., p. 7, para. 39.

a victory for those missions taking an active interest in African education. The membership of the Commission included two influential spokesmen of the British Protestant missionary community: John W. Arthur of the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu, and John Britton of the CMS at Maseno. Britton possessed experience as an educational missionary in Uganda and had just been appointed in 1917 as director of CMS educational work in Nyanza Province.³² Ainsworth himself had established a close acquaintance with J. J. Willis and Hugh Savile of the CMS mission at Maseno, and had expressed his interest in a greater reliance on British missions as institutions for imparting loyalty to Britain.³³ Considering the persuasion of these influential members of the Commission, the decision to rely more fully on missions for educating Africans is not startling. That decision opened the way for more liberal assistance from Government than missions had yet received. Soon after the Commission completed its work, Britton expressed optimism at the opportunities afforded by the new policy:

Now it is quite clear to me that British East Africa has arrived at a central point with reference to Education of the Natives. There is a wholesale demand for trained men. It is realized that the raw savage state must pass quickly. The Education Department is now anxious to increase the possibilities of Missions helping in a far more extensive

³²"Maseno Central Vocational School, Report for 1922," Mombasa Diocesan Gazette No. 6, (Aug. 1, 1923), p. 28.

³³Ainsworth memo, Feb. 11, 1918, encl. in Bowring to Long, June 3, 1918, C.O. 533/196.

scheme of general education. . . . I would urge upon C.M.S. that they tackle this education question urgently and aim at very big things. . . . I am certain that any scheme aiming at such institutions as the Tuskegee College under Booker T. Washington would be liberally supported by Government, so also any scheme for making our village out-stations centres of good elementary and primary education.³⁴

Although Britton's optimism was somewhat premature, the proposal did represent a potential breakthrough for those missions which placed a greater emphasis on African education.

In its final report the Commission endorsed most of the additional recommendations which Ainsworth had put before the Legislative Council. It recommended the continuation of technical education, with some basic literary education as an essential preliminary. The Commission was of the opinion that up to age eleven, education for Africans should be mainly literary. The curriculum was to merge gradually into purely technical subjects, with Government subsidizing missions for all pupils in technical training between the ages of 12 and 18.³⁵ The Commission also thought it was desirable that the pupils be apprenticed as a means of controlling their attendance. Consonant with Ainsworth's proposal, the Commission also laid down recommendations for the language of instruction to be used. The initial stages of instruction should be

³⁴John Britton, Annual Letter (Maseno), Nov. 28, 1919, CMS Archives, London. For a more extensive discussion of the connection between education in the American South and East Africa, see King, Pan-Africanism and Education.

³⁵Report of the Education Commission, p. 7, para. 40, 42, 50.

in the vernacular, to be followed by instruction in English.³⁶ This was recommended both on practical and patriotic grounds. Since Swahili was not well known by many Africans or Europeans, it was eschewed as a useful medium for inter-racial communication. A majority of the Commission members did not regard it as a practical or useful language of instruction in African schools. One recommendation of the Commission not included in Ainsworth's proposal was that normal schools be established for the proper training of teachers. The graduates of these schools were to be sent out to the village or "bush schools" where they were to be under the careful supervision of European missionaries. The committee recognized that these village schools were one of the principal means by which knowledge of reading and writing were being spread.

The Commissioners also laid down certain guidelines for the distribution of grants to those missions engaged in African education. They recommended that missions be subsidized for various types of expenditure on a proportional basis.³⁷ At each approved school, the Government would pay 2/3 of the salary for European instructors and African certified staff, 1/3 of the cost for equipment and construction, and up to Rs. 75 per student for boarding grants. The Commissioners opposed the system then in force

³⁶Ibid., p. 8, para. 54.

³⁷Ibid., p. 7, para. 43.

of payment by results, and favored instead the policy of judging the general state of efficiency in the school. They also laid down certain suggestions intended to maximize the value of the money spent. Therefore, they were only in favor of giving grants to those missions which were committed to the education of Africans. Furthermore, they encouraged district officers to show sympathetic interest in African education by visiting schools and encouraging chiefs and community leaders to support the schools. They also suggested that a system of inspection be instituted to ascertain the most efficient utilization of the grants and the proper standards of instruction. They placed particular stress on the creation of efficient normal schools as a means of maximizing the benefit from the grants to missions. They also suggested that a Board of Education be formed armed with the authority to formulate educational policy and to administer the system of education throughout the Protectorate. The executive function would continue to be vested in a Director of Education as before. He should be assisted by several Inspectors of Schools, whose duties would be to inspect and report on all schools receiving aid.³⁸

Despite the optimism and good intentions of both the Administration and the missionaries, there were certain problems which hindered the implementation of the report. Due to the lack of specifics in the technical education

³⁸Ibid., p. 8, para. 51; pp. 11-12, para. 62.

proposal, the Colonial Office staff used its power of review to reject the scheme. Another problem in the implementation of the Commission report, due largely to the unfavorable economic conditions following World War I, was the inadequacy of funds. So compelling was this factor that it made government cooperation with missions a practical necessity. In the financial estimates for 1920, W. A. Kempe, Treasurer of the Executive Council, explained the constraints necessitated by this problem:

It has to be admitted that education facilities in the East Africa Protectorate for all sections of the community are grievously inadequate. The reasons for this are shortage of funds at the present time, and inadequacy of accommodation due to shortage of funds in the past. Provision made in these estimates is to cover and strengthen the existing establishments only and the additional staff is to enable these to deal with the full number of pupils for which there is accommodation. It has not been considered advisable to provide for new establishments until funds can be found for the erection of the necessary buildings.³⁹

Added to these financial difficulties was the fact that continued insistence on separate educational development for all races made the provision of those facilities more expensive. A fourth problem, lamented by Orr before the Legislative Council, was the lack of instructors and inspectors. In 1923 Orr even contemplated recommending to the Missionary Alliance that half their assisted schools be closed in order to secure adequate staffing for the others.⁴⁰

³⁹W. A. Kempe (Treasurer, Nairobi), Legislative Council Minutes, April 15, 1920, p. 4.

⁴⁰Orr, Legislative Council Minutes, Oct. 30, 1923, p. 29.

Despite these problems, the Administration, largely through the efforts of J. R. Orr, did implement various aspects of the scheme. The first recommendation to be adopted was the assistance for teacher education. Three schools, one at the Coast of the CMS, one in Central Province of the CSM, and one for Nyanza Province at Maseno, were designated as the initial recipients. For each school the Government would be willing to pay ~~₦~~300 as the salary for a trained school master, ~~₦~~5 for each student who had successfully passed a year-end examination approved by the Director of Education, and in addition grants for buildings and equipment.⁴¹ Funding was channeled through the technical education program, and the students were apprenticed in the same manner as were the technical education trainees. The second aspect of the Commission report to be adopted was the appointment in 1920 of an Education Board. Following that appointment, the system of aid to assisted mission schools was initiated. In 1921 a total of ~~₦~~9,510 was distributed among mission schools at Maseno, Kakamega (Mill Hill Mission), Kikuyu, and Tumutumu. By 1923 eight mission schools were receiving assistance.⁴² With the launching of this scheme, the Government for the first time provided financial support for the preparation of African teachers. Due to

⁴¹Agreement between Orr and Britton relating to Maseno Normal School, March 26, 1919, CMS Archives, London.

⁴²Orr, Legislative Council Minutes, Oct. 30, 1923, p. 29.

the important role which these teachers and evangelists played in the extension of educational opportunity to their fellow Africans, this represented a significant step. The fact that Maseno school was one of the initial recipients attested to its continued importance as an outstanding educational center. By 1922, a sister school at Butere was receiving aid for its technical education program. That two of the eight schools then receiving assistance were operated by the CMS in Nyanza Province is indication enough of their successful commitment to African education.

As a means of clarifying the role of the Education Department for the mission schools, the Department issued in 1922 a list of instructions regarding the standards to be maintained in the assisted schools.⁴³ The instructions gave expression to the importance of a cooperative relationship between the department and missions. They defined the various institutions, from village school to central boarding school, which were recognized as parts of the educational system. They listed the various required and optional subjects to be taught in the village and intermediate schools and the rules to be followed for placing new schools on the annual grant list. They included the first list of standards for teacher certification and instructions for normal school training. Also

⁴³Departmental Instructions Governing Native Education in Assisted Schools, (Nairobi, 1922), encl. in Denham to Devonshire, Oct. 10, 1923, C.O. 533/298.

included were instructions for the assisted central schools together with the literary and vocational subjects to be taught. Certain literary subjects were optional, but every student for whom a grant was received was required to select one field of vocational training. These courses included carpentry, masonry, leatherwork, tailoring, agriculture, printing, medical work, typewriting, bookkeeping, and shorthand. The instructions also included a scheme for the grant-in-aid system, indicating the various categories of expenditure and the amounts to be paid for each. Although many of these standards and regulations had evolved through experience over the years, they had never before been rationalized into anything resembling a coherent system. Although these standards did not have the force of law, they provided an important guideline for uniformity in a situation which lacked coordination and regularization.

One aspect of African education which received greater attention in the early 1920's was the training of Africans for more highly skilled jobs in the government service. The Education Commission report had stated that effective technical education was impossible without a more thorough background in literary skills.⁴⁴ The wisdom of that statement became especially evident when officials of the Post Office and Uganda Railway began to

⁴⁴Report on the Education Commission (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 7, para. 40.

realize the advisability of hiring Africans as clerical assistants. During the first twenty years of colonial administration in Kenya there had been a tendency to rely on Asians, and particularly Goans, for clerical assistants in various government departments. By 1921 Col. F. D. Hammond, Special Commissioner for Railways in East Africa, questioned this policy and wrote that "the cost of leave-passages and repatriation must be considerable, and it is amazing that a more serious attempt has not been made to train the native."⁴⁵ It was evident, thought Hammond, that Africans were not receiving the education necessary to qualify them for government employment. This led the postal department to initiate a scheme in 1920 for the training of African telegraphists.⁴⁶ A special class of twenty students was opened at Maseno, with financial assistance from the department to defray expenses for equipment and instruction. If one reason for initiating such a program was the expense of importing skilled labor from India and Goa, the other was the desire to minimize reliance on Asians at a time when the "Asian Question" was being debated. W. C. Bottomley of the Colonial Office staff wrote that "we are all agreed as to the desirability

⁴⁵Quoted in C. Strachey (Colonial Office), internal office memo on Education in Tanganyika, Jan. 3, 1923, C.O. 533/303.

⁴⁶Postmaster General (Kenya and Uganda) to Colonial Secretary, April 26, 1921, encl. in Edward Northey (Gov., Kenya) to Winston Churchill (SSC), May 5, 1921.

of having more natives and fewer Indians in the civil service."⁴⁷ He hastened to add that "I suppose we may expect manifestations of 'class consciousness' whether we do anything toward clerical education or not,"⁴⁸ revealing the fact that no matter how great the need for clerical assistants, plans to upgrade African education were being made only grudgingly. In an inter-office memo on native policy in East Africa, Mr. Battersea of the Colonial Office commented along the same lines by warning against the "creation of a 'black-coated intelligentsia.'"⁴⁹

It was the higher level of literary education required as a prerequisite for the scheme that led to such skepticism from the Colonial Office staff. Although this skepticism was shared by some officials in the Kenya Administration, their support was nevertheless forthcoming. Training of Africans was more economical and the "Indian question" made the political risks involved worth taking. Again, it is important to consider the implications of the proposal for Maseno School. The higher level of education required for the training of telegraphists would provide a boost in the development of the curriculum. As events were soon to indicate, this dimension of the issue also had important political implications. Telegraphists

⁴⁷Minute in response to Strachey memo, Feb. 6, 1923, C.O. 533/303.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹[Battersee] (Colonial Office), [May 10, 1922], C.O. 533/289.

were among the best-trained African technicians of their time, and the nature of their work enabled them to gain a keener understanding of the European political arena. The fact that the training program brought students to Maseno from other provinces at a formative political period is sufficient indication of the school's importance as a political center.

In October 1923 the policy of cooperation and the training of African artisans in mission technical schools came under concerted attack both from settlers and from administrative officials. Inspection of these schools revealed that virtually every aspect of the program was inadequate for the task in hand. Orr was aware that government funds were being spread too thin, and that the technical instructors were inadequately prepared. The settlers were particularly vociferous in their criticism of this inefficiency, and favored the training of a much smaller number of artisans to a higher level of competence. Only under such restrictions would the products of the training program be qualified to work productively on European estates. At the same time, certain government and administrative officials were questioning the advisability of continued support through the mission schools. In the controversy that was in the offing, both the content of what was to be taught and the policy of cooperation would be challenged.

In the Legislative Council debate which ensued, it was the settlers who levelled the first criticism of official educational policy. The debate was opened by Conway Harvey, a European elected member. He questioned Orr on the manner in which grants to missions were being spent, what the results were, and what steps were being taken to ensure the proper inspection of the mission schools.⁵⁰ Lord Delamere, not noted for any tendency towards reticence in native policy debates, had his own answer to the queries. He contended that the country was not getting its money's worth in African education because the expenditure was divided among so many administrative heads. He also asserted that Africans were not being trained well enough to be of any use in the building trades, and that the training of artisans should come under the railway department. He continued his diatribe with a personal remark aimed at Orr.

The Education Department is not the proper Department to turn out workmen. It is not done in any other part of the world. The Honourable Director of Education is perhaps a very excellent and brilliant literary man, but he is not the person to be responsible for the training of artizans.⁵¹

Delamere's critique of that policy was considerably less than complimentary to Africans.

⁵⁰Legislative Council Minutes, Oct. 30, 1923, p. 29.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 30.

I would like to draw the attention of this Honourable House to the failure of the teaching of coloured races throughout the Empire. The effect of the policy adopted is to produce something like a rare specimen in the Zoo and not something that can serve its day and generation in a useful capacity or which could take a worthy place in the work of the world.⁵²

It was the most organized and concerted attack on African educational policy that had been made up to that time.

The controversy over the educational estimates for 1924, so evident in the Legislative Council debates, extended to the ranks of government officials. On one side stood Orr, who favored the continuation of the policy of grants-in-aid to missions. On the other stood the Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon, and the Chief Native Commissioner, G. V. Maxwell. Subsidiary officials at the district and provincial levels also favored government rather than mission schools. Orr, on the other hand, believed that the inadequacies of the existing system could best be remedied by upgrading it and by increasing government expenditure. He also favored a better balance between literary and technical education, and proposed an increase for African elementary education in the 1924 estimates.⁵³ The amount of that expenditure had been stable at ~~£~~9,510 for each year since the commencement of the grant-in-aid system in 1921. Now, he proposed an

⁵²Ibid., p. 31.

⁵³J. R. Orr, "African Education in Kenya," Nov. 22, 1923, to Colonial Secretary (Nairobi), and Orr to Devonshire, Dec. 11, 1923, encl. in Robert Coryndon (Gov., Kenya) to Devonshire, Jan. 10, 1923, C.O. 533/308.

increase of ~~£~~3,000 to missions for elementary education in village schools. Coryndon and Edward Denham, the Colonial Secretary, agreed with the unofficial members of the Legislative Council that the results obtained from grants to missions for technical education were not satisfactory. They also agreed with Delamere and other unofficial Legislative Council members that controls over those expenditures were insufficient, and suspected that some of the funds earmarked for technical training were being used for literary education. Their distrust of missions led them to favor the establishment of government secular schools instead of increasing the grants-in-aid to missions.⁵⁴ Although the requested increase was voted by the Legislative Council, it was to be used for technical education only, and not for elementary schools in the village. Orr was so angered by this reversal of his recommendation that he wrote a review of his policy and submitted it to the Colonial Office.⁵⁵ He criticized the lack of continuity in government policy and lamented the lack of adequate personnel to inspect the assisted schools. In retaliation for the fact that certain members of the Education Board had not endorsed his proposal for increasing the estimates, he recommended that the Board be abolished and that the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education assume responsibility for African educational policy in Kenya.

⁵⁴Coryndon to Devonshire, Jan. 10, 1923, C.O. 533/308.

⁵⁵J. R. Orr, "African Education in Kenya."

Initially, Orr was supported in his views by the Alliance of Protestant Missions. At a convention held in November 1923, representatives of the Alliance expressed disagreement with the role of Government in African education in general and with the vote on the 1924 estimates in particular.⁵⁶ Chief among their complaints was the lack of continuity in government policy. The mission representatives recommended that grants be given for a period of at least five years without review, so that more long-range plans could be made without the threat of having funds withdrawn. They also were unwilling to spend such a large proportion of their limited resources on expensive and highly specialized forms of technical training which were of benefit to a comparatively small number of Africans. In line with their interest in educating as many of their adherents as possible, they expressed their apprehensions on the lack of provision by Government for general elementary education. John W. Arthur, Secretary to the Representative Council of the Alliance, expressed regret at this omission. "The Council is disturbed by the fact that in the estimates for African education in 1924 the increase in the grant is for technical education only and further that it is on such a basis as largely precludes Missionary Societies from using it."⁵⁷ Finally, the representatives at the conference

⁵⁶East African Standard, Dec. 8, 1923, p. 26.

⁵⁷Ibid. See also excerpt from minutes of Representative Council of the Alliance, Arthur to Coryndon, n.d.

recommended that an education board be established specifically for African education.

When news of the controversy reached the Colonial Office, the Secretary of State, J. H. Thomas, exercised his executive powers in an attempt to clarify the badly muddled situation in Kenya. Thomas argued that the Education Commission report of 1919 should continue to be the basis of educational policy. He took Coryndon to task on the question of establishing government schools instead of increasing the grant-in-aid system to mission schools. Coryndon's proposal on that issue was based on resolutions which had been passed at a meeting of Senior and District Commissioners held in Nairobi in December 1923. Those resolutions stipulated that "the amounts voted to Government Schools for elementary education should not be less than that granted to Missions for that purpose," and that model government schools should be established in each district.⁵⁸ Thomas believed that inefficiency and unsatisfactory results from the mission schools could have been due to restricted and uncertain Government grants. The system of grants to missions in itself was not necessarily responsible for this inefficiency. J. H. Calder, a subsidiary official

but probably sometime after Nov. 22, 1923, and Coryndon to Arthur, Jan. 12, 1924, encl. in Coryndon to Devonshire, Jan. 10, 1924, C. O. 533/308.

⁵⁸Denham to Devonshire, Nov. 25, 1923, encl. in Coryndon to Devonshire, Jan. 10, 1924, C. O. 533/308.

in the Colonial Office, minuted an additional reason for opposing the establishment of government schools.

Quite apart from the general arguments in favour of assisting mission schools which are given in the Education Commission's report, I think there are specially strong reasons for that policy in Kenya. I have no faith in the future of native education in Kenya Govt. schools, as the European elected members of the Legislative Council will have too strong a say in management and policy.⁵⁹

A parallel issue on which Thomas also differed from Coryndon and Denham was the question of the proper balance between technical and literary education. Thomas believed that the increased expenditure voted by the Legislative Council for the literary education of technical apprentices alone was an additional contravention of the 1919 Commission report. Pending the recommendations of studies on African educational policy then being conducted in Kenya, Thomas favored the extension of grants for literary education in elementary schools. On the impasse regarding the Board of Education, Thomas recommended that the Board be reconstituted on a more representative basis so as to function more efficiently, and that it be regarded as the main policy-making body. He and his subordinates regarded such a Board as the only means of securing continuity and independence of judgment in the formulation of policy.

In the midst of this growing controversy over educational policy, Denham authorized Eric Hussey of the

⁵⁹Memo. in Ibid.

Sudan Education Department to conduct an investigation into certain aspects of African and Arab education in Kenya.⁶⁰ The invitation extended to Hussey was in itself a consequence of the controversy. Hussey was then conducting a study to determine the proper role of Government in African education in Uganda. Denham and Coryndon may have seen Hussey's visit to East Africa as an opportunity to acquire some expert advice in support of their proposal. At any rate, Orr was not informed that the investigation was being planned. He thus regarded it as an affront to his competence as an authority on educational policy. Hussey's terms of reference for the investigation were related in one way or another to the various aspects of the controversy. He was instructed to draw up a syllabus for the primary and industrial education of Africans in village schools, to investigate the need for teacher training, and to determine the advisability of opening evening classes in townships for imparting commercial and industrial instruction. In addition, he was asked to devise a method for examining students and to advise on the subjects to be examined for entry into the various schools beyond the elementary level.⁶¹ Despite the controversial context of the situation, Hussey's report was basically non-committal. The question of government schools vs. mission schools had not been a part of his terms of reference as such. He recommended that grants

⁶⁰East African Standard, May 24, 1924, p. 37.

⁶¹Ibid.

be given to missions on a limited basis for definite educational work undertaken on behalf of the Government in certain schools, whether they be village schools, technical, literary, or normal. He made suggestions for the improvement of efficiency both in the assisted mission schools and in government schools. He recommended a syllabus for elementary rural schools which included both literary and technical subjects. Overall, Hussey's report did not include any significant departures from the policy followed since 1919, and did not clarify the controversy.

By early 1924, with the controversy over the education estimates still unresolved, it was clear that the conflicting interests of the various parties concerned with African education was gaining more attention for the issue than it had yet received. Although each group, including the settlers, Administration, Colonial Office, and missionaries, perceived the issue from a self-centered perspective, the mere fact that the issue was receiving more attention was a potentially productive development. To some extent that trend was borne out by the White Paper on "native paramountcy" issued by the Colonial Office in 1923.⁶² Although the principle of paramountcy was in one sense perceived as a means of restricting the Asian influence in Kenya and did not necessarily emanate from an interest in African affairs as such, it was indicative

⁶²Indians in Kenya, Cmd. 1922 (1923).

of a new approach to native policy. Coupled with other events, it indicated a new-found interest in African education on the part of the Colonial Office. Later in the same year the visit of the second Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa would assure that this level of interest would continue. The visit of the Commission, attributable at least in part to the controversy surrounding African education, was viewed as a timely event by those who were seeking a resolution to the dilemma.

From 1904 to 1924, the most obvious development typifying the Government's attempts to play a significant role in African education was the degree of difficulty encountered in the implementation of an effective policy. Those attempts had been hindered by false starts, by the lack of any administrative structure through which to administer those proposals which were adopted, and by a lack of cooperation between government and missions. The second decade was plagued by the effects of war, and, after several postwar years of government-mission cooperation, the very foundations upon which the government role rested were being rocked by a major controversy. That each interested group had its own axe to grind added fuel to the controversy, and assured that it would receive additional attention in the years ahead.

CHAPTER III
EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MISSION COMMUNITY,
1904-1922.

From 1904 to 1922, the provision of educational opportunities among the southern and central Abaluyia in North Nyanza depended primarily on the attitudes of Christian missions and the interest and activity of Africans within the mission community. During the first decade of this period, three missionary societies opened stations along or near the Kisumu-Mumias road. These included the Church Missionary Society at Maseno and Butere, the Mill Hill Mission at Mumias, and the South African Compounds and Interior Mission at Kima. Each had its own attitude toward African education. Their theological beliefs, social values, and their perception of the overall missionary purpose were important factors which influenced their ideas about education. None of them perceived education for Africans as an important matter in its own right. They regarded it instead as an adjunct to the building of an indigenous church. Nevertheless, the Church Missionary Society considered education to be much more important in the realization of this

task than did the other two. Therefore, by 1922 the extent of their accomplishments in education was much more impressive. Much of the success or failure of these missions depended on the attitudes and responses of Africans toward this work. This was particularly the case with those Africans who held powerful positions in local politics.

Of the three missionary societies that entered the area inhabited by the southern and central Abaluyia, the CMS had the most extensive foreknowledge and contact. During the twenty years preceding the commencement of CMS work in Nyanza, several events occurred which brought the area to the attention of their friends in England and East Africa. As early as 1883, Joseph Thompson had proved that it was possible to traverse the territory inhabited by the Maasai. This opened up a much more direct route from the Coast to Lake Victoria.¹ Only two years later, the newly-appointed Bishop Hannington of the CMS followed the new route on his way to Uganda. On his arrival at Mumias, Hannington wrote in his diary of his ambition to establish a mission station in Nyanza.² In later years,

¹Joseph Thomson, Through Masai Land: a Journey of Exploration among the Snowclad Volcanic Mountains and Strange Tribes of Eastern Equatorial Africa (London, 1887), pp. 278-285.

²E. C. Dawson, James Hannington, First Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa: a History of his Life and Work, 1847-1885 (London, 1887), p. 359; E. C. Dawson (ed.), The Last Journals of James Hannington (London, 1899). Also see Alfred R. Tucker, Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa, I (London, 1908), 16-19.

although they frequently passed through Mumias enroute to Uganda or to the Coast, few missionaries of the CMS Uganda Mission shared Hannington's interest in Nyanza, but two abortive attempts to establish a station at Mumias were made.³ The first, made in 1892, was in response to the discovery of Hannington's remains near Mumia's village. Hannington had been murdered in 1885 on his way to Buganda to assume his duties as the newly appointed Bishop of the Uganda Mission. From that time Bishop Tucker became keenly interested in Nyanza. After receiving a land grant from Mumia in 1894, the CMS sent two representatives there with the hope of building a station. Due to the scarcity of food however, the two soon found it necessary to withdraw within the more established sphere of CMS activity. A second attempt to open a station in 1902 was no more successful.

Although the leaders of the Uganda Mission continued to show interest in establishing a station in Nyanza, not until 1904 did they have both the men and the means to act on their intentions. In that year, the Rev. J. J. Willis, a CMS missionary at Entebbe, urged Bishop Tucker to consider the possibility of opening a station somewhere in Nyanza. Having already visited Kisumu in March 1904, Willis wanted to begin work there among the Europeans working on the Uganda Railway and in government service

³Tucker, Eighteen Years, I, 215-219; W. A. Crabtree, "Kavirondo," Uganda Notes, II, 7 (Nov. 1901) p.87; Letter by W. A. Crabtree, Uganda Notes, III, 1 (Jan. 1902), p. 7.

and among the various Baganda who had emigrated there to work for the Railway.⁴ In July of 1904 Willis and the Bishop visited Kisumu and the surrounding countryside in search of a suitable site. They first went to Kaimosi, where an American Quaker mission had established the Friends Africa Mission in 1902. After conferring with the FAM missionaries and inspecting other possible sites, they chose a location among the Abaluyia in the Maragoli hills some ten or eleven miles west of the Kaimosi mission. Several months later, the Executive Committee of the Uganda Mission approved their proposal to open a station there, and in 1905 the Bishop sent Willis to open the new mission.⁵

Ironically, Willis's interest in the commencement of mission work in Nyanza was predicated more by his concern for the CMS sphere of influence in Uganda than by any interest in Nyanza itself. He wrote of this concern a few years later.

From the missionary point of view Kavirondo has a peculiar importance in that it lies immediately to the east of the relatively Christian country of Uganda, and on the shortest and most direct line by

⁴Walter E. Owen, "Outline of the History of the Kavirondo C.M.S. Mission," n.d., File Z2 in Owen Papers, C.M.S. Archives, London; "Maseno Central Vocational School, Report for 1922," in Box 242: East Africa, Kenya: Education, Edinburgh House Archives, London.

⁵W. A. Crabtree, "The Eastern Province: From Mengo to Masaba," Uganda Notes, V, 9 (Sept. 1904), pp. 150-151; Tucker, Eighteen Years, II, 341; Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, Nov. 12, 1904, Mengo, C.M.S. Archives, London.

which Mahomedanism has advanced inland from the East Coast. It is the flank from which Christianity in Uganda is most immediately threatened by an advancing Islam. It was this consideration, perhaps more than any other, which determined the Church Missionary Society in 1904 to occupy Kavirondo.⁶

So frightened was Willis by the threat of Islam that he advocated the establishment of a whole line of mission stations from Mt. Elgon to the Lumbwa district south of Kisumu to protect the eastern flank of the Uganda Mission. Apart from its relation to Uganda, the interest that Willis did express in Nyanza was cast in rather negative terms. Since it would likely bring many Africans in contact with the secular aspects of European culture before they had a chance to be Christianized, he regarded the completion of the Uganda Railway as a bad omen. He feared that it would render the conversion of such unfortunate souls even more difficult. Therefore, mission work in Nyanza had to commence, he thought, before the secular European influence became too strong.⁷

The motives underlying Willis's interest in Nyanza were paralleled by a rather distinct lack of enlightenment in his perception of the people themselves. Since those attitudes were to have a profound effect on his strategy for educational development, it is important to

⁶Typescript titled "Maseno," in Willis Papers, MSS 2251, Lambeth Palace, London. See also James D. Holway, "C.M.S. Contact with Islam in East Africa Before 1914," Journal of Religion in Africa, IV, 3 (1972), pp. 200-212.

⁷Uganda Mission Annual Report, "Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1905-06, LI (London, 1906), p. 100.

consider what they were. Like other missionaries who had worked in Uganda prior to an assignment to Nyanza, Willis was constantly comparing the Abaluyia and Luo peoples to the Baganda. In missionary eyes, the Nyanza peoples never fared particularly well in the comparison. To them, it was not insignificant that the Luo and Abaluyia displayed an almost universal disdain for the use of clothing, whereas the Baganda clothed themselves with barkcloth. Furthermore, the Nyanza peoples possessed a political system which the missionaries of that time found more difficult to understand. With the exception of the Abawanga kingdom at Mumias, the Abaluyia had an acephalous political system with no permanent institutional mechanism for the centralization of authority and leadership above the level of clan elders, whereas the Baganda had a centralized political kingdom. Perhaps because of its much greater similarity with the political culture of the missionaries, the latter fared considerably better in the comparison. Willis and other Europeans of his time tended to rank various political systems with which they came in contact on a pyramidal scale, at the very apex of which stood, quite unquestionably, the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain. Other political systems were ranked in the order of their similarity, or lack thereof, to British political culture.

These attitudes are very apparent in the writings of the first missionaries who visited Nyanza. W. A.

Crabtree of the CMS mission at Masaba regarded various aspects of life including styles of huts, dress, and patterns of government, to be progressively less advanced as one traveled eastward from Buganda to Nyanza. He thought the Nyanza peoples were "back in the patriarchal age, in which every head of a family rules his own little clan, and every petty tribe has its hand turned against its nearest neighbour, and in which every man does exactly what is right in his own eyes."⁸ Such statements were the product of a chauvinistic view which did not recognize the many restraints on individual behavior which existed in traditional African societies. The absence of centralized authority did not lessen the obligation of the individual to comply with those restraints.

In his early months at the new Maragoli station, Willis was constantly frustrated in his attempts to gain a following in an acephalous society. Accustomed as he was to Uganda, where authority and leadership were clearly defined, he was unable to implement an effective strategy for work among the Abalogoli. He thought it fortunate that the CMS had passed Nyanza to establish its first mission in Uganda instead.

I feel how many have been the natural advantages under which the work has been carried on in Uganda. How great those advantages are can only be realized when one commences work in a country where they do not exist. In place of a united people, we find

⁸W. A. Crabtree, "The Eastern Province: From Mengo to Masaba," Uganda Notes, V, 9 (Sept. 1904), pp. 150-151.

here numberless petty tribes, or clans, without common interests and incapable of co-operation. . . . We find no discipline or order, or loyalty to chiefs, but every man does exactly what is right in his own eyes. We meet with no intelligent response, no keen desire to be taught, as we do with the Baganda. The work must inevitably be slow, though it need not in the end be less real. The innate good breeding, courtesy, and hospitality of the Baganda are little reflected in their neighbours.⁹

Willis also received little encouragement from other Europeans in Nyanza. A Catholic missionary of the Mill Hill Mission in Kisumu forewarned him derisively that it would be easier to teach a flock of sheep than the Kavirondo, and a District Commissioner in Nyanza, P. H. Clarke, told him not to expect any positive results for at least ten years.¹⁰

Less than a year from the commencement of CMS work in Maragoli, two important developments occurred that were significantly to affect the mission's future course in Nyanza. The first development was the decision to move the station to Maseno, some ten miles to the west. Actually, the Maseno site had been Willis's original choice. It was only his inability to persuade the local Luo headman, Ogola, to allow the mission to be built on his land that had necessitated the choice of the Maragoli site. When the Kaimosi missionaries protested this as a threat to their own sphere of influence, Willis again

⁹J. J. Willis, quoted in "Uganda Mission Annual Report," Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1905-06, LI (London, 1906), p. 99.

¹⁰"Maseno Central School Report," p. 2; J. J. Willis, "Uganda Revisited," p. 55, Accession no. 120, Unofficial Papers, C.M.S. Archives, London.

attempted to acquire the Maseno site.¹¹ This time he succeeded, although the plot he acquired from Ogola was too small and had to be supplemented with additional land from the Abakondo and Abasakami clans of the Abaluyia.¹² Among neither group did he find any eager collaborators, a factor which had been responsible for much of his frustration and failure at Maragoli. By late 1906 when he was ready to begin work at Maseno however, he had conceived a new plan which he felt was better adapted to local political conditions. He concluded that in the absence of support from local chiefs, it would be advisable to create a class of Christian chiefs. Recalling how much had been accomplished through monastic schools in the Christianization of England, he decided to begin a boarding school to train the sons of chiefs in an environment divorced from the traditional social setting.¹³ With their "pagan" fathers, the graduates of this school might eventually comprise a class of Christians through whom the mission might extend its influence. Although it was clearly a plan resulting from Willis's cultural chauvinism, it was nevertheless a creative response to the conditions which he encountered.

¹¹Ibid., p. 40; Staff Meeting Minutes, Kaimosi Mission, March 15, 1905, p. 88; June 15, 1905, p. 97; December 29, 1905, p. 121; February 16, 1906, p. 128.

¹²Group Interview, Ebusakami Sub-Location, West Bunyore, Jan. 1, 1973.

¹³Willis, "Uganda Revisited," p. 51.

Due both to Willis's persistence and to a gradual change of attitude among the local potentates, the school was successfully established. Willis visited the villages throughout the district and attempted to convince each leader that he should send one or two of his sons or other close relatives to attend the school. Initially, he met with little interest. In some villages food, firewood, and lodging were not forthcoming for Willis and his porters without their persistent asking. Eventually, however, as more friendly relations were established, some of the local leaders agreed to send boys to the school. Although some remained reluctant, Willis gained his point in a few cases by deliberately excluding the uncooperative leaders from his itinerations. This gave them the choice of sending boys to the school or losing Willis's friendship. The chiefs had to agree to support each boy sent to Maseno by providing enough rupees for food and a minimum of clothing.¹⁴ Had he not received such support and cooperation, Willis could not have launched his educational scheme. He later wrote of the difficulty he had encountered in gaining their cooperation.

It was not easy to persuade them to send in their sons for training in they knew not what, and to get them to pay for the upkeep of their boys, their clothing and their food while in the school. But the fact that the son of the paramount chief himself was already in the school, worked wonders,

¹⁴H. T. C. Weatherhead, "Pioneer Missionary Work in Kavirondo," Uganda Notes, X, 3 (March 1909), p. 46.

and each chief who consented to send two of his boys influenced some neighboring chief to send his, and gradually the school began to fill.¹⁵

From the beginning, the school established at Maseno was a predominantly Luo institution. Because of the dispute over spheres of influence, the missions decided that the FAM should work among the Abaluyia, while the CMS should concentrate its efforts on the Luo.¹⁶ Despite this agreement, the CMS retained some interest in working among both groups. It may have been partly for this reason that a site was chosen on the border of the two tribes. Furthermore, Willis had brought with him two Baganda teachers from the Uganda Mission to work as his assistants. Since they spoke a Bantu language, they found Luluyia considerably easier to master than Dholuo. This practical consideration enhanced Willis's desire to attract Abaluyia students. Despite efforts to recruit students of both tribes, only a few of the first eighty students were Abaluyia. Willis had taken four Luo, who had been studying at Kaimosi, to Maseno where they became the first students of the new school.¹⁷ Furthermore, since Willis was free to travel only among the Luo, nearly all the additional recruits were Luo. The difficulty of teaching in the two languages also was a factor which reduced the number of Abaluyia students. With such a predominance of Luo, Abaluyia

¹⁵Willis, "Uganda Revisited," p. 52.

¹⁶"Uganda Mission Annual Report," Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for 1906-7, XII (London, 1907), p. 103.

¹⁷Willis, "Uganda Revisited," p. 52.

students had little interest in attending.¹⁸ Not until 1919 when the school underwent considerable expansion, did a significant number of Abaluyia students enroll. The predominance of Luo was to have major political significance in later years. Through the education which was available to them, the Luo were better prepared for the new type of political leadership which began to emerge by 1921.

Although the number of students remained small for the first ten years, Maseno school nevertheless came to have an influence throughout the surrounding districts through the students themselves. Although only twenty-five students were recruited the first year, by 1910 that number had increased to 125.¹⁹ For the next four years the enrollment remained stable. Each class underwent a three-year program, spending one month at home for every three months spent at the school. During their time at home they were encouraged to start village schools to pass on the religious and literary instruction which they had received at the central school. Near each of these village schools there was a school hut for the boys, distinguished by the bedsteads, pictures, white-washed walls, tables, books and windows which the other huts

¹⁸J. C. Hirst, Annual Letter (Maseno), Nov. 29, 1920, C.M.S. Archives, London.

¹⁹J. J. Willis, Annual Letter (Maseno), Nov. 24, 1910, C.M.S. Archives, London.

did not have.²⁰ This clearly indicates the close association between education, Christianity, and various material benefits which were introduced in the rural communities surrounding the school. As the transmitters of a few aspects of this intrusive culture, the students probably received both scorn and respect. Through them Maseno school came to have an influence reaching far beyond its own specific community.

From the beginning, the curriculum included both literary and technically-oriented subjects. The former included at least enough instruction for the rudiments of literacy to be acquired and seems to have been the major interest of the students. The latter included a considerable amount of manual labor, such as basket-making, gardening, carpentry, masonry, and building.²¹ This emphasis on manual training was another example of Willis's cultural bias, for he believed that these subjects were necessary as "an object lesson in the dignity of labour."²² It was also a means of acquiring free labor for much of the work which had to be done at the

²⁰J. J. Willis, Annual Letter (Maseno), Nov. 30, 1909, C.M.S. Archives, London.

²¹Fred H. Wright (Maseno) to Mr. Bayliss (London), Aug. 19, 1909, C.M.S. Archives, London; A. E. Pleydell, Annual Letter, Feb. 3, 1910 (on furlough), C.M.S. Archives, London.

²²Fred H. Wright to Bayliss, Aug. 19, 1909, C.M.S. Archives, London.

Mission in an effort to make the school self-supporting. The students did not take to these responsibilities readily and rebelled several times. Willis later explained how he resolved the conflict.

By the time we had reached a total of about twenty [students], we very nearly lost them all. We had begun a certain amount of manual work, and opposition took definite shape when the boys, led to Onduso, flatly refused to do it; they had come to the school to learn to read and write, not to work with their hands. In other words, they went on strike; and at that time a strike might well prove fatal to the school. For three days the strike continued, and I on my part refused to teach them until they had learned the first lesson, of obedience. Then they gave in, and from that time there was no further trouble. They learned to take a keen interest in the manual training to build their own houses, to make the school furniture, to sew their own clothing, to cultivate their own food.²³

As events later revealed, it was not the last time that the students would express discontent with a primarily non-literary education. At that time, the strike was one of the few means by which Africans could register their disagreement with the content of education and the procedures followed in the central schools.

Due particularly to the school's policy of educating the sons of chiefs, Maseno School soon came to the attention of government authorities. In accordance with his policy of developing the reserves, John Ainsworth, Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza, favored the extension of

²³Willis, "Uganda Revisited," p. 52.

this idea by recommending the establishment of a government school for sons of chiefs.²⁴ The school also was of special interest to J. N. Fraser, author of the 1909 study of education in Kenya. Through his report, the Maseno School came to the attention of government officials in Nairobi. Fraser recognized the value of the school as a means of improving local Administration, and he recommended a scheme for subsidizing it. Although his scheme was not adopted in its entirety, the Government did begin in 1909 to provide a small payment from the hut tax for each boy in the school. During the war, this aid continued in the form of capitation grants for each student trained by the technical department of the school. Small though it was, it made Maseno School a very early beneficiary of government grants in education.²⁵

Due to the effects of the war, the famine of 1918, and the influenza epidemic of 1919, the school suffered a hiatus from 1914 to 1919. Both European staff and African students were recruited to serve in the armed forces, with the latter being in particular demand as medical assistants and as interpreters. Then, within the year following the war, the school and much of the surrounding area were assailed by famine and influenza. With food

²⁴F. H. Goldsmith, John Ainsworth, Pioneer Kenya Administrator, 1864-1946 (London, 1955).

²⁵J. N. Fraser, Educational Report for East Africa Protectorate (Nairobi, 1909), p. 42; R. H. Walker (Namirembe) to Bayliss, May 5, 1909, C.M.S. Archives, London; "Maseno Central School Report," p. 3.

prices high due to scarcity, the lack of money for fees forced many of the literary students to quit, for they did not receive government grants as did the technical students. For a time, the famine even forced the school to close. When instruction resumed, the reduced number of students so imperiled the budget that all efforts were channelled into the technical department in order to make items for sale. When the Spanish influenza struck in 1919, the school again was quickly closed.²⁶

Despite these hardships, the school soon entered a new period of development. An important reason was an increase in government assistance. In 1919 Mr. F. H. White, the technical instructor at Maseno School, wrote that "Maseno is one of the few places in the Protectorate that is looked upon by the Education Department as a school deserving all the help they can possibly give us."²⁷ As government assistance was given only for technical training, it continued to be the school's largest department and accounted for much of the school's expansion. In addition to the carpentry and bricklaying courses, tailoring, printing, telegraphy and typing became part of the curriculum. With so large a proportion of the school's finances dependent upon the grants, the Board of Directors decided in 1919 to apprentice students for a period of

²⁶Ibid.; John Britton, Annual Letter (Maseno), Nov. 14, 1918, C.M.S. Archives, London.

²⁷Frank H. White, Annual Letter (Maseno), Nov. 13, 1918, C.M.S. Archives, London.

five years--for two years of literary training and three years of technical instruction--and to rename the institution Maseno Technical School. In 1918 a normal department was added, and a group of catechists was called in from the out-schools as the first normal school class. Beginning in 1920, in order to enable more extensive training and to promote higher standards of teaching in the village schools, younger students were chosen for this course. With 165 students by 1923, the school had not grown significantly from previous years, but the course of instruction was more extensive and the graduates were considerably better trained.²⁸

Although the Mission had established the Maseno Technical School as a means of gaining both religious and political influence in the surrounding areas, many of the early graduates sought work outside the reserves. Frank H. White wrote in 1918 that "some of the most welcome and happy letters I get are from old boys who are dotted up and down east Africa working honourably at the trade they started to learn at Maseno."²⁹ Many of these "old boys" worked on European farms, or for the Public Works Department, Medical Department, railways, or Post Office. As

²⁸ John Britton, Annual Letter, Nov. 14, 1918, C.M.S. Archives, London; John Britton, "Report of Educational Work, Kavirondo Rural Deanery," July 18, 1919, C.M.S. Archives, London; "Kenya Mission Annual Report," Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for 1923-24, LXVII (London, 1924), p. 50.

²⁹ Frank H. White, Annual Letter, October 12, 1919, C.M.S. Archives, London.

indicated by appeals from Government, there was a constant need for skilled Africans. As the school had difficulty turning out enough students to meet this need, it is not surprising that only a few graduates returned to their home villages. This however limited the effectiveness of the mission in its aim of creating a new class of educated chiefs. A. E. Pleydell, a CMS missionary at Maseno, wrote in 1918 that "the need of educated chiefs is critical, for the country has made no progress during the last six years. In some cases educated chiefs have even resigned or been dismissed and raw heathen put in their places!"³⁰ Although a few graduates of Maseno were appointed as chiefs before 1924, educational qualifications were by no means the only consideration in their being chosen. That all these appointments were in Luo locations indicates again the disproportionately greater influence of the school in Luo areas. Only the normal school graduates returned in any significant numbers to their home villages, for only they had opportunities for employment. According to a report in 1921, for instance, "a number of the men finished their normal school course and went back to their villages with new ambitions, anxious . . . to give instruction to assistant teachers, or to make special efforts to get the children to school, or to

³⁰A. E. Pleydell, Annual Letter, Dec. 5, 1918, C.M.S. Archives, London.

obtain proper school equipment."³¹ But for several years only those teachers for whom employment opportunities existed in the reserves were able to find work in the villages.

In 1912 with limited contact among the Abaluyia, and with continued interest in Christian missions in Nyanza, the CMS Uganda Mission decided to open another station in western Kenya. In that year, although he had terminated his services at Maseno to become the new Bishop of the Uganda Diocese, Willis expressed the greatest interest in establishing the new station.

If it were only for its historical associations Mumias would have a certain claim on us. The name of the Chief, Mumia, is familiar to all who have followed the track of the older missionaries into Uganda, and the spot hallowed by the burial of Bishop Hannington has for us a special concern.³²

Historical sentiment was not Willis's only reason for wanting to establish a mission at Mumias. Another consideration was the large population of North Nyanza District, which nearly equalled that of Buganda. His motives also included, as at Maseno, the advent of the railway and the perceived threat of Islam. The export trade from North Nyanza was then increasing rapidly, and a proposal for the extension of the Uganda Railway from Kisumu to Mumias was under consideration. As for the

³¹Kenya Mission Annual Report, "Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for 1921-22, LXV (London, 1922), p. 31.

³²Goldsmith, John Ainsworth, pp. 89-90.

effect of this development on missionary work, Willis wrote that "I think you will feel with me that under the conditions introduced by a Railway the country will become less easy to evangelize than it is today."³³ Regarding his continued concern over the threat of Islam, Willis wrote, "My hope is to protect the eastern and north eastern border of the Diocese, by a chain of Christian schools which are, I am convinced, our best defence against the advancing Islam. At present the weakest point in our protecting line is in Mumias district."³⁴ Willis was probably concerned by the fact that a small number of Abaluyia living at Mumias had been converted to Islam.

As Bishop of the Uganda Diocese, Willis acted on this plan by sending Walter Chadwick of the CMS mission at Entebbe to visit the country around Mumias. He gave Chadwick a free hand in choosing the most suitable site for the new station. Early in 1912 Chadwick traveled throughout the North Nyanza District. Although it still had a land grant at Mumias where it had attempted unsuccessfully to begin a station years before, the CMS by 1912 was no longer free to establish a station there. Since the Catholic Mill Hill Fathers had opened a mission center at Mumias in 1904, Chadwick was obliged to look elsewhere in compliance with government policy of requiring a distance of at least ten miles between

³³ Willis to Bayliss, March 27, 1912, C.M.S. Archives, London.

³⁴ Ibid.

stations of different societies. In an attempt to win friends, Chadwick traveled for ten weeks, camping near the villages of the various chiefs. Two chiefs, Mulama and Murunga, expressed interest. Both were brothers of Paramount Chief Mumia, and they had recently been appointed as chiefs respectively in Marama and North Kitosh. It was with Mulama that Chadwick established the greater friendship. Mulama offered to relocate his homestead near the mission if Chadwick found the site of his old village unsuitable. Chadwick agreed, and began to look for a suitable location in Marama Location, within Mulama's chiefdom. Deciding on a hilltop owned by the Abatere and Abashieni clans, he returned later in the year to open the new station at Butere.³⁵

Mulama, who was to become a staunch supporter of the new mission, had already had extensive contact with Europeans by 1912. He had been born around 1880 as the son of Shiundu, the Nabongo of the Abawanga kingdom and was thus a member of the Abashitsetse clan.³⁶ He might have been old enough to remember the arrival in 1883 of Joseph Thomson, the first European to visit Mumias. With the shift in the caravan trade route from the south to the north, a steady flow of Europeans passing through Mumias during Mulama's childhood and youth gave him ample

³⁵ Chadwick MSS, in Elizabeth Chadwick Papers, Acc. 167, Unofficial Papers, C.M.S. Archives, London.

³⁶ Group Interview, Matungu, North Wanga, Dec. 24, 1972.

opportunity to observe these foreigners. He later related how his curiosity had led him to take an interest in Europeans and their special skills.³⁷ Sometime after 1890 when Bishop Hannington's bones were returned to Mumias for re-burial, Mulama was impressed with the awe surrounding the event, and he tried to discover what it was that made the white man great. As no one was able to tell him, he decided to find out for himself by working as a houseboy for a European. Despite his royal background, he worked for several years for one of the first colonial civil servants stationed at Mumias, possibly C. W. Hobley. His employer took interest in him and taught him to read and to perform many domestic services.³⁸ Undoubtedly this contact convinced him of the value of associating with Europeans and led eventually to his decision to invite the CMS to Butere.

Prior to his appointment as chief of Marama Location in 1908, Mulama had also had considerable contact with Europeans in his political duties. From the age of about eighteen, he had begun to serve as Chief of Protocol in Mumia's court. In this capacity, he was responsible for meeting all visitors to Nabongo's court and, if necessary, referring them to Mumia himself. This afforded him an excellent opportunity to observe them closely.

³⁷"The Story of Chief Mulama," in Edith Downer Memoirs, Acc. 121, Unofficial Papers, C.M.S. Archives, London.

³⁸Ibid.

It is said that in this way, he became friends with Arch-deacon Willis and consequently had invited Willis to open a mission station in the area. With his appointment as headman of Marama in 1902, Malama assumed his first official duties as tax collector.³⁹ In 1908 Geoffrey Archer, District Commissioner for North Nyanza, appointed him as chief of the location. His appointment complied with the policy of placing various Abashitsetse leaders as agents throughout the North Nyanza District. By that time, Malama had proved himself a ready and useful collaborator with British imperial interests in the imposition of colonial rule.

Mulama's role as collaborator is further exemplified by the strong alliance that he eventually established with the Butere mission.⁴⁰ At first, while maintaining personal contact with the Catholic missionaries at Mumias, he displayed an impartial attitude toward the two missions.

³⁹Group Interview, Matungu, Dec. 24, 1972; C. M. Dobbs, "History of Wanga Domination in Marama," PC/NZA. 3/3/1/2, Daily Correspondence, Nyanza Province, Kenya National Archives, Nairobi.

⁴⁰This paragraph is based on the following sources: Diary of Mumias Mission, 1904-1907, Aug. 3, 1906, Sept. 4, 1906, Oct. 10, 1906; Diary of Mumias Mission, 1912-1918, July 21, 1912, Jan. 14, 1914, Feb. 4, 1914, Sept. 18, 1914; Group Interview, Matungu, Dec. 24, 1972; Personal Interview, Festo Wakhu, Shirotsa Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 12, 1972; Group Interview, Shikunga Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 31, 1972; Walter E. Owen, "Missionary Work Among the Kavirondo," Uganda Notes, XX (July 1919), p. 69; Personal Interview, Jeremiah Rupiya, Shirotsa Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 1972.

Within a few years, however, he became a partisan supporter of Butere. Through various trips to Uganda, where he was able to observe the more advanced educational work of the CMS mission, he became convinced of the efficacy of various Butere projects. He supported the mission with his own personal contributions to such an extent that the per capita contributions from Butere were usually the highest in the diocese. He also took an interest in education by contributing both to the boys' and girls' day schools and conducting a special collection for the construction of the first permanent church at Butere. As chief he assumed a forceful role throughout the location by announcing in public barazas that all parents must send their children to the mission. Then he sent his askaris out into the villages to punish or fine any delinquent parents. If any children were found hiding in the bush, they were taken to Mulama and caned. Not surprisingly, this punishment led to a rapid response to the work of the mission.

Ironically, Mulama's close relationship with the Butere mission reflected both his close alliance with them and his independent spirit. He maintained close contact with the missionaries by frequently inviting them to his house for tea.⁴¹ After moving his homestead to within half a mile of the station, he attended school daily until he was able to read the Swahili scriptures

⁴¹"The Story of Chief Mulama."

fluently. He also attended church services, and soon decided to become a catechumen.⁴² As he considered becoming a convert, however, he faced a dilemma concerning his marital relations. He valued the presence of the mission and accepted enough of their teachings to become a convert. But with fourteen wives and thirty-six children, he had no wish to accept the mission's strict teaching on monogamy. He soon devised a way to feign the situation. He sent all but one of his wives to his old homestead of Nenyasi in North Wanga, fifteen miles north of the Butere station, on the pretense that he was severing his marital ties with them. He retained one wife at Mudoma, his homestead near the mission, and declared to the missionaries that he was now a monogamist. The ploy was successful enough to convince the missionaries of his "change of heart," and they baptized him Joseph George Mulama in 1917.⁴³ He thus became one of the first baptized converts of the mission and soon gained the full trust and praise of the missionaries.

Archdeacon Walter E. Owen wrote that Mulama

sought honour, not in a large harem, but in walking justly and righteously before his people He gave his people an entirely new conception of what home life meant, and delighted to do honour

⁴²Walter E. Owen, "Transformed Lives in Kavirondo," Church Missionary Outlook, August 1922, p. 160.

⁴³"Native Affairs: Marama, Kisa, and Kabras," in DC/NN.3/3/4, North Nyanza Political Record Book, K.N.A., Nairobi.

to his wife. Alone of all the chiefs who gathered at the government station at Mumias to join the peace celebrations, he brought his wife, riding pillion on his motor cycle. That a man should take his wife to a function may not seem to call for remark with us, but in Kavirondo it was a milestone along a new road.⁴⁴

Despite his friendly relations with the missionaries, Mulama did not permit them to decide for him the terms under which he would accept their teaching.

No work of the Butere mission received Mulama's interest and support more than education. From the commencement of instruction at Butere, Mulama lent his liberal support to every educational project. The first was a day school for boys, established by Walter Chadwick in about 1913.⁴⁵ Initially this school accomplished little more than teaching a smattering of the three R's, and attendance was very irregular. In only a few years, after masonry and other skills had been added to the curriculum, more than 150 students were in attendance. By 1917 seven students were able to pass the government examination in bricklaying.⁴⁶ Two years later, on the basis of these results, the school began to receive government assistance for technical training. Mulama's role in the school was to encourage parents to send their

⁴⁴Walter E. Owen, "Transformed Lives," p. 161.

⁴⁵Personal Interview, Jeremiah Rupiya, Shirotso, Oct., 1972.

⁴⁶"Kenya Mission Annual Report," Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1916-17, LXI (London, 1917), p. 46.

children, and to contribute money for the construction of a permanent building. Even more marked was his support for the girls' day school, which Elizabeth Chadwick opened soon after her arrival in 1916. She wrote that "this school was built mostly with 'Pan-Anglican' money helped by a considerable gift from the chief who shows keen interest in the progress of the women of his tribe."⁴⁷ With the limited resources and lack of interest generally in girls' education, it took considerable commitment for one to contribute to that cause. With such assistance from the Chief, the mission's modest beginning in education achieved some success, and Archdeacon Owen was able to report in 1919 that "six years since teaching was started at Butere 800 could read fluently, 400 could read and write and about 2,000 could read slowly ordinary colloquial books."⁴⁸

The most ambitious educational project of the Butere mission was the establishment of a boys' boarding school. One of Archdeacon Chadwick's ambitions for the station had been to start a boarding school for technical instruction and normal school training. When he was called away to the East African campaign, the idea was shelved and the buildings were diverted to other uses. A second

⁴⁷Elizabeth Chadwick, Annual Letter (Butere), Nov. 1, 1919, C.M.S. Archives, London.

⁴⁸Walter E. Owen, testimony in Evidence of the Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate (Nairobi, 1919), p. 66.

abortive attempt was made by Owen, who attempted to open a boarding school for the sons of chiefs in 1919. His scheme failed because of the famine and influenza. In the same year, however, two important events occurred which led to some success. One was the return of the few remaining carrier corpsmen who had had the good fortune to survive the war. Certain wartime experiences had enhanced their interest in education. Many of them complained, for example, of being laughed at by Africans from other regions of East Africa who had had better educational opportunities. The second development was another trip to Uganda by Mulama, who had been chosen as a delegate to the Diocesan Synod meeting that year in Namirembe. While in Uganda, Mulama visited Mengo High School, Namilyango High School, and King's College, Budo. Impressed particularly with the last as a school for the sons of chiefs, he decided that he had to have one like it for North Nyanza.⁴⁹

On returning from Uganda, Mulama approached both missionaries and government authorities for financial

⁴⁹This paragraph is based on the following sources: Elizabeth Chadwick, Annual Letter, Dec. 1920, C.M.S. Archives, London; Mombasa Diocesan Gazette, March 31, 1922 (New Series no. 1), p. 15; "Muhaka 42," in Elizabeth Chadwick Papers, Unofficial Papers, C.M.S. Archives, London; Walter E. Owen, Annual Letter, Nov. 5, 1919, C.M.S. Archives, London; J. J. Willis to Walter E. Owen, May 6, 1919, in File o. 3/1, Owen Papers, C.M.S. Archives, London; Group Interview, Shianda Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 19, 1972; Personal Interview, Henry Wafula, Buchenya Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 18, 1972.

and official support.⁵⁰ He approached the mission first, but they had neither the men nor the money to lend to the scheme. He was not about to give up, however. As reported by Edith Downer, who was to figure prominently herself in the school's establishment, Mulama

now went all the way to Nairobi to the Heads of the British Government and stood in their committee asking for a school for his boys. The reply was the same - "There is no man, there is no money, there is a war on!" But he emphatically replied: "But I will have a school!" The Government, always ready to help a progressive leader or Chief, reconsidered the matter and made a grant of ~~£~~120 if the Chief could get the school started, with a European Principal, by September. He came back to the Mission saying he had the promise of money so now we must start the school. He was triumphant in his success!⁵¹

The mission still had no one to head the school, but again Mulama came to the rescue. There were then two women teaching in the girls' day school, and he suggested that one of them should become the principal of the new boarding school. Accepting this proposal, the mission chose Edith Downer.

Despite the logistical problems and the scarcity of resources, the school opened in November 1922.⁵² Although she had considerable experience as an educator, Downer knew little about technical subjects such as brickmaking and carpentry. Consequently, she had to

⁵⁰"Building a Boys' School," in Edith Downer Memoirs, Unofficial Papers, C.M.S. Archives, London.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Report on Technical Departments of Mission Schools Receiving Grants-in-Aid (Nairobi, 1926), p. 5 of Appendix I.

educate herself in such matters before admitting the first students. With the construction of dormitories and classrooms under her supervision, she soon had ample opportunity to learn. With characteristic aplomb, Mulama took on the task of recruiting the students. He contacted all headmen in Marama Location, wrote to the chiefs in North Nyanza District, exhorting them to send their sons to the new school, and thus recruited nearly eighty students.⁵³ Due to the lack of space, only forty-five were admitted. With the beginning of the term, the school's problems were by no means over. Downer recalled these difficulties in her memoirs.

After a few weeks the whole lot of pupils ran away. They objected to a time-table of any kind and to having meals at the same time every day, as well as having to learn to read their own language before reading English! We had to get the Chief Mulama to send round the countryside to get them!⁵⁴

With no less than eleven student strikes occurring, problems frequently beset the school throughout its first months. Downer apparently possessed both the resourcefulness and the disposition for the occasion, for one visitor to the school in 1924 wrote that she "runs the school like a Scotch Guards' Sergeant-Major, [with] something left out of her composition."⁵⁵

⁵³Group Interview, Lunza Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 27, 1972; Group Interview, Shinamwenyule Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 17, 1972; Nicholas Stam, Mumias Mission Diary, 1918-1944, March 27, 1921; Kavirondo District Committee Minutes, Oct. 24, 1921, C.M.S. Archives, London.

⁵⁴"Building a Boys' School."

⁵⁵Journal of J. W. Dougall [Secretary, Phelps-Stokes Commission], March 6, 1924, Edinburgh House Archives, London.

In Marama Location, the headmen's reactions to Mulama's recruitment efforts provide a significant example of African reactions to western education. When Mulama told the headmen that they had to send their sons to the new school, they reacted in two ways. One group, either by compulsion or through personal inclination, obediently complied.⁵⁶ The majority, however, did not wish for their sons to be "lost" to the mission or to the larger world outside their district. They devised a scheme for circumventing their peril by doing a bit of recruiting on their own. They seized poor men's sons from the villages and forced them to attend the school in place of their own sons.⁵⁷ Not yet comprehending the need for education, they opted for the comfort and status of a position which they had acquired largely from the possession of traditional wealth. Paradoxically, several of the "poor men's sons" whom the headmen successfully recruited eventually acquired enough education to aspire to far more influential political positions than any which the headmen themselves could hope to acquire. It was a characteristic example of the social and political revolution already in progress at that time. Only a few were then able to perceive its significance.

⁵⁶Personal Interview, Japheth Kite, Shibembe Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 25, 1972; Personal Interview, Jeremiah Rupiya, Shirotso, Oct. 11, 1972; Group Interview, Imanga Sub-Location, Marama, Nov. 3, 1972.

⁵⁷Group Interview, Shirotso Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 12, 1972.

Despite the initial coercive recruitment tactics and frequent student strikes, the school eventually was established on a firm basis. In concurrence with the regulations governing the grant-in-aid system, the curriculum included both literary and technical subjects.⁵⁸ The literary department took students up to the normal school standard. The technical department consisted of the usual fare of carpentry, brick-making, agriculture, typing, and tailoring. As at Maseno School, students were indentured for periods of three to five years in one of the technical fields. In addition to their instructional value, these courses enabled the school, as Downer explained, to be almost entirely self-sufficient.

The tailoring class entirely dresses the school, making both the working and Sunday uniforms; besides which they make men's clothing, khaki shirts, coats, etc., and also do dressmaking. . . .⁵⁹
 We are making our own bricks, building our own schools and dormitories, doing the carpentry[,] making the boys' clothes, caring for horse and cattle, shoe and sock making, tailoring, besides the training of teaching and typists and the school brass band and the whole of the literary department!⁶⁰

Such a well-filled curriculum was bound to keep both students and staff very busy. For the students, it was

⁵⁸"Building a Boys' School."

⁵⁹"Kenya Mission," C.M.S. Annual Report, 1922-23 (London, 1923-24).

⁶⁰Edith Downer to Mr. Manley (London C.M.S. Secretary), April 8, 1923, C.M.S. Archives, London.

perhaps a mixed blessing to receive an education at the expense of providing much of the manual labor. Many of them had initially expected payment for attending school, for even the mastery of basic literary skills was considered to be hard work. The fact that education was available to them only on these terms undoubtedly added to the bitterness of the experience.

By 1924, with the success of the Butere Vocational School and the more established Maseno School, the Church Missionary Society occupied a prominent position in educational development in western Kenya. Reflecting on this accomplishment, Archdeacon Owen wrote in 1923 that "concerning education in the Archdeaconry, the brightest spots are Maseno School and Butere Vocational School."⁶¹ No other mission central schools in the Nyanza Province then received grants from the Education Department. There were, in fact, only four other central schools throughout Kenya Colony which received them. Prior to the transfer of the Kavirondo Archdeaconry from the Uganda Diocese to the Mombasa Diocese in 1921,⁶² Maseno and Butere had been beneficiaries of a long tradition of concerted educational work and training for self-reliance. Even after the transfer, Owen continued to pursue the same policy of self-reliance. This policy required, above all, an

⁶¹Walter E. Owen, Annual Letter, Nov. 1923, C.M.S. Archives, London.

⁶²Walter E. Owen, Annual Letter, Nov. 1921, C.M.S. Archives, London.

active educational program. Its importance is apparent in that governmental assistance for African education was then only available to those missions which carried on an active educational program of their own. Other missions either attempted to keep abreast with the CMS, or carried on their mission work oblivious of developments in the educational field.

One of the missions that at least initially followed a policy of disinterest in educational development was the Catholic Mill Hill Mission (MHM). Due to the basis of Catholic theology and a different method of religious conversion, the Mill Hill Fathers placed considerably less emphasis on the importance of reading skills among their converts. For the CMS, as well as most Protestant missions, each catechumen had to learn to read as a prerequisite for baptism. This literary skill would presumably enable the convert to read the scriptures, thereby enhancing his individual knowledge and understanding of Christianity. For this reason, converts of the Protestant missions became known as readers. Following important theological distinctions, the Mill Hill Fathers relied instead on oral instruction. For a Catholic Christian, the traditions and decrees of the Church were more significant as the basis of belief than was knowledge of the scriptures. Therefore, it was important for a Catholic convert to memorize the Creeds,

Catechism, and prayers.⁶³ Fr. Francis Burns of the Mill Hill Society in Uganda explained this policy of oral conversion.

It may interest my readers to learn the system followed in the instruction of our catechumens. . . . After being entered among the catechumens, his time is largely occupied in learning the morning and evening prayers. Besides attending the daily recital of these, his presence is required at a class which is given daily, and during which the prayers are taught and explained. Concurrently with this, he attends a catechism class in which the doctrines of the Church as contained in the Apostle's Creed are taught, and the more elementary truths of Catholic faith are explained. . . . They are questioned daily in the Catechism to ascertain the progress made, and periodically examinations are held When the doctrine of the Church has been fully mastered, and they can explain intelligently their duties as Christians from the Commandments of God and of the Church, they are promoted to a more advanced class, in which they are instructed in the nature and effects of the Sacraments of the Church.⁶⁴

It was a policy that may have enabled the MHM to gain converts more rapidly, but its negative result was disinterest in educational development. In later years when interest in African education was becoming more widespread, African converts of the MHM frequently decried this deemphasis on education.

⁶³Father Grimshaw, "A History of the Vicariate of the Upper Nile," 1945, p. 117, St. Joseph's College Archives, Mill Hill, London.

⁶⁴Francis M. Burns, "Sketch of Missionary Work in British East Africa," St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate, V, 6 (Spring Quarter, 1906), p. 108.

Prior to their extension into Nyanza Province, the MHM and the CMS had already followed different educational policies in Uganda. The Mill Hill Mission had begun its East Africa mission in 1895 at the invitation of the White Fathers, who had preceded them to Uganda by some seventeen years. The Mill Hill fathers took over the Busoga District and the two easternmost counties of Buganda. This was a strategic location for extending their work into Kenya. By 1904 when they began their advance into Nyanza, the Society had established a central school at Namilyango.⁶⁵ By the same time, the CMS had established two central schools for boys, a central school for girls, and had plans for the establishment of a central school in each of the Uganda provinces.

The MHM began its work in North Nyanza with the opening of a station at Mumias.⁶⁶ In some respects, Mumias was a logical choice for the location of a new mission. It occupied a central location among the Abaluyia, and was not far from the northern wedge of Dholuo-speaking people. The area was also quite well known, due to the wide reputation of Mumia as a peace-loving and cooperative chief, and because of the many travelers who had visited Mumias in the previous twenty

⁶⁵Grimshaw, "A History of the Vicariate," pp. 117, 121.

⁶⁶Nicholas Stam, "A Short History of the Development of Kisumu Vicariate," p. 154, appended to MSS Grimshaw.

years along the caravan route.⁶⁷ Mumia, having learned through extended contact with them that they usually proved their usefulness in one way or another, had long practiced a policy of welcoming strangers to his kingdom. He had acquired guns from the Swahili slave-traders, and had utilized the Uasin-Gishu Maasai as mercenaries. He and his people carried on a lively barter with the caravan travelers, receiving beads and copper wire in exchange for food and lodging. Even his cooperation with C. W. Hobley and Major Ternan of the IBEAC and later of the Uganda Administration served his interest, so he thought, because it initially strengthened his political influence.⁶⁸ It was probably in this same light that Mumia permitted the MHM to establish a station near his village.

Despite his initial receptivity, Mumia showed little interest in the mission unless it proved to be of some tangible benefit to him. The mission policy of employing Basoga laborers in its first years made close proximity to the station of doubtful material benefit to any Abawanga who might have sought employment.⁶⁹ Another

⁶⁷Cf. for example, Ernest Gedge Diaries (1889-93), in MSS 4. V, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London; J. W. Pringle Diary, MSS 46. V, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London.

⁶⁸John Osogo, Paramount Chief Mumia, pp. 29-33; W. H. Jones, "Behind my Bishop Through Masai Land to Kavirondo," Unofficial Papers, C.M.S. Archives, London; Gideon S. Were, A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya (Nairobi, 1967), pp. 163-164.

⁶⁹Mumias Mission Diary, 1904-07, Aug. 2, 1906; Mumias Mission Diary, 1912-18, Aug. 9, 1912.

policy of the mission that Mumia may have regarded with disdain was the demand that he provide labor and building materials to construct dormitories for accommodating Abawanga boys living at the mission compound. Mumia did value the large brick house constructed for the missionaries and resolved to have one like it. His unilateral arrangements to procure the services of the mission's Baganda craftsmen, however, were appreciated neither by the missionaries nor the District Commissioner. Although he did not actively oppose their work, he displayed an air of apathy and disdain for the mission. As a Muslim, he showed little interest in their religious teaching. He did permit some of his relatives to enter the catechumenate, but by 1916 he sent a message to the Fathers that he could no longer permit his sons to attend classes at the mission. The missionaries castigated this display of indifference, and Fr. Rogan wrote in the mission diary that Mumia was "a lazy old duffer" and "a deceitful old hum-bug [who] is not much use to Government or Mission."⁷⁰ Each party in the relationship between mission and chief had rather exploitive ideas about the other, and both were disillusioned. It also seems possible that Mumia was beginning to realize that his alliance with the alien Administration was distinctly less beneficial to him than he had anticipated. He was

⁷⁰Mumias Mission Diary, 1912-18, May 4, 1916.

probably coming to the realization that it was a permanent arrangement, and that it severely restricted his own authority. These realities would have led to bitter disappointment for him, and could have had much to do with his attitude of disdain and indifference toward the mission.

Due partially to the fact that the Mumias mission encountered no ready collaborators to assist in its work, the Mill Hill Fathers had considerable difficulty during their first decade. Two different attempts, in 1904 and 1909, were made to open the mission without success. Of the first attempt, Fr. Grimshaw recorded that

this spot was thought to be unaccountable for real missionary work. Boys came for secular education only, and expected to be paid for attending school.

These circumstances forced the missionaries to go farther inland [from Kisumu.] Mumias was closed and a new mission at Kakamega was started towards the end of 1906.⁷¹

Part of the mission's failure was due to the narrowly conceived policy of providing religious instruction to the exclusion of educational work. Those Africans who expressed an interest in education were not willing to accept the religious instruction which invariably was associated with it. Furthermore, as education was hard work to them, they expected to be paid. This attitude

⁷¹Mumias Mission Diary, 1904-07; Nicholas Stam, "A Short History," p. 158.

was in keeping with the prevailing policy at other missions of providing payment as a means of inducement for Africans to attend the mission schools. Another factor contributing to the initial failures at Mumias was the malaria-infested swamps near the mission. Because of these factors, not until 1912 was the mission at Mumias successfully opened. Even as late as 1920 when a siege of blackwater fever took its toll among Europeans stationed there,⁷² the Bishop threatened to move the station to a more healthful location. Although the mission remained at Mumias, its tenuous existence precluded anything but the most marginal success.

With regard to education, the mission's attitude was best exemplified by the Fathers' reaction to the Education Code of 1919, and to the Education Department's instructions governing African education, circulated in 1922. The Education Code, drawn up by the Protestant Alliance, included nothing more than a syllabus for elementary school standards. In reaction to this scheme, Father Nicholas Stam advised the Bishop

to oppose if possible government control as regards our schools and teachers and the registration of certified teachers and the forcing of school attendance; because it will reduce us to mere schoolmasters and force us to erect a normal school for teachers.⁷³

⁷²Mumias Mission Diary, 1918-44, Aug. 23, 1919.

⁷³Ibid., March 9, 1919.

Although the Code included neither a scheme for teacher certification nor a plan for compulsory attendance, both issues were being widely discussed in educational circles at the time. The Bishop's response to Stam's letter was indicative of the mission's lack of commitment to education. "My advice was to go more slowly in the general education of natives; that the time had not come for all such measures."⁷⁴ Stam's criticism of the departmental instructions of 1922 was equally critical.

The Legislative Council have laid down stringent regulations as regards teaching: in each mission 5 1/2 hours secular teaching has to be given. If we do not accept it no more new missionaries will be granted in the reserve. No outside schools are allowed to exist unless that secular teaching is strictly adhered to How the Bishop will be able to do such a thing with his present staff of priests is a riddle and how he will be able to plan for a normal school is difficult to see.⁷⁵

Both on practical and on philosophical grounds, the MHM appeared to be unwilling to take an active role in educational development at that time.

Although the MHM showed little interest in education as such, it did establish a school for the instruction of the sons of North Nyanza chiefs. As with the CMS, this school represented an attempt to create a new generation of Christian chiefs. Unlike the CMS Strategy,

⁷⁴Ibid., April 16, 1919.

⁷⁵Ibid., Nov. 17, 1920.

however, the MHM imparted primarily religious instruction at the Mumias school, with only a small amount of training in the three R's. This school was probably quite similar to the various catechumenates which were then being established in the villages surrounding the mission. Bishop Biermans described these catechumenate centers as follows.

We Catholics followed the Protestants in so far as we introduced the custom of reading, writing and doing a bit of arithmetic into our catechumenates which acted as village-churches on Sundays, and as village-schools on week days. We did so to enable the young people to refresh their religious knowledge at home by reading what Catholic books there were. Those comprised a Catechism, a simple prayer book, and a simple Bible and church history. Reading, as such, was not of obligation with us. . . . 76

By 1921, with the addition of literary subjects, the catechumenate at Mumias was upgraded somewhat. The change clearly was made in reaction to the influence of the proposed CMS school at Butere, and to the fear that inaction would lead to loss of influence among the chiefs. Father Stam recorded in the mission diary: "As the Protestants are gaining a footing with the chiefs by telling that English is taught in Buterre, I promised to open a school on the 1st May where higher education is taught to the Christians who have finished their year's teaching."⁷⁷ In upgrading the school, however,

⁷⁶Grimshaw, "A History of the Vicariate," p. 117.

⁷⁷Mumias Mission Diary, 1918-44, March 27, 1921.

the mission made no attempt to follow the government-approved syllabus for a central school or to qualify for a grant-in-aid.

Albeit for somewhat different reasons, the South African Compounds and Interior Mission established at Kima in 1905 also maintained an attitude of disinterest in African education. As the parent organization of this mission was the establishment of one individual, A. W. Baker, the mission possessed neither the material resources nor the personnel to take an active role in educating its African converts. Furthermore, its narrow theological orientation had much to do with its lack of interest in education. In a manner typical of the fundamentalistic outlook, the missionaries of this sect perceived their task solely as bringing a new moral order to their converts. Sanctification by the Holy Spirit was more significant than training the converts for any type of work which was, from the missionaries' perspective, of dubious moralistic edification.

Unlike either the CMS or the MIIM, the South African Compounds and Interior Mission (SACIM) knew little about East Africa prior to its commencement of mission work at Kima. The story of Baker, a South African attorney who established the society in Johannesburg in 1883, is typical of a man changed by religious conversion.⁷⁸ In

⁷⁸Axchie Bolitho, The Miracle of Kima (Anderson, Ind., 1944), p. 17.

response to his new faith, he resolved to share that experience with others in a Christian mission. In his travels as an attorney, he came into contact with many African laborers who worked in the mines. Appalled by their living conditions in the urban compounds, he set aside a large sum of money for their evangelization. Through these efforts, he established the South African Compounds Mission.⁷⁹ It was not before 1904 when Robert Wilson, one of Baker's associates, read in an Africa Inland Mission periodical about mission work in the East Africa Protectorate that this mission evidenced an interest outside South Africa. Wilson then traveled to East Africa with the hope of establishing a new mission.⁸⁰

Near the end of 1904, Wilson arrived in East Africa and went about the task of finding a suitable location.⁸¹ He traveled about in the Nyanza and Central Provinces to determine the area of greatest need. On the basis of information which he acquired, he decided the mission should be located in Nyanza. He then returned to South Africa to report his findings to Baker, and to collect his family for the return trip to Kenya. For the first few months the Wilsons stayed with the FAM missionaries at Maragoli, and Wilson made several reconnaissance journeys

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 17-18.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 15; Mabel Baker, Fiftieth Year Jubilee of the Church of God Mission in East Africa, 1905-55 (Kisumu, 1955), p. 1.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 2-3; Bolitho, The Miracle, pp. 16-17.

throughout the North Nyanza District. Since he already knew a Bantu language from his work in South Africa, he hoped to establish the station somewhere among the Abaluyia. Wilson and Rees of the FAM made a safari to Kabras, and were favorably impressed with its possibilities for mission work. When Government authorities advised them not to take a family there, however, they abandoned that option. Wilson and Willis of the CMS then decided to make a tour of inspection together, as the latter had not yet decided on an alternative site to Maragoli. They traveled through Bunyore, Kisa, Marama, and Wanga to Mumias and beyond. Wilson then returned to Maragoli, while Willis continued his tour of inspection. In passing through Bunyore on his return, Wilson came into contact with Chief Otieno, who invited him to open a station. Wilson accepted, and established the Kima station in August 1905.

Otieno, like Mulama, had apparently had enough contact with Europeans to recognize the value of having a European mission station nearby. According to one informant, Otieno had had some contact with Europeans at Kisumu and had come to recognize the value of their presence.⁸² He was not prepared, however, for some of the demands which Wilson soon began to place upon him. At

⁸²Group Interview, Iboona Sub-Location, East Bunyore, Jan. 17, 1973.

first he was reluctant to provide materials for the construction of mission buildings. After receiving a few gifts from Wilson, he eventually became more friendly.⁸³ Although he later permitted members of his family to attend classes, he never played an active role in promoting the mission's work and did not personally accept Christianity.

Throughout most of its first twenty years of activity, the educational work of the South African Compound and Interior Mission (SACIM) at Kima was limited to the establishment of day schools for various age groups. In these schools, enough literacy was taught to enable the new converts to read the scriptures. With very sporadic attendance, it was hardly possible for the classes to advance beyond a very elementary level. In 1923 when James Murray established a boys' central school at Kima, the mission assumed a more active role in education.⁸⁴ The curriculum included the usual subjects for central primary schools, such as history, geography, arithmetic, Swahili, reading and writing, carpentry and agriculture. It was more than a decade however before the school began to receive grants-in-aid from the Education Department.⁸⁵

⁸³Bolitho, The Miracle, p. 17.

⁸⁴Baker, Fiftieth Year Jubilee, p. 10.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 11.

By 1922 educational opportunities for Africans in southern and central Buluyia were surprisingly varied. The three mission societies working in the area represented rather unique cases in the varied impact which Christian missions were then having on African education. The CMS, with a heritage of nearly three decades of experience in Uganda, brought with it a keen interest in educational work. Missionaries like Willis, Owen, and John Britton saw the missionary mandate in broad terms. For them, education was not only a very necessary aspect of evangelization, but was also a means of gaining influence through secular channels. Providing an educated African leadership was an important aspect of their attempts to create a Christian society. Due either to their theological beliefs or to their methods of conversion, the other two mission societies saw their purpose in much narrower terms. By 1921, with the emergence of an educated proto-elite as spokesmen for African grievances in the CMS sphere of influence, the full impact of this varied involvement of Christian missions in African education was already becoming clear. Although a few individual Africans from the MHM and SACIM did participate in this new form of political activity, their numbers were dwarfed by the degree of participation by CMS adherents.

As for the nature of African interest and participation in the missionary cause in general, and in education in particular, the only common factor in the pattern of their response was that they tended to perceive that cause in terms of self-interest. If the presence of a Christian mission served that interest, as it clearly did for Mulama, it led to active participation in various aspects of missionary work. For Mumia, it served his perception of self-interest very little. If this motive of self-interest was at the basis of African response to missions and education, then the question arises as to why they perceived their interests as they did. In some cases, as with Otieno of Bunyore, not enough is known about personal motives to explain the response. For Mulama, a thorough progressivist, knowledge of the larger world and a keen interest in literary skills had much to do with his positive reaction. He may have been perceptive enough to understand the political influence accruing to those leaders who were educated. Mumia's perception of self-interest clearly was predicated by the fact that the Administration had treated him deceitfully. When he came to realize that his former influence could never be regained, he withdrew into indifference and apathy. Had he foreseen in the days of initial contact with Europeans the possible consequences of his alliance with them, he would very likely have been one of the

most ardent resisters to the imposition of colonial rule. As for the rank and file of Africans, there is no single factor that adequately explains their response. There was some tendency, at least initially, for the wealthier members of African society to show disinterest in education. Any such trend, however, was counteracted somewhat by the policy of certain missions to recruit the sons of chiefs for their schools. Obviously, some headmen did not resist these recruitment efforts. As for student interest in the nature of education, there were already some significant portents expressed by 1922. One was the desire for a literary education rather than technical training. Another was an occasional, if indirect preference for secular education as opposed to that provided by the missions. There was also a muted response beginning to emerge among the African converts, particularly among the Catholics, for the provision of more equitable opportunities in education. All these issues were to become more significant with the emergence of a more articulate voice among African converts in the interest of their own educational development.

CHAPTER IV

THE DYNAMICS OF EDUCATIONAL GROWTH IN RURAL SOCIETY,
1904-1924

From 1904 to 1924 several political factors influenced the dynamics of educational growth in the rural areas among the southern and central Abaluyia. These factors included the interplay between intrusive European and indigenous African interests. Basically, the discernable factors affecting this process of growth included inter-mission relations, inter-clan relations, and the dynamics of leadership, as represented by the role of individual chiefs, headmen, and missionaries. In several important respects the context of inter-mission relations affected the rate at which out-schools were established. One of these was the policy of establishing spheres of missionary influence by prescribing the area in which each mission society was permitted to work. As this policy was not entirely successful, a certain amount of competition occurred in the establishment of out-schools. As a result, these inauspicious centers frequently became the basis of missionary control in the rural areas. As

for inter-clan relations, the degree to which members of different clans were able to cooperate and co-exist in the new educational centers meant that kinship was not a limiting factor in the process of educational growth. Education was, in fact, one means by which ethnicity could be overcome by developing a new identity on a broader basis. Finally, the dimension of leadership was significant in that some individuals saw education as a means of extending their social and political influence. Other leaders, relying on the traditional means of acquiring authority and status, took less interest in western education. The result was that the reaction of chiefs and headmen to education was influenced by their perception of self-interest.

A survey of the literature pertaining to the dynamics of educational growth in rural societies in East Africa reveals that no detailed studies have been published for western Kenya. Several works, written primarily by missionaries, have dealt with the theme of inter-mission relations in a general context, but they lack sufficient detail for the analysis of events on a localized scale.¹ Lonsdale's political history of western Kenya is the best study of the connections between inter-clan relations and

¹M. G. Capon, Towards Unity in Kenya (Nairobi, 1962); M. Cicily Cooper, The Way of Partnership in East Africa (London, 1939); H. R. A. Philp, A New Day in Kenya (London, 1936).

education. He has concluded that for the period prior to 1919, the clans which dominated the locational bureaucracies held the monopoly of contact with the outside world. In the field of education, this was presumably manifested in the fact that the missionaries chose members of the chiefly clans for their main evangelistic and educational efforts.² This assertion, however, presumes a convergence of interest between the leaders of the chiefly lineages and missionaries which did not always exist. Lonsdale also concluded that the teachers in the out-schools were usually members of politically subordinate clans, and could not look forward to the same rewards in secular power or advancement in the mission hierarchies as could their more well-placed contemporaries.³ As for the role of chiefs in the advancement of education, Furley's conclusion for the inter-war period that "the extent and the quality of education in East Africa was dependent to a considerable degree on the willingness or unwillingness of the chiefs, elders, and local people of influence to co-operate with the educators" was also largely applicable to the period from 1904 to 1919.⁴

²John M. Lonsdale, "A Political History of Nyanza, 1883-1945," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1964), p. 28. For a recent article on the dynamics of educational growth at the local level in coastal Kenya, see Robert W. Strayer, "The making of mission schools in Kenya: a microcosmic perspective," Comparative Education Review, XVII, 3 (Oct. 1973), pp. 313-330.

³Ibid., p. 35.

⁴O. W. Furley, "Education and the Chiefs in East Africa in the inter-war period," Transafrican Journal of History, I, 1 (Jan. 1971), p. 60.

Lonsdale has also emphasized the role of chiefs in the promotion of education by identifying certain chiefs who established alliances with one of the mission societies.⁵ What is needed in addition to these studies is an analysis, based on oral as well as written evidence, of the factors influencing the decisions of individual chiefs and headmen.

After 1904 the rapid influx of missionary societies into North Nyanza soon led to the need for establishing comity agreements to prevent any conflict of interest. The very close proximity of their stations and the gradual extension of their activities into outlying areas soon led to the need for the delimitation of their respective spheres of influence. In meetings held in 1907 and 1909, the Protestant CMS, SACIM, and FAM reached a mutual agreement as to the sphere of each mission.⁶ The fact that it was the first missionary conference of its kind of Kenya indicates the relative seriousness of the problem in North Nyanza. The representatives agreed that the CMS would limit their work to the Luo, the SACIM would work among

⁵Lonsdale, pp. 28, 34, 388.

⁶J. J. Willis, "Annual Report for Uganda Mission, 1908," Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1907-08, LIII, (London, 1908), p. 79; "A Missionary Conference in Kavirondo, British East Africa," Uganda Notes, X, 3 (March 1909), pp. 40-41; Cooper, p. 41. An agreement had already been made between the CMS and SACIM before the 1907 meeting. See "Annual Report for Uganda Mission, 1907," Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1906-07, LII, (London, 1907), p. 103.

the Banyore, and the FAM in Maragoli. By 1915, these missions had extended their influence to the extent that another agreement was necessary. Kisa was to become part of the SACIM sphere, and the CMS was to limit its activities to Marama.⁷ Other aspects of the agreement pertained to the areas to the east and north of the central Abaluyia. If this agreement over spheres was the product of mutual respect, relations between the various Protestant societies and Roman Catholic missions were considerably less amiable. That dimension of the problem was particularly apparent in the area between Butere and Mumias, where the CMS and MIM vied for control. Due to the refusal of Protestant and Catholic societies to respect each others' spheres of influence, the problem was a general one throughout much of Kenya. When a three-mile limit between mission stations was found to be inadequate, Sir Percy Girouard set down the rule in 1911 that a ten-mile limit was to be applied to the sites occupied by societies of different denominations.⁸ That ruling,

⁷Archd. Walter Chadwick (Maseno) to E. J. Rees (Kaimosi), Feb. 17, 1915, Selected Papers and Correspondence of the East African Yearly Meeting of Friends, Kaimosi (hereafter cited, Kaimosi Mission Archives), Inter-Mission Correspondence, 1902-1946, encl. in Packet X--Early Records and Reports, S.U. Mic., No. 2081, Reel 47; E. J. Rees to Chadwick, Feb. 18, 1915, Kaimosi Mission Archives, in *Ibid*; Walter Chadwick [Memorandum of Agreement among CMS, FAM, and SACIM over Spheres of Influence], [n.d., but written soon after Feb. 23, 1915], Kaimosi Mission Archives, in *Ibid*.

⁸Percy Girouard (Governor) to Lewis Harcourt (SSC), June 5, 1911, C.O. 533/86.

however, only applied to the sites of central stations. The struggle for the control of surrounding areas by planting out-schools was another dimension of the issue which occurred despite all efforts to delimit their spheres of activity. At times the ensuing competition reached such proportions as to resemble a second scramble for Africa. This was an important factor influencing the rate at which out-schools were established.

Despite the unpretentious nature of these out-schools, they comprised an important link within the overall process of educational development in the rural areas. For most Africans, the out-schools were the first, and perhaps the only means of contact with Christianity and its accompanying skills of literacy. What many saw and learned in these centers would have been an important element in their decision to partake of the new culture more fully, or to terminate their interest in it. Secondly, although the standard of teaching in the out-schools was incredibly low at first, a certain amount of literacy was imparted. The standard also varied considerably, depending on the availability and use of educational materials, the skill and training of the teacher, and the philosophy of the particular mission to which the school was affiliated. But the out-school frequently served as a stepping-stone to the central school or mission station, where the brighter students would be taken for more

extensive training before being sent out to become teachers themselves in other out-schools. The out-schools were also significant in that they determined the mission school system to which students would have access. As the educational system was extended, out-schools became significant as communities of interest in which more adequate facilities for education could be made available. During the second generation of evangelical and educational activity it was usually in these centers that the first rural primary schools were opened.

The methods of establishing the out-schools included both itineration and working through the influence of chiefs or headmen. The missionaries would travel throughout the area designated as their sphere of influence, using various methods to stimulate interest in their message. Initially, at least, the means by which they presented their message probably had as much impact as did the message itself. In the services they conducted, they would use such novelties as a reed organ and a magic lantern, and would perhaps inadvertently demonstrate their almost magical capability of making the printed page speak by turning visible symbols into words. Their tendency also to distribute such goods as salt or clothing, as well as their own affluence, attracted attention to the mission compound as a place of relative wealth and plenty. By these means, then, the missionaries would recruit the

curious as well as the serious-minded from the various outlying communities to attend instruction at the central station for a period of perhaps one or two years. In those missions which regarded reading of the Scriptures as a necessary part of the conversion process, the training which they received, although basically of a religious nature, included the rudiments of reading and writing.

After completing their brief training, the recruits might return to their home communities or might be sent to other communities where they would open a catechist center. Despite their youth, they gained status and assumed a position of leadership in the new community for having resided at the mission station, and for having mastered, however partially, the new skills of literacy. They occupied the vanguard of interest in the establishment of a new community.

Despite the fact that they regarded education only as an adjunct to evangelism, the SACIM missionaries did provide at least some literary training at the central stations of Kima and Emusire. Although the mission had no central school for formal educational training before 1923, their catechists did receive an education comparable to the Standard I or Standard II level. Kima was the first and primary center of contact for the SACIM. Emusire, in northern Bunyore, was opened in 1907 and was worked as a residential station for approximately ten

years. Evangelists' classes conducted at Kima by Robert Wilson, the first missionary, included some reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. Wall charts were used for reading and writing, and each student had a slate to copy notes from the charts and blackboard. Those who were able to read were given booklets of Scripture extracts to improve their skill.⁹ At Emusire much the same methods and equipment were used. Reading materials included charts, books for reading the Gospels, and simple Bible stories such as "The Book of Life" and "Great Words." After studying the reading charts, the students would progress to the Bible stories and then to a reading of the Gospels. A student would then be sent out to teach in his own area.¹⁰ Depending on the speed at which the student progressed, the entire course required from six months to two years. Obviously, a course designed for Bible instruction and learning to read Scripture was only a beginning in literary training. However, some of the early converts retained their much-prized ability to read the vernacular Scriptures for half a century or more.

From the main dispersal centers of Kima and Emusire, SACIM out-schools were established throughout most of Bunyore and Kisa. Teachers were sent out from Kima into

⁹Group Interview, Ebusikhale Sub-Location, West Bunyore, Jan. 11, 1973; Paulo Ongoko Indiyio in Group Interview, Ebuchitwa Sub-Location, East Bunyore, Jan. 18, 1973; Group Interview, Ebubayi Sub-Location, East Bunyore, Jan. 8, 1973.

¹⁰Group Interview, Embale, Jan. 6, 1973.

the southern half of Bunyore to such locations as Emutete, Ebubayi, Ebunangwe, Esalwa, Essongolo, and Ebusikhale.¹¹ From Emusire, centers were started at Emangali, Ebusiratsi, Ebusiroli, Essaba, Ebukanga, and Eshibinga in northern Bunyore, and Emalunya and Ekambuli in Kisa.¹² By 1924 the Church of God Mission (CGM), the successor to the SACIM, counted more than twenty church centers in Bunyore and four in Kisa within its sphere of influence.¹³ Village centers tended to grow up around these schools, often including the family and relatives of the teacher as well as the students, and the families of the converts. These villages were usually comprised of clansmen recruited from the various clans living in close proximity to the center. The teachers themselves were usually from the local community, though occasionally they were sent to a community comprised of alien clans.¹⁴ In the first generation of educational development at least, clan chauvinism does not appear to have been a factor influencing the patterns of response to education.

¹¹Group Interview, Ebusikhale, Jan. 11, 1973.

¹²Group Interview, Emusire Sub-Location, East Bunyore, Jan. 3, 1973.

¹³H. C. and Gertrude Kramer, "Their Field is Great," *Gospel Trumpet*, XLIV (1924), 38, pp. 8-9. In 1922, when Baker found it impossible to provide the needed resources for the rapidly growing East Africa mission, he and the Kramers began to cast about for a suitable successor to assume responsibility for the mission. While travelling in the U.S.A., Kramer came in contact with the Church of God in Anderson, Indiana, and arrangements were made for this denomination to take over the Kima mission.

¹⁴Group Interview, Emusire, Jan. 3, 1973; Group Interview, Itumbu Sub-Location, West Bunyore, Dec. 21, 1972.

In Marama, the process by which the CMS established out-schools and gained converts was somewhat different from the SACIM in that both the resident missionary and the locational chief placed greater emphasis on the importance of education. For the first decade following the establishment of the mission in 1912, the instruction imparted at Butere and in the CMS out-schools was probably no higher than at Kima or Emusire. Nevertheless, from the very beginning both Archdeacon Walter Chadwick and Chief Mulama stimulated interest in Christianity by emphasizing the importance of acquiring literary skill for its own sake. This is well illustrated by an autobiographical anecdote from Paulo Ochieng, one of the first converts at Butere.

I had gone to see Chief Mulama at his village at Nenyasi. Chadwick was there as a visitor, and he had with him a Luo askari and about three Baganda. This was 1911. When Mulama saw me he persuaded me to stay on and learn religion from Chadwick. Mulama said to me, 'I have told this European to stay here and teach me and my people.' Mulama then showed me a piece of paper and said that if I would know how to write the paper could be taken to Kisumu and my ideas would be read there and understood. When I came back I told my father about this and that Mulama wanted me to stay there and get instruction. My father agreed and I returned the next morning. When I arrived, Chadwick came out and sat in the compound. He beckoned for me to come near him, and he used his finger to write letters on the ground including the vowels and "w" and "y". . . . The purpose of this was to interest us in reading.¹⁵

¹⁵Paulo Ochieng in Group Interview, Shinamwenyule Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 17, 1972.

With the establishment of the mission at Butere the following year, classes for religious instruction were held with the usual rudimentary emphasis on the three Rs. The Baganda teachers taught simple arithmetic and enough reading to enable the brighter converts to read extracts of Scripture and a simple letter.¹⁶ Chief Mulama himself soon became an activist in the recruitment of students to the mission and in the establishment of out-schools throughout Marama. After making a visit to Uganda in about 1915, he became almost fanatical in his support of education and Christianity. He preached widely in his baraza that every child must go to the mission to receive instruction and told his headmen to encourage boys to be taught how to read and write. He even threatened to use force if any parents resisted these recruitment efforts. Even before his trip to Uganda, catechist centers had been established at Namasoli (1911), Inaya (1913), and Shiraha (1913). During the six years following Mulama's visit to Uganda in 1915, centers were opened at Shibembe, Shikunga, Shiatsala, Mudhiero, Lunza, Khwisero, and Imanga.¹⁷ By 1922 the CMS had established nearly a dozen catechist centers in Marama and northern Kisa.

¹⁶Group Interview, Buchenya Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 18, 1972.

¹⁷Group Interview, Buchenya, Oct. 18, 1972; Group Interview, Shinamwenyle, Oct. 17, 1972; Group Interview, Shianda Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 19, 1972; Group Interview, Lunza Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 27, 1972; Group Interview, Imanga Sub-Location, Marama, Nov. 3, 1972.

In South Wanga the process of extending mission influence into the rural areas was the product of overt competition between the CMS and the MHM. That competition in turn was a result of the rather close proximity of the Butere and Mumias stations, and to the usual lack of cooperation or indeed mutual respect between Protestant and Catholic societies. The struggle which ensued between them frequently led to skirmishes among their African agents. For nearly a decade after 1915, this struggle raged not only in South Wanga, but also in North Wanga, Bukhayo, Samia, Bunyala, and Buholo.¹⁸ In their sometimes overzealous efforts to gain a following, missionaries of both societies attempted to solicit the support of various chiefs and headmen. In one such case a chief with decidedly pro-Catholic sentiments resolved to rid himself of his Protestant adversaries by signing them up for service in the Carrier Corps. In another instance catechists were sent out by both missions to the same community, with the result that the Catholic agent tore the Protestant's robe and burned his books. Occasionally the struggle was serious enough to come to the attention of the District Commissioners, who were constrained to follow a policy of neutrality according

¹⁸This paragraph is based on numerous entries dating from Feb. 10, 1913 to Aug. 27, 1918, in the "Diary of Mumias Mission, 1912-18," and entries dated Aug. 27, 1918 to June 19, 1924, in the "Diary of Mumias Mission, 1918-1944."

to the principles of the Berlin Act of 1885.¹⁹ In an effort to act as impartial referees, the D.C.s held barazas in several locations to explain the procedures for opening new out-schools, and called meetings in an effort to establish workable agreements between the contending societies. In South Wanga, the result of this factious bickering and checkmating was that the location came to be more or less evenly divided between the two societies. CMS catechist centers were established in Shikalame, Buchifi, Musanda, and Bungazi, whereas MHM centers were opened in Bukaya, Lukongo, Ekeru, Buchifi, and Lureko. Due to the little regard in these centers for the adequacy of the catechists' training, the level of instruction was probably lower than elsewhere. Nevertheless, the process was significant for determining the mission educational system to which the adherents of each society would have access.

A particularly interesting dimension of this ecclesiastical scramble was the role played by Chief Mulama. Both mission societies made a concerted effort to establish greater influence throughout much of North Nyanza by working through the chiefs. They sought to educate the sons of chiefs as a means of ensuring not only that the next generation of leaders would be Christian, but

¹⁹Ainsworth Memorandum on Mahomedanism and Ethiopianism, Feb. 11, 1918, encl. in Bowring (Atg. Gov.) to Walter H. Long (SSC), June 3, 1918, C.O. 533/196.

that they would support the right mission as well.²⁰ In 1913 Father Rogan reported in the mission diary that "Chadwick of CMS at Marama has been trying to get Mumia boys to read with him. Two headmen of Mumia also came to confirm the news."²¹ Some three years later Father Stam reported that "tomorrow, Mr. Chadwick goes on safari with Chief Mulama, through Kakamega, Kabras, Malakisi. I suppose he wants Mulama to influence people."²² By 1921 with the proposed commencement of the Butere Vocational School, attempts to recruit the sons of chiefs for the school took a new turn. Stam reported on March 27 of that year that "the Protestants are gaining a footing with the chiefs by telling that English is taught in Buterre. I promised to open a school on the 1st May where higher education is taught to the Christians who have finished their year's teaching."²³ Several months later, he reported that "the Protestants are doing harm to our work by Mulama writing to the chiefs that the D.C. wants to know the boys to be written down in Buterre school. Now they are forcing boys of about 14 years from our schools to go to Buterre. . . . Mulama wrote to

²⁰Archdn. Walter E. Owen, Annual Letter, 1918, CMS Archives, London; Entries for Dec. 2, Dec. 4, 1912, "Diary of Mumias Mission, 1912-18."

²¹Diary of Mumias Mission, 1912-18, Feb. 10, 1913.

²²Ibid., March 5, 1916. Emphasis mine.

²³Diary of Mumias Mission, 1918-44, March 27, 1921.

all the chiefs."²⁴ These exhortations precipitated enough fear so that Stam found it necessary to reassure people in the villages concerned that Mulama's forceful overtures need not be heeded. In addition to exemplifying Mulama's active role, the case shows that education was popular enough to constitute an effective means for the CMS to draw students from the MHM sphere. Despite his usual cooperation with the CMS, Mulama was not above exploiting the competition between the two societies if and when it suited his interest, as indeed it did whenever his alliance with CMS became eroded. On one such occasion, when a charge of polygyny was brought before him in the Ruridecinal Council at Butere, he wrote to the MHM and invited them to open several schools in Marama.²⁵

The attempt by the MHM missionaries to solicit the support of Paramount Chief Mumia and the various headmen serving under him was an additional aspect of the rivalry between the two missions. Overall, the MHM was not successful in acquiring the active support of Mumia to any degree comparable to Mulama and the CMS. That Mumia did not entirely resist the efforts of the MHM to gain influence is indicated by the fact that he usually was obliging enough in granting their various requests, even to the point of permitting several of his sons to attend

²⁴Ibid., Aug. 27, 1921.

²⁵Ibid., Aug. 9, 1928. Each rural deanery had its own Ruridecinal Council.

the mission and become some of the first converts. The Mission, on the other hand, made constant attempts to pressure Mumia into becoming their committed ally. In 1917, when the MHM became greatly concerned about the number of CMS teachers being sent into various parts of Wanga, Father Stam wrote that "Mr. Leeds [Leech] should like to make an accusation against me for influencing Mumia, he rather thought it a serious matter. I said it tickled my pride not a little to hear that Mumia was acting under orders from me."²⁶ A few months later he wrote that "we have Mumia in our hands but Osundwa is a double minded or no minded big boy."²⁷ The latter remark indicated that regardless of the extent to which the MHM might have been successful in influencing Mumia, there was the additional problem of convincing the various headmen under him. In at least two cases, headmen followed their own inclinations and permitted Protestants into their areas of jurisdiction.

The only indication that Mumia was ever roused to the point of taking action favoring the Catholics was in 1923, when he apparently feared the political threat posed by the CMS-sponsored Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association. Fr. Brandsma wrote that

Mumia wanted to see me re. the Protestants in Buhanga. Fr. Stam went to his new krall in Lureko. The whole antipathy of the chief against the Protestants is their political gathering, he is

²⁶Diary of Mumias Mission, 1912-18, Nov. 27, 1917.

²⁷Ibid., Dec. 16, 1917.

afraid that they will bring the same trouble as they did in Kikuyu. He wants me to help him to get them out. I told him that his fear was not without ground, that they want title deeds, that they are after a king of their own, that I was asked a year ago by Nairobi how the people owned the land, that I had answered that it was communal under the chief. There is a good chance for us, I think, now that the main chief is so much against the Protestants. . . . I told Mumia that . . . if he mistrusted the Protestants, he had only to tell the D.C. that he did not want them to build schools in his country.²⁸

It is clear that the MHM played on Mumia's fears of these events as much as possible for its own benefit. In this case Mumia does seem to have taken some action to limit the activities of Protestants in Buwanga. Brandsma wrote of this that "Mumia had written a letter to Nafukho [a headman in South Wanga] across the Lusumu to support the Catholics with all his might. The letter I saw before it was sent over. Perhaps there is a turning-point to Buhanga because the relations between us and the main chief had been rather strained the last year."²⁹ Brandsma ended his assessment of this series of events with a cryptic comment. "I take advantage of the ill feeling between the two brothers, Mumia and Mulama."³⁰

Inter-mission rivalry was not limited to the CMS and the MHM; for by 1920 disagreements began to arise between the CMS and the SACIM over out-schools in certain

²⁸Diary of Mumias Mission, 1918-44, Sept. 19, 1923.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., Oct. 13, 1923.

communities along the borders separating their respective spheres of influence. Unlike the context of relations between the CMS and the MIIM, the disagreement over spheres between the two Protestant societies occurred more among their African adherents than among the missionaries themselves. These adherents were unhappy that the mission societies had carved up the area without any consideration for their preferences in the matter. One such case occurred at Mwikalikha in northern Kisa, in what was then Headman Sande's territory. It was perhaps a rather natural consequence of the confusion resulting from the fact that although Kisa was regarded as part of the SACIM sphere by mutual agreement, that part of Kisa lying north of the Yala River was then administered as part of Marama. Robert Kramer of the SACIM appeared before the Local Missionary Council at Maseno and maintained that the CMS were at Sande's "by a misunderstanding of the text of the Government document delineating spheres subject to agreement by Missions."³¹ The CMS passed a resolution on the issue, with Kramer's strong approval, affirming that the division of the indigenous population "into separate groups by means of Missionary Spheres is most inimical to Native Interests."³² The case was referred to the Government, which ruled in favor of Kramer

³¹"Minutes of the Kavirondo Local Missionary Council," July 9, 1920, CMS Archives, London.

³²Ibid.

and the SACIM. Although it is not known in this case which mission the Africans preferred or what particular issue influenced their choice, the matter was significant in determining the mission school system to which that community would have access.

The biggest difficulty over spheres between the CMS and SACIM occurred in the territory between the central stations of Maseno and Kima. With no more than three miles separating the two stations, territorial disputes were bound to occur. Although they were technically in the sphere of the latter mission, certain Bantu-speakers were actually closer to Maseno than to Kima. Archdeacon Owen wrote in his annual letter for 1923 of the difficulty this created.

Maseno is right on the Bunyole border and it was inevitable that certain Banyole should become members of our Church. They exhibited marked evangelistic zeal and gathered together three congregations just inside the border of Bunyole. Before going home on furlough in 1921 I explained the policy of spheres to them and said that I could not accept the oversight of these congregations. When I returned from furlough I found the situation as I had left it with this difference, that the leaders said that they did not want to be forced to be members of the Church of God at Bunyole and that if we could not undertake the oversight of these three congregations they would form their own congregations.³³

No amount of persuasion by CMS authorities could convince the congregations to join the CGM. They persistently maintained that spheres formulated only by Europeans were not

³³Archdn. Walter E. Owen, Annual Letter, 1923, CMS Archives, London.

binding on them, and that such a policy was a hindrance to their interests. The case was resolved when the CGM agreed to the CMS entering its sphere to oversee the congregations. There were also certain Banyore included in the CMS sphere because of the lack of correspondence between the administrative boundary and the cultural boundary.³⁴ The result was that the CMS became influential throughout much of the Bantu-speaking area of what is now West Bunyore. Considering the superior educational opportunities at Maseno, it seems possible that these communities preferred the CMS mission for that reason.³⁵ An additional fact of significance was perhaps that with the development of political associations within the CMS sphere of influence after 1922, these communities were more directly involved in politics than were those within the CGM sphere.

The rivalry between the various missions in the establishment of out-schools was serious enough to cause a problem to the district and provincial administrations. In 1915 Father Stam at Mumias wrote that "I never met such a man as Mr. Spencer on Catechumenates he is continually

³⁴Group Interview, Ebusakami Sub-Location, West Bunyore, Jan. 26, 1973; Group Interview, Ebutanyi Sub-Location, West Bunyore, Dec. 29, 1972; Group Interview, Ebusundi Sub-Location, East Bunyore, Jan. 16, 1973; Group Interview, Ebwiranyi Sub-Location, West Bunyore, Dec. 28, 1972.

³⁵Personal Interview, Saul Sangalo, East Bunyore, File C/2/3(1), University College Nairobi, History Dept. Research Project Archives, p. 88.

talking about the danger of outside schools."³⁶ By 1920 the policy which had evolved in Central Province was applied to Nyanza Province. The two main aspects of that policy were that the D.C. would have due regard for the political situation and that the proposed site be within the recognized sphere of the Mission in question. It was necessary for the local authority to agree to the establishment of the out-school. No pressure was to be placed on any of the chiefs or headmen to induce them to accept a catechist in their territory of jurisdiction. All catechists were to understand that interference in any political matters would result in their removal from the village in which they were teaching. A register of catechists and the location of their centers was also to be kept by the District Commissioner.³⁷ It was primarily an after-the-fact determination of policy. Its effect was limited due to the fact that most out-schools had already been established by right of occupancy, and was more important as a reflection of events which had already occurred.

By 1919 certain improvements were initiated in the level of instruction in the out-schools, particularly in

³⁶"Diary of Mumias Mission, 1912-18," Aug. 5 & 6, 1915.

³⁷"Diary of Mumias Mission, 1918-1944," Nov. 4, 1920; H. R. Tate, (Prov. Comm.), "Establishment of Native Catechists among Native Tribes," April 1916, encl. in Aubyn Rogers (Secretary, CMS Kikuyu Mission) to G. T. Manley (CMS Secretary, Nairobi), Dec. 22, 1920, file, CMS Archives, London.

the CMS sphere of activity. A glimpse at the general level of instruction in these schools prior to that time is provided in the Provincial Commissioner's annual report for 1916-17. "The standard of learning is not high. The most proficient who are generally sent out to take charge of some village schools can write a fair hand, can read and do a little simple arithmetic. They know no language but their own."³⁸ In 1919 with the addition of a normal school department, upgrading of the level of instruction was begun at Maseno. The Government provided a grant of ₦600 to begin a proper normal school, and John Britton wrote in his annual letter that

In March we examined 45 and passed 20 into the new Normal School. We have added three more Teachers to the list and one Chief who is paying for his tuition.

The course is so arranged that these men will become Church Teachers as well as schoolmasters. They will combine the work of both. They are supported during training in just the same way as are the technical pupils. It is intended that they should be registered by the Government as well as by the Church. They will give secular education in accordance with a Government Code and religious education in accordance with the Church syllabus.³⁹

Although the course included primarily Luo students, there was a minority of Abaluyia from the Butere area. In 1920 when a more extensive training program was instituted including two years of instruction, J. C. Hirst reported that two of the fifteen students in the advanced

³⁸John Ainsworth, Nyanza Province Annual Report 1916/17, PC/NZA/1/12, p. 43, KNA, Nairobi.

³⁹John Britton, Annual Letter, Nov. 28, 1919, CMS Archives, London.

class and six of the twenty-five in the first-year course were from the Butere area.⁴⁰ With the opening of the Butere Vocational School in 1922, a larger number of trainees were Abuluyia. Gradually a system was beginning to emerge in the CMS sphere, with the various out-schools preparing students who would then proceed to the central schools at Maseno or Butere. In a report on Maseno School for that year, Archdeacon Owen wrote optimistically:

With a more intelligent type of teacher and teaching, the boys coming in to Maseno will be of better quality and higher training than was possible before. The entrance examination for Maseno is now definitely set before village school teachers as something to work for, in addition to the instruction of baptism candidates, and the keener teachers will be easily known from the results of the entrance examination.⁴¹

One problem faced by all the missions in their out-schools was that of insufficient funds. It resulted in many teachers leaving the schools for more remunerative employment. Prior to 1921, while the CMS Mission of western Kenya was still a part of the Diocese of Uganda, the mission received sufficient support from Uganda to pay each out-school teacher approximately 5 shs (2 rupees) per month. With its transfer to the Diocese of Mombasa, these funds were no longer available. Owen reported in 1922 that "the problem of self support has become acute and the staff of paid African teachers has had to be

⁴⁰J. C. Hirst, Annual Letter, Oct. 1921, CMS Archives, London.

⁴¹[W. E. Owen], "Maseno Central School Report for 1922," p. 4, Edinburgh House Archives, London.

reduced."⁴² Both the CGM and the MHM followed the policy of requiring their out-school teachers to rely entirely on the contributions they received from their congregations. A report on the CGM concluded that "a very commendable thing about the work in Africa is that all the native churches are self-supporting. They build their own church-buildings and support their own pastors and teachers. They have been trained to do this from the very beginning of the work."⁴³ One aspect which compounded this problem was that the converts were predominantly young. Consequently, they were not able to contribute as much to the church as older, more wealthy members of the community. Britton of the CMS wrote in 1921 that "when men have passed through their Normal training and return to the reserve, finance is a very great problem. The wage earners must leave the Reserve and go to the settled areas if they are to earn wages."⁴⁴ This impoverishment of the out-schools seriously restricted their development and effectiveness. More than once their progress was set back when their teachers found it necessary to enter the labor market to earn the money needed for their taxes. One missionary lamented the fact

⁴²C.M.S. Kavirondo, Annual Report 1922, p. 2, Edinburgh House Archives, London.

⁴³Albert F. Gray, Church of God Missions Abroad: a Brief Description of the Missionary Work of the Church of God (Anderson, Ind., 1929), p. 56.

⁴⁴Walter E. Owen, Annual Letter, 1923, CMS Archives, London.

that the Kenya Administration placed less emphasis on agricultural development in the reserves than on the recruitment of labor for the European planters.⁴⁵ Since the teachers frequently chose to work on European farms instead of supporting themselves by farming, this placed a limitation on the influence of educated men in rural society.

Despite the economic woes of the teachers in the out-schools, they seemingly enjoyed a certain amount of status and prestige as leaders in the new communities around the school centers. There were, in fact, certain parallels with the patterns of traditional leadership which facilitated the acceptance of the teachers as a new social class. The fact that recruitment to various positions of leadership had been achievement-oriented made it easier for an essentially new class of leader, in itself achievement-oriented, to gain acceptance and popularity. The teachers probably possessed some of the same attributes of leadership as did the traditional leader, particularly those values or characteristics which lent men influence. They were also important as distributors of goods, such as the skills of literacy, in place of the traditional wealth which had lent influence to men in positions of leadership. Sociologically, the same process seems to have been operative in either case, in that men of influence were the focal point around

⁴⁵Ibid.

which people congregated who sought to benefit from the leader's hospitality, status, power, or largess.⁴⁶ The traditional relationship between a leader and his following was presumably flexible so that certain new indicators of status and wealth were sufficient to compensate for what the new class of leader lacked in age or in traditional wealth. The much-prized skills of literacy seem to have provided the teachers with that sufficient compensation.

The predominantly young age of the teachers was probably the most striking departure from the traditional qualifications for leadership, and had several important implications for the constituencies which they recruited. On the one hand, acknowledgement of the principle of seniority, whether explicit or implicit, had been a constant theme running through Abaluyia culture and society.⁴⁷ On the other hand, there had been a certain degree of generational rift inherent in the division of labor and authority between age groups. The elders, for example, frequently had difficulty controlling or restraining the warrior class.⁴⁸ This indicates that the

⁴⁶Günter Wagner, "The Bantu of Kavirondo," Ch. vii in African Political Systems (London, 1940), pp. 231-2.

⁴⁷Günter Wagner, The Bantu of Western Kenya (London, 1949), I, 378.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 79.

warriors were eager to seek a means of acquiring influence and status, and that they found the restraint of their elders somewhat chafing. Apart from warriorhood, there was no means for them to acquire leadership roles until they reached the prescribed age. Leadership in the new communities of interest which sprang up in response to the proselytizing and educational work of the missions provided an outlet for that desire. It also indicated that the elders did not have sufficient control over the warrior class to prevent the acceptance of this new teaching among their sons, even if they had chosen to oppose it. The common denominator of these teachers' experience indicates that the elders did not usually oppose their decision to seek instruction at the mission or to gain the skills of literacy.⁴⁹ They seem to have been remarkably free of restraint from their elders. The numbers of them who responded to the efforts of the missions is sufficient indication of that tendency. The fact that they were young themselves was one factor that had some bearing on the youthfulness of their following, for indeed the principle of seniority would hardly have permitted men senior to them in age and status to submit to their leadership.

The failure to reach the older generation of Africans was an item of such concern to the missionaries as to receive frequent mention in their correspondence and reports. A visitor at the CGM at Kima wrote in 1926 that

⁴⁹personal interview, Thomas Manda, Mumias, South Wanga, Aug. 7, 1972, is a case in point.

"most of the converts are comparatively young people, as it is difficult to reach and convert the old people."⁵⁰ Archdeacon Owen of the CMS wrote some years later that "we have had great success with the younger generation of Africans though that success is not always maintained as our converts grow up into adult life."⁵¹ Conversely, he lamented that "we have failed utterly and completely with the older generation except for a certain number of elderly women who follow their sons or daughters into the Church."⁵² A different aspect of this lack of interest among the older generation was expressed some years earlier by Canon Pleydell of the CMS when he wrote that "Kavirondo elders are unwilling to pay school fees. Constant appeals for educated boys come in from the Government; Military, Labour, and Medical Departments, which cannot be met owing to the attitude of the elders."⁵³ Pleydell went on to say:

There are now over six thousand Catechumens preparing for baptism. . . . The movement almost entirely concerns young people and a sprinkling of old women in spite of opposition by the elders. If we wish to see a real Mass movement in Kavirondo

⁵⁰Charles E. Brown, "A Pilgrim in an African Mission Station," Gospel Trumpet, XLVI (1926), No. 9, p. 5.

⁵¹Walter E. Owen (Hildenborough, Tonbridge) to Hanley D. Hooper, Oct. 18, 1938, File O.11, Owen Papers, CMS Archives, London.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³A. E. Pleydell, Annual Letter, (Maseno), Dec. 5, 1918, CMS Archives, London.

I believe we shall have to adopt a new attitude towards Polygamy. At present no polygamist can enter the Catechumenate, and this is our great barrier to the work as a whole.⁵⁴

Quite apart from mission policy on the issue of polygamy, the elders would have had little inclination to become church members or to seek education. They had already reached positions of status, power, and influence by traditional means. For that reason, they would have had little motivation to seek a new alternative for acquiring such status.

If the reaction of Africans to Christianity and education on the basis of age is clear, it is less certain whether there was any correlation between the possession of wealth and the question of which young people were the first to respond. Oral statements as to the lack of interest among wealthy men's sons are frequent enough in the biographical material collected from the first generation of educated men. Some informants said that the sons of wealthy men were afraid to go to school, lest they be surpassed by the sons of poor men and be humiliated.⁵⁵ Others asserted that wealthy men's sons took little interest in education because learning was regarded as hard work and unbecoming to them.⁵⁶ The pattern of

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Group Interview, Shibembe Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 25, 1972; Group Interview, Shianda, Oct. 19, 1972.

⁵⁶The Mill Hill Mission had encountered this attitude at Mumias. See Nicholas Stam, "A Short History of the Development of Kisumu Vicariate," p. 158, appended to MSS Grimshaw.

recruitment to the Butere Vocational School seems to be the most concrete case exemplifying the initial attitudes which the headmen and more wealthy elders had towards education. When they were exhorted by Mulama to send their sons to the school, some resisted and sent poor men's sons instead of their own. Other informants asserted that initially education was resisted by both rich and poor, as no one then realized its value.⁵⁷ Due to the lack of any uniform standard in the possession of traditional wealth, it is very difficult if not impossible to test the objective validity of such statements. And there are at least occasional examples of men of influence and authority who actively supported education to the point of educating their own sons. Traditional leadership and the new type of leader were not mutually exclusive categories. Although there does seem to have been at least some correlation between the two factors, patterns of reaction to education are therefore not explicable in terms of the ownership of wealth and the acquisition of status and authority alone.

Regardless of the sociological or political factors influencing the African response to education, the breadth and immediacy of the response were sufficient to indicate that considerable value soon came to be placed on literary skills. John Ainsworth, P.C., wrote in 1911:

⁵⁷Group Interview, Shianda, Oct. 19, 1972.

Within the last twelve months the tendency towards Education amongst the Kavirondo tribes, particularly those of Kisumu and North Kavirondo, is undoubtedly spreading. Youths from all sorts of places seem to be possessed with a desire to learn to read and write. The attendance at the Mission School is, as a result, gradually increasing.⁵⁸

The alluring qualities of this new skill are again exemplified by J. J. Willis:

Three men in one chief's village, influenced by the boys [from Maseno school], had taught themselves to read, more or less, cut themselves off from purely heathen customs: gathered a little congregation Sunday by Sunday, and one day presented themselves, quite unexpectedly, as candidates for the catechumenate, apparently fully convinced and converted.⁵⁹

Some years later, one of the early missionaries wrote of a particularly illustrative example of the keen interest in literacy at the grass-roots level.

It was a great sight to see these . . . congregations composed of anything from fifty to a hundred people with two or three small gospels and perhaps a few alphabet and syllable sheets between them. They lay face downwards in a packed circle round each book each armed with a grass stalk with which he pointed out the word or letter as the owner of the book read it. The grass stalks almost obscured the tiny letters read at various angles according to the readers' allotted place in the circle, and as the teacher always maintained his right to have the book right way up to himself many of his pupils, when later they had a book of their own could only read from the angle at which they had originally learnt. In spite of these crude methods many of them learnt to read quickly and well and took their turn at teaching others.⁶⁰

⁵⁸John Ainsworth, *Precis of Annual Report, Nyanza Province, 1910-11*, PC/NZA/1/6, p. 43, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁵⁹J. J. Willis, *Annual Letter*, Nov. 24, 1910, CMS Archives, London.

⁶⁰Typescript of W. E. Owen Biography, n.d., n.p., Owen Papers, CMS Archives, London.

The anecdote speaks well for the aura of fascination which prevailed as the new skill of literacy was being transmitted from the first teachers to their attentive students.

The keen interest in literary skills was at least partially attributable to the belief that that skill could only be acquired by mastery of mystical formulae. As the process of turning visible symbols into sounds was not understood, it was thought that the means of access to this new skill involved the mastery of some mystical expertise. This causal connection seems to be implicit in the fact that Africans tended to view missionaries as ritual specialists who had some of the same capabilities as did such specialists in their own culture.⁶¹ From that perspective, it would have been natural for Africans to assume that the particular capabilities which missionaries possessed were attributable to their religious rituals. More explicit expression of this belief is available from various biographical anecdotes of some of the earliest students who learned to read. Gideon Khabwe of Ebwali, East Bunyore, related just such an incident. After Khabwe knew how to read, an old man gave him a blank sheet of paper and asked him to determine whether the man's son, working in Ukambani, was alive or dead.

⁶¹Elizabeth Chadwick, Annual Letter, Nov. 19, 1923, CMS Archives, London; Joseph Thomson, Through Masai Land (London, 1885), pp. 504-5.

The old man had heard that some laborers from Bunyore had died there, but he did not know whether his son was one of the deceased. His expectations reveal the belief that some type of spiritual or transcendental power was involved in the ability to read, that the words would come flowing across the page by some mystical means, and that the reader had the power to reveal whatever he wished by controlling that mystical process.⁶² In other words, the reader was thought to have the power to control the means of conveying the message, as well as the content of the message itself. An additional example of this connection between mysticism and literary skill is found in the following description of an annual school closing, somewhere in the CGM sphere of activity in the 1940s.

The entertainment consisted largely of a portrayal of old superstitions and heathen customs coming to a climax with the new mode of life--which was depicted by the singing of Christian hymns and some humorous skits regarding the white man's magic. Learning signs, so a book can talk was the magic of the white man.⁶³

Despite the culture-bound attitude of superiority running through the statement ad nauseam, one can catch a glimpse of the old mysticism surrounding the ability to read in the reference to literacy as "the magic of the white man."

As interest in education grew, it soon became demonstrably clear that the possession of literary skills

⁶²Gideon Khabwe in Group Interview, Iboona Sub-Location, East Bunyore, Jan. 17, 1973.

⁶³Jewell Hall, "A Letter from our Mission Station in Africa, Friends of Missions, XII, 8 (Feb. 1948), p. 12.

had an important market value in various fields of employment. It enabled the educated class to qualify for more specialized employment than the back-breaking manual labor which their uneducated contemporaries had to endure. As early as 1918 the presence of educated boys in such important and prestigious posts as chiefs' clerks, labor foremen on European estates, and artisans in the towns all exemplified the material and social benefits of education. In that year the Provincial Commissioner wrote that "this education work is I consider distinctly useful. A number of boys who can read and write are now employed as clerks to the Chiefs."⁶⁴ These boys would have performed the prestigious functions of serving as intermediaries between the illiterate chiefs and the Administration. There were other variations of this experience in other spheres of the labor market. One man sentenced to prison discovered that even in prison labor, the educated convict was not required to perform the same menial tasks as were his fellow inmates. He vowed to educate his own children when he got out of prison, and one of his sons, Matayo Shiundu, became one of the first trained teachers in South Wanga.⁶⁵ Others who worked on the European estates had the same experience when they observed

⁶⁴[C. R. W. Lane?], Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1917-18, PC/NZA/1/13, p. 27, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁶⁵Personal Interview, Matayo Shiundu, Mumias, South Wanga, July 31, 1972.

that the workers with some education were appointed as nyaparas (foremen). The same experience was duplicated in World War I, when those recruits with some education were chosen as medical assistants or to perform similar tasks which did not involve head portorage.⁶⁶ From these examples, one can discern something of the ranking order and accompanying degrees of prestige which must have prevailed among the laborers. Education had much to do with the ranking order in that society.

One factor which had little relevance to the patterns of response to education during the first generation of contact was the dynamics of kinship organization. The context of inter-clan relations was a multi-faceted phenomenon that might have played into the picture in several ways. The chiefs who were appointed in the various locational bureaucracies might have chosen to take advantage of the situation by practising nepotism.⁶⁷ There is little evidence, however, that many of them did so. In the case of those chiefs and headmen who did not actively support education, such as Paramount Chief Mumia and his sons, the question of nepotism was not an issue. As a result, the Abashitsetse did not benefit from education noticeably more than did other clans. For those who were activists, such as Mulama in Marama and Otiato in Bunyore, there is no evidence at hand to show that

⁶⁶Personal Interview, Antipa Ngutu, Musanda Sub-Location, South Wanga, Sept. 6, 1972.

⁶⁷Lonsdale, pp. 28-29.

they recruited only members of their own clans to attend the schools. In fact, when Mulama exhorted the headmen of the location to send their sons to the Butere Vocational School, the spoils would have gone primarily to the Abamukhula clan, who then controlled most of the headmanships.⁶⁸ When some of the headmen sent the sons of poor men to the school, members of smaller clans were actually the beneficiaries of Mulama's exhortations more than were the politically dominant Abamukhula.⁶⁹ Otiato's role as an active supporter of education in Bunyore is remembered by informants on too broad a basis for him to have recruited boys of his own Abasikhale clan alone.⁷⁰ It may be true that certain clans which resided near the mission stations were the first to benefit from education, such as the Abamutete near Kima, the Abadongoi near Emusire, and the Abashieni and Abatere at Butere. Such pattern was not marked enough to justify Lonsdale's conclusion that the clans which dominated the locational bureaucracies held a monopoly of contact with the outside

⁶⁸North Nyanza PRB, V. 1, Part III-10 (Marama), DC/NN.3/1, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁶⁹Group Interview, Shibembe, Oct. 25, 1972; Personal Interview Jeremiah Rupiya, Shirotso, Marama, Oct. 11, 1972.

⁷⁰Group Interview, Embale Sub-Location, West Bunyore, Jan. 6, 1973; Group Interview, Ebusikhale Sub-Location, West Bunyore, Jan. 11, 1973; Group Interview, Ebusakami, Jan. 26, 1973; Group Interview, Itumbu, Dec. 27, 1972; Group Interview, Ebusiekwe Sub-Location, West Bunyore, Dec. 22, 1972; Group Interview, Emusire Sub-Location, East Bunyore, Jan. 3, 1973.

world.⁷¹ Among the southern and central Abaluyia at least, the patterns of response among the ruling class of chiefs and headmen, and even the principles for selecting candidates for the various locational bureaucracies, were too complex to permit such generalization.

As for the effects of kinship organization on the patterns of response in the out-schools, there seems to have been no more connection between clanship and education than there was at the loci of power in the mission and locational bureaucracies. When the phenomenon of educational growth is viewed from the perspective of inter-clan relations in traditional society, there is little reason to expect the contrary to have been the case. Whenever the need arose, there had been a considerable field for inter-clan cooperation. Furthermore, the field of recruitment to certain positions of leadership was open to candidates of more than one clan. Even when kinship was a prescribed qualification for leadership, as it was for the position of liguru or for clan eldership, the leaders so chosen did not only represent members of the clan from which they had been recruited. They also represented the various Abamenya who lived in the area as tenants. The resulting relationship between a leader and his following was not necessarily based on patrilineal

⁷¹Lonsdale, p. 28.

or even affinal kinship. That being the case, it is not surprising that co-existence and even cooperation between clans was possible in the out-schools. The teacher was not always a member of the clans from which his students were recruited. The available evidence also suggests that the villages which grew up around the out-schools were inhabited by members of more than one clan.⁷² During the first generation of contact, although certain factors were set in train by the colonial situation which tended to heighten rivalries and hostility between clans, that tendency was hardly discernible in the patterns of educational growth. Nor is it necessarily correct to conclude that the teachers of the out-schools had to be content with a position which was inferior to that of their contemporaries in the locational and mission bureaucracies.⁷³ Some of the out-school teachers had access to an education which was as extensive as that of the sons of chiefs. Nor was it necessarily correct to conclude that the teachers of the out-schools were recruited from different clans or lineages than were the chiefs, headmen, and teachers at the central mission stations. Some clans, such as the ruling Abashitsetse of Wanga, were too large and dispersed for any such pattern to have prevailed. As a result, the out-schools at Bukaya and Buchifi were established by

⁷²Group Interview, Itumbu, Dec. 27, 1972; Group Interview, Inaya Sub-Location, Marama, Nov. 21, 1972.

⁷³Lonsdale, p. 35.

members of the politically dominant Abashitsetse clan.⁷⁴ The pattern seems to have been the product of individual interest and proximity to centers of instruction far more than on kinship organization.

The significance of individual interest as a factor in the general pattern of response to education was also the case among the chiefs and headmen. In those instances for which evidence is at hand, several patterns of reaction can be discerned. Despite the fact that education was then only available in mission schools, the fact of whether a chief was Christian or not had little to do with his attitude toward education. There were Christians and non-Christians both among those who supported education, and among those who displayed little or no interest in it. As for the latter, perhaps the most notable case in point is Mumia and his sons. Mumia owed his position as leader neither to the colonial Administration nor to alliance with a mission. The predominant long-term effect which the establishment of colonial Administration had on his authority was to curtail it. This represented a reversal of the initial gains which he had made from cooperation with Europeans. His realization of this bitter turn of events had much to do with his lack of interest in education. As for his sons, the success of the mission

⁷⁴Personal Interview, Zakayo Musungu, Buchifi Sub-Location, South Wanga, Sept. 19, 1972.

depended on their individual responses more than on any interest on Mumia's part. A few did respond, but the fact of submitting to mission teaching and to the ritual of baptism in itself did not constitute an alliance between headman and mission.

A good example of this fact is afforded by Arnoli Talala, who was baptized by the MHM around 1910 and who served as headman in the Musanda-Lukongo-Bukaya area from about 1910 to 1921.⁷⁵ Although he may have perceived association with the mission as one means of gaining a following, it was not his only means of doing so. His attempts to combine aspects of the new leader with the traditional means of gaining status and influence led inevitably to a fallout with the mission. He exemplifies one type of headman who became a Christian, but retained certain interests which were not convergent with those of the mission.

Another pattern of reaction by a non-Christian chief was that of Otieno, the first chief of Bunyore. He owed that position to his friendship with the mission and to the choice made by the colonial Administration. Both he and certain members of his family benefited from the alliance. He is not particularly remembered, however, as a chief who actively supported education.⁷⁶ Still a

⁷⁵Diary of Mumias Mission, 1918-1944, Sept. 29, 1920.

⁷⁶Group Interview, Bunyore, July 31, 1966, File B/1/3, University College Nairobi, History Dept. Research Project Archives.

third pattern of reaction is represented by Otiato who, though non-Christian, recruited actively for both the CMS and the CGM. The fact that he had been living in Kisumu for some time prior to his appointment as chief in 1914 indicates that the basis for his motivation as a modernizing chief was attributable more to his contacts with the larger world than with the mission.⁷⁷ The case of Mulama, discussed in various contexts above, is the example par excellence of an alliance between church and chief. Even his motivation, however, was not entirely convergent with the interests of the CMS mission. These varied patterns of motivation and individual interest among the chiefs and headmen provide sufficient proof for concluding that the policy of Government and missions to concentrate their educational efforts on the sons of chiefs was only marginally successful. Its success depended more on the response of the chiefs themselves than on the policy-makers.

Of the various external factors that influenced African response to education, perhaps none was more marked than the social effects of wartime experience in the carrier corps and related services. This effect was related in the memoirs of Elizabeth Chadwick, a CMS missionary at Butere from 1916 to 1923.

⁷⁷Group Interview, Ebusiratsi Sub-Location, East Bunyore, Jan. 15, 1973.

The demobilized soldiers and carriers all say that they got terribly laughed at amongst all the more advanced tribes that they came in contact with for two things, the taking out of their lower front teeth and for their illiteracy. So with their return the mass movement towards education at least has had a great impetus. . . . In their new zeal for reading the young men and maidens some weeks ago were seized with the idea of starting night-schools on their own account and began gathering forty or sixty in a native hut and reading the primer and first catechism and singing hymns up to midnight and occasionally 3 a.m.⁷⁸

Considering the large numbers of Abaluyia youths who served in the Carrier Corps, the effects of this social experience would have been considerable.⁷⁹ The prospect of being outdone by their female contemporaries, who had enjoyed continued instruction at the mission while the lads were off to war, might have intensified the desire of the returning servicemen to become literate. Various missionary reports and letters emphasized that a considerable surge of interest in literacy continued for four or five years after the return of the servicemen. Elizabeth Chadwick wrote some years later that there was "everywhere the same cry, 'more teaching, we must have teaching.'"⁸⁰

During the renewed interest in educational development following World War I, the out-schools came to be recognized in various government reports and recommendations

⁷⁸Elizabeth Chadwick, Annual Letter, Nov. 1, 1919, CMS Archives, London.

⁷⁹Eric E. Barker, A Short History of Nyanza (Nairobi, 1957), p. 22.

⁸⁰Elizabeth Chadwick, Annual Letter, Nov. 1, 1919, CMS Archives, London.

as a significant aspect of African education. The 1919 Educational Commission had already emphasized their importance by concluding that "one of the principal means whereby the knowledge of reading and writing is spread is through the village or 'out school'."⁸¹ In his study of the educational needs of Kenya in 1924, E. R. J. Hussey also emphasized the importance of the village schools for providing instruction in the three R's in the rural area. For this reason, he recommended that the training of teachers for these schools receive first consideration.⁸² The Phelps-Stokes Commission, reiterating this importance in their preliminary report submitted the same year, recommended the training of itinerating teachers to introduce hygiene, gardening, village handicrafts, and agriculture in these schools. It was this recommendation that led to the establishment of the Jeanes School at Kabete in 1925.⁸³ Additional indication of the importance that the out-schools were beginning to assume was inherent in the fact that in 1924, for the first time, the Government recommended that financial assistance be made available for training in the

⁸¹Report of the Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate 1919 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 51, p. 8.

⁸²E. B. Denham (Colonial Secretary), "The Training of Teachers for Village Schools," April 27, 1924, encl. in Robert Coryndon (Gov.) to J. H. Thomas (SSC), June 20, 1924, C.O. 533/311.

⁸³Ibid.; Coryndon to J. H. Thomas, Oct. 16, 1924, C.O. 533/314.

out-schools. In that year the Colonial Secretary reported to the Legislative Council that

Provision has been made for the first time for grants to Missions for home training and child welfare. The sum provided for these services is £500 which it is hoped will be a beginning in affording assistance to Missions in the training of girls in needlework and home management, on the simplest lines, the chief object being to ensure standards of cleanliness and intelligence in the care of their children, which will eventually be adopted amongst the female population in the native villages. An increase in the grant to assisted schools of £1,500 has been provided in order to encourage the village schools to follow the simple syllabus which is now being drawn up by the Director of Education, and which it is believed meets the needs of the natives in the villages. These grants will only be given for teachers and equipment. It is hoped that under the Native Councils Ordinance native councils will be prepared to assist in the establishment of village schools, for which there is a great demand amongst the native population, by the provision of buildings and grounds for school gardens.⁸⁴

Throughout the twenty years from 1904 to 1924, various socio-political factors had influenced the patterns of expansion of the mission communities into the rural areas. Competition and rivalry had been an important factor between the CMS and the Roman Catholic Mill Hill Mission. Although the Government was able to regulate the distance between mission stations, the establishment of satellite communities between the central stations was less amenable to control. The provision of superior educational opportunities within the CMS sphere was one factor which influenced the dynamics of growth in this context. As

⁸⁴ Colonial Secretary, Legislative Council Debates, Aug. 21, 1924, p. 32.

for traditional politics, if interclan relations had little to do with the patterns of early educational response, the perception of self-interest by chiefs and headmen was found to be a factor of considerable significance. Whereas a few of the chiefs saw education as a means of extending their political influence, others sought more traditional means of gaining status and influence. One of the most readily discernible social factors affecting interest in education was age. The new type of leadership afforded by the extension of the mission community proved appealing to the younger generation of warriors. Despite this age factor, there were many similarities in the traditional and new patterns of leadership which facilitated the acceptance of education. As a result of war-time experiences, interest in education was particularly marked after 1919. The out-schools also experienced an improvement in the standards of instruction.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT-MISSION RELATIONS AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY, 1924-1939

From 1924 to 1939, relations between the Kenya Government and Christian missions were predominant in the implementation of African educational policy. Several events occurring at the commencement of this period indicated that African education was beginning to receive greater attention in official circles. By enacting legislation, establishing government schools, and reorganizing the educational system, the Administration gradually assumed a more significant role. This increased attention required that a synthesis of government and mission activity be worked out. Although both recognized the need for cooperation, they were mutually distrustful. Through the visit of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1924, a new basis for cooperation had been forged. Amiable relations were gradually eroded, however, so that by 1930 H. S. Scott, the Director of Education, was considering a proposal to reformulate government-mission cooperation. The debate which surrounded attempts to implement this proposal made it the keynote of the 1930s.

Overall, the consensus of Government and missions produced several developments in African education. One of these was the Phelps-Stokes Commission's recommendation that education be adapted to the presumed needs of African communities. Another development was diversification in the educational system. As missions assumed greater responsibility for literary education and teacher training, Government gradually took responsibility for technical training. A third development was the establishment of local channels for the implementation of African educational policy. In North Nyanza, these official channels included the Local Native Council and the District Education Board. Although these institutions provided a forum for the expression of African educational interests, Africans were only permitted to assume responsibility for schools at the lowest of levels.

The portent of the cooperative relationship between Government and Christian missions was the Phelps-Stokes Commission's visit to Kenya in 1924. The Phelps-Stokes Fund was already well known in colonial circles for its interest in Black American and African education. The Fund had sponsored an earlier commission in 1921 in West, Central, and South Africa, and had sponsored a number of East African missionaries on visits to America to observe educational techniques in Black colleges and vocational schools.¹ Thomas Jesse Jones, chairman of the 1924

¹T. J. Jones, Education in East Africa: a study of East, Central and South Africa (New York, 1924), p. xviii.

Commission, was known for his rejection of radical political thought among Black Americans. Other members of the Commission were chosen on the basis of how their backgrounds and areas of expertise related to the tenets of Jones's educational philosophy. During their three weeks of itinerating in Kenya, the commissioners received considerable publicity and attention from various societies and other groups possessing an interest in African education. Even the settler community took an interest in the Commission. Although miffed that the commissioners did not include visits to European schools on their itinerary, the editor of the East African Standard was "flattered by the attention which wealthy foundations, interested in the mental and social development of the races of the world, have given the East African territories. . . ."²

The Central and North Nyanza districts were one of several areas to receive considerable attention from the Commission. Members of the team visited Maseno, Butere, and Kima, and Maseno served as their headquarters during their travels in Nyanza Province.

As the Commission traveled about, James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey was the member who proved to have the most appeal with the African community. An African himself from the

For the influence of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, see Edward H. Berman, "American influence on African education: the role of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's education commissions," Comparative Education Review, XV, no. 2 (June 1971), pp. 132-145.

²East African Standard, Feb. 23, 1924, p. 13.

Gold Coast, he possessed a magnetic personality and a disarming manner. So popular was he that he presented no less than forty-two speeches within a fortnight during the Commission's travels in Uganda. He often spoke as many as five times in a single day. On one occasion, he addressed a crowd of thousands on the banks of the Yala River near Butere. Many were those among his African listeners who, nearly fifty years later, remembered a vivid example, a figure of speech, or a humorous anecdote which he had used in his lectures. A. W. Wilkie, a member of the first Phelps-Stokes Commission, has written in retrospect that "without Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey the Commission would have been like the proverbial 'Hamlet, without the Prince of Denmark.'"³ Although Aggrey was staunchly colonial in his outlook, he emphasized the equality of all races and spoke of the high levels of accomplishment which his African listeners could hope to reach with adequate study and hard work. He did not hesitate to criticize some of the more excessive evils of colonialism which he witnessed in Kenya. One informant who heard Aggrey preach in Nairobi remembered his reference to Deuteronomy--a person who is not an Israelite should not govern you; choose someone of your own blood--as the basis

³A. W. Wilkie, "The African educational Commission," Church Missionary Review, LXXII, 1921, p. 215, Syracuse University microfilm no. 1086. See also Edwin W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa (London, 1929); and Kenneth J. King, "James E. K. Aggrey: collaborator, nationalist, Pan-African," Canadian Journal of African Studies, III, no. 3 (Autumn 1970), pp. 511-530. For a biographical note on

for criticizing the system of land alienation in the White Highlands.⁴ He emphasized that continuation of the colonial relationship was as important for Europe as for Africa, since it would lead to new levels of human development in Africa for the benefit of all mankind. His English was the most fluent of any African that most of his European and African listeners had ever heard. The impressive accomplishments of his own academic career and the encouragement he offered to those he met, stimulated a greater interest in education among many Africans at that time. When another member of the Commission returned to western Kenya several years later, he was frequently greeted with the query, "Were you here with Dr. Aggrey in 1924?"⁵ Yet another indication of Aggrey's influence and appeal is implicit in the fact that in later years, many African parents chose to name one of their sons "James Aggrey." Nineteen twenty-four was indeed the year of Aggrey.

Although the commissioners found occasional examples of commendable progress in Kenya, they criticized the lack of unity and the divergence of attitudes regarding African education. Missionaries, settlers, government

Jones, see J. W. C. Dougall, "Thomas Jesse Jones, Crusader for Africa," International Review of Missions, XXXIX, no. 106 (April 1950), pp. 311-317.

⁴Personal interview, Ezekiel Omukhulu, Shianda Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 24, 1972.

⁵Habari, VII, 5 (May 1928), p. 24.

officials, and traders all tended to see African education in terms of their own particular interests. The Commission further concluded that "the Director of Education has, on more than one occasion, outlined plans of organization and defined educational aims, but the limited funds for education and the utter lack of an inspection staff have largely nullified his efforts."⁶ It was an accurate assessment of the Government's failure to assume an adequate role in the coordination of effort in the past. Overall, the keynote of the Commission's published report was that African education be adopted to the everyday needs of community life. In their view, this would require a form of education which would benefit the masses of rural society and would not create an urbanized, alienated elite. The chief standard set up by the Commissioners was that the content of education be based on health, soil utilization, preparation for home life, and character development. This thoroughly practical and propagandistic approach was more striking for its simplicity than for its originality. Previous theorists and practitioners had frequently expressed the same idea. Nevertheless, the commissioners gave more articulate and perhaps more authoritative expression to this principle than had their predecessors.

⁶Robert Coryndon (Governor, Kenya) to J. H. Thomas (SSC), July 29, 1924, C.O. 533/311.

Within a year of the Commission's visit, several of its recommendations were adopted. Central to their scheme of education for the masses was a system of inspection, supervision, and visitation of village schools by specially trained itinerant African teachers. The commissioners had found during the course of their investigation that the village schools had multiplied into thousands of small, often poorly managed out-posts.⁷ Despite the often negligible accomplishments of these schools, Jones thought they could be upgraded by training a special class of itinerant teachers to visit and inspect them regularly. A special training institute, the Jeanes School, was to be established for training these teachers. Established at Kabete in 1925, it represented the most concrete application of the Commission's recommendations. The second aspect of the report to be adopted was the appointment of an Advisory Committee for Native Education. This fifteen-member board was to include five Protestants and four Catholics, as well as four official and two unofficial members.⁸ It was vested with the power of reviewing African educational policy and adopting resolutions dealing with the expenditure of government grants.

For the context of events in North Nyanza, perhaps the most significant of these developments was the training

⁷Jones, p. 59.

⁸East African Standard, May 30, 1925, p. 16A.

of the village teachers. Each of the missions serving among the southern and central Abaluyia chose two or three candidates for the course of instruction. Upon completion, they returned to their homes to serve under the supervision of the sponsoring mission and the District Commissioner. By carrying out their prescribed duties, they were often able to initiate educational improvements of some significance. For example, the Director of Education reported in 1930 that Jeremiah Othuon of Bunyore was conducting a training course every Monday for village teachers. The Director, at least, was convinced of their usefulness. In his Annual Report for 1930, he wrote of the many ways in which these teachers served their communities.

There is no end to the forms of community welfare work done by the Jeanes teachers. One man gathers people for the medical officer's visit, another persuades women to go into hospital for their confinement, while a third reports that he has had some share in the building of twenty-three improved grain stores.⁹

Jeremiah Rupiya, a CMS Jeanes teacher from Marama, related something of the varied responsibilities which the Jeanes teacher had to fulfill.

I visited schools and conducted short courses for teachers on Saturdays. One of my jobs was to see if there was a latrine. I checked on general cleanliness and if the school building was properly smeared and thatched. I checked to see if the school had a garden and if there was a time table. I checked on the cleanliness of the pupils. This was one of the main jobs because pupils didn't like to wash daily. I also conducted songs to make them

⁹Education Department Annual Report, 1930, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 89.

happy and aimed at discussing the time table. I used shadow clock to tell time at the school with marks to indicate the hour of day. Also I taught them how to beat the drums to announce school opening. Another drum was used as warning that a visitor had come. Any weak teachers had to be dismissed.¹⁰

Like the other Jeanes teachers, Rupiya had a large circuit of local schools which he visited regularly. Through his carrying out of this varied range of duties, a Jeanes teacher could exert an influence over a wide area.

Thanks to the role they were obliged to play as African agents of an alien Administration, the Jeanes teachers faced severe handicaps as potential leaders within their local society. In effect, they were perceived as an adjunct of the Administration. This was exemplified by the fact that they were frequently considered by the latter as candidates for chiefs and headmen. The Administration also contemplated the efficacy of instituting a special training course for chiefs at the Jeanes School. The teachers' close relationship with constituted colonial authority and the exemplary life which they were expected to lead as model citizens, precluded any possibility of their participating in nascent African politics. This limited their effectiveness as spokesmen for African interests. Even those who participated in the internecine quarrels between clans were taken to task and advised to

¹⁰personal Interview, Jeremiah Rupiya, Shirotso Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 11, 1972. See also Jeremiah Segero, "The Work of a Jeanes School Teacher in Kenya," Oversea Education, I, 1 (1930), pp. 11-16.

terminate such activities. One such teacher who was so criticized was Nikodemu Murunga of Butere for his part in the movement to depose Chief Mulama in Marama Location.¹¹

While the principle of education for adaptation was being written into official policy, several additional developments of importance were occurring. In June of 1924 the Advisory Committee authorized the establishment of the Native Industrial Training Depot as a central training institute for African artisans. The center was to take graduates of the central mission schools and give them two years of industrial training. Another significant development was the adoption in 1924 of an Education Ordinance.¹² The ordinance was both a consequence of and a causative factor in the Administration's expanding role in African education. Overall, it provided regulatory and supervisory powers where previously there had only been the power to withhold grants from assisted schools. Due to the inadequate size of the departmental staff however, the new ordinance did not prove very effective. Adequate implementation required inspectors at every level and a bureaucracy to handle school registration and licensing of all qualified teachers.¹³ Effective state supervision

¹¹Minutes of the District Commissioners' Meeting, March 21-22, 1939 [Nyanza Province, Kisumu?], in PC/NZA.3/936, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹²Minute by [C. Davis] in response to Coryndon to Thomas, July 29, 1924, C.O. 533/311.

¹³Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1925 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 1.

of education would have to await further legislation and a larger departmental bureaucracy.

In 1925, a more effective channel for the implementation of African educational policy was created with the establishment of the Local Native Councils. In North Nyanza, as in other progressive districts throughout Kenya, the Local Native Council was hardly established before it became a channel for the expression of interest in African education. In May 1925, at the first meeting of the Council, the Acting Governor told the members that the establishment of a central school for the higher education of the more capable children should be given full consideration. When questioned further on the issue, he promised to do his best to secure the establishment of the school, but pointed out that the Council must assist in the scheme.¹⁴ At first consideration, it might seem rather anomalous that a high-ranking administrative official would have made such a promise even before the demands for it were voiced in the Council. It was distinctly out of character with the usual disregard for African interests. The promise, however, was most likely a ploy to divert attention from the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association to the LNC. As stated above, the Government hoped to propagate the view that the LNCs, as opposed to the African political associations, were the legitimate channels for

¹⁴Minutes of the North Nyanza Local Native Council, May 20, 1925, encl. in Ibid.

the expression of African interests. Due to the popularity of education, the proposal for a central school would have been a particularly effective issue for conveying this idea. It must be recalled that the establishment of government schools had been one of the ten demands articulated by the original Young Kavirondo Association, the precursor to the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association.¹⁵ Lending credence to this interpretation of events is the fact that the Governor's proposal, when spelled out at a later meeting of the Council, called for the establishment of one central school for Central and North Nyanza combined.¹⁶ In view of the fact that it had been supported both by Abaluyia from North Nyanza and Luo from Central Nyanza, that proposal may have been almost a tailored response to the demands of the Association. In all likelihood, the Governor's proposal was a response to the demands presented to Government by the Association nearly three years before the inception of Local Native Councils.

The issue of opening a government central school soon caught hold, and became one of the most popular issues discussed in the North Nyanza Local Native Council. In July 1925, the Council passed the following resolution.

¹⁵K. M. Okaro-Kojwang', "Origins and establishment of the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association," ed. B. G. McIntosh, Ngano: studies in traditional and modern East African history (Nairobi, 1969), pp. 111-128.

¹⁶North Kavirondo Local Native Council Resolutions for 1925, encl. in DC/NN.3/2.

that this Council contributes a sum, not exceeding Sh. 20,000/- towards the erection of a central technical and higher educational school, for the use of North Kavirondo natives alone, provided Government contributes shilling for shilling.¹⁷

At the same meeting, the Council repudiated the idea of establishing a central school for both districts by resolving "that no money whatever be expended for the purpose of contributing towards the cost of erecting a higher educational school for the joint use of North & Central Kavirondo Natives."¹⁸ This emphatic rejection of the idea of a joint school for both districts was probably based on the belief that one school alone would not meet their needs. Many Abaluyia then expressed concern over the fact that Maseno Central School was predominantly Luo, and they may have feared that the same would be the case in a joint government school. They preferred a school of their own. In 1926, the Council passed a similar resolution for another 20,000/- to be set aside, this time designating the funds for use in starting a junior secondary school in North Nyanza.¹⁹ The timing was significant, for it was the same year that Alliance High School was opened at Kikuyu as Kenya's first African junior secondary school.²⁰

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹North Kavirondo Local Native Council Resolutions for 1926, encl. in DC/NN.3/2.

²⁰John Anderson, The Struggle for the School: the interaction of Missionary, Colonial Government and Nationalist enterprise in the development of formal education in Kenya (London, 1970), p. 22.

In the following year, the Council's commitment to the issue increased considerably with a proposal to levy a 2/- rate in order to raise the impressive amount of ~~£~~1,000 for the school buildings and for an annual rate of 26,000/- to cover recurrent expenses.²¹ Each year, the Provincial Commissioner commented on the widespread interest in education as revealed by the LNCs throughout the province, and wrote in 1928 that

Money has been freely voted for a variety of projects, easily the most important of which is the cause of Education, in aid of which rates were imposed, or continued to be imposed, in North and Central Kavirondo and in Lumbwa. It is to be hoped that the decision on the question of a Central School for North and Central Nyanza may be reached without further undue delay.²²

In 1928, as an indication of how persistent these demands were, the North Nyanza Council voted to extend the 2/- levy, with half the funds collected therefrom to be devoted to the central school.²³ In view of the fact that the Council also supported education in other ways, this commitment is all the more impressive.

Despite the original promise made to the Council in 1925, administrative officials were divided on the question of granting the LNC's request for a central school

²¹North Kavirondo Local Native Council Resolutions for 1927, encl. in DC/NN.3/2.

²²A. Field-Jones (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1928, p. 21, K.N.A., Nairobi.

²³North Kavirondo Local Native Council Resolutions for 1928, encl. in DC/NN.3/2.

in North Nyanza. Initially, the Government realized that the formation of the Local Native Councils would probably lead to requests for Government assistance for schools and for the provision of teachers. Governor Coryndon conceded that if local demands were strong enough, and provided that such schools would not compete with mission schools nearby, "it would not be advisable nor . . . just for Government to refuse a measure of assistance." He went on to state however, that "Where the funds for Native education come from native sources and are obtained with the assistance of Native Councils the wishes of the natives in regard to the management of the schools they desire must be considered. . . ." ²⁴ Despite such clearly worded statements, the implementation of this policy at the local level was quite another matter. Among those who supported the scheme were J. R. Orr and G. Ernest Webb. The latter was appointed in 1926 as Provincial Inspector of Schools in Nyanza. He wrote that

In spite of the high cost, I strongly favour the recommendations put forward by the Hon. Director of Education for Government schools in the Administrative Districts of North and Central Kavirondo. . . . I feel sure that an extensive and general culture of a people can only be brought about by an intensive and special training of a limited number. ²⁵

²⁴Coryndon to Thomas, July 29, 1924, C.O. 533/311.

²⁵Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1927 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 35.

Other officials were more pessimistic. F. G. Jennings, Acting District Commissioner for North Nyanza in 1927, wrote in the LNC estimates for 1928 that "This represents an amount [100,000/-] promised by the Council to the Hon'ble the Director of Education for the establishment of a Junior Secondary School at Kakamega," adding the cryptic remark, "I have no comments to make."²⁶ In keeping with this disdainful attitude, Jennings and other District Commissioners apparently made various efforts to divert the money voted by the Council to other purposes. Such tactics were ineffective, and if anything, only served to strengthen the Council's determination. Holding both the power of the purse and the power of discretion in the allocation of locally collected funds, the LNC was in a position to hold out for the school which the Government had promised.²⁷

There were several reasons why some administrative officials were so reluctant to honor the original promise made to the Council. First of all, the Government knew that any proposal to establish schools in areas where mission schools already existed would incur the wrath of the missionaries. In North Nyanza, where missions were

²⁶North Kavirondo Local Native Council Minutes for 1927, encl. in PC/NZA.3/33/8/4, Nyanza Province Daily Correspondence (Sec. 10-A), S.U. mic. no. 2262, reel 22.

²⁷Minutes of Senior Commissioners' Meeting, Nairobi, November 26, 1928, encl. in PC/NZA.3/35/1/1, S.U. mic. no. 2262, reel 24.

²⁸Coryndon to Thomas, July 29, 1924, C.O. 533/311.

established in such close proximity to one another, this issue was certain to emerge. Secondly, F. G. Jennings expressed concern that the project would prove to be beyond the means of the Council, and that the 2/- levy would place undue hardship on many rate-payers in the district. At the same time, he feared that the councillors would take the Government's reluctance to sanction the school as a breach of faith. The fact that the Government had not yet delivered on a 1925 proposal to construct a Government rest house for LNC members in the district would have lent weight to such a view.²⁹ A third reason for delay was the change which occurred in the Directorship of the Education Department in the late 1920s. In 1927, J. R. Orr resigned. He was not replaced until 1928, with the appointment of H. S. Scott. In the interim, the acting directors were reluctant to make a decision on the issue. In September of 1926, R. H. W. Wisdom, over a decade later to be Director of Education in Nyasaland, wrote to the Colonial Secretary that "I am fully alive to the danger of allowing Local Native Councils to embark on expenditure that might demand recurring contributions from the Central Government. This point will be carefully guarded against."³⁰

²⁹North Kavirondo Local Native Council Minutes for 1927, encl. in PC/NZA.3/33/8/4.

³⁰R. H. W. Wisdom (Education Department) to Acting Colonial Secretary, Nairobi, September 22, 1926, in PC/NZA.3/33/8/3, S.U. mic. no 2262, reel 22.

It was not until after Scott's appointment as the new Director that the proposal for a central school in North Nyanza finally received government sanction. The Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza reported early in 1929 that no decision on the matter had yet been made. He went on to write that

In February the Director of Education met with the Local Native Councils of Central Kavirondo and North Kavirondo with a view to trying to find out what it was exactly that the natives wanted. The various Mission Societies were given an opportunity of stating their case but it soon became clear that the members of the Councils did not want to see money voted for this school diverted to other educational purposes.³¹

Scott was thus given ample opportunity to hear the views of the Councils. It did not take him long to formulate his response. In effect if not by intention, that response was decidedly pro-African. In the Education Department Report for 1929, he wrote as follows.

The demand of the native is not a vague yearning; it is a demand supported by the sacrifices involved in self-imposed taxation. The amounts raised by local native councils in the last few years have now reached many thousands of pounds. The bulk of this is lying on fixed deposit awaiting the decision of Government as to whether the money raised by natives themselves is to be spent on their education in schools erected at their expense on sites set aside by them in the reserves.³²

Scott was convinced of the sincerity and insistence of the demands which he had heard.

³¹C. M. Dobbs, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1929, p. 73.

³²Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1929 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 8.

When sanction for the LNC school in North Nyanza was finally granted, it was primarily due to the fear that continued refusal would lead to the establishment of independent schools. Scott had two reasons for coming to this firm conclusion, and the danger which he perceived in recent events weighed heavily upon his thinking. First of all, he felt that Africans were justified in their demands for alternatives to the mission-dominated schools.³³ Secondly, with the independent schools movement already having begun among the Kikuyu in the Central Province, Scott feared that the movement might become more widespread. In the Report for 1929, he wrote that "if a decision is not speedily reached there will be danger that we may have to choose not between mission schools and Government schools but between these two on the one hand and on the other hand native schools conducted by natives."³⁴ When Scott's decision was communicated to the Colonial Office, a member of the clerical staff concurred with his view by writing that "there cannot be any shadow of doubt that the schools are necessary and that to attempt to prevent them being set up would be disastrous."³⁵ Scott's argument was sufficiently convincing to carry the day.

³³Ibid., p. 9; C. W. Furley, "Education and the Chiefs in East Africa in the inter-war Period," EAISR Conference Paper, Makerere College, Kampala, December 1968-January 1969, p. 80.

³⁴Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1929, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 8.

³⁵Minute by G. Eastwood (Colonial Office) in response to Joseph Byrne (Governor) to Lord Passfield (SSC), July 10, 1931, C.O. 533/403.

Back in Nyanza the Provincial Commissioner was able to report in early 1930 that "sanction has at least been obtained for the erection of one of the Central Schools asked for by the natives and it was decided to build this in an area adjoining Kakamega Township. Work was commenced before the end of the year."³⁶ It was clearly due to governmental reaction to events in the reserves that the issue was finally resolved.

The strong desire for government schools which the LNCs were demanding sparked a heated debate between government officials and missionaries. The missionaries regarded the demands for government schools as posing a threat to their own educational efforts, and interpreted the Government's response to those demands as a breach of faith. They argued that if their efforts to provide education for Africans were insufficient it was only because they had not received adequate assistance from Government. They also contended that the funds voted for LNC central schools should be allocated to the mission schools, and that LNC grants to missions should be increased. When these requests were not met, they tried to force the issue by vastly increasing their educational estimates for 1929.³⁷ The Chief Native Commissioner was certainly right in his conclusion that "the Missions themselves are, of course, hostile to the idea of secular central schools

³⁶Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1930 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 16.

³⁷C. M. Dobbs (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, p. 39.

as they see the difficulty of keeping in touch with their pupils once they have passed from their own control."³⁸ With the schools constituting such an important aspect of their efforts at evangelization, the missionaries found secular schools to be almost unthinkable. Dr. Arthur, arguing the case for missions before a meeting of the senior provincial commissioners, expressed the opinion that many African parents who were compelled to pay LNC rates for central schools would actually prefer to send their children to the mission schools instead.³⁹ Carey Francis, the new Headmaster of Maseno Central School, was more emphatic in his statement of the missionary position. "I take very grave exception," he wrote in 1930 to the Provincial Commissioner, "to certain statements contained in the recently issued Report of the Department of Education, 1929."⁴⁰ The particular statement which roused his ire was that "The native of Kenya . . . has indicated in no uncertain tones his wish to be educated in institutions which are not under the care of missionaries."⁴¹ Francis alleged that such a statement

³⁸Native Affairs Department Annual Report for 1928 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 51.

³⁹Minutes of Senior Commissioners' meeting, Nairobi, November 26, 1928, encl. in PC/NZA.3/35/1/1, S.U. mic. no. 2262, reel 24.

⁴⁰Carey Francis (CMS Maseno) to [C. M. Dobbs] (P.C.), September 27, 1930, in PC/NZA/3/10/1/4, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁴¹Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1929 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 8.

was "utterly false" and asked that the issue be taken up by the School Area Committee of the district. Further disagreement from missionaries, however, did not alter the trend already set in motion for the establishment of LNC schools.

In the late 1920s, there would have been ample reason for Africans to be dissatisfied with the mission schools in North Nyanza. Due to lack of staff, Maseno Technical School was then experiencing a hiatus and Butere Vocational School was closed in 1926. For Catholics, Yala Central School was only opened in 1927. Overall, this situation did not fulfill the expectations of most Africans. Although many government officials were aware of African dissatisfaction with mission schools, they were slow to respond. Many of them were quicker to expound on the dangers of taking African views on the matter too seriously. When they finally did, it was only piecemeal, and was due in no small part to the persistence of the Local Native Council.

Due to a staff shortage, in the late 1920s the Maseno Technical School was unable to maintain its reputation as the most outstanding mission primary school in Kenya. In 1924 the Phelps-Stokes Commission had described the school as the "most effective and comprehensive centre of education in the Kavirondo and Lake area."⁴²

⁴²"The Open Door," CMS Annual Report, 1924-25 (London, n.d.), p. 12.

The popularity of the school had been evident in the fact that ninety boys sat for thirty places in the entrance examination. Nevertheless, because of insufficient European staff, the school soon came upon hard times. As a result, the Education Department threatened to withdraw governmental assistance. The Department's Annual Report for 1927 stated that "the work of the school was not altogether satisfactory."⁴³ On several occasions, the number of European staff dwindled to two. Although that had been a sufficient number in 1918, the number of students had increased since then from 80 to 150. One consequence of this inadequacy of staff was that the normal school department had to be discontinued in 1926.⁴⁴ Also, with no staff member free to inspect the various out-schools from which Maseno drew its students, there was a lack of coordination between the standards in those schools and entrance requirements at Maseno. The situation was summed up in the Education Department Report in 1927. "More staff is needed at Maseno and at Butere, and teachers everywhere with a large number of low-grade inefficient schools, for which funds are available neither to pay the teachers nor to equip the schools."⁴⁵ Not

⁴³Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1927 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 27.

⁴⁴Elizabeth Richards, Fifty Years in Nyanza 1906-1956: the history of the CMS and the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province, Kenya (n.p., 1956), p. 19.

⁴⁵Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1927, p. 19.

until 1929, with the addition of three graduates, was the problem of insufficient staff resolved.

Another consequence of the staffing problem was the merger of the CMS vocational schools at Butere and Maseno. In January of 1926, eighty students and staff were transferred to Maseno.⁴⁶ The merger had important implications both linguistically and socially. On the one hand, the bilingual problem made a larger teaching staff necessary. On the other hand, the need for a common language encouraged the use of Swahili in the lower forms and English in the senior classes.⁴⁷ The merger was also important in that it encouraged a broader social and political outlook among the students. Among CMS officials, there were some who discouraged it for fear that the students of the two tribes would be unable to coexist on friendly terms. However, it did not take long before such fears were dispelled. H. S. Hitchen, among those transferred from Butere to Maseno, wrote retrospectively as follows.

Let us analyse the union and see what it means.
 . . . A school where there are Bantu only has been joined to a school where there were Luo only. When I spoke of this proposed amalgamation to Bishop Willis, who knows intimately the traits of both tribes, he said that it would be impossible; the people would never live together. At first the two tribes were kept in separate dormitories, but within a fortnight the Bantu asked if they might not be mixed in the dormitories with the Luo. We had the

⁴⁶Britton, "The Church Missionary School"

⁴⁷Ibid.

whole school assembled and put the matter before them. The result was that a desire on the part of both tribes was expressed to intermingle. This was indeed barriers broken down.⁴⁸

John Britton spoke very optimistically of this expression of unity among the students. At the close of his eight-year career at the school, he wrote that "unless my judgment is very badly at fault, my Successor will have a remarkable story to tell in his first report. It will be the account of the first year's work of the amalgamated schools."⁴⁹ For the most part, Britton's prediction was correct. Although there were occasional expressions of hostility between the two groups in succeeding years, the school became an important ground for overcoming cultural parochialism.

Throughout the later 1920s, the course of instruction at Maseno continued to be based primarily on technical training, with little emphasis on literary education. The five-year course comprised two years literary education followed by two years of combined literary and manual work, and finally one year of specialized manual training.⁵⁰ The curriculum of technical subjects included carpentry, masonry, sewing, printing, telegraphy, tailoring, and agriculture. Sewing and agriculture were required,

⁴⁸A. E. Pleydell, CMS Annual Report, 1926-27, p. 56.

⁴⁹Britton, "The Church Missionary School"

⁵⁰Report on the Technical Department of Maseno Central School (CMS), July 2-8, 1925, Appendix D to Report on Technical Departments of Mission Schools Receiving Grants-in-aid (Nairobi, 1926), p. 35, Box 227, Edinburgh House Archives, London.

whereas the other subjects were optional. All students were required to take some vocational training during the last three years of their course, and eighty of them were apprenticed to one of the trades. As part of their practical training, the older students were required to do much of the construction and repair work on the school and station buildings. The Annual CMS Report for 1927-28 stated that "A new dormitory is being built by the apprentices and old school boys, the present boys making the furniture."⁵¹ Overall, the technical department of the school was acclaimed for the high standard of artisans which it turned out. The school was rated with the Government School, Machakos, and the Native Industrial Training Depot at Kabete for its high standard of training.⁵²

With the appointment of Carey Francis as Principal in 1928, Maseno School entered a new phase of its development. With a graduate degree in education and a forceful if not always amiable personality, Francis had impeccable qualifications.⁵³ Another valuable addition to the staff was A. W. Mayor, who in 1929 commenced many years of service as assistant and (at times) acting principal. Under the leadership of Francis and Mayor, the school continued

⁵¹"Maseno Vocational School," CMS Annual Report, 1927-28 (London, n.d.), p. 62.

⁵²Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1926 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 24.

⁵³CMS Annual Report, 1929-30 (London, n.d.), p. 53.

to justify its already established reputation as the most outstanding mission pre-secondary school in Kenya. It was reported in the Annual CMS Report for 1930-31 that "on the whole, the School has made good progress; the Government inspectors have given favourable reports, and the Education Department is definitely friendly."⁵⁴ H. S. Scott wrote in the Education Department Report for 1929 that

In almost every respect the school has shown marked improvement under Mr. Carey Francis, M.A., who came to the school in October, 1928. Teacher training, which had been temporarily dropped at Maseno, has again taken a definite part in the vocational work of the school.⁵⁵

The resumption of teacher training and the improvement of literary instruction laid the foundation for a much more diversified educational program at Maseno. The school was soon to be upgraded into an educational center with excellent standards and increased popularity. These improvements however, did not strike everyone as an advance. In 1931 the District Commissioner for Central Kavirondo reported that, much to his chagrin, literary education was emphasized too strongly at Maseno at the expense of the technical department.⁵⁶ This reflected, of course, a widely held view that technical training was the only proper form of education for Africans, and that too much

⁵⁴CMS Annual Report, 1930-31 (London, n.d.), p. 93.

⁵⁵Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1929, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 68.

⁵⁶v. M. McKeag (D.C.), Central Kavirondo Annual Report, 1931, p. 53.

emphasis on literary education would make political agitators of them.

Despite the closure in 1926 of the Butere Vocational School, the Butere station did continue to serve as a quasi-educational center. In 1927 a normal school for village teachers was started under the principalship of H. S. Hitchen.⁵⁷ The untrained teacher-evangelists were brought in from the out-schools for a two-year course leading to the Elementary "B" certificate. At first the fifty or so students who were accepted each year were taken exclusively from the CMS sphere in North Nyanza. But by 1930 the school was also serving as a training center for Luo teachers. The school was a real benefit to the CMS educational system, since the village schools were so numerous and had previously been managed by untrained teachers. Problems were encountered, however, in these efforts to upgrade the out-schools. The Department of Education questioned whether the training of teachers at this comparatively low standard was worthy of a departmental grant.⁵⁸ According to the department's assessment, the students were "of good type for evangelical and social work, but they are mostly too old and set in their ideas to pass examination tests." Hitchen explained the problem which faced the Mission in their efforts to upgrade the out-schools.

⁵⁷Richards, p. 36.

⁵⁸Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1929 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 69.

Here is a problem crying out for solution. In Kavirondo, the evangelistic work of the villages has been inseparably bound up with school teaching--first, teaching the convert to read his Testament in preparation for Baptism; from this arose the demand for greater knowledge, writing, arithmetic, etc. In the meanwhile, the Government steps in with examinations which are constantly altering and rising in standard; also, they are pressing for all teachers to have some qualification. What is to become of those pioneers who helped so valiantly in the early days . . .? In the estimation of the Government, they are worthless as they are. Many are old--far too old--to get down to the elements of the subjects demanded for the examinations. Some can never hope to secure even the most elementary certificate, yet they have done the essential work which we all came out to do. . . . The young teacher who can learn and qualify has not the influence with the people, and very often demands wages far in excess of what can be given. He would rather go away and work as a clerk than take the wages CMS can offer.⁵⁹

As the CMS was consolidating its position in education, the Mill Hill Mission began to change its policy regarding education of its adherents. Prior to 1926 the Mission had held the view that education was tangential to evangelization. The Bishop had written to Fr. Stam at Mumias in 1919 that "my advice was to move slowly in the general education of natives; that the time had not come for all such measures."⁶⁰ When this policy finally changed, it was in response to orders from the headquarters of the society. In December 1925, G. Brandsma received orders from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to "throw myself

⁵⁹CMS Annual Report, 1928-29 (London, n.d.), p.

⁶⁰Father Stam, Diary of Mumias Mission, 1918-1944, April 16, 1919.

heart and soul into the education question in Kenya."

He explained the situation further by writing that

So far the Protestant sects have practically had the educational field to themselves, as the Catholic Missions have had to devote themselves in the first place to the conversion of the heathen population. As a consequence the Government subsidies went to the Protestant Missions whilst the Catholic Missions received nothing. It was not a question of lack of sympathy on the part of the Government, but rather that our schools were not organized; that we had no teaching staff, that is to say, no trained native teachers.⁶¹

Brandsma's resolve to follow through with these plans soon attracted the attention of government officials. The Education Department Report for 1927 pointed out that the Mill Hill Mission was "showing signs of great educational activity," and the Provincial Commissioner wrote in 1928 that the Mission had been the "'live wire' in the Province throughout the year."⁶²

The Mill Hill Mission's motives for changing their educational policy in the mid-1920s were based at least in part on the fear that continued disregard for education would result in the loss of converts to the Protestants. Some Roman Catholic converts had already begun to attend Protestant schools. "That there are individuals who go their own way I don't deny," wrote Brandsma.⁶³ He

⁶¹G. Brandsma, "Prefecture of Kavirondo: Normal School for Kenya Colony," St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate, XII, no. 4 (Winter 1927), p. 163.

⁶²Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1927, p. 24; A. Field-Jones (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1928, p. 41.

⁶³Grimshaw MSS, p. 19, St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, London.

realized that if nothing was done about the school situation, this trend would continue, and wrote in 1929 that

Four years ago our schools were still very poor and backward. Now, thank God, they can hold their own and compare well with any other in the Colony. This has secured us recognition by the Education Department and with the Government Subsidies we can now keep them going. It has demanded great financial and other sacrifices and even brought the Prefecture into debt. But it had to be done. It had to be faced, and faced quickly, otherwise we would have been too late.⁶⁴

The financial obligations which the new educational policy entailed was certainly one of the reasons for the Mission's reluctance to place more emphasis on education. The Mill Hill Mission had no regular means of financial support from its headquarters in London, but had to rely on direct contributions from its constituency. Only by accepting a government loan to finance their portion of the initial expense of the projects they undertook were they able to embark on their new policy.⁶⁵

The most concrete project to come out of this new interest in education by the Mill Hill Mission was the opening of a normal school at Yala. Like Maseno, the new school was located on the boundary of North and Central Nyanza and took in both Abaluyia and Luo students. Brandsma believed that if a viable educational system was

⁶⁴Letter by G. Brandsma, St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate, XIII, 5 (Spring 1931), p. 190.

⁶⁵H. S. Scott (Director of Education), Legislative Council Debates, June 13, 1929, cols. 70-71.

to be established, the training of teachers was the most crucial need. "Realizing the urgent state of affairs," he wrote, "I decided in conjunction with the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, on the immediate foundation of a 'Normal School' for the training of Native teachers, and so uphold our principle 'Catholic schools for Catholic children with Catholic teachers.'"⁶⁶ In August of 1926, terms were worked out whereby the Government was to pay fifty per cent of building and equipment costs, four-fifths of the teachers' salaries, and $\text{K}7/10/0$ per student. The school was first opened in temporary quarters at Eregi in 1927.⁶⁷ By 1929 permanent quarters were completed at Yala. The formal school opening on February 7 was a major event of the year. Brandsma's description of the event captures something of the festive atmosphere of the day.

For the occasion of the opening the roads leading to the school, from the high road, were gay with flags and bunting. An arch, tastefully decorated with flowers and palm leaves bearing the school motto, "Religio et Scientia," and provided with a slender double gate, locked with an inscribed padlock, had been erected.⁶⁸

The formal school opening was attended by many thousands of Africans, including the chiefs of North and Central Nyanza and members of the Native Catholic Union.

⁶⁶G. Brandsma, "Prefecture of Kavirondo: Normal School for Kenya Colony,"

⁶⁷Habari, IX, 1, January 1930, p. 6.

⁶⁸"Kavirondo: Opening of new Teachers' School," St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate, XII, 10 (Summer 1929), p. 369.

The course offered at the school was aimed at attaining a relatively high standard for teachers in the village schools. The school curriculum included a five-year course which led to the Elementary "C" teaching certificate. A unique feature of the school was the fact that all teaching was in English.⁶⁹ As at Maseno, pupils were drawn from more than one tribal area. This necessitated the adoption of a lingua franca, and English was chosen in preference to Swahili. Most of the first year had to be spent in teaching the English language before it could be used as a medium of instruction. The other subjects taught at the school were arithmetic, drill, drawing, geometry, geography, hygiene, first aid, and Swahili. Theoretical and practical pedagogy were taught while the students were preparing for the teachers' certificate examination. The Education Department Report for 1928 commended this effort of the Mill Hill Mission to train village teachers.

The Catholic Missions have realised the primary importance of this work now that they are making a definite move forward in education. Their schools at Yala and Kabaa promise to turn out excellent teachers at the end of the five years' course on which their pupils have embarked. . . . Most other Missions, mainly on account of lack of funds, are still resorting too much to the plan of using untrained part-time pupil-teachers, to the detriment of themselves as teachers and their pupils as learners.⁷⁰

⁶⁹Habari, IX, 7, January 1930, p. 6.

⁷⁰Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1928, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 16.

In the opinion of H. S. Scott, the Mill Hill Mission was making the best effort to train teachers of any mission.⁷¹ The adequate training of teachers was, however, not the only dimension of the problem of upgrading the out-schools. If adequately trained teachers were to be retained in these schools, adequate salaries would have to be provided. If teachers were not to be lured to more lucrative employment in the urban centers, these salaries would have to compete with wages paid to artisans and clerks.

An additional school which was opened in western Kakamega District in the mid-1920s was the Bukura Farm School in eastern Marama. Opened by the Agriculture Department in 1924, it was one of two schools established in Kenya for the agricultural training of Africans. The educational program of the school was propagandistic in that it pursued what was regarded as best for African development instead of what Africans really wanted in education. Like the thrust in industrial education to which it was closely related, the school was not popular among Africans. The pupils, who numbered thirty-nine in the first year of the school, received technical training in agriculture and a small amount of literary instruction. The Provincial Commissioner wrote in his annual report for 1924 that "the school does not appear to be very popular with natives."⁷² The District Commissioner reported

⁷¹Minutes of the Senior Commissioners' Meeting, Nairobi, March 5, 1929, encl. in PC/NZA.3/35/1/1.

⁷²R. W. Hemsted (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1924, p. 45, K.N.A., Nairobi.

in 1925 that "a few teams of oxen were obtained from various locations and sent there for training, but it is evident that little interest in ox-ploughing is taken by the local natives."⁷³ For the Africans who took an interest in education, the school was a poor third choice. It was attended only by Africans who failed to gain a place in one of the mission central schools or teacher training centers.

When the various educational efforts of government and missions during the 1920s are viewed in historical perspective, it is apparent that the pattern of African educational development lacked coherence and coordination. The various types of schools which had been established, and the deviation from standards which prevailed within them provided ample evidence of the very haphazard manner in which development had occurred. It would have been unrealistic to speak of this uncoordinated pattern of development as an educational system in any meaningful sense. The roles of the Administration and of missions were not yet clearly defined, and the establishment side by side of mission central schools and the LNC schools only added fuel to the fires of controversy. The role of the LNC in African education was not yet worked out to the satisfaction of European or African educators, nor were any effective local educational authorities yet established. For African education at least, the Education

⁷³A. E. Chamier (D.C.), North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1925, p. 21, K.N.A., Nairobi.

Ordinance of 1924 was nearly a dead letter, and the School Area Committees were not given enough authority to function effectively. By 1929, all these problems were representative of conditions in North Nyanza. These problems would have to be resolved before any meaningful development in African education could occur.

Realizing the need for a more comprehensive approach to these problems, Henry S. Scott submitted a proposal in 1929 for the reorganization of African education. First of all, he pointed out that the level of training in the mission-sponsored normal schools was thoroughly inadequate.

The central problem is the provision of adequately educated and trained teachers. We must aim at the provision of a teaching staff to teach in aided or maintained schools but we cannot deal with the problem of training without dealing with the organization and provision of the schools in which the teachers when trained are to teach. The educational problem must be regarded as a whole and the following scheme aims at providing a system of education capable of development in various directions.⁷⁴

The training of teachers for the village schools would require higher schools with more adequate normal school departments. Instead of competing with one another, Government, missions, and the Local Native Councils were all to cooperate in the establishment of the same educational goals. The Government would concentrate on the higher levels of instruction. The missions would then be released from the expensive burden of establishing more

⁷⁴H. S. Scott, "Memorandum in regard to education of Africans," p. 8, encl. in J. M. Barth (Act. Governor) to Lord Passfield, C.O. 533/388.

central schools so that their limited resources could be applied to enhance the development of the village schools. The Local Native Councils were to be persuaded to provide voluntary assessments to provide much-needed funds for the realization of the plan.

Scott's proposal called for the establishment of a three-tiered system of elementary schools.⁷⁵ The lowest level, the elementary "A" or bush schools, was to be upgraded mainly through the training of teachers. Grants-in-aid would be given to missions for selected schools to pay the salaries of these teachers once they were placed in service. The missions would be expected to raise the funds required for buildings, equipment, and recurrent expenses. Distribution of these grants to missions would be reviewed every three years, with the provision of adequate supervision a major factor in the review. Jeanes teachers were to be used to provide the supervisory personnel. The second level, the elementary "B" school, was to provide the main bulk of education. They were to provide a general course up to the fourth year of instruction. The number of schools to be established and maintained at this level would be based on population, with one school for every 15,000 Africans. On this basis, an African population of three million would require 200 schools. These schools were to be staffed entirely by Africans, with one principal and five assistants for each school. Provided

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 8-12.

that an interdenominational character was maintained, the bulk of these institutions could be mission schools. Aid for salaries and equipment would be forthcoming from Government.

The highest level would be the elementary "C" school. These schools would provide a further three-year course, with a differentiated syllabus. One branch of the curriculum was to be a literary course leading to admission to secondary school. The second branch was to be a literary and professional course leading to the teachers' certificate required for the post of principal in an elementary "B" school. The third branch would be a shorter one-year professional course leading to the teachers' certificate required for the post of assistant in the elementary "B" schools. Finally, there would be vocational courses in carpentry, masonry, tailoring, housewifery, nursing, and hospital dressing. Scott recommended that one of every ten elementary "B" schools be upgraded to this level, making a total of twenty elementary "C" schools. The staff for these schools should be mixed, to include three Europeans and probably four Africans. The number of Europeans should eventually be reduced as African-trained teachers became available.

Scott's decision to submit this proposal was based on several considerations. First of all, he believed that too much money was being swallowed up in salary grants to

European teachers at the mission schools. The replacement of these high-salaried expatriates with trained African teachers wherever possible would make more efficient use of government funds. Scott's proposal was thus relatively favorable to African interests, albeit for financial considerations. He expressed the need for indigenization of the teaching staff in emphatic terms.

We may sum up the position shortly by saying that a handful of Europeans at great expense is giving education to a relatively small number of Africans, while very little is being done to provide for a system of education for the African in which the African will take a real part. We cannot hope for a change until we have trained African teachers and provided posts and salaries for them after training them.⁷⁶

A second reason why Scott submitted his new scheme was his view that the missions were not fulfilling the obligations inherent in the principle of government-mission cooperation as set down by the Colonial Office Advisory Committee. According to that two-sided relationship, grants were to be given only to mission schools which conformed to the prescribed regulations and attained the necessary standards. "The cooperation required from them," wrote Scott, "is the provision of really qualified teachers, not merely evangelists."⁷⁷ This level of training was not being accomplished. A third argument which Scott gave in support of his scheme was that the level of expenditure for African development in general, and African education in

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 4.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 6.

particular, was low when compared to the rate of direct taxation. The expenditure for African education represented 1/7 of the amount collected from direct taxation, compared to a ratio of 1/3 in South Africa. As Scott admitted himself, "it would be difficult to maintain that the native policy of South Africa errs on the side of generosity to the native."⁷⁸ He advocated the increase of expenditure for education before any change in the taxation rate could be justified. Finally, Scott believed that the demands for education being expressed in the Local Native Councils might set a dangerous trend if they were not brought under effective control. The councils should be persuaded to provide voluntary taxation for the development of schools at all levels of elementary education, and not only for schools providing the higher standards of instruction.

Although Scott's proposal provided the basis for the extension of African education throughout the 1930s, it was not adopted in unattenuated form. The most revolutionary and controversial aspect of the proposal concerned the role of the Administration in the establishment of the Elementary "C" schools. The missions were not content with this prospect, for they feared that it would relegate them to a minor role in the educational system. They knew from experience how influential the central boarding schools could be, and feared that the evangelizing role of

⁷⁸Ibid.

the schools would be sacrificed in the new scheme. What actually grew out of this controversy was a synthesis of government and mission interests. Local Native Council schools were established in several of the more populous districts, whereas the missions continued to assume a major share of responsibility for Elementary "C" schools. Eventually, however, the role of the LNC was to be relegated to responsibility for the Elementary "B" schools.

To provide the necessary legal basis for the implementation of his proposal, Scott proposed a new education ordinance. The new law, to be known as the Education Ordinance of 1930, pertained, like its predecessor, to the education of all races within the Colony. It was primarily an administrative law which re-enacted many aspects of the system of supervision introduced by the 1924 ordinance. It contained two new principles however, which were applicable to the relationship between Government and missions regarding their roles in African education. The first principle was that the previous system of differentiation between government schools and assisted schools would be abolished. Secondly, a system of public education would be put into effect in that those schools which received government assistance would have to conform to the standards and regulations specified by the Department. The ordinance was therefore an attempt to provide a legal framework for the integration of government and mission schools into a single rationalized educational system.

The previous system of school area committees was retained, however, with the provision that the Local Native Councils should be represented on them. Furthermore, the area of jurisdiction for each committee was to correspond to the LNC's constituted area of authority.⁷⁹ It is important to note that the Government's intentions were not to make the African educational system more representative or democratic. Its aim was to bring the LNCs under more effective administrative control. Scott was apparently more interested in controlling African opinion than in instituting a system which would effect the indigenization of local educational authorities.

In 1934 two more significant items of legislation were passed to implement certain aspects of Scott's educational scheme. With the passing of the District Education Boards Ordinance of that year, a more effective body was created in each district for the administration of government grants. The membership of each board was to consist of no more than six African members nominated by the Local Native Council, of four persons nominated by the managers of the schools in the district, and of two government officials. The principal innovation with regard to the duties of the board was that it was empowered to allocate, subject to the approval of the Department, grants in aid of elementary and sub-elementary schools from funds placed at its disposal by the Director of the

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 2.

Local Native Council.⁸⁰ Other responsibilities of the board dealt with the establishment of elementary and sub-elementary schools, supervision of the working and management of such schools, and the general promotion and improvement of education in accordance with any directions which the Director issued. The District Commissioner was to serve as chairman and the Provincial Inspector of Schools as secretary-treasurer.⁸¹

One of the difficulties which each board had to face was that of securing a just distribution of aided elementary schools throughout the district.⁸² Local political factors and voluntary community initiatives were frequently important factors which complicated the choice as to which schools were to receive governmental assistance. The second important development of 1934 was an amendment to the 1930 Education Ordinance. It empowered the Director of Education to close any school which was not under the control of a missionary body, the Government, or the Local Native Councils. It also granted powers to the Director to close any schools which did not offer a syllabus or curriculum approved by the Department.⁸³ The amendment

⁸⁰Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1934, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 9.

⁸¹Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1937, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 12.

⁸²Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1928, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 7.

⁸³Joseph Byrne (Governor) to Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister (SSC), November 14, 1934, C.O. 533/443.

was the Administration's response to the independent schools movement, and provided another indication of the influence which events in the reserves had on educational policy.

Under the terms of the new framework for local educational authorities, the Local Native Council of North Nyanza continued to play a significant role in the development of African education. This was particularly the case through its power to levy voluntary tax rates for educational purposes. Prior to 1934, the role of the Council in education had not been clearly defined. From its inception, it distributed block grants to missions for use in their schools. When it became uncertain just how this money was being spent, the Director of Education supervised the distribution of the funds to ascertain that they were being spent according to departmental regulations.⁸⁴ Then, in 1934, the policy was laid down in keeping with Scott's memorandum that the Local Native Councils should limit their distribution of funds to the elementary and sub-elementary schools, and the central government would provide assistance to the central primary or Elementary "C" schools.⁸⁵ The LNCs were given the authority, however, to support higher education through the establishment and maintenance of a scholarship fund, from which scholarships were given to students from the

⁸⁴F. G. Jennings (Atg. D.C.) to C. M. Dobbs, November 5, 1927, in PC/NZA.3/33/8/4.

⁸⁵S. H. Fazan (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1935, p. 43, K.N.A., Nairobi.

district attending Alliance High School or Makerere. Even after the Council's role was restricted to the provision of funds for elementary schools, it continued to wield considerable influence. In 1932, the LNC grant in North Nyanza was 16,700/-. By 1936, the amount increased to ~~₤~~2,065.⁸⁶ In 1940, the Provincial Commissioner reported that the Local Native Councils supported 217 of the more than 1,000 elementary schools in the province. The average grant was ~~₤~~34 per school.⁸⁷ Although funds for the elementary schools also came from missions and from student fees, the LNC grants comprised by far the largest single source of support.

Despite these partial successes, the implementation of Scott's educational scheme was hindered somewhat by the effects of the depression. The Chief Native Commissioner reported in 1931 that "in almost every Native Reserve during 1931 the dominating factor in the social life of the people and in the administrative problems of the district officers has been the economic crisis."⁸⁸ Two years later, the report was much the same.

⁸⁶H. R. Montgomery (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1932, p. 30, K.N.A., Nairobi; S. H. Fazan (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1936, p. 56, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁸⁷S. H. Fazan (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1940, p. 23, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁸⁸Native Affairs Department Annual Report for 1930, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 2.

The existing depression continued throughout the year, and was severely felt in the Native Reserves. Low prices of agricultural products, hides and cattle, and decrease of employment, seriously affected the purchasing power of the natives. . . . and figures of agricultural implements sold by a firm in Kisumu show a 50 per cent decrease.⁸⁹

This contraction of the economy had its effects on educational development in many respects. It affected the ability of parents to pay school fees for their children, and limited the amounts which could be collected for education rates. It also caused a retrenchment of expenditure among missions and Government. The Director of Education wrote in 1931 that

The prospect is not bright. Information has already been received that some missions are faced with reduced income from overseas, and must look forward to reduced activity. This reduction in available funds, both Government and missions, comes at a most unfortunate time, when the demands for expansion are particularly urgent.⁹⁰

This retrenchment continued for the next several years. In 1932, the total expenditure of the Education Department was less than in any year since 1928. The most serious reduction was in African and Arab education.⁹¹

Contrary to the terms of Scott's proposal, the missions continued to develop their central schools throughout the 1930s. At no school was this development more apparent than at Maseno. The upgrading of the European

⁸⁹Native Affairs Department Annual Report for 1932, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 54.

⁹⁰Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1931, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 21.

⁹¹Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1932, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 1.

staff prompted the Education Department to regard the school with greater favor, and government inspectors began to issue more favorable reports.⁹² The Kenya CMS Mission's annual reports also spoke of the school's good progress. The report for 1934-35 stated that the competition for entry into the school was so great that 500 candidates presented themselves for only fifty vacancies.⁹³ A staff member of the school wrote that "if there were six schools like Maseno in Kavirondo, they could all be full of boys wanting to learn."⁹⁴ The Education Department Annual Report for 1936 reported that Maseno had the largest number of passes on the primary school examination of any school in the colony, and that the school was rising in importance as a feeder school to Alliance High School.⁹⁵ The high standard of the schools' literary department was an important factor in its being chosen to perform a wider educational function. In 1937 Maseno became one of two Protestant centers for the training of lower primary teachers in Nyanza.⁹⁶ By assuming this wider purpose, Maseno drew students from other missions

⁹²CMS Annual Report, 1930-31 (London, n.d.), p. 93.

⁹³CMS Annual Report, 1934-35 (London, n.d.), p. 65.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1936, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 51.

⁹⁶Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1938, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 11.

working in the province. It was soon regarded by the Education Department as the best center for the training of teachers in the entire colony. Another important event in the evolution of the school was the addition of a junior secondary department. In 1938, thirty students from the various Protestant missions in Nyanza Province became the first junior secondary school class at Maseno.⁹⁷

Despite its much later establishment, the Yala Central School developed during the 1930s along much the same lines as Maseno. Due to lack of staff and an unpopular reputation in the local community, the school had some difficulty establishing itself in the first few years. The latter complication was the result of several cases of misfortune which befell the school, including an accidental shooting of an African by the first Principal and the death of Fr. Bouma, the second Principal, from black-water fever. When the rumor gained currency in the surrounding villages that the school was bewitched, several students fled and other would-be students refused to apply. Furthermore, some of the early students had to be turned away due to their inadequate preparation.⁹⁸ By 1932, however, when the Canadian Brothers of Christian Instruction assumed responsibility for the recruitment of staff,⁹⁹ the school was placed on a firmer footing. Once the

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 62.

⁹⁸C. B. Thompson and C. M. Dobbs (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1930, p. 47, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁹⁹Nicholas Stam, "A Short History of the Vicariate of Kisumu," MSS seen at St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, London.

school's reputation was established, it began to attract students from a large area. By 1936, 164 students were on the roll, with nineteen teachers in training for upper primary school certificates.¹⁰⁰ Yala, like Maseno, became a center for the training of lower primary teachers throughout Nyanza. In 1938, when the first class of eighteen students began junior secondary work, the school also advanced to the secondary level. The latter step was taken primarily in reaction to the same development at Maseno. In that year, the District Commissioner for Central Nyanza wrote that "A class of 50 boys was started at Maseno for a secondary education course and this has led to a demand by St. Mary's Yala for a similar grant."¹⁰¹ Despite this rather imitative aspect in the development of Yala school, the institution played an important part in the provision of educational opportunity to Africans of the Catholic faith in Nyanza.

Of the three missions working among the central and southern Abaluyia, the Church of God at Kima was the last to develop a keen interest in education. Prior to 1934 the main feature of the educational work of this mission was the development of a rather commendable village school network. These schools, often located in the center of a

¹⁰⁰S. H. Fazan (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1936, p. 61.

¹⁰¹C. T. Davenport (D.C.), Central Kavirondo Annual Report, 1938, p. 34, K.N.A., Nairobi.

large Christian village, frequently received comment from governmental officers for the emphasis they placed on building, carpentry, and community hygiene. With many of the village teachers residing close to the central mission station, they were able to upgrade their training. In 1927 the Director of Education commented that most of them had passed the Elementary "B" examination.¹⁰² That fact would have contributed to a relatively high level of instruction in the village schools of this mission. The weakness of the Church of God educational system, however, was that it did not provide a good opportunity for instruction above the level imparted in the village schools. By 1927 the central school for boys at Kima was hardly more than a village school itself. Even the technical training department received critical ratings from the Education Inspector.¹⁰³ Except for teaching, no special vocational work was undertaken. With the arrival of L. S. and Twila Ludwig in 1927, the school was gradually upgraded to the Elementary "B" level.¹⁰⁴ It is evident, however, that even under the Ludwigs' direction the mission did not pursue a very active policy in education. In 1933 the

¹⁰²Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1927, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 31.

¹⁰³H. O. Weller (Supervisor of Technical Education), "Report on inspection visit of the Institute of the Church of God, Bunyore," February 11, 1927, in PC/NZA.3/10/1/9, K.N.A. Nairobi.

¹⁰⁴Kenya Education Department Annual Report for 1927, (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 31.

District Commissioner wrote that Ludwig was "still an exponent of robust, self help Christianity as opposed to education on more orthodox lines."¹⁰⁵

With the arrival of Sidney P. Rogers as the new principal in 1934, the Boys' Central School at Kima was upgraded to the Elementary "C" level.¹⁰⁶ Rogers and his wife were the first recruits to the mission who were graduates with formal training in education. The Inspector of Schools wrote in 1935 that "the progress made at this school since the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Rogers is very marked. The stress laid on the importance of activities of a practical nature is a feature of the work, of great value both to the boy himself and to his community."¹⁰⁷ Under the Rogers' direction, the curriculum was extended in several directions. The school developed a strong emphasis on agriculture, with each student caring for his own garden.¹⁰⁸ Those who had no money for fees could earn their support by producing food for the school. Various industrial classes were also added, including brickmaking, masonry, building, tailoring, woodworking, basket weaving

¹⁰⁵ E. L. B. Anderson (D.C.), North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1933, p. 22, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹⁰⁶ Adam W. Miller, "New Missionaries to Africa," Young People's Friend (Anderson, Ind.), XV, 15 (1934), p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ "Inspection report on the Primary School, Church of God Mission, Bunyore," August 23, 1935, in PC/NZA.3/887, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹⁰⁸ Anderson, North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1933, p. 20.

and rope making.¹⁰⁹ Swahili was the medium of instruction, but the popularity of the English periods attested to the desire for instruction in that language.¹¹⁰ Teachers were also trained both for the Elementary "B" and Lower Primary certificates. At the same time, efforts were being made to establish a school for girls at the mission under the direction of Twila Ludwig. Overall, this rather belated effort represented the mission's first concerted attempt to develop a viable educational system.

Before long, the success of this effort was threatened by the fact that too much was being attempted at the Boys' Central School for one institution. In addition to the upper elementary and primary classes, the school retained the lower standards of instruction from Sub-standard "A" to Standard III.¹¹¹ It was the literary department in the upper classes that suffered most from this diffusion of effort. In the primary certificate examination results, the school had some difficulty holding its own against Yala and Maseno. The Education Department was critical of this attempt to accomplish so much at one central school. What they recommended instead was the upgrading

¹⁰⁹Axchie A. Bolitho, The Miracle of Kima (Anderson, Ind., 1944), pp. 32-33.

¹¹⁰Anderson, North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1933, p. 20, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹¹¹"Inspection Report on the Primary School, Church of God Mission, Bunyore," August 23, 1935, in PC/NZA.3/887, K.N.A., Nairobi.

of various village schools to the Elementary "B" level in order to insure a steady supply of young and more capable students to the primary school, rather than retaining a large elementary school on the station. With that school providing most of the students for the primary school, the standard of entry was less competitive than at Yala or Maseno. It was perhaps this fact which prompted the following criticism from the Inspector of Schools in 1935.

The general standard of work here does not reach that attained by the same classes in other Primary Schools in the province. I do not wish to imply that the work is of a low level but only that it does not measure up to average level in this grade of school.¹¹²

Furthermore, the provincial Inspector of Schools sought to remedy this situation by persuading Rogers to accept students for the primary school who had received higher marks at other mission schools. The Church of God mission, however, regarded their school as a training ground only for their own adherents. Consequently, when Webb's effort to make the school interdenominational resulted in failure, an impasse was reached which was to prove detrimental to relations between the Education Department and the mission.

In girls' education, the efforts of the Church of God and other missions were focused primarily on domestic science training. For the Church of God, girls' education was one aspect of their educational work which did

¹¹²Ibid.

compare favorably with that of other missions. In 1931 a girls' boarding school was opened at Kima under the direction of Twila Ludwig.¹¹³ Twelve students, mostly from Bunyore and Kisa, were chosen for the first class. They were taught how to make flour, soap, dye, starches, calcimine, pottery, baskets, and other useful articles for the home. Child care, nursing, sewing, hygiene, and sanitation were also taught, along with reading, writing, and arithmetic.¹¹⁴ With this emphasis on practical courses, there was insufficient time to emphasize literary instruction. Consequently it was nearly a decade before any graduates of the school passed the Government elementary certificate examination. Nevertheless, the school was at least a commendable beginning. By the post-World War II period, it had become one of the most outstanding centers for girls' education in the colony.

In the CMS sphere of activity, girls' education, as elsewhere, lagged considerably behind that of boys. As early as 1916 an attempt had been made to provide some education for Luo girls at Maseno.¹¹⁵ Due to lack of continuity in staffing and lack of African interest however, the school only lasted a few years. Although efforts were more successful at Butere, it was well into

¹¹³Twila S. Ludwig, "The Girls' Work in Africa," Gospel Trumpet, LIV, 32 (1934), p. 3.

¹¹⁴Bolitho, p. 34.

¹¹⁵"Outline of the History of the Kavirondo CMS Mission," p. 4, Owen Papers, File Z-2, CMS Archives, London.

the 1930s before a reasonable standard of instruction was reached. As at Kima, early efforts were focused primarily on domestic science courses. Not until 1934 did the first graduates pass the Government elementary exam. In 1935 the first all-day class sessions were held, and in the following year the school became a boarding institution.¹¹⁶ Overall, the belated efforts to provide girls' education at Butere and Kima clearly indicated a gross inequity in the predominant pattern of educational development.

By 1939 a system of African education had evolved from initiatives taken by the Administration, the Christian missions, and by Africans themselves. Although that system was extended primarily through the partnership of Christian missions and the Administration, there were frequent disagreements between them as to the accepted role of each. Nevertheless, the degree of cooperation which they were able to attain, combined with the progressive role of the Local Native Councils, were sufficient to provide the main guidelines for a system which was at least somewhat responsible to African interests. That system was gradually extended through legislation, through the provision of financial assistance from central government and local sources, and through the utilization of the opportunities provided by the main guidelines of the system.

¹¹⁶CMS Annual Report, 1936-37 (London, n.d.), p. 64.

Educational policy was based more on what Europeans thought was best for African development than what the Africans wanted themselves. Considering that fact, it seems rather startling that African leaders did not attempt to create viable alternatives for their education instead of working within the system provided for them. But unlike the Kikuyu in the Central Province, there was no issue among the Abaluyia with mass appeal which created a barrier to the extension of educational opportunity through the system provided for that purpose. The system did not develop as fast as African advocates of educational development were demanding, nor was the content of what was taught based on the concept of education for equality. Education was, in effect, a means of perpetuating the colonial system.

Although the evolution of the African educational system was primarily the product of European initiatives, taken to give expression to their own ideas concerning the subject, those initiatives were not always the product of consensus among them. There were, in fact, certain issues relating to African education which remained controversial and unresolved throughout the period. One such issue was mass education vs. education of the few. Lord Lugard and many other administrators believed that only by educating a new generation of leaders to a fairly high level could African societies be reformed and properly administered. Although many CMS missionaries

in western Kenya would have agreed with Lugard, Arch-deacon Owen took a dissenting view. He believed that the educational system was grossly unfair, since it taxed the masses and benefited only a small percentage of the taxpayers.

Another contentious issue was the question of which language should be used as the medium of instruction in African schools. The need for a lingua franca usually led to the adoption of either Swahili or English in the higher standards, but many arguments were offered for and against the use of each. The issue was beclouded by the fact that both sides of the controversy included advocates drawn from the ranks of progressives and conservatives. The issue on which European views were most uniform in this continuous debate was the need for industrial education of Africans. Whatever their political ilk, Europeans frequently expounded the virtues of industrial labor, and the evils of literary education for Africans. Although the system of African education was somewhat diversified throughout the period, industrial education remained a constant priority. It was an acknowledgement of the fact that European interests were still paramount in African educational policy. Attempts to apply the principle of trusteeship to African education in Kenya at the commencement of the period did not significantly alter this fact.

When concessions to African interests were made, they were more the product of appeasement and fear of political consequences than of interest in African education as such. Decisions were weighed in the context of such political factors as the preservation of tranquillity in the African reserves. Occasionally, concessions to African demands were regarded as the only alternative, for refusal and neglect might unleash even more politically dangerous trends. Such had been the case with the desire of the North Nyanza Local Native Council for a government school. European officials feared that refusal to sanction the school might lead to the establishment of independent African schools. The role of the LNC exemplified the fact that African opinion was occasionally articulate and unified enough to prevail. Overall, however, Europeans held to the view that African interests should not be responded to directly, and that the rate of development should progress only so fast and no faster. Whether government administrator, settler, or missionary, Europeans believed they knew better than the Africans themselves what the general directions of African educational development should be. Despite their perennial disagreements on certain issues, both administrative and missionary educators agreed that African influence and activity in education must be restrained. They accomplished this goal

as best they could by granting responsibility for Elementary "B" schools to the LNCs and DEBs. The missions and the Administration shared responsibility for development of the upper primary and secondary schools. Given these restrictions, it is not surprising that interested Africans sought additional ways to influence the rate of educational development.

CHAPTER VI
AFRICAN ATTEMPTS TO EXTEND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM,
1922-1939

From 1922 to 1939, due primarily to their lack of adequate representation within the educational system, African leaders in North Nyanza sought various unofficial means to participate in the educational system. The political associations formed in the early 1920s in response to African grievances took up education as one of their issues of concern. In particular, the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association (KTWA) adopted several projects which promoted the cause of education. At a time when African views were largely ignored, the association provided an important forum for the expression of African educational interests. The Native Catholic Union (NCU), established by the Mill Hill Mission Fathers, also provided such a forum. In the 1920s these two associations played an important role in the overall socio-economic development throughout much of North Nyanza. The third political association in North Nyanza, the North Kavirondo Central Association (NKCA), was more political in its aims. Although it was less significant as a channel for educational promotion, its members frequently expressed sentiments which bear upon the various

attempts of Africans to gain greater control of the educational system. At a more localized level, clan associations frequently took the initiative to mobilize the local community for the collection of the resources required for educational projects. The membership of these societies occasionally was comprised of representatives of only one clan, but more frequently drew on the participation of several clans or clan segments. Finally, there were certain individuals who held positions of power and influence in the locational bureaucracies which promoted education. Overall, these efforts comprised a significant aspect of educational development. The system of education provided for the African community by Government and Missions would hardly have been successful without this grass-roots support and participation.

The genesis of the organized African political protest that arose in Nyanza and the Central Province immediately after World War I was a response to the exceedingly harsh conditions that the African population was forced to endure.¹ Particularly during the governorship of Sir Edward Northey, these grievances were inflicted on the African community by an increasingly pro-settler government. With the soldier-settler scheme opening up parts of the Nandi reserve for European settlement in 1919, the insecurity of land tenure

¹Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., and John Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau": Nationalism in Kenya (Nairobi, 1966), pp. 26-55; John M. Lonsdale, "Political Associations in Western Kenya," ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui, Protest and Power in Black Africa (New York, 1970), pp. 589-638.

was becoming an increasingly intense issue in Nyanza. A second grievance was the frequent use of forced labor in the reserves for the construction of roads and other communal tasks. An additional widespread grievance was the kipande system which the Government instituted in 1919 as a means of regulating the flow of African labor to the White Highlands. Fourth, the increase in the hut and poll tax in 1920 from ten to sixteen shillings placed a heavy financial burden on the African population. In the same year, the change of status from the East African Protectorate to Kenya Colony signified to the more politically aware Africans that their interests were certain to be even more disregarded. When European employers slashed African wages by one third, this coupled with an economic slump in 1921 which led to lower prices, combined to render conditions unbearable. By mid-1921 these issues led Harry Thuku and his associates to establish the East African Association in Nairobi. The intensification of these grievances and the increasing popularity of Thuku's association led to the tragedy of March 22, 1922, when the police fired on a peaceful assembly of Thuku's followers and killed at least twenty-one Africans.

In Nyanza sometime during the second half of 1921, several teachers at Maseno School decided to form the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA), the precursor to the KTWA. These leaders included Jonathan Okwirri, Reuben Omulo, Joel Meshak Omino, Simeon Nyende, and Ezekiel Apindi of the Luo,

and Jeremiah Awuori and Mathayo Otieno of the Abaluyia.² After holding a series of secret meetings and organizing a strike of students and teachers at Maseno School, the leaders decided to popularize the movement in the rural areas. This they did on December 23, 1921, by organizing a mass meeting in North Gem Location. The meeting was attended by several thousand people, including both Luo and Abaluyia. As the Administration had word of the meeting, two European administrative officers and a group of armed askari arrived just as the meeting was about to begin. Bloodshed was probably averted when the District Commissioner for Central Nyanza, H. R. Montgomery, took a lenient approach by permitting the meeting to proceed. As related by Okaro-Kojwang³,

Instead of ordering the crowd to disperse, he [Montgomery] merely asked peacefully the reason for the meeting. He was told that a memorandum of grievances was to be drawn up and that it would be sent to government in due course. Montgomery then departed, leaving behind an agent and interpreter to make a record of the proceedings. The police were ordered to leave.³

The meeting then continued, and a resolution including ten demands was drawn up. Significantly, one of these demands was the desire for a government school in Central Nyanza, and the general improvement of educational facilities for Africans throughout the province. With a view to reaching

²K. M. Okaro-Kojwang, "Origins and establishment of the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association," ed. Brian G. McIntosh, Nyano: Studies in traditional and modern East Africa (Nairobi, 1969), p. 114.

³Ibid., p. 115.

some sort of agreement to cool matters down, the Provincial Commissioner agreed to meet with the association at Nyahera on February 7, 1922. A second meeting was held in May when the Chief Native Commissioner met with the association's leaders.⁴ They were not satisfied, however, until Governor Northey himself granted a meeting with them. This meeting was also held in Gem on July 8. During the protracted discussions, the Governor is said to have agreed to fulfill eight of the demands stated in the memorandum drawn up the previous year.⁵

The fact that the YKA was established in the Church Missionary Society's sphere of activity in Central and North Nyanza is attributable in large measure to the level of education among CMS converts and to the degree of autonomy which the mission had granted to their African adherents. As Lonsdale has pointed out, "The C.M.S. work in Nyanza belonged to, and was controlled by Africans to a degree unapproached by the other missions or by Government. . . . This divergence in constitutional practice not only produced the Luo leaders but provided them with the experience and training necessary in making their claims articulate."⁶ The CMS mission in Nyanza had been connected historically with the Uganda mission, where by 1910 the Native Anglican Church had already been constituted as a separate,

⁴Rosburg & Nottingham, p. 63.

⁵McIntosh, p. 118.

⁶Lonsdale, Pp. 596-9.

semi-autonomous body.⁷ Contrary to the philosophy of the Uganda CMS in eastern and central Kenya, the Nyanza mission followed the CMS principle of self-direction.⁸ Throughout the entire bureaucratic structure of the church, from the local pastoral councils to the Annual Synod at Namirembe, African participation was an important aspect of decision-making. In the pursuit of this policy, the CMS Nyanza mission ordained its first four African pastors in 1924.⁹ Among these was Jeremiah Awuori of Nambare in Bukhayo Location, a leader of the YKA.

With the establishment of the Young Kavirondo Association this principle of autonomy had a reflexive effect on relations between Africans and missionaries in the CMS sphere. Archdeacon Owen, who was to figure prominently in the life of the association in years to come, reported in 1921 that the Nyanza Christians had expressed the desire to meet in Council to discuss various issues affecting them without any Europeans present. Owen was willing to turn a sympathetic ear to these aspirations. "I felt very strongly that it was not desirable to appear antagonistic, but rather to guide them and I may say that the difference

⁷"The Native Anglican Church of Uganda," Church Missionary Intelligencer (July, 1913), p. 446; Syracuse University microfilm ser. 1086, reel 9.

⁸Robert W. Strayer, "The Church Missionary Society in eastern and central Kenya, 1875-1935: a mission community in a colonial society," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1971), pp. 6-7.

⁹John M. Lonsdale, "Archdeacon Owen and the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association," EAISR Conference paper (Dar es Salaam, 1963), p. 5.

in the 'atmosphere' and 'tone' of the relations between our converts and ourselves had amply justified the experiment."¹⁰ When Owen returned from furlough late in 1922, he commented that the political consciousness of the Nyanza Christians had "developed tremendously" during the previous year.¹¹ He also pointed out that political unrest had hindered the work of the Church somewhat at the beginning of the year, but expressed the belief that good relations between the mission and their African converts had actually been a factor in warding off a possible rebellion.

But for the influence of the Missions they [African grievances] would have proved fertile soil for the machinations of the old Medicine Men and serious trouble might have resulted. Fortunately the Mission adherents realised that peaceful protest was more likely to be effective than rebellion. . . . All the missionaries have noticed the effect of this political unrest both in the attitude of the natives towards themselves, and a certain cooling off of their former enthusiasm in Christian work.¹²

Owen was not pessimistic concerning this new political awareness. He admired the moderation and restraint of the YKA, and added introspectively that "The convert in Kavirondo today has no use for the missionary who does not try and enter into all their lives."¹³ Other CMS missionaries were less optimistic regarding these new trends. In his Annual

¹⁰Walter E. Owen, Annual Letter (Maseno), Dec. 15, 1921, C.M.S. Archives, London.

¹¹Walter E. Owen, Annual Letter (Maseno), Oct. 24, 1922, C.M.S. Archives, London.

¹²C.M.S. Kavirondo, Annual Report 1922 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 1.

¹³Owen, Annual Letter, 1921.

Letter for 1922, A. E. Pleydell wrote the following rather disdainful note.

When I arrived here last year from furlough I could see a marked difference in demeanour of our senior teachers and there now exists a decided line of demarcation between native and non-native, including even missionaries. Most of our teachers have been concentrating their best energies on politics, agitating their minds with inflammable speeches to the detriment of the work in general. The offertories are two thirds less than 1919, probably owing to the large sums given for political propaganda. School attendance has likewise suffered, and fewer converts are coming forward for the catechumenate and baptism.¹⁴

It would seem to have been quite a natural development for the CMS policy of self-determination to have a somewhat detrimental effect upon relations between African Christians and European missionaries.

Archdeacon Owen, who was soon to transform the YKA into a more quiescent form of protest, believed that a British missionary in a British colonial dependency had an obligation to take an active interest in the political welfare of African Christians. Though essentially paternalistic in his outlook, he nevertheless held political views which were radical for his time. He firmly believed that the commitment of the missionary to African interests must embrace all aspects of concern. He elaborated on this view in an article titled "The Missionary in Politics," written just as the YKA was becoming established.

First of all, then, it can be said that the British subject in a British dependency has as clear and inalienable a right to be interested in the political development of a subject race as he has to be interested in its spiritual or ecclesiastical or

¹⁴A. E. Pleydell, Annual Letter (Ngiya), 1922, C.M.S. Archives, London.

commercial or social or educational development. Such a right may have its boundaries or limitations, but up to the extent of such constitutional limitations, no man can deprive him of his right. These rights are his heritage, and are his that the State may benefit by his proper exercise of them; the man who cannot or will not exercise them is withholding from the State his contribution to the order and well-being of government. He must justify his non-use of his powers, rather than the principle of his use of them. Educational, commercial, ecclesiastical, social, and even religious questions so often occupy the political arena, and can be so greatly influenced favourably or unfavourably, by political parties, that he who would justify the non-use of his powers must put up an extraordinarily strong case for consideration.¹⁵

As he reflected on the role of the missionary in politics, he concluded that "it is against human nature to expect a missionary, especially an Irish missionary, to cut his interests away from a whole department of social life."¹⁶ It was not long before Owen had ample opportunity to act on these beliefs.

Owen's desire to identify with African aspirations and his concern that the association develop along lines that he considered constitutional led him to transform the YKA into the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association. On the one hand, Owen recognized "the rise of national consciousness amongst the native aspirations."¹⁷ On the other, he suspected that the Administration would not tolerate the activities of the association as a political body under exclusively African leadership. Consequently, Owen decided

¹⁵Church Missionary Review, LXXII, 1921, pp. 135-136.

¹⁶"Furlough Jottings," Mombasa Diocesan Gazette, N.S. no. 2 (July 1, 1922), p. 17.

¹⁷Owen, Annual Letter, 1921.

that a compromise was necessary. Owen believed that transforming the association into a socio-economic welfare organization with European leadership would enhance its credibility before the Administration and clear the rather tarnished reputation of the Church Missionary Society.

Owen wrote of this decision as follows.

Finally I suggested that we discuss ways and means of guiding and controlling the association, which was composed of goodhearted, progressive men, but men ignorant of what constituted correct procedure in many instances. The Prov. Comm. accepted the above suggestion but insisted that, as the Ass. was identified with C.M.S. Africans, it was essential that missionaries of the C.M.S. should be office holders in the Association. The Africans were only too willing to accept sympathetic direction and help, so I reformed the Assn. with the title Kavirondo Tax-payers Welfare Assn. on lines that emphasized that the hard work of their hands must be depended on to advance Africans in civilization and which relegated politics to a subordinate position.¹⁸

Owen's decision minimized the effectiveness of the movement as an expression of indigenous protest. His reference to "correct procedure" really implied the acceptance of the colonial relationship and the conduct of business along lines consonant with colonial administrative policy. With Owen the self-designated president, the effectiveness of the KTWA would depend largely on his sensitivity to African issues. However much the association's reconstitution may have minimized its political effectiveness, it was as able as had been the YKA to pursue educational development under its new guise. Education was as much a concern falling

¹⁸Owen, Annual Letter (Maseno), November 1923, C.M.S. Archives, London.

within the purview of social welfare as it was an essentially political issue.

In his reorganization of the association, Owen made every attempt to establish its legitimacy before the Administration. The association's new constitution, drawn up in May 1923, included many aspects which were intended to please the Administration. One principle which the members of the association were to uphold was "that to obtain these objects we must depend very largely upon the work of our own hands."¹⁹ The emphasis on working with the hands, which Owen had come to admire through his recent contacts with Booker T. Washington and the Hampton Institute in Virginia, were very much in keeping with the main trends of thought regarding the proper direction of African education.²⁰ Efforts were also made to bring the locational chiefs and headmen into active participation by designating the former as honorary Vice-Presidents. That this policy was at least partially successful is indicated by the statement that the meetings "were attended by elders in tribal regalia sitting on their stools, [and] by younger men who were coming forward as leaders and teachers." It was hoped that the participation of the chiefs and headmen

¹⁹East African Standard, November 24, 1923, p. 15.

²⁰Kenneth J. King, Pan-Africanism and Education: a study of race philanthropy and education in the southern states of America and East Africa (Oxford, 1971), pp. 188-189.

would bridge the already obvious gap between the young educated men and the elders of rural society. The Provincial Commissioner and the various District Commissioners were also named vice-presidents and were invited to attend the meetings regularly. The Governor himself was invited to become the patron of the association, but he refused to accept this designation. His decision was applauded by the settlers. As an indication of how well the association was organized, it established no less than seventy locational branches throughout North, Central, and South Nyanza. Two members of each branch were chosen for the central council.²¹ With this organizational structure, the association was able to keep in touch with its more than five thousand members. As another means of keeping in contact with its constituency, the association rotated the place for its general meetings among such mission centers as Yala, Maseno, Butere, and Kaimosi. The entire process of organization was explained step by step to the Administration so that government officials could be kept informed.

Despite its attempts to gain popularity throughout the three lake districts of Nyanza Province, the association was strong only in certain areas. Overall, it was by far the strongest in areas of CMS influence. In North Nyanza this included Marama, western Kisa, and the Bunyore communities near Maseno. Announcement and promotion of

²¹East African Standard, November 24, 1923, p. 15.

association meetings in local churches would have been an advantage to Christians, but some pagans also supported the association. The latter at times had wives who were church members or perhaps a son who was attending a school. Through these contacts, they could keep in touch with the association. Within the Church of God and Mill Hill spheres, the association was considerably weaker. Both of these societies forbade their members attending the association's meetings.²² The Church of God missionaries themselves were products of a decidedly apolitical, fundamentalistic tradition which castigated anything more than a casual interest in politics.²³

Overall, the association was stronger and more active in the Luo locations of Central Nyanza than in most areas of North Nyanza. However, even in the days of the YKA, a significant number of Abaluyia were active members. Certain Luyia leaders, including Chief Joseph Mulama and Jeremiah Awuor, were active in the deliberations of the YKA. Furthermore, the year 1922 and the activities of the association during its first years were remembered by many informants among the Abaluyia in Marama, Kisa and Bunyore. Although the activities of the YKA were centered in Central Nyanza, the meetings held at Nyahera and Lundha were near the cultural frontier of the Luo and Abaluyia. Lundha

²²Ibid.

²³John W. V. Smith, Truth Marches On: a brief study of the history of the Church of God Reformation Movement (Anderson, Ind., 1956), p. 30.

was only five miles from Yala, and Nyahera was near Maseno. It is also significant to note that the Nairobi branch of the association, which was formed late in 1923, included both Luo and Abaluyia in fairly equal numbers.²⁴ Although the leadership of the movement in its early stages was predominantly in the hands of Luo, the Abaluyia were more numerous among the rank and file than previous historians have recognized.

By mid-1924 rivalry and disagreements between the Abaluyia and Luo led to the formation of separate branches of the KTWA. According to several informants, the events which led to the split stemmed from discussions concerning the name of the association. When various members expressed opposition to the use of Kavirondo, they began to cast about for an acceptable alternative. A problem then arose, for the Luo wanted to employ their own tribal name. The question probably found the Abaluyia members of the association in some disarray, for their generic name "Abaluyia" had not yet come into use. At any rate, they opposed the use of the Luo tribal name. Furthermore, they disagreed with the manner in which the association's funds were being managed. They feared that these funds would be used only for projects of benefit to the Luo. By September 1924 these disagreements led to the formation of a separate branch association in North Nyanza.²⁵ Acknowledgement of

²⁴East African Standard, December 1, 1923, p. 12.

²⁵Ibid., September 13, 1924, p. 35.

the North Nyanza branch of the association first appeared in the Annual Report of the District for 1924. The District Commissioner wrote that "The North Kavirondo branch of the Kavirondo Welfare Association continued in existence, but does not appear to have done anything beyond collecting subscriptions."²⁶ Despite the D.C.'s doubts, the North Nyanza branch was in fact very active and was gaining in popularity. Some of its meetings attracted more members than did the meetings in Central Nyanza.²⁷

In educational development, the KTWA was apparently quite successful in promoting an informal, grass-roots approach to socio-economic development. Basically, the association's objectives after its reformulation by Owen were to encourage members to provide better food, clothing, housing, education, and hygiene for their own families and within their villages.²⁸ One can gain a general overview of how this was to be accomplished by considering the pledge which each member of the association was required to take.

I promise to keep the laws of the Association; to plant 200 trees and to replace those that die; to build proper latrines and to prevent flies from breeding in them; to keep off rats as far as possible

²⁶A. E. Chamier (D.C.) North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1924, p. 2, DC/NN.1/5, K.N.A., Nairobi.

²⁷East African Standard, September 13, 1924, p. 35.

²⁸[J. R. Orr], "Social Education in Kavirondo: the Kavirondo Welfare Association," p. 1, typescript; Edinburgh House Archives.

and to report any rats found dead; not to foul the water in rivers, springs or wells; not to aid or abet the marriage of girls under 16 years of age; not to mix cow's urine with milk; to supply beds for my household and to supply bedclothes; to clothe myself properly and to keep my clothes clean; I promise not to get drunk.²⁹

Despite the rather mundane and down-to-earth aspect of this pledge, it is not difficult to imagine the serious, almost religious tone in which it was probably recited. The frequency and seriousness of its recitation may indeed have rivalled that of the Apostles' Creed! The emphasis on community development brought words of praise from the Phelps-Stokes Commission. Jones later wrote in his report that

Undoubtedly, the most unique European influence in all the Protectorate is that of the K.N.W.A. organized by Archdeacon Owen and described by Dr. Garfield Williams as 'one of the most remarkable experiments in mass education to be seen in Africa'. . . . This Association . . . is undoubtedly a very significant illustration of the power of cooperation between Government, missions and Natives, and it is hoped that settlers also may be very soon united in support of the movement.³⁰

J. R. Orr of the Education Department underscored this positive assessment of the association by concluding that "The Kavirondo Welfare Association is a remarkable organization--an effort worthy of a great missionary."³¹ In such association projects as the establishment of a

²⁹Ibid., p. 8; T. J. Jones, Education in East Africa: a study of East, Central and South Africa (New York, 1925), p. 125.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 123-124.

³¹Orr, p. 6.

carpentry workshop and a brickmaking plant, Orr expressed a certain amount of self-satisfaction in seeing the fruits of his industrial education policy at first hand.³² The association also helped some of its members to open shops in the reserves, and provided the funds for the construction of several water-mills. As a means of promoting its projects, the association printed and distributed several thousand copies of pamphlets on subjects as diverse as cotton growing and child welfare. It was not only the emphasis on informal education, but also the de-emphasis on politics, which pleased Orr and the Phelps-Stokes Commission. Despite the success which the association had along the lines of community development, one suspects that it had become something of a propaganda piece for the promotion of official education policy.

Although its efforts were thwarted somewhat by the embezzlement of funds, the association was able to support education by establishing a fund for students attending the higher schools. By the early 1930s, such schools as Maseno, Kakamega, and Alliance High School were charging fees of as much as 60/- a year. This placed a considerable hardship on the students and on their families. Recognizing this need, the association rose to the challenge and established a scholarship fund. By 1929 the association had collected more than 10,000/- from membership dues.³³ This

³² Ibid., p. 4.

³³ Walter E. Owen (Maseno), to Hanley Hooper (London), December 20, 1929, C.M.S. Archives, London.

amount was deposited in the bank for the fund.

An example of the association's tenacity in the adoption of this project is afforded by the correspondence of the District Commissioner. At a meeting of the association held at Butere in 1929, an open discussion was held as to how the collected money was to be spent. When association members expressed interest in establishing the fund, the District Commissioner tried to divert their attention by suggesting that the funds be spent on construction of a bridge or on commercial development. The association was not to be thwarted so easily, however, and the scholarship fund was adopted over the objections of the D.C.³⁴ Archdeacon Owen wrote that "the Kavirondo Association is doing what it can in offering 16 scholarships from 1930 onwards at 30/- a year."³⁵ Various informants remembered the names of numerous young men from their communities who had received one of these scholarships. Although it is impossible to determine how many scholarships were granted or how much money was expended for the purpose, it is clear that the association made an important contribution to the education of many of their youth. As late as 1937, the association was still contributing most of its revenue to the scholarship fund.³⁶ From this it

³⁴C. B. Thompson (D.C., North Kavirondo) to Field Jones, N. Kav. Miscellaneous Correspondence, DC/NN.10/1/2, K.N.A., Nairobi.

³⁵Owen to Hooper.

³⁶E. G. St. C. Tisdall (D.C.), North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1938, p. 3, DC/NN.1/20, I.N.A., Nairobi.

would appear that the fund was operative for at least a decade. It seems entirely conceivable that more than a hundred students were assisted.

An additional dimension of the association's role in education was the extent to which it served as a forum for the expression of African opinions with regard to their own educational development. From the very beginning in 1921, views were frequently expressed as to how the Government might extend the educational system to benefit more Africans. The YKA's initial proposal for a government school in Central Nyanza was a frequently repeated demand which eventually was taken up by the Local Native Councils.³⁷ Some association members probably regarded government schools as a more palatable alternative to the rather rigid control of education which the missions then maintained. Others regarded government schools as a much-needed extension of mission schools, or perhaps saw this as a non-denominational approach which would not make entrance contingent upon adherence to the views of the sponsoring mission. An additional desire expressed by the association was that the Government assume greater responsibility for elementary education throughout the province. A report on a meeting of the KTWA held in September of 1923 is indicative of the attention devoted to this issue.

A very animated discussion on Education took place, and it was pointed out that in the opinion of many the time had fully come for Government to make some provision for the elementary education of the vast

³⁷See Chapter V.

numbers of children of school age (about two hundred thousand) in the Province. It was decided to ask the Executive Committee of the Association to approach the Nyanza Board of Education (of which the Provincial Commissioner is Chairman) on the matter, and to make suitable representations to the Board of the urgent necessity for Government aid being given at the earliest possible moment.³⁸

At the same meeting, members of the association expressed a strong desire for Africans to be represented on the administrative bodies responsible for educational policy. The demand was somewhat ahead of its time, as there was then no such body as an education board either at the provincial or district level.³⁹ Nevertheless, it was a significant expression of the Africans' desire to gain greater control of the educational system. In 1932, the association expressed additional opinions in a memorandum drawn up for the proposed visit of Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister to Kenya. In this proposal, the association expressed dissatisfaction with the emphasis placed on technical training to the detriment of literary education. They also requested permission to grow coffee as a means of providing the much-needed cash for self-help projects in education.⁴⁰ Knowing very well that requests for direct assistance for schools would not be granted, the association

³⁸ East African Standard, September 19, 1923, p. 19.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ "Memorandum prepared by the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association for representation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Rt. Hon. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister on his visit to East Africa," typescript, p. 2, File Z2, Owen Papers, C.M.S. Archives, Nairobi.

was willing to take on the task of initiating such projects, provided they had the economic means to do so. They saw in coffee a more lucrative source of revenue than the money to be earned from migratory labor. They were sophisticated enough to know, as did the L.N.C., that control over their source of wealth would bring greater control over their education as well.

In addition to being a sounding board for African views, the association may have been the primary catalyst in the establishment of the first sector schools in North Nyanza. The system of sector schools was outlined in the Education Ordinance of 1924. The ordinance defined a "school sector" as an area in which no child of seven years would have to walk so far to and from school as to cause "undue fatigue or danger."⁴¹ Although this distance depended inevitably on population density and on the local demand for education, it was usually taken to be a maximum of five miles. Official policy was for at least one village school to be upgraded to elementary status in each sector. Although the central Government determined the guidelines to be followed, it was really the expression of local interest that determined whether such schools would be established. As determined at a round table conference on educational policy in 1928, "the order in which sectors are taken up for such development will mainly depend on the

⁴¹Acting Director of Education to the Colonial Secretary, April 18, 1928. Nyanza Province Daily Correspondence, PC/NZA.3/10/1/3, K.N.A., Nairobi.

density of the population, the local demand for education, and the degree of willingness shewn by the people to help themselves by assisting the public authorities by building, etc."⁴² Although the archival record is silent on just how this expression of local sentiment was brought to bear on the issue of establishing the sector schools, it seems quite possible that the KTWA performed this important function. With its organization extending into every location of the district, and with its oft-expressed interest in educational development, the association would have been peculiarly well equipped for this purpose.

It is also known that during this period, Owen strongly favored upgrading the out-schools. One of his co-workers wrote that "these years [1926-1930] were important as during them Owen was writing urging the need for African Education. The need for better elementary education was the great problem of these years."⁴³ It seems tenable to conclude that Owen might have used the association as the means for promoting a campaign for the improvement of the out-schools. This conclusion is certainly buttressed by the oral evidence. When asked whether any schools were ever opened in response to the pressures brought to bear on the issue by the KTWA, numerous informants promptly

⁴²Ibid., Emphasis mine.

⁴³Biographical sketch of Walter E. Owen, n.d., in File Z2, Owen Papers, C.M.S. Archives, London.

mentioned the names of various sector schools in their district.⁴⁴ One informant even related that Owen had first presented the idea to the association that one sector school be established in each location. It is significant to note that such a proposal would have borne close similarity to the action taken in 1929 by Government. In that year at least one sector school was opened in each location throughout North Nyanza. Where two missions held roughly equal strength in the same location, two sector schools were opened. With the interest which the locational branches of the KTWA frequently took in affairs of local concern, it seems most unlikely that the campaign for opening the first sector schools would have escaped their notice.

Although the North Nyanza branch of the KTWA continued to play an important role in education until the end of the interwar period, there were certain indications that by the mid-1930s the locus of effective action was shifting to the Local Native Council. From its very inception, the association had its ups and downs. Certain periods of fervent activity were often followed by disillusionment and relative dormancy. One hiatus was experienced when the funds collected during the first years of the association's existence were apparently embezzled by one of the leaders. With no standardized procedures

⁴⁴Group Interview, Mwikalika Sub-Location, Kisa, December 15, 1972: Personal Interview, Antipa Ngutu, Musanda Sub-Location, South Wanga, September 6, 1972.

for recording the association's accounts, it was easy for such an act to be committed. Furthermore, the economic difficulties and the locust plagues of the early 1930s made it difficult for many members to pay their annual membership fees. By the early 1930s the association was nearly defunct in certain locations. After 1935 the LNC assumed an increasingly effective role in educational development. Although the association was still able to play a supplementary role to the LNC, its importance in the educational field was gradually being pre-empted.

The shift in the locus of effective action to the LNC was a trend which Africans themselves were quick to realize. They responded by suggesting that the President and the Goan clerks of the council be replaced by qualified Africans. As the locus of effective power and action were changing, African leaders were able to adjust by demanding that the LNC be brought under their control. Nevertheless, with these various factors eroding the popularity and effectiveness of the association, it seems remarkable that it was able to function effectively in the educational field for as long as it did.

The KTWA had not been in existence long before the Roman Catholic Mill Hill Mission (MHM) established the Native Catholic Union (NCU). Several sources indicate that at least a smattering of Roman Catholic adherents

had decided to join the CMS-dominated KTWA.⁴⁵ Dissent and participation in a Protestant-dominated association, however, were seemingly not reconcilable with Roman Catholic tradition. Regarding the KTWA as dangerously political, they did not wish to see their own converts become involved in politics. As a means of controlling their adherents, the Mill Hill Fathers soon took up the issue and decided to establish their own society. Father Hanlon later wrote of this decision in his history of the Nyanza Vicariate.

For some years the Protestants had a union of Xtian natives to protect their rights. In townships like Kisumu several of our Catholics wished to join this Association, having been persuaded that it had nothing to do with religion. Political movements were strongly developed in the Protestant Kikuyu Movement, and led to some trouble when their leader was put in prison. After long deliberation we thought it advisable to start our own organization with branches in each Mission, and meetings presided over by the Father-in-charge. Hence our Native Catholic Union.⁴⁶

In October 1924 the inaugural meeting of the NCU was held near Kisumu. In addition to various priests and the District Commissioners of North and Central Nyanza, the inaugural rally was attended by Africans from the mission centers at Kisumu, Mumias, Kakamega, Eregi, Rangala, Aluor and Asumbi. Approximately two thousand people reportedly attended. That the initiatives for establishing

⁴⁵[G. M. Castle-Smith?] (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1925, p. 7, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁴⁶Nicholas Stam, "A short history of the Vicariate of Kisumu," 1935, typescript, seen at Mill Hill Mission Archive, Mill Hill, London.

the NCU came from the mission is clear from the statement that "the general policy and aims of the Union were explained to the natives."⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the African viewpoint was considered at least to some extent, for Habari reported that "during the morning of October 26 the natives were left to themselves to discuss the Rules and Constitution of the Native Catholic Union."⁴⁸ As for the constitution adopted by the African contingent, little is known except for a statement by the Chief Native Commissioner that it "contains a list of objects related to spiritual, social and political welfare."⁴⁹

From its establishment in 1924 until about 1933, the NCU served fairly effectively as a forum for the expression of the concerns and grievances of its members. General rallies with representatives in attendance from all the Roman Catholic centers throughout the two districts were usually held once a year. Local chapters also held several meetings a year at each of the mission centers.⁵⁰ At these meetings, the Union members discussed and acted on a fairly wide range of concerns. Many such

⁴⁷"Catholic Mission," Habari (Nairobi), January 1925, p. 18.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Native Affairs Department Annual Report, 1926 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 14.

⁵⁰Mumias Mission Diary, 1918-44, February 25, 1925, and ff.

issues, like the resolution against payment of tribute to the rainmakers at Ebusiekwe in Bunyore⁵¹ or the protection of widows against inheritance by a male relative of the deceased husband,⁵² involved the mission society's teachings against the observance of indigenous custom. It is clear, however, that the NCU did take up certain issues of a more political nature. From the outset, members themselves expected the NCU to have at least some influence on local political affairs. At the inaugural meeting, Barnabas Okuku expressed this view.

Now that we have started the Native Catholic Union which has so many members and will have more and more, we want Government to let us know of changes in the laws in Kavirondo so that we may know the laws and help to make good ones. We also want representatives of the Native Catholic Union to be asked to attend the Chiefs' meetings to express our views.⁵³

The most burning issue discussed at the NCU's first meeting was the proposal then being considered to change the hut and poll tax to poll tax only. The NCU passed a resolution opposing a poll tax on the grounds that the indigent and poverty-stricken would have to pay the same amount of tax

⁵¹Romani Oyolo, Personal Interview, Shibinga Sub-Location, Kisa, December 13, 1972.

⁵²"Agenda for general rally of Native Catholic Union held at Yala February 14, 1933," in ADM.8/2/2, Nyanza Province daily correspondence, Section 10-B, K.N.A., Mic. no. 1949, reel 8. On the issue of widow inheritance, see Leon P. Spencer, "Defense and protection of converts: Kenya missions and the inheritance of Christian widows, 1912-1931," Journal of Religion in Africa, V, no. 2 (1973), pp. 107-127.

⁵³Habari, January 1925, p. 29,

as would the wealthy chiefs and elders. By 1933 when the Kakamega Goldrush commenced, the Union expressed concern over the clash of interests between the mining companies and African interests for protection of their land rights. "If Govt. intends to open up new areas for gold mining, we wish to impress upon Govt. that it would be to the better interest of the natives only to allow companies which respect the just claims and customs of the natives to operate in those reserves."⁵⁴ Although such a statement was decidedly milder than the resolutions adopted by the KTWA, it is nevertheless apparent that the NCU took up some issues of political concern.

There is ample evidence that the desire for more education was frequently voiced at the meetings of the NCU. Several years before the establishment of St. Mary's school at Yala, the delegates requested government assistance for a school such as Maseno. The resolution they adopted read that "the N.C.U. wishes to ask the Government to assist Catholics on the same scale as it has formerly assisted others when we are ready to start a High School."⁵⁵ In the Mumias mission diary entry for June 7, 1928, Father Stam reported somewhat cynically that

There was a baraza of the Christians where I was reminded what Fr. Coenen had done for the Native Catholic Union and the secular education of the

⁵⁴"Agenda for general rally"

⁵⁵"Native Catholic Union," Habari, December 1925, p. 9.

people during my absence in Europe; 2) how badly I paid the teachers compared to other missions; 3) that I was antiquated and did nothing for their political influence in the country.⁵⁶

The complaint certainly indicated a desire for more and better education than the mission was then providing for its adherents. Additional demands for schools were made at subsequent meetings of the Union. At a meeting held in 1932, the members proposed that a scholarship fund be established to pay the school fees of Yala students.⁵⁷

Although the NCU did have an annual membership fee of 50 cents, there is no indication as to how these funds were spent. At the same meeting, the members inquired as to how much money an African clerk received. Considering the fact that such a position required a fairly good education for that day, the inquiry may have been prompted by a concern for the pace at which the educational system was expanding. At a meeting of the Union held in 1933, the members asked that the Local Native Council be petitioned to vote more money for Catholic Mission Schools and to provide bursaries for students at St. Marys.⁵⁸ The requests reflected a general feeling among Roman Catholic adherents that they did not have equal educational opportunity with Protestant Africans. This idea was voiced by Norbertus Otieno at the first meeting of the NCU.

⁵⁶Mumias Mission Diary, 1918-44, June 7, 1928.

⁵⁷Mumias Mission Diary, 1918-44, January 3, 1932.

⁵⁸"Agenda for general rally"

We have heard that the Government has put aside money for the building of Bush Schools in the Reserve, and that this money is to be given to the Missions to build these schools. We Catholics are children too, and we cry to Government to help us too. We want this money to be divided equally amongst the Missions so that we may have Catholic schools too. We want our children to go to Catholic schools.⁵⁹

The charge that Protestants were favored in the provision of educational opportunity probably had some truth to it. The Government was certainly partial to British Protestant missions, and the larger number of educated Africans by 1925 would have favored the same missions in the division of funds by the Local Native Council.

The evidence indicates that apparently the only action taken by the NCU to gain greater control of the educational system for Africans was an attempt to increase their influence in the Local Native Council. From the very outset of the Union, dissatisfaction was expressed with the unequal representation of Protestants and Catholics on the Council.⁶⁰ At the first meeting of the Union, the delegates passed a resolution that "pending the new election of members to the Native Councils which will not take place for two years, the N.C.U. ask H. E. the Governor to exercise his power to provide a better representation to Catholic interests on the Native Councils."⁶¹ Several years later, when the NCU asked for greater representation on the LNC's and native tribunals, it was apparent that

⁵⁹"Catholic Mission," Habari, Jan. 1925, p. 20.

⁶⁰"Native Catholic Union," Habari, Dec. 1925, pp. 7-8.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 8.

this was still an item of concern.⁶² Although such requests for more equal representation would have been made for various reasons, the desire to gain greater influence in the provision of educational opportunity would have been one of their motives.

The North Kavirondo Central Association (NKCA), established presumably in late 1932 in response to the Kakamega goldrush and the corresponding threat of land alienation in North Nyanza, was distinctly more political than the KTWa or the NCU.⁶³ From its inception, it maintained close connections with the Kikuyu Central Association. It was immigrant Kikuyu brought into North Nyanza to work in the gold fields who first proposed that such an association be established.⁶⁴ By the association's own account, it was started in late 1932 but was not well known until December 1933. It first came to the attention of the Administration in January 1934.⁶⁵ By June the Luyia leaders of the association were in contact with KCA leadership in Nairobi. It was really the threat to African land rights by the mining companies and the possibility of European settlement that led to the association's popularity. Not surprisingly, the association gained its

⁶²Agenda for general rally"

⁶³John M. Lonsdale, "A Political History of Nyanza, 1883-1945," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1964), p. 314.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 313.

⁶⁵S. H. Fazan (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1935, p. 6, K.N.A., Nairobi.

greatest support from the eastern locations of North Nyanza near Kakamega township. Many of its members were Friends African Mission adherents from North and South Maragoli.⁶⁶ There were, however, certain leaders from other locations who also supported the association. Most notable of these was John Adala, originally a Church of God Mission (CGM) adherent who switched his loyalty in 1922 to the CMS when expelled from the former for participating in a wedding dance.⁶⁷ The association also drew some support from the Muslim community in Wanga.⁶⁸ For the most part, the MHM and the CGM were able to persuade their converts to remain aloof from the new association. The CMS, however, did have some adherents who joined. There was enough overlap in the membership of the KTWA and the NKCA that they even proposed a merger of the two in 1933. They also supported, to some extent, the same issues. In addition to the threat of land alienation, the NKCA persistently agitated for a Paramount Chief of the Abaluyia. Indeed, the issues of land alienation and

⁶⁶Unsigned letter (from F.A.I.M.) to Protestant missionaries in the Central Province, May 27, 1933, in Inter-Mission Correspondence, Packet X, Selected Papers and Correspondence of the East African Yearly Meeting of Friends, Kaimosi, 1902-1961, S.U. Mic., n.s. 2081, reel 47.

⁶⁷John Adala, Personal Interview, Ebubayi Sub-Location, East Bunyore, Jan. 8, 1973.

⁶⁸S. H. Fazan (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1936, p. 15, K.N.A., Nairobi.

the demand for a Paramount Chief were closely related, for the Abaluyia apparently thought of a Paramount Chief as a protector of their land rights. His appointment would signify a degree of semi-autonomy of which they felt deprived in a system of direct rule by European administrators.

Despite its avowed political objectives and the fact that it had no welfare program as did the KTWA and the NCU, the NKCA deserves some attention in the context of African attempts to gain control of education. Education, after all, was never divorced entirely from politics. It was sometimes as much of a political issue as it was a concern of the social welfare protagonists. Through the statements and activities of various NKCA leaders, education came to have several very interesting interconnections with politics. First of all, the NKCA criticized the manner in which the LNCs were dominated by the District Commissioners, asserting that LNC funds were mis-spent and should be controlled entirely by Africans.⁶⁹ Such control, if initiated, would have had important implications for African control of education. John Adala raised a related query concerning the LNC. He wanted to know why Africans had to be members of the Council in order to participate in its meetings, whereas European non-members were permitted to speak before the Council.⁷⁰

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Minutes of a meeting with a sub-committee of the N.K.C.A. at Kakamega, April 29, 1937," in Monthly Intelligence Report for April, 1937, K.N.A., S.U. Mic. no. 2805, reel 109.

Although the association was prohibited from collecting dues from its members, it may have tried to collect funds clandestinely to send Luyia students overseas. What is more definite is that from time to time money was paid or sent to Kikuyu politicians. This money could have gone to the support of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association, or perhaps to the independent Githunguri Teachers' College in Kiambu. Some students from North Nyanza were sent to Githunguri to study.⁷¹ They were either sons of NKCA leaders, or were from villages nearby. This clearly exemplifies the influence of such leaders as John Adala, Joseph Mulama, and Andrea Jumba. It also shows that educational opportunity frequently depended on political connections.

Another such connection which leaders of the NKCA sought to make was that of Marcus Garvey of the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). There is some evidence to indicate that members of the NKCA attempted to collect funds to finance a correspondence course offered by Garvey's UNIA.⁷² Although the content of this course is not known, it would surely have enhanced the education

⁷¹John Adala, Personal Interview, Eubayai Sub-Location, East Bunyore, January 8, 1973. On the establishment of Githunguri Teachers' College, see Mbiyu Koinange, "Self-help in education: Kenya Africans build a college," Ethiopian Observer, II, no. 11 (Oct. 1958), pp. 374-377.

⁷²Malcolm MacDonald (S.S.C.) to Sir Robert Brooke-Popham (Gov., Kenya), February 3, 1939, in ADM 8/3/1 Nyanza Province daily correspondence, Section 10-B, K.N.A., S.U. Mic., no. 1949, reel 48.

of those who might have taken it. What these various activities show is that education was closely interconnected with politics, and that extension of the political arena could carry with it new educational opportunities. Even if the NKCA did not undertake any projects of educational development as such, it did stand for better education and for the indigenization of the educational system.

As the welfare associations were seeking to ameliorate African conditions on a broader basis, important developments were occurring at a more local level which would lead both European and African educators to see new-found significance in the village schools. Despite the low level of education which had previously prevailed in these schools, they were coming to be recognized by 1924 as a significant aspect of the African educational system. Comprising the lowest level of a pyramidal system, they naturally reached a far greater number of Africans than did the few mission schools which took education to higher levels. This increased recognition was based perhaps as much on their potential as on the actual level of development. There were still some dubious observers. The Provincial Commissioner wrote in 1925 that "there are several hundreds of Bush Schools but these are little more than evangelical centres where the rudiments of reading and writing are taught."⁷³ To some educators of

⁷³R. W. Hemsted (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1925, p. 3., K.N.A., Nairobi.

the time, the village schools were regarded primarily as potential propaganda centers for the implementation of paternalistic schemes. This was evident in the recommendation of the Director of Education in 1926. "It is considered that great importance attaches to the village school which destroys superstition and gives the Africans a general desire for improvement and brings them out to work either in the Reserve or in non-native areas."⁷⁴

This propagandistic potential of the village schools underlay the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. In Jones's scheme, these schools were to become the centers for village education and development. Whatever the reasons that educators cited for developing the village schools, they were gradually being upgraded and were becoming increasingly important in the African educational system.

In view of the lack of coordination in the network of village schools, it is not surprising that the standards of instruction varied considerably. G. E. Webb, the Provincial Inspector of Schools, repeatedly mentioned this fact in his inspection reports.

As appears from the individual reports, the village schools vary infinitely in their promise and attainment. In a few instances the schools visited were those suggested to me by the various supervising

⁷⁴J. R. Orr, Nairobi, "Recommendations for Expenditure by the Director of Education for 1926 based on the Report of the Committee on Grants-in-Aid for Education in Kenya" (Nairobi, 1925), p. 2.

missionaries but in the majority of cases they were chosen at random according to their position in the districts. In many cases they came short of the curriculum as laid down for village schools in reference to Kiswahili, Dictation and Arithmetic. On the other hand some of the schools of the Church Missionary Society, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the African Institute [CGM] go beyond the standard curriculum.⁷⁵

In another report, Webb wrote that "in the better schools a few older pupils may be found up to Standard II in arithmetic and writing, and more frequently in reading. Standard I is reached by perhaps 30-40 percent in many of the schools, but the majority of the pupils must still be classed as sub-standard."⁷⁶ Overall, Webb was convinced that in view of the lack of adequately trained teachers, the village schools were progressing as well as could be expected.⁷⁷ Webb also observed that there were certain strengths or weaknesses in the village schools within each mission sphere. He commended the CGM for encouraging the layout of model villages, the construction of permanent buildings, and the erection of water mills.⁷⁸ He also noted that the standard of literary instruction was generally the highest in the CMS schools. In contrast,

⁷⁵"Report on Village Schools Visited in the Nyanza Province July, 1925," in PC/NZA.3/10/1/1, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁷⁶G. E. Webb (Maragoli) to J. R. Orr (Nairobi), October 21, 1928, PC/NZA.3/30/2, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸G. E. Webb, in Education Department Annual Report, 1927 (Nairobi, n.d.), pp. 19-20.

he wrote that "The Roman Catholic Schools are conspicuous by their neglect of literary education, by their strict discipline and industrial education."⁷⁹ The Roman Catholic Fathers were themselves willing to admit that literary education in their village schools was limited. The different emphasis of the several missions working in central North Nyanza was an important reason for the variation of standards in the village schools.

Considering the lack of any prevailing standard, some of the village schools were able to reach a noteworthy level of instruction through dedicated local effort. One such school was Ebusakhari of the CGM in Bunyore. The curriculum included reading in the vernacular, writing, and arithmetic to simple division. The average attendance of forty included both children and adults. With no help from the mission, the school was left through its own devices to muster the needed financial support. A 1925 inspection report stated that "no fixed wage is given to teachers but half of the total amount collected at the various centres is allocated to teachers; this amount is paid out every two months and averages Sh. 5/00 per month to the teachers."⁸⁰ At the CGM school at Esongolo, the curriculum was much the same as at Ebusakhari. Located in the midst of several large villages, it enjoyed a

⁷⁹J. R. Orr (Nairobi) to the Acting Colonial Secretary, September 2, 1925, in PC/NZA.3/10/1/1.

⁸⁰"Report on Village Schools"

larger enrollment. Women and girls attended the morning session, and the more advanced pupils met in the afternoon.⁸¹ Teaching aids included maps, a blackboard, five cloth letter charts, and several cloth numerical charts. The school, like many others, particularly in the CGM sphere, had a Christian village built around it.

The huts of the school adherents have been built at regular intervals around the school in a commendable effort to make a model village; the precincts are kept clean and tidy. A most noteworthy feature is the mill which is being constructed on the stream below the school. It is the property of a company composed of adherents of this and other schools and shows what can be done by co-operation. All the work has been done by natives.⁸²

A third school which had reached a commendable standard was CMS Ebusakami, also in Bunyore. In addition to the usual subjects, the curriculum included reading and writing in Swahili. To the learned observer, the methods of teaching in these schools may have seemed rather pedantic and mechanical. As reported by the Inspector of Schools, "the teacher [at Ebusakami] points to syllables on charts which are read out by pupils in chorus; then individuals read out syllables without standing up. No questions are put, the teacher relying on mere repetition; the attention of the pupils is allowed to wander."⁸³ Nevertheless, the

⁸¹Ibid., p. 2.

⁸²Ibid., p. 4.

⁸³Ibid., p. 17.

level and method of instruction were sufficient for many students to receive at least some proficiency in basic literary skills.

Although a few schools were able to reach a commendable standard of instruction, there were certain factors that militated against success. The lack of financial support from the missions was a limitation that many village communities were unable to overcome. In the CMS sphere, this problem was exacerbated by the fact that funds for village school work were reduced when Nyanza was transferred to the Mombasa Diocese. Owen had written of this problem in 1922.

Owing to the withdrawal of the grants formerly made by the Uganda Church, the problem of self support has become acute and the staff of paid African teachers has had to be reduced. The native christians are poor: but we are looking forward to the results of the policy of the new Governor of encouraging the cultivation of economic products in the Reserves as likely to give the Christians power more easily to support their own teachers.⁸⁴

Furthermore, there were far too many of them for proper supervision. As the Director of Education reported on the CMS in 1927, "more staff is needed at Maseno and at Butere, and teachers everywhere with a large number of low-grade inefficient schools, for which funds are available neither to pay the teachers nor to equip the schools."⁸⁵ Another difficulty was the dearth of trained teachers to

⁸⁴C.M.S. Kavirondo, Annual Report 1922 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 2.

⁸⁵Education Department Annual Report, 1927 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 19.

run the schools. Before 1927 Maseno School was the only center for teacher training in Central and North Nyanza. Consequently, by 1929 there were only a few teachers who had passed the Elementary "B" certification examination. The influence of Maseno was quite noticeable, for Orr also reported in 1928 that "teachers who had been to Maseno school were usually remarkable for the rather better standard of their schools, and for an attempt to introduce drill."⁸⁶

There was also lack of continuity in attendance. This problem was exacerbated by the constant flow of migrant laborers between the reserves and the non-native areas. It was reported of Esongolo School in Bunyore that "hygiene and geography were formerly taught but have recently been given up owing to a number of the advanced pupils going off to work."⁸⁷ Since many of the students in the village schools were youths and older men, this would have been an ubiquitous problem. An added difficulty was the low wages for the village teachers. As wages depended almost entirely on local contributions, they seldom were higher than 5/- per month.⁸⁸ When some of the village teachers found it impossible to pay their

⁸⁶G. E. Webb (Maragoli) to J. R. Orr (Nairobi).

⁸⁷"Report on Village Schools"

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 1.

taxes, they had no alternative but to seek labour themselves. Such instances were, of course, quite disruptive of the educational efforts in the village schools.

The widespread desire among Africans for more education was clearly exemplified by their constant demands that the village schools be upgraded to elementary status. Desire to learn the rudiments of literacy had frequently been an important drawing card which had attracted people to these schools. Elizabeth Chadwick had written in 1919 that "everywhere [we hear] the same cry, 'more teaching, we must have teaching.'"⁸⁹ Provided that local authorities did not object, there was really nothing to stop a group of interested educators from opening a village school. Although the Administration was concerned about the lack of proper supervision, it did not interfere with this rapid proliferation of schools unless the establishment of a school might lead to contention between competing missions.⁹⁰ Many of these village schools gradually evolved from strictly religious centers to more bonafide schools with secular instruction. The Director of Education reported in 1930 on this evolutionary process.

Even in these schools the tendency is towards the introduction of more and more general instruction so that the catechumenate centre of yesterday becomes the village school of to-day. It is necessary

⁸⁹Elizabeth Chadwick (Butere), Annual Letter, Nov. 1, 1919, C.M.S. Archives, London.

⁹⁰North Nyanza District Handing Over Report, n.d., in PC/NZA.3/45/1/2, Nyanza Province daily correspondence, K.N.A., S.U. Mic. ser. 2262, reel 27.

to speak of these schools in general terms as comprising all schools not taking pupils above the third or fourth year of general instruction. Many of them do not get so far. In others, especially where European supervision is constant and effective, the work is, no doubt, excellent.⁹¹

E. B. Denham stated before the Legislative Council that "the question of native education in this country has now reached a critical stage, and there is an increasing demand, not only for elementary education, but also that the education given in the village schools should be carried further."⁹² Africans were increasingly asking for assistance toward the upgrading of these village schools.⁹³ These demands were, in fact, part of a groundswell of interest for the extension of African education at every level.⁹⁴

The rapid growth of the village schools was a problem of constant concern to missionaries and government officials. In his Annual Report for 1927, the Director of Education asserted that "the need for increased inspection over the hundreds of village schools coming into existence"

⁹¹Education Department Annual Report, 1930 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 7.

⁹²Legislative Council Debates (Nairobi), August 11, 1925, p. 386.

⁹³J. R. Orr to the Colonial Secretary (Nairobi), November 22, 1923, p. 8. Appendix A in Coryndon (Gov., Kenya) to J. H. Thomas (S.S.C.), January 10, 1924, C.O. 533/308.

⁹⁴R. P. Armitage (D.C.), Central Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1932, p. 18, K.N.A., Nairobi.

was one of "the lessons to be learned from the experience of 1927."⁹⁵ Two years later, H. S. Scott reported that "one of the greatest problems which has had to be faced in the last decade, and is still a problem to-day, is to know how to supervise out-station schools."⁹⁶ The problem was a constant concern to missionaries and district administrators. Some of the village schools were visited by a missionary as infrequently as once in two or three years.⁹⁷ The dimensions of the problem as perceived by the Administration led J. R. Orr to recommend in 1925 that special provision be made in the educational allocations for European administrative assistants to supervise the schools.

The Director of Education informed the Committee that complaints were being continually received from District Commissioners concerning the inefficiency of village schools and the lack of supervision by European Missionaries. He suggested that in addition to the Inspectors asked for Government might assist each central school by providing part or even the whole of the salary of a trained male European teacher who would be continually on tour among the village schools, encouraging the village teachers, showing them how to manage their schools, and bringing their schools into close relation with village life.⁹⁸

⁹⁵Education Department Annual Report, 1927 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 21.

⁹⁶Education Department Annual Report, 1929 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 76.

⁹⁷G. E. Webb (Maragoli) to J. R. Orr (Nairobi).

⁹⁸Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the General Advisory Committee on Native Education held at the Secretariat . . . June 9th . . . -June 10th, 1925, in PC/NZA.3/10/1/1.

Administrators constantly feared that if the schools were not supervised by Europeans, the teachers would propagate "seditious ideas." The popularity of the Jeanes scheme, in fact, was attributable in part to the problem of supervising the village schools. If European supervisors were not available for this purpose, the only alternative was to rely on Africans. This was apparent in Orr's adjunctive remark to his recommendation of 1925, quoted above. "Not only was the supervision of teaching required but of the relation of the school teacher to local headmen and elders. These Europeans would in course of time hand over their work to the African Jeanes Teachers when trained."⁹⁹

Realizing that Government must assume a larger role in aiding the village schools, the Education Department in 1926 instituted the sector school scheme. The department's Annual Report stated that "during the year pioneer work has been done towards the development of a scheme for dividing the whole of the native reserves and the coast area into school sectors."¹⁰⁰ As explained by a member of the Education Department, "the aim is to secure the development of a kind of secular parish system; and at the centre of each parish (or sector) will be a school instead of a church."¹⁰¹ As money became available and if local

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Education Department Annual Report, 1926 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 28.

¹⁰¹Education Department Circular No. 29, April 19, 1928, in PC/NZA.3/10/5/2, K.N.A., Nairobi.

interest seemed strong enough, a school could be placed in each sector. If a mission school already existed in a given sector, inquiry was to be made regarding the suitability of recognizing it as a sector school. In the interest of economy and efficiency, the department's aim was to provide the smallest number of schools to serve the largest possible areas.¹⁰² This meant that in each sector only one school would be chosen to constitute a part of the public educational system. On the contrary, the hope of every local village was for their school to be recognized as a sector school. In those areas where more than one village school already existed, as in central North Nyanza, the choice was likely to be a contentious issue. It did not take long for African leaders to realize that funds, whether from the Education Department or the Local Native Councils, were to be expended only on the sector schools.

As implementation of the sector scheme required a considerable administrative effort, it was not instituted in North Nyanza until 1929. The procedure was for each mission to submit a list of its village schools, with recommendations as to which schools were to be upgraded. Orr detailed the time-consuming process in his departmental report for 1927.

¹⁰²Education Department Annual Report, 1927 (Nairobi, n.d.), p. 33.

In order to facilitate the enormous task of sectorising the Nyanza Province I have circularised all the Missions, and have obtained definite and valuable information about each of the 1,200 village schools now registered. I have obtained information under the following heads: Name of location, Name of school; Name of teacher; Examination qualifications; Salary per month; Enrolment; Average attendance; Days on which instruction is given; Hours of instruction; Whether accessible by car. I have also drawn large scale maps of Central and North Kavirondo. . . . I have obtained from the District Commissioners and the Public Works Department, and with the help of Missionaries and from my own observations I have filled in more or less accurately the positions of not less than 500 village schools.¹⁰³

In view of the fact that much of the evidence needed to institute the system had to be collected before reliable decisions could be made, the task was particularly formidable. The Inspector of Schools, on whose shoulders much of the burden fell, also faced the rather dismal prospect that regardless which schools he chose, there was likely to be considerable opposition. By 1929 when the various problems of implementing the scheme were finally overcome, the sector schools were established. In southern and central North Nyanza, two schools were chosen from each location. These included Esalwa and Ebusakami in Bunyore, Ekambuli and Namasoli in Kisa, Butere and Mudhiero in Marama, and Musanda and Bukaya in South Wanga. In nearly every case, one school was chosen for each of the two most established missions in the location.

In the choice of these centers as the first sector schools in North Nyanza, local conditions and developments

¹⁰³Ibid.

were of considerable significance. To some extent, the Director of Education had determined that such considerations would be a matter of policy. He wrote that "the order in which sectors are taken up for such development will mainly depend on the density of the population, the local demand for education, and the . . . willingness shewn by the people to help themselves by assisting the public authorities by building, etc."¹⁰⁴ Consequently, concrete demonstrations of self-help were taken as important indications of the local desire for better schools. In 1928 W. E. Owen reported that such projects of self-help were already being undertaken at the CMS schools at Namasoli and Musanda.

At each of these places permanent buildings are in course of erection. Musanda has already expended its share on roofing material, corrugated iron, timber, etc. They have prepared some thousands of burnt bricks, and have only been awaiting the preparation of approved plans by the Department of Education to begin the lay out of the building.¹⁰⁵

Such efforts would have had some influence on the choices made the following year. An additional factor which influenced the choice of sector schools was the role of community leaders as spokesmen in the church councils. Jeremiah Othuon, a CMS Jeanes teacher from Ebusakami, Bunyore, suggested to the CMS council at Maseno that his

¹⁰⁴Evan E. Biss (Ag. Dir. of Ed.) to Colonial Secretary (Nairobi), April 18, 1928, in PC/NZA.3/10/1/3, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹⁰⁵Owen to Acting District Commissioner (C. B. Thompson), North Kavirondo, Jan. 16, 1928, in PC/NZA.3/10/1/9, K.N.A., Nairobi.

school be chosen. Othuon was sufficiently persuasive to carry the day.¹⁰⁶ In like manner, Barnaba Weche and Petro Ogweno argued the case for Namasoli school in the Butere church council. The account was related by Ogweno himself.

Namasoli was the only possible place for a sector school because it was a centre for several churches. The Butere church council passed a resolution that it be located here. We had two spokesmen from Namasoli here in the Church Council at Butere, e.g. Barnaba Weche, a teacher then at Butere mission, and Petro Ogweno. Then it came on the condition that a deposit of 150/- must be made to the Government as proof that they wanted the school. When we heard of this we paid the money forthwith to the Mission. The Government told us to look for bricks and that it would provide roofing, timber and mabati. At that time Mulama instructed his headmen of this area, namely Liboi of Samia and Aluchero of Shirombe, to bring people and do the communal work on the school for erecting the building. This was then how it was done and it was successful.¹⁰⁷

The role of Mulama in the building of the school indicates again his keen interest in education.

In the CGM sphere, the process of choosing the sector schools was handled in much the same manner. In at least one case, discussion of the sector school issue in the CMS councils had a spillover effect in the CGM. The story was related by Zakaria Aduoli of Ekambuli, Kisa.

First I was member of the Ruridecanal Council of the Anglican Church, which was presided by Arch-deacon Owen, held at Ngiya Mission. This was early in 1929. When Owen mentioned that Government had allowed the mission to start sector schools, he

¹⁰⁶Group Interview, Ebusakami Sub-Location, West Bunyore, January 26, 1973.

¹⁰⁷Group Interview, Namasoli Sub-Location, Kisa, December 4, 1972.

briefed us and mentioned places where the Anglicans had suggested to start their sector schools. When I asked about other missions, he said that was a concern of individual missions. When I came back I told Noah Acheru what I had heard in the meeting, and told him if he went to Kima he should suggest Ekambuli as a possible place for a sector school for the Church of God in Kisa. Now because of the big size here and another big one at Matioli in Butso, these places were given preference for getting sector school status.¹⁰⁸

In response to these petitions, Ekambuli was chosen as the CGM sector school for Kisa. In Bunyore, the choice of Esalwa was influenced by the fact that the school already had good facilities, and that a large Christian village of eighty families lived around the school.¹⁰⁹ The concentration of families gave the mission and government authorities greater assurances that the school would be well attended. Some of the communities chosen for sector schools had been among the first out-schools in their respective mission spheres. Ekambuli had been started around 1917 as an early center of the CGM in Kisa. Similarly, Namasoli had been the first CMS center in either Kisa or Marama. It had been opened, in fact, even before Butere. This longer period of development gave these centers an advantage. More extensive development were taken as an indication of a certain keenness for education. Furthermore, these communities had leaders who could express their interests more articulately

¹⁰⁸Group Interview, Ekambuli Sub-Location, Kisa, December 11, 1972.

¹⁰⁹Group Interview, Esalwa Sub-Location, West Bunyore, December 21, 1972.

and who were better informed than those from less fortunate communities.

The fact that many schools had been passed over in the initial choices for sector schools led some local communities to demand that their schools be upgraded to sector status. On the one hand, the system could be expanded whenever the need arose for additional schools. A procedure was established for recognizing any new sector schools.

Application as formerly will be addressed by the School Authority to the District Commissioner. The application will state whether the School is to be sub-elementary or elementary. . . . The D.C. will ascertain that the local elders desire a school under this authority and then forward the application to the Inspector of Schools who will put it before the next meeting of the District Education Board. The D.E.B. will support the application of such schools as are thought necessary and especially recommend schools which fit in with the Educational programme of the District.¹¹⁰

For the African educators who sought to improve their local schools, the advantages of recognition were clear. The policy of both Government and missions, however, often ran counter to these interests. In 1938 the District Commissioner for North Nyanza proposed that

No new sector schools should be opened until the quality of teaching in the present schools has improved; to effect this object, future expenditures should be towards (1) providing adequate salaries for qualified teachers in the existing

¹¹⁰George Ernest Webb (Maragoli) to Mission Superintendents (in Nyanza), April 17, 1936, in PC/NZA.3/823, K.N.A., Nairobi.

schools (2) providing adequate equipment in the existing schools (i.e. blackboards, desks, etc.)¹¹¹

Although the proposal was not adopted as official policy, it was nevertheless followed in practice. The various missions of North Nyanza followed much the same policy. A 1933 report on the FAM at Kaimosi stated that "Mr. Kellum notes that requests have been received for additional 'B' schools but he has decided, wisely as I think, not to increase their number while some of the present ones lack equipment and funds for salaries."¹¹² With these attitudes prevailing among the European educators, it was inevitable that any advance in the sector school system would have to be achieved largely through self-help. Consequently, what frequently happened in the years ahead was that various African educators in the villages pursued their interests as best they could, without the assistance of Government or missions. They attempted by various means to improve their schools as a concrete demonstration of their interest in education. They hoped that their efforts would eventually be rewarded with recognition and financial assistance.

¹¹¹Minutes of the meeting of District Commissioners of Nyanza Province, Kisumu, June 6-7, 1938, PC/NZA.4/1 /3/1, Nyanza Province daily correspondence, Section 10-A, K.N.A.; S.U. Mic. ser. 2262, reel 34.

¹¹²[J. W. C. Dougall], Report on Kaimosi School, 1933, typescript, p. 5, in Selected Papers and Correspondence of the East African Yearly Meeting of Friends, Kaimosi, 1902-1961, S.U. Mic. N.S. 2081, reel 47.

Through the efforts undertaken to upgrade these centers, a category of elementary school evolved that stood somewhere between the two extremes of the independent schools and the established mission-state system. Strictly speaking, these schools were not recognized either as government sector schools or as mission elementary schools. They had been established as catechumenate centers, and were recognized only as such. In the archival records, they are usually referred to simply as "unaided schools." On the other hand, they were distinctly different from the schools of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association. They had not experienced a distinct break with established authority, for there was no precipitating issue such as the female circumcision crisis to force them into such a position. They sought, in fact, to be recognized more fully by the mission-state system. They represented the tension and juxtaposition of objectives that often existed between the African and European educators. Africans were taking initiatives for the establishment of local schools in advance of the pace at which the prescribed system was able or willing to expand. Although they represented a certain avante garde, the frustrations which they faced were not sufficient to prompt them to seek more radical alternatives. There was always the prospect that after several years of self-help, their efforts might lead to full recognition. Their attempts to upgrade their schools may have been only

moderately successful in many instances. Nevertheless, their efforts are perhaps as significant for what was attempted as for what was accomplished.

Through these local efforts at educational development, a process of interaction occurred by which the message of progressive self-help and a more enlightened perception of self-interest were communicated from the broader socio-political milieu to the local level. In this process the welfare associations were instrumental. Some of the self-help efforts of local church committees and clan associations involved implementation of the same constellation of developmental projects as did the KTWA and the NCU. There were, of course, many members of these associations who could have interpreted the objectives of these associations to their own communities. For those missions that actively promoted education, the church councils could have served much the same function as a link between the wider context of events and the villages. Efforts at upgrading primary schools and collecting money for bursaries were frequently undertaken by church committees.

The context of traditional politics also played into the situation as one organizational alternative for the mobilization of developmental effort. As inter-clan relations played heavily on locational politics generally, it is not surprising that there was some spill-over into

the educational sphere. The crux of the issue was whether various clans found it possible to cooperate in local developmental efforts, or whether alienation between them precluded any such possibility. Although both patterns were found in different communities, the examples of inter-clan cooperation were more frequent. There were certain pragmatic considerations which probably led to this tendency. As cooperation was an important component of success in any developmental project, clan chauvinism and exclusivism would have been counterproductive. Consequently, it was primarily in situations where a fairly overt event had occurred between clans that exclusivism prevailed. In such cases, inter-clan squabbles did affect church and school affairs. There were many other cases, however, in which clans cooperated in these developmental efforts. Administrators and missionary observers of the time were quick to notice the overtness of inter-clan disagreements and demands for equality. On the contrary, many cases of inter-clan cooperation were sufficiently subtle to escape their notice. The result is that the archival record is replete with examples which in themselves create a distorted picture of the interconnections between traditional politics and educational development. That distortion can only be corrected from the oral evidence. What was really occurring was that clans were usually able to cooperate in their efforts to undertake educational and other developmental projects.

From 1923 to 1939 throughout much of North Nyanza, inter-clan rivalries and campaigns for autonomy were a conspicuous and persistent aspect of locational politics.¹¹³ At the locational level, this activity took the form of agitation for removal of Abawanga chiefs in non-Wanga locations. Among the Abaluyia of central North Nyanza, this movement was represented by the movement to depose Mulama from the locational chieftainship in Marama. There was also a desire for certain scattered clans to reconstitute their territorial unity by demanding a location with their own chief. At the sub-locational level, various clans clamored for recognition by demanding the appointment of their own clan elders as sub-headmen.

The administrative system of mlango headmen which was in effect from 1924 to 1937 probably encouraged these demands. According to this system, elders of various clans were appointed as administrative sub-headmen and were paid four shillings per month. In his Annual Report for 1936, the Provincial Commissioner gave his assessment of this system.

The policy instituted several years ago of putting the heads of family groups on the pay roll as administrative sub-headmen with the title of 'mlango' has now been proved, in the opinion of all of us, a failure. Little or nothing was heard of sub-clan rivalries until these appointments were made. The pay, 4/- a month, was valueless in itself but conferred on the recipient an enviable

113 [N. A. Kenyon-Slaney?] (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1923, p. 3, K.N.A., Nairobi; [S. H. Fazan?] (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1938, p. 5, K.N.A., Nairobi.

social status and the opportunity of illicit perquisites. As family groups have split up by natural process into smaller units the head of each fresh sub-unit clamours for the same recognition with the result that there is constant bickering and jealousy.¹¹⁴

What happened in the implementation of this system was that the heads of some clans were recognized as sub-headmen, whereas others were not. This anomalous situation was inevitable in some cases because of the dispersal of clans into territorially non-contiguous segments. It was also due to the inability of district administrators to understand the dynamics of clanship. The archival record includes various clan lists which only include the names of the largest clans. The administration's failure to recognize many clans was probably attributable to the fact that they had acquired unreliable information through their official interpreters. Consequently, they were unaware of the number of clans that existed in each location. Finally, land-population pressures in the more populous locations probably led to more frequent clan feuds than elsewhere.¹¹⁵ These usually grew out of disputes over land use. Overall, the examples of clan rivalry and demands for recognition were numerous. Such disputes were often bilateral, however, and did not preclude the possibility of cooperation and congeniality on a multi-lateral basis with other clans.

¹¹⁴S. H. Fazan (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1936, p. 10, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹¹⁵J. H. Clive (D.C.), North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1936, pp. 6-7, K.N.A., Nairobi.

In some cases this contention and hostility in locational politics clearly had its effect in the educational sphere. The Provincial Commissioner wrote in the Annual Report for 1930 that the demands for clan autonomy led in the mission sphere to the desire "to break away from the existing mission control and start sects of their own and demand to have teachers of their own clans and no natives from alien clans."¹¹⁶ In the same year, the District Commissioner for North Nyanza observed the effects which clan jealousies were having in church and school affairs.

All missionary societies have had their troubles this year partly due to the wave of indiscipline amongst the young men that has swept over the district and partly due to the feeling of clan consciousness that is becoming more apparent.¹¹⁷

Four years later, the District Commissioner for North Nyanza made a similar comment.

It is regretted that there is little sign of a diminution of clan jealousies which do so much to hinder the political and material development of the District. Some of the leaders realise this in theory but are quite unable to give effect to their theory in practice. Mission adherents have for some time been jealous of teachers of other clans, but it is disturbing to find Elders, both Christian and Pagan, wishing to thrust their own nominees into various responsible positions which should be at the discretion of the Missionary in Charge assisted in some cases by his native Church Council.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶C. B. Thompson and C. M. Dobbs (P.C.s), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1930, p. 6, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹¹⁷C. B. Thompson and E. L. B. Anderson (D.C.s), North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1930, p. 30, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹¹⁸E. L. B. Anderson, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1934, pp. 2-3, K.N.A., Nairobi.

The missionaries were also very aware of the effects of clan consciousness on the churches and schools. Mrs. Owen wrote that "to . . . [the African] the supreme loyalty is to his clan. . . . This can be seen in Church Councils, where there is often a tendency to be loyal to clan interests rather than to discuss the point at issue on the broader lines of right and wrong."¹¹⁹ In 1934 the Father in charge of Mumias mission reported in the mission diary that there had been difficulty in electing a church leader in Bumini, East Wanga, because of contention between the Abashitsetse and the Abakolwe.¹²⁰ These two clans were frequently at loggerheads in locational politics throughout Wanga. Another case in which a perennial political feud spilled over into education was between the Samia and Abashisa clan clusters in Kisa. The District Commissioner reported that "the Samia in Kisa have found a pretext for a quarrel in the staffing of a C.M.S. School in Kisa. The Head teacher, a Kisa, wished to build a hut to live in on the school grounds."¹²¹

An example of how educational self-help projects were undertaken by the clan is provided by the Abasiralo

¹¹⁹Mrs. W. E. Owen, "Some Problems of the Native Church," Kenya News and Notes, No. 11 (August 1935), pp. 5-6.

¹²⁰Diary of Mumias Mission, 1918-44, October 12, 1934.

¹²¹North Kavirondo District Intelligence Report, November 1935, in PC/NZA.4/5/5, K.N.A., S.U. Mic. ser. 2805, reel 109.

association in West Bunyore. About 1923 the Abasiralo clan formed a society to provide social and economic development for its members. They first collected money to purchase a grindstone and other equipment for the construction of a water mill. Although this initial project was apparently unsuccessful, the association did pursue two successful educational endeavors. Sometime in the 1930s, the clan collected enough money to pay the school fees of a fellow clansman who was attending Alliance High School at Kikuyu. In 1935 or 1936 the association also collected money for a primary school. In the latter project at least, the Abasiralo received help from members of smaller clans living near or among them. The procedure by which this was undertaken was related by Jairo Asila, who himself was one of the best educated of the first-generation Christians in the CGM.

There was a system that any community which wanted a primary school should produce a certain amount of money to the government education officer. This was an indication that the community was keen on the idea, and we had to show how many children were likely to attend, and a place where a building would be put, before government would allow teachers to come and teach. This is Ebusiralo Primary School and was opened sometime in the 1930's. . . . The members of the community offered their labour and contributed a certain amount about 50 shillings from each home in the community, both Christians and non-Christians. Somebody would be appointed who would set a date when money should be brought in, and the names were recorded. . . . The money was contributed just by the Ebusiralo clan. There were other individuals who contributed after a few years:

the Emmusa, Ebusikhale, and Ekamanji. The Ebusagami, a large clan, live nearby but did not contribute. They took our land away so we didn't feel free to ask them.¹²²

The latter comment refers to the land quarrel which had erupted when a member of one of the clans allegedly built a house on the wrong side of the clan boundary. It seems most unlikely that very many, if any households, would have contributed as much as fifty shillings to the project. Nevertheless, it represented a significant self-help effort. It is also significant to note that the smaller clans found it possible to participate, even though the association was presumably initiated only by the Abasiralo. It was not difficult for clan consciousness to be circumvented and overcome in projects which might be of mutual benefit.

Another example of a clan association was the Abashihaka Union in Marama. It was started in 1932 by Jeremiah Rupiya, a CMS Jeanes teacher. Rupiya used the union to carry out some of the community development projects he had been taught at the Jeanes training school in Kabete.¹²³ The association's first projects were the collection of money for purchasing a lorry and the construction of a water mill for grinding maize flour. Money was also collected for bursaries. From this fund it paid the fees for Joseph Mutalanga and Washington

¹²²Jairo Asila, Personal Interview, Ebusikhale Sub-Location, West Bunyore, December 19, 1972.

¹²³Jeremiah Rupiya, Personal Interview, Shirotso Sub-Location, Marama, October 11, 1972.

Oketch at the Government African School, Kakamega. Approximately forty or fifty shillings were paid per year to each student. Many elders contributed to this fund because they thought it would be to their benefit to have educated clansmen. They apparently hoped that the students, on completion of their education, would return to their community, but the clan elders became somewhat disillusioned when neither of the boys returned home. Nevertheless, it was a source of some pride to help their clansmen receive education. "The project was taken on to promote the clan and they were the first ones of our clan to be educated to that level."¹²⁴ There is no indication that any other clans ever assisted the Abashihaka Union in these projects. The union, in fact, was apparently only in existence for four or five years. Since the Abashihaka were quite vocal in their demands for their own locational chief, it is possible that other clans chose to remain aloof.¹²⁵ With only their own resources to rely on, the Abashihaka would have had a harder time at making a success of their efforts than if other clans had assisted them.

In the light of the advantages inherent in broader cooperation, it is not surprising that many communities found it possible to pursue projects of socio-economic

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵E. L. B. Anderson (D.C.), North Nyanza Political Record Book, Vol. II, K.N.A., S.U. Mic. ser. 2802, reel 78.

development by drawing upon the participation of several clans. For various reasons, inter-clan cooperation was more characteristic of these local efforts than were single clan associations. First of all, the logistics of education was often important enough to overcome clan exclusivism. If a school was successfully built by a neighboring clan, students from nearby clans would rather attend it than to walk farther each day to school. The fact that the neighboring clans had not assisted in building the school did not create an insuperable barrier to their utilization of the school. Clan feeling had to be quite strong for children to walk five miles to school each day instead of one or two. The Abamenya relationship would also have contributed to inter-clan cooperation. In some cases, the smaller tenant clans may have been led to join out of fear that refusal to do so might jeopardize their land rights. There is some indication that such may have been the case at least among the Abalukala in West Bunyore. Nevertheless, due to their proximity, the tenant clans and the larger, land-owning clans among whom they had settled would often have formed a community of mutual interest. The network of congenial relations that grew out of the ad hoc clan alliances of pre-colonial times also provided a framework for inter-clan cooperation. Finally, because of the sheer advantage of numbers, government policy tended to favor the efforts of inter-clan

associations. Before an LNC grant could be acquired for the payment of teachers' salaries at a school, officials had to be assured that there was both sufficient need and interest in the community. Community leaders had to verify that a sufficient number of students would attend. For that reason, attracting students from more than one clan would have enhanced the school's viability before the District Education Board and made the school's receipt of a grant more certain.

The inter-clan alliances that were formed in southern and central North Nyanza for educational purposes were usually organized by an ad hoc committee of community leaders. As exemplified by Ebusiratsi in Bunyore, this organizational effort could easily be undertaken within the church. Leaders of the Christian village at Ebusiratsi first sought the advice of Charles Ludwig at Kima. He accepted their proposal, and advised them to begin by making bricks.¹²⁶ They then collected money from the various residents in the Christian village. As such villages nearly always included members of various clans, support for the school would have been acquired from more than one clan. Through these efforts, the school was opened in about 1936. Another example of inter-clan cooperation occurred in Shirotso, Kisa.¹²⁷ Although the

¹²⁶ Group Interview, Ebusiratsi Sub-Location, East Bunyore, January 15, 1973.

¹²⁷ Group Interview, Mwikalikha Sub-Location, Kisa, December 15, 1972.

initial steps were taken by only one clan, the Abashirotsa, other clans soon began to support the project. Sylvester Amateshe, a Roman Catholic who had been to St. Mary's, called the elders of the Shirotsa clan together and convinced them that an elementary school was needed. Construction of the school and donation of building materials were a community project. As the project was successful, students of other clans began to attend. These clans included the Abashirotsa, the Abachero, Abarechea, Abamutsasa, and Abashianda. Eventually, the school received a grant from the LNC.

A similar effort was organized by several clans in Shikalame, Shinamwenyule and Buchifi.¹²⁸ Because of the distance to Butere and to Musanda, various leaders of the area began to feel that their own elementary school was needed. They formed an association including the churches of about six communities in Bulanda, Imanga, Shikalame, Shinamwenyule, and Buchifi. The association included members of the Abashitsetse, Abakolwe, Abamwima, Abakalibo, Abamuniafu, and Abatobe clans. It collected money in 1939 to establish a school at Buchifi, South Wanga. The same association undertook a similar effort in later years when schools were needed in Bulanda, Imanga, and Shikalame. In view of the perennial animosity between the Abashitsetse and the Abakolwe, it might seem surprising

¹²⁸Group Interview, Imanga Sub-Location, November 3, 1972; Group Interview, Shikalame Sub-Location, September 7, 1972.

that they were able to work together in this way, but when the nearest school was four miles away, logistics were a compelling reason for mutual effort.

Overall, the accomplishments of these self-help efforts amounted to a significant advance in the development of African education. On the one hand, the sector school system did not develop very rapidly. By 1935, for example, the only new sector school in southern or central North Nyanza was Musanda Luo in South Wanga. The inter-tribe disagreements between the Ugenya Kager Luo and the Abawanga made it necessary to divide the Musanda school into separate tribal sections.¹²⁹ After 1935, however, the system did develop somewhat faster. This was particularly the case in the most populous areas. In Bunyore, new sector schools were approved at Ebusiratse and Ebunangwe for the CGM and Ebwali and Maseno Junior for the CMS. Within a few years, Ebubayi and Emusire were also added.¹³⁰ Apart from the greater numbers of students who had to be accommodated in such a populous area, there is at least some evidence to suggest that population pressures created a greater proportional demand for education. In a limited village survey, it was discovered that a larger percentage of educated people were found in the more densely populated areas than elsewhere. Without adequate statistical evidence, no firm conclusion is

¹²⁹ Minutes of the North Nyanza District Education Board, March 7, 1935, in PC/NZA.2/726, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

possible. It seems possible however that land-population pressures could have stimulated a more widespread interest in education, which might have been one means of seeking a viable living for those whose sons could not all be accommodated on the land. At any rate, the sector school system expanded more rapidly in Bunyore than elsewhere in southern and central North Nyanza. Some of the un-assisted elementary schools probably reached the same level as the sector schools. Their efforts, however, were only to be rewarded with recognition and financial assistance in the years to come.

For the most part, the elementary schools offered a syllabus which was intended to impart greater skill in the acquisition of literacy. In his report for 1938, the Director of Education provided a description of what was probably a fairly typical elementary school.

In a good aided elementary school, or "sector" school as they are sometimes called, there will be a permanent building on up to five acres of land, with a football field and extensive school gardens and water available. There is often a simple carpenter's shop for the boys and a "domestic" room, possibly with a sewing-machine, for the girls, and a dispensary nearby. There will be good physical training, and the 200 or so children, neatly dressed in school uniform, regularly attend the courses of instruction given by certificated lower primary or elementary teachers. The school serves all children who wish to attend in the immediate neighbourhood. Children who have completed Standard I in a sub-elementary school will walk long distances to attend the top classes at the elementary school. Any boarding arrangements, except where the school is in a mission station, are discouraged. It is a satisfactory feature that upwards of 40,000 boys

and 17,000 girls are now attending these improved elementary schools. Every year a number of the unassisted elementary schools become eligible for grants, although new grants are frequently not available.¹³¹

The curriculum of these schools extended generally from Standards II to IV. Although it might include some emphasis on carpentry and sewing, there was little emphasis on technical training. The basic curriculum included reading, writing, arithmetic, Swahili, geography, and hygiene. The elementary schools were charged with the basic responsibility of improving the standard of literacy.¹³²

Aside from the efforts of African educators to extend the educational system through organized group activities, the role of chiefs and headmen as educators deserves some attention. The conclusion has already been offered that chiefs in Kenya played a less significant role in the extension of the educational system than in Tanzania or Uganda.¹³³ Events in North Nyanza confirm that conclusion. With the exception of Wanga, the chiefs had no traditional basis within the indigenous political system. Furthermore, they were frequently viewed as the local agents of the alien European Administration. The chiefs themselves

¹³¹Education Department Annual Report, 1938 (Nairobi, n.d.), pp. 6-7.

¹³²"Memorandum in Regard to Education of Africans," p. 9.

¹³³C. W. Furley, "Education and the Chiefs in East Africa in the Inter-War Period," Makerere College East African Institute for Social Research, Conference Papers, Dec. 1968--Jan. 1969, p. 76.

were caught in the dilemma of having to please both the Administration and their subjects. The fact that the laws and executive orders were not available in a language which they could understand meant that they frequently misunderstood and misapplied the orders which they were given to enforce. In Wanga, due to the greater respect which the chiefs enjoyed, the situation might have been different had the chiefs chosen to promote education. Mumia, however, had been largely uninterested in education. Unlike Buganda, the Wanga traditional bureaucracy did not accommodate itself to social change in a manner which made it a positive factor in the educational sphere. Nor was there any discernible trend to appoint chiefs who themselves were a product of the higher schools. As late as the 1940s, the Administration was seemingly more interested in appointing local agents who could hold the peace in the face of the perennial quarrels between kinship groups.¹³⁴ With these factors taken into consideration, it is not surprising that the chiefs and headmen played no more than a minor role in educational development in North Nyanza.

Despite this generally minor role, certain individual chiefs did use their power and influence for the promotion of education. It was a matter which depended largely on

¹³⁴K. L. Hunter (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1946, p. 2, K.N.A., Nairobi.

individual priorities and motives. In North Nyanza, Mulama continued to exemplify this merger of individual motivation and chiefly authority. Prior to his deposition in 1935, he continued to promote education as he had done before. He was angered when in 1926 the Butere Vocational School was transferred to Maseno. The District Commissioner reported of the event that "no advance notice of the intended move was given, and this sudden deprivation of scholastic facilities caused some amount of discontent with Chief Mulama and the local natives."¹³⁵ When the sector schools were opened, Mulama called people out to work on construction of the schools and later encouraged parents to send their children to them. He also was an ardent spokesman for educational development in the Local Native Council and the North Nyanza School Area Committee. In 1932, he presented an eight-point petition to the LNC which included an appeal for more schools.¹³⁶ After 1929 his influence was probably curtailed somewhat due to his censure by the CMS. Nevertheless, he remained an ardent spokesman for educational development at least until his deposition.

Another chief who is remembered on a fairly wide basis for his promotion of education was Zakayo Ojuok,

¹³⁵A. E. Chamier (D.C.), North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1925, 21, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹³⁶Minutes of the North Kavirondo Local Native Council, February 19, 1932, in North Kavirondo [Local Native Council] Minute Book, Vol. II, 1929-33, p. 259, seen at Kakamega, Kenya.

of Bunyore. As one of the earliest converts of the CMS Maseno mission, Ojuok himself was a product of mission educational activities. After some years of working at the mission as a domestic servant for Canon Pleydell, Ojuok became friendly with Mulama. Through the latter's influence, Ojuok was appointed as headman in Bunyore. When Mulama himself was deposed as divisional chief of Bunyore and Kisa, Ojuok became his successor. Ojuok is remembered for his exhortations to various families to send their children to Maseno and Kima schools. He also reportedly paid the fees for several Bunyore students who attended the Native Industrial Training Depot at Kabete.

An additional dimension of the politics of educational development was the expression of African opinion about the pace and directions which their education was taking. Of the various issues to which they raised their voice, perhaps no concern was expressed more earnestly or frequently than their discontent with the inordinately slow pace of development. With each passing year, the demands for more schools were increasingly persistent. After touring Nyanza Province in 1925, the Governor reported that "at all the meetings of the Native Councils and Barazas I attended requests were made for the establishment of Schools."¹³⁷ In 1931 at a meeting of Provincial and District Commissioners, the Inspector of

¹³⁷Edward B. Denham (Atg. Gov., Kenya), to L. S. Amery (SSC), Nairobi, June 6, 1925, CO 533/331.

Schools, G. E. Webb, expressed his concern that funds were not available to meet the perennial African demands for more education. As reported in the minutes of the meeting, he "raised the question of larger funds for primary and elementary schools. Every year the demand increased for more schools and more efficient teaching."¹³⁸ In 1933 the Provincial Commissioner reported that "generally the people consider education, as understood by them, to be the beginning and end of all things." Such demands were a precursor to even more insistent pleas in future years. In 1944 the Provincial Commissioner wrote of the dimensions of this demand.

The pressure of desire for entry to Primary Schools is greater than ever, and is resulting in a flood of demands for Day Primary Schools, which can only be dealt with constructively by means of patient explanations in barazas and by calling on the assistance of African members of District Education Boards to help people to understand that until training facilities are vastly increased and a new body of the better qualified teachers available there can be no advance.¹³⁹

In the following year, the Provincial Commissioner reported that "the demand for education by the African, as previously stated, has no limits, and despite all our efforts in organisation and finance, will not be met for very many

¹³⁸ Meeting of the District Commissioners of Nyanza Province at Kisumu, June 6-7, 1938, in PC/NZA.4/1/3/1, Nyanza Province daily correspondence, Sec. 10-A, S.U. Mic. ser. 2262, reel 34.

¹³⁹ K. L. Hunter (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1944, p. 14, K.N.A., Nairobi.

years to come."¹⁴⁰ Attempts to explain that finances and facilities were not sufficient to meet these demands were not likely to be taken in good faith. Some African leaders probably knew that their own views on education were frequently disregarded by many of the European administrative officials.

Africans also repeatedly expressed their discontent with the curriculum offered in the central schools and with the language of instruction. Central to these views was the longstanding controversy of literary education versus technical training. African opinions were rather ambivalent on this point. In the campaign to establish the Government African School at Kakamega, some of the proponents had asked for a technical and agricultural school instead of a school for literary education. On the other hand, there were some African educators who expressed a disdain for technical training. Such views would have been strengthened by the fact that even the best-trained students from Maseno sometimes had difficulty procuring employment. In 1934 Carey Francis wrote that "already our boys are asking why we are teaching them trades if there is no work for them to do when they have been trained."¹⁴¹ Coupled with the desire for literary education was a frequently-expressed interest in

¹⁴⁰K. L. Hunter (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1945, p. 13, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹⁴¹Church Missionary Society Annual Report, 1933-34, XXXII, Kenya Mission, p. 65.

the teaching of English. Even among Europeans, the question of language in the schools had constantly been a controversial issue. European administrators were loath to see English catching on among Africans. They were convinced that it would lead to the circulation of English newspapers in which "the alleged injustices to the natives of Kenya are advertised."¹⁴² Aside from any political implications, knowledge of English was certainly necessary for carrying out the best jobs available to Africans in the Government bureaucracy. The fact that the laws were published only in English would also have enhanced the African desire to master it.¹⁴³ Africans had been quite impressed with James Aggrey's ability to speak English. His example convinced them that they, too, could learn it.¹⁴⁴ By the later 1920s, when English was taught in the central schools, it was always a popular subject. The language issue was one on which the missionaries also differed. Whereas some of the CMS missionaries, such as Carey Francis and Owen favored the teaching of English, Canon Leech of Butere expressed considerable disdain for Africans who spoke it in his presence. It was seemingly

¹⁴²Dr. Shiels, "Memorandum on alleged injustices to native peoples in Kenya," in Sir Edward Grigg (Gov., Kenya) to Lord Passfield (SSC), March 5, 1930, CO 533/396.

¹⁴³East African Standard, Oct. 2, 1926, p. 6.

¹⁴⁴Group Interview, Japheth Kite and Enos Wanekaya, Shibembe Sub-Location, Marama, Oct. 25, 1972.

taken by some Europeans as a symbol of African attempts to gain equality with Europeans. As opinions both among Europeans and Africans often carried the debate into the political arena, it was bound to be a controversial issue.

Africans also used the LNC in North Nyanza as a forum for the expression of their views on education. As the Council came to be dominated increasingly by educated men, certain members such as Joseph Mulama and Jeremiah Awuor became ardent proponents of education. One of the issues to receive frequent attention was the demand for African students to be sent overseas for education. In 1934 the Council presented a petition to the Governor and the Secretary of State, requesting "that boys may be given facilities to study at schools in other countries such as England. The Local Native Council would be willing to help with funds."¹⁴⁵ When such requests were unheeded, a member of the Council asked in 1937 "why Government always refused permission for a native to study in Europe, and was told that this was not the case."¹⁴⁶ Although the Government could not stop an African from going to England, Africans were definitely discouraged in every way.

¹⁴⁵"Requests put Forward by the North Kavirondo Local Native Council and other Representative Natives to His Excellency the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 22nd January, 1934," in PC/NZA.2/479, K.N.A., Nairobi.

¹⁴⁶Minutes of the North Kavirondo Local Native Council, Jan. 20-21, 1934, in North Kavirondo [Local Native Council] Minute Book, Vol. III, 1934-39, p. 14, seen at Kakamega, Kenya.

The Government probably feared that any such African might be too politicized and would make a nuisance of himself by presenting myriads of petitions to the Colonial Office. As A. C. C. Parkinson of the Colonial Office staff wrote, "We cannot well try to prevent an African native from coming to England, but the S. of S. can reasonably refuse to grant an interview to a native who represents only one section of the tribe."¹⁴⁷

Closely related to the desire for Africans to be sent overseas was their demand that more of them be appointed to administrative positions. One aspect of this issue which was aired repeatedly before the Council was the desire for the Goan clerk of the LNC to be replaced by an African. The matter was closely related to education, for such queries were answered with the retort that no African could fill the post until a competent candidate was found.¹⁴⁸ It was an issue that became ever more intense in future years. In 1945 when Eliud Mathu was the first African to be appointed to the Legislative Council, the same demands were expressed. Mathu had been to England and returned to Kenya with a university degree. As the Provincial Commissioner wrote in 1945, "the appointment gave rise locally to a grave sense of inferiority in educational attainments,

¹⁴⁷Inter-office memo, Jan. 21, 1929, in response to Sir Edward Grigg (Gov., Kenya) to L. S. Amery, Jan. 18, 1929, CO 533/384.

¹⁴⁸Minutes of the North Kavirondo Local Native Council, May 30, 1932, in North Kavirondo [Local Native Council] Minute Book, Vol. II, 1929-33, p. 264, seen at Kakamega, Kenya.

as it was felt that the first appointment should have been made from Nyanza, but educational standards proved a bar."¹⁴⁹ A petition presented to the Governor in 1945 by the North Nyanza LNC indicated how strongly Africans felt about the issue.

We have, until now, wished to get education which would enable us to hold responsible posts in the Administration of our country, but we have never had a solution to this. We request that suitable persons be allowed to pursue courses which are essential for the progress of our country. If East Africa is not ready to provide for such courses, we request that suitable people be allowed to go for higher education in those countries which can provide such courses. We want judges, schoolmasters and inspectors of schools, doctors, civil engineers and persons with adequate experience who can lead our people in every possible way.¹⁵⁰

These demands for the indigenization of the Administration were an important factor which led Africans to see the need for more education.

By 1939 African educators in North Nyanza had successfully created various channels for participating in the process of educational development. Official channels for that purpose were limited to the mission bureaucracies, the Local Native Council, and later, the District Education Board. In the face of such restrictions, African educators utilized the welfare associations and local

¹⁴⁹K. L. Hunter (P.C.), Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1945, p. 3.

¹⁵⁰J. S. N. Adagala "on behalf of North Kavirondo Local Native Council, representing the natives of North Kavirondo," Kakamega, to Sir Philip Mitchell, Governor, May 1945, in 3/2095, Nyanza Province Daily Correspondence and Reports, K.N.A. Sec. 10, S.U. Mic. ser. 2800, reel 287.

action groups for the implementation of their aims. Both channels were frequently formed on the basis of interclan alliances with pre-colonial antecedents. Overall, the action taken through these means was most effective at the village school level. The prescribed policy for upgrading these schools to the Elementary "B" level provided for considerable local citizen initiatives. African efforts were not limited, however, to this level alone. Scholarships were awarded to students in the higher schools from funds collected by these means. African educators also frequently criticized both the patterns and pace of educational development. Through these efforts, they became by 1939 an influential factor in educational development.

CONCLUSION

A persistent theme throughout this study has been the interplay of various interest groups which influenced the pattern and pace of African educational development in North Nyanza. There were three such groups within the European community--the missions, the Administration, and the settlers. A fourth group, which frequently found itself juxtaposed to the interests of the other three, was the Africans themselves. Of all these, it was the missions that were initially the most influential in the provision of educational opportunities to Africans. After World War I, however, a gradual shift occurred which eventually saw the Administration assume the most influential position in the establishment and implementation of educational goals. From 1919 onwards, the Administration adopted various proposals which determined the guidelines for future educational development. By 1939, a system of education had emerged from the Administration's rather piecemeal and often uncoordinated efforts. This power shift did not occur without opposition from the missions, however, for the latter frequently expressed concern that the Administration was encroaching on their

exclusive preserve. At the same time, through their influence in the Legislative Council, the settlers made every attempt to ascertain that not too much would be spent on African education. They also made certain that technical education was not overlooked as a major priority. The fact that each of the aforementioned European interest groups had its own axe to grind meant that conflict and disagreement between European and African educators were unavoidable. African educators found it necessary to speak out in their own interest and to take initiatives to implement their own educational goals. They criticized official educational policy and sought various means to extend the educational system in accordance with their interests. At the local level, their efforts constituted a significant aspect of educational development.

The conflict which arose between European and African educators was more a consequence of the colonial situation itself than of any specific aspects of educational policy. The European interest groups which controlled the educational system comprised a part of the colonial power structure, and had every intention of maintaining and perpetuating their power. Africans were thought to be untrustworthy and incapable of assuming any position of responsibility. In accordance with their views regarding the necessity of the colonial relationship, Europeans were unwilling to move too fast or to delegate

more than token responsibility to their African agents. These inherent assumptions of the colonial relationship were nowhere more apparent than in the African educational system. Warnings were frequently given as to the dangers of providing instruction in English or giving African agents too much latitude in the decision-making process. It was perhaps to educated Africans that these assumptions were most chafing. One of the most blatant dichotomies of colonial politics and society was that educated Africans were not permitted to benefit from the fruits of their accomplishments. The fact that such assumptions were so all-pervasive, and were not unique to the educational system alone, only served to intensify the African resolve to speak out as critics of an educational system which seldom took their views into consideration. Where criticism failed, as it usually did, African educators took initiatives to extend the educational system by their own means.

Overall, and particularly after 1922, the initiatives which Africans took in the interest of their own educational development comprised a significant factor in the growth of education in North Nyanza. For the first two decades of mission activity, the African role was limited almost entirely to that of serving as propagative agents in the mission community; they served as teachers, catechists, builders, and in other adjunctive capacities.

The dimensions of their contribution can only be estimated against the fact that only a handful of European missionaries were ever in service at a given time. Without the assistance of these African agents, the extension of the mission communities would have been seriously curtailed.¹ With the establishment of the first political association in late 1922, certain African leaders took a more assertive stance in the provision of African educational opportunity, for these associations were utilized as channels through which certain educational projects could be undertaken. At the same time, African educators utilized the official channels available to them for educational and social development. These included the Local Native Council and, after 1934, the District Education Boards. They also formed various local action groups for the purpose of upgrading the village schools. In addition to these various forms of action, Africans were critical of official policy. They criticized the rate of educational development, the content of the curriculum, and demanded that the officers of the LNC be replaced by qualified Africans. Overall, that criticism was aimed at the moderate goal of reforming the system rather than

¹A. J. Temu, in British Protestant Missions (London, 1972), p. 66, has concluded that "for the whole of the transitional period, a period extending for over fifty years on the coast and up to the First World War for the interior of Kenya, the story of the church, its successes and failures, is indeed the story of the early African catechists, readers, and pastors."

creating alternatives to it or advocating the termination of the colonial relationship. Nevertheless, African advocates of educational advancement were articulate in their opposition to a system which was frequently juxtaposed to their interests.

The fact that African educators in North Nyanza both utilized the system provided for them and criticized many aspects of it leads to the conclusion that the commonly accepted dichotomy of collaborators and resisters is insufficient for understanding much of the interplay between Africans and Europeans in the colonial period. On the one hand, African educators were the collaborators par excellence. They were able to perceive the opportunities which followed from cooperation with Europeans and from acquiring a western education. They often worked closely with European missionaries in the extension of the mission community, and manned the lesser posts in the mission bureaucracies. Furthermore, some of them were the same leaders who had invited the missions to settle within their areas of jurisdiction. It was partly due to the extent of their involvement in this system, however, that they found reason to criticize it. They experienced the color bar in the bitterest ways, and had close enough contact with Europeans to discover their inner thoughts and motives. Furthermore, some aspects of the alien culture were accepted,

whereas others were rejected.² The boundary between Christianity and indigenous culture was nearly always fluid, with individuals frequently crossing from one cultural community to the other. What all this meant was that the African agents who were the most ardent collaborators were among the most articulate resisters as well.

The co-existence of collaboration and resistance in the same individuals has been recognized recently by several historians. D. A. Low has emphasized this theme with regard to the Baganda:

The modern history of Buganda displays not just the pre-eminence of its leaders as "collaborators" with their colonial rulers, or the presence amongst them of "resisters", but the co-existence of these roles in one and the same person--in Kabaka Mwanga for example--to an extent which is now increasingly coming to be recognised. If Buganda's leaders appear from one angle to have been arch collaborators with their colonial rulers, it is very apparent that they were also amongst the most adroit and successful resisters as well. More than that: their story shows very clearly that collaboration and resistance were not issues which, simply, divided men in two camps: on the Buganda evidence . . . there were issues over which many of the same individual and collective minds agonised continuously.³

Atieno Odhiambo has extended this theme with regard to the general context of European-African interaction in Uganda from 1890 to 1939. He concluding that "the collaborators

²Bascom and Herskovits have drawn attention to the selectivity of the acculturation process. See William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits, Continuity and Change in African Cultures (Chicago, 1959), p. 6.

³Donald Anthony Low, Buganda in Modern History (London, 1971), p. 7.

were not the real collaborators they appeared to be: they were also rebels; the rebels were also not fully rebels: they were collaborators."⁴ Odhiambo was referring particularly to the crossovers which occurred from one camp to the other. Strayer is yet another historian to recognize the co-existence of collaboration and resistance in the same individuals. Although he does not use the terms as such, he traces the theme of conflict in the history of the CMS mission community in eastern and central Kenya.⁵ It is clear from his analysis that the very African agents who allied themselves with the interests of the CMS mission were frequently the most ardent critics of mission policies and practices. With regard to the Abaluyia, this ambivalence was evident in their acceptance of education and, at the same time, their criticism of educational policy. Indeed, it may be said that while the initial resisters to the imposition of colonial rule were biding their time in acquiescence, the collaborators were becoming the real resisters to the system of which they were a part.

An additional theme running throughout this study has been the varied pattern of missionary involvement in African education. With regard to the southern and central

⁴E. S. Atieno Odhiambo, "The Paradox of Collaboration: the Uganda Case," East Africa Journal, IX, 10 (1962), p. 142.

⁵Robert Strayer, "The Church Missionary Society in Eastern and Central Kenya, 1875-1935: a mission community in a colonial society," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1971), p. 366.

Abaluyia, only the CMS initially placed major emphasis on education. The CMS was distinguished by its early entry into the educational field, by the excellence of its central school at Maseno, and by comparatively early emphasis on teacher training. The CMS had completed two full decades of effort before the MHM and the CGM began to follow suit. Although this varied pattern of exposure to educational opportunity had a marked effect on the overall social development of the area throughout the period under study, a levelling effect has apparently occurred in the decades since 1939. On the one hand, the effects of this varied pattern of exposure to education are still evident among the senior generation of mission adherents. The initial pattern of varied exposure to educational opportunity has apparently had considerably less effect on the long-term pattern of social change, however, for Africans in certain areas with limited opportunity initially have been among the most ardent proponents of education for their children. The conclusion which follows from this is that educational opportunity in the form of access to schools in the early period of mission activity was only one factor stimulating an interest in educational development. Probably the most significant aspect of social change which contributed to the growing interest in education was the increase in the scale of

social interaction.⁶ Although education did contribute to that increase in scale, many other factors contributed to the same process of social change. The presence of schools in a given area were not a necessary component in the social situation leading to this increase in scale. Therefore, it was in fact quite possible for such a response to occur without the initial stimulus of widespread access to schools. For that reason, the educational policy of the missions had less effect on the patterns of response to education in the long run than during the first and second generation of cultural contact.

The significance of this broader pattern of social change as the primary stimulus, as opposed to the extent of educational opportunity in the local context, is most markedly exemplified by the densely populated locations of East and West Bunyore. On the one hand, due to the policy of the SACIM and later the CGM, the Banyore had only limited educational opportunities during the first generation of mission activity. Before 1923, the school at the Kima station did not provide more than the rudiments of literary instruction, and it received no departmental grants until the mid-1930s. The most marked effect

⁶ Monica Wilson, in Religion and the Transformation of Society: a Study in Social Change in Africa (Cambridge, 1971), p. 105, has written that "It has been argued that the most general change occurring in society is the increase in scale, that is the number of people interacting, and the closeness of their interaction. And with the increase in scale goes increase in knowledge and skill and therefore in power to shape society"

of this initial de-emphasis on education is that the general level of education among the first generation of CGM adherents is noticeably below that of the CMS. Consequently, the more influential posts within the CGM administrative structure have of necessity been filled with younger men. On the contrary, by the 1930s and 1940s a groundswell of interest in western education was occurring in Bunyore society. This widespread interest found its most concrete expression in the number of local action groups which took upon themselves the necessity of upgrading their village schools to elementary "B" status. At nearly the same time, additional sector schools were added to the system to accommodate the increasing number of students turned out by the Elementary "A" schools. Essentially, a process of growth was occurring from the bottom up which did not depend on external stimulus. It depended instead on a process of social change occurring within Bunyore society itself.

By that time, due to local pressures within Bunyore society, the Banyore were beginning to experience an increase in the scale of social interaction which was unprecedented throughout much of Buluyia. A key to that process of change was the growing lack of self-sufficiency within the indigenous economy. The population itself was increasing so rapidly as to cause considerable land-population pressures. As early as the 1930s, district

officers frequently commented on the rapid deterioration of the land due to intensive cultivation and inadequate conservation measures.⁷ This would almost inevitably have led to a higher rate of labor migration to the European estates and urban centers. It might also have stimulated greater interest in education as an alternative basis for economic security. This causal connection between economic pressures and interest in education have been proved through recent socio-economic research in Maragoli, where economic conditions and land-population pressures are not unlike those in Bunyore.⁸ It seems plausible to conclude, at least tentatively, that the same rational choices might have prevailed historically in both Maragoli and Bunyore. Socio-economic conditions from the 1930s onward would certainly have been conducive to that possibility. It seems plausible to suggest, therefore, that the lack of self-sufficiency in the indigenous Bunyore economy was an important factor in the growth of education. Under such

⁷J. M. Lonsdale, in "European Attitudes and African Pressures: Missions and Government in Kenya Between the Wars," ed. Bethwell A. Ogot, Hadith 2: Proceedings of the 1968 Conference of the Historical Association of Kenya (Nairobi, 1970), p. 229, has concluded that "the crucial pressure in this period was not political but demographic and economic. . . ." For a report on conditions in Maragoli and Bunyore specifically, see C. B. Thompson (D.C.), North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1932, p. 42, DC/NN.1/13, K.N.A., Nairobi.

⁸Joyce Lewinger Moock, "Pragmatism and the Primary School: the Case of a Non-rural Village," Africa, XLII, 4 (Oct. 1973), pp. 305-08.

conditions, the upward mobility which accrued to those acquiring a western education might have been regarded as an alternative source of economic security.

South Wanga represents somewhat of an opposite case in point. On the one hand, the situation in Bunyore was paralleled in Wanga by the fact that the MHM did not initially take an active interest in educational development. Furthermore, the local potentate, Paramount Chief Mumia, was indifferent to education. The parallel between Bunyore and Wanga stops at that point, for while the Banyore took a keen interest in education from the 1930s onward, the Abawanga displayed a rather distinct lack of interest in educational development. In their interest in upgrading the village schools to elementary "B" status, for example, the Abawanga were a full fifteen to twenty years behind the Banyore. Furthermore, while the sector school system was expanding in Bunyore, the sector schools at Lubinu and Kholera were threatened with foreclosure due to the lack of students.⁹ It is significant to consider this lack of interest in education in the context of the indigenous economic situation in Wanga. That economy was more self-sufficient than in Bunyore. There was a lower population density, and the average number of livestock per farm was considerably higher than

⁹T. G. Benson (Inspector of Schools, Nyanza), "Notes on meeting of representatives of the Wanga people held at Matungu on March 22nd, 1945," in PC/NZA.2/737, K.N.A., Nairobi.

in the most populous locations.¹⁰ It seems plausible to conclude that in Wanga, this greater self-sufficiency resulted in a less marked increase in the scale of social interaction. Correspondingly, it could also have led to less interest in educational development.

At a more microcosmic level of analysis, this study has dealt with the sociological patterns of response to education. In this regard, several studies of African response to Christianity have concluded that the earliest respondents were from the fringe and periphery of traditional society.¹¹ It seems doubtful, that the same pattern is characteristic of the Abaluyia response to Christianity and education. There are several factors which contributed to this absence of any discernible pattern vis-a-vis the Abaluyia. For one thing, the advent of missionary activity in western Kenya was simultaneous to the establishment of colonial administration. Therefore, missionary work could be commenced more intensively than would otherwise have been possible. Furthermore, Abaluyia society was characterized by a considerable degree of individual autonomy. Despite the taboos and other

¹⁰M. H. Grieve (Agricultural Officer, Kakamega), "Native crop production and statistics for North Kavirondo," Kenya Land Commission Papers, K.N.A., S.U. Mic., ser. 1925, reel 10.

¹¹Temu, British Protestant Missions, p. 14; Low, Uganda in Modern History, p. 17; J. A. Kieran, "The Christian Church in East Africa in Modern Times (I)," Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, XXV, 3 (1969), p. 191.

traditional restraints governing individual behavior, the individual was free to choose a varied course of action in the pursuit of self interest. It is interesting to note the lack of restraint enjoyed by the traditional warrior class or by those youths of comparable age. When first-generation Christians were asked about the reaction of their parents to their becoming Christians, the most frequent response was that the elders had not opposed it.¹² The choice of a traditional or a non-traditional means of acquiring power, status, and influence also were primarily a matter of self interest. It is perhaps for this reason that no discernible pattern of response could be found for the Abaluyia.

It is also significant that the fissiparous tendencies and acephalous structure of traditional Abaluyia society were not an insurmountable barrier in resolving the problem of scale. There were, in fact, certain precolonial antecedents for inter-clan cooperation which were utilized in the process of upgrading the village schools. There was little carryover from the interclan squabbles in locational politics into the social realm. Previous interpretations have over-emphasized the predominance of clan chauvinism in the establishment of schools, the choice of

¹²This answer was received from numerous informants throughout southern and central Buluyia.

teachers, and in the patterns of recruitment into mission and administrative bureaucracies.

Analysis of the methods utilized by the Abaluyia to extend the provision of educational opportunity reveals that they were basically contented with working through the system provided for that purpose. Even the efforts of the welfare associations and of local community action groups were aimed at extending the educational system, instead of creating their own alternatives to it. There are several factors which explain this historical phenomenon. First of all, with the single exception of the North Kavirondo Central Association in the mid-1930s, Abaluyia political groups in general were moderate in their objectives and methods of attaining them. Secondly, no popular issue such as female circumcision arose to cause a rupture in relations between the missions and their African adherents. Furthermore, the mere fact that such a rupture had occurred in Central Province with the establishment of independent schools made missionaries and administrative officials elsewhere more responsive to African demands. Finally, provisions were made for the growth of the educational system through local effort. So long as such action led to success, there would have been little reason for alternative methods to be attempted.

Finally, it is clear that a complex of political factors did have a profound effect on the patterns and

pace of educational development in North Nyanza. These factors included inter-mission relations, the Administration through the Legislative Council and the Education Department, the settlers, and Africans themselves. The fact that these interest groups were frequently opposed to one another meant that African education was a hotly contested issue. These political factors affected the means by which educational growth occurred.

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

A. Biographical.

Name of informant, tribe, clan, place of birth, present age, wife's name (or names) and home before marriage, whether wife was a Christian before marriage, number of children, level of their educational attainment, how he got money for their school fees, religious affiliation, date of baptism.

Previous places of residence, places visited outside place of birth, names of schools attended, dates, nature of education acquired and level attained. Nature of witness' first job, place employed, dates. Jobs the witness has taken since first employment, places, dates. Witness' present job, details of any military service, places served and dates, nature of work done in military, societies and organisations of which he has been a member, possession of any letters, diaries, log books of schools, or pictures dating back before 1945.

Family Background. Name of father, wives and sons which he had, whether father was a Christian, where father was born, where grandfather was born. Was the mother of witness his father's first wife or second wife, was he the oldest son? Were any of his brothers converted to Christianity? If so, which ones? Did any of them receive any education? What did his father/mother think about his becoming a Christian? About getting an education?

When was the catechist centre of this community opened? Who opened it? Who were the first catechists? Where were they from? What were their approximate ages? Questions about their family background: how many wives and sons did their fathers have? How much education did each have? Where did they receive it? What was their clan affiliation? Did these catechists send their own sons to school? Which ones?

B. History of the Christian Community.

What methods did the Mission use to interest people in Christianity? What did elders of witness' clan say when he became a Christian? What did members of his family say or do? Did missionaries provide assistance for Africans in the famine of 1907; in the influenza of 1918? Did this affect people's views of missionaries? Who were the chaplains who went along with the troops and tenga tenga in World War I?

Who were the earliest converts in this catechist centre? What was their family background, i.e. number of wives, number of sons which their fathers had? Were they first sons, second sons, or other? Did they send their children to school? How much education did they receive?

Was any attempt made to establish a Christian village here? When was it started? Who wanted it to be formed? How many people lived in it? Were there Christian converts of this community who did not live in it? Was this

village given a name? How was it chosen? Who were the leaders of this village? What was their clan name? What did these leaders do? Why was this particular spot chosen as the place for the village? Did anything important happen there in traditional society? Who provided the land for the village? Did any marriages or funerals take place in these villages? What would be done when a member of the Christian village died? Where was he buried? Were circumcision ceremonies held in the Christian village? Were there any Christian barazas ever held in this village? What was discussed?

How long did this Christian village last? Did any Christians move back into their former villages? For what reason? Were there any catechists of other missions who attempted to open a catechist centre here? By which mission were they sent? What happened when they came here to teach? Have any of the catechists working in this village been educated? What was their family background?

C. History of Education in this Community.

When was the school opened in this community? Who opened it? Who wanted the Africans to go to school? When did this school first get aid from the Government? Who were the missionaries who wanted the people to send their children to school? What sort of reputation did the missionary have who came around to supervise the school?

How often did he come around? Were the children forced to go to school? Who forced them to go? What standard of education was given? Were the students given school uniforms? Did the children of the school play football? Was anyone else permitted to play? Who donated the land for this school? Were there any other schools established in this sub-location? Were there any unaided schools established in this sub-location?

Who were the various teachers who taught at this school before 1945? How much education did each one receive? Where did he go to school? Where were they from? How many are still living, and where? What was their clan affiliation? What were their fathers' names? How many cattle, wives, and sons did their fathers have? Were they the oldest sons? If not, what was their place in the family? Were any of these teachers recognized as being better than the teachers of other missions? Which teachers got on best with the community? Were there any unpopular teachers? Why were they unpopular?

D. Teachers.

For how many years did you teach? Where? Where did you prefer to teach? Why? Did you have a shamba (plot of ground) there? Were you ever chosen to be a leader of your community? For what purpose? Did you ask to go back to your home community to teach? How much were you paid to teach? Who paid your salary? Were

school uniforms given to the students? Or did the students have to provide them themselves? Did your school have such equipment as rulers, books, chalk, and blackboards? Was there a log book kept for the school? What happened to it? Did the school have a mabati (aluminum) roof when you taught there? Did any other homes in the community then have them?

Were school fees always the same? Did your students play football? Were other people in the community permitted to play?

Did any chiefs or headmen send their sons to your school? Which sons were they? What methods did the missionaries use to get children to attend school? Did any chiefs or headmen tell the people to send their children to school? If so, which ones? What did they do to get children to attend school? Did the Mission pay the chiefs any amount of money for each child they could get into school?

When you were a child, did anyone tell you that you must go to school? Who was it? What type of teaching certificate did you acquire? How many students were there in this school when you taught? What percentage of them were from Christian homes? What percentage of them were from non-Christian homes? Who were the students you know of who went on to other schools? What was their family background? Were their parents Christian or non-Christian? From which community did they come?

Were you ever a member of any political association? For example, Native Catholic Union or North Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association? When were you a member? Who were the leaders? Were there any missionaries who attended the meetings? Did they dominate the meetings? Were African members permitted to express their ideas on all issues? What were the issues which were discussed? Were any proposals ever adopted? What were they about?

Do you remember the visit of the Phelps-Stokes Commission? When did it visit your area? Who are the members whom you remember? What do you remember about them?

E. Chiefs and Headmen.

Did you send your own children to school? Which sons did you send to school? Did you force other people's children to go to school? For how long was it necessary for you to do so? How much education did you receive yourself? Did you have any man working for you who was educated? Were there any karanis (clerical assistants) from this sub-location working in any of the district offices at Mumias or Kakamega?

Who were the headmen, milango, and olugongos who were appointed to this sub-location? What was their clan affiliation? Where were they from? Were they Christians? If so, of which denomination? Did any of them have any education? Did they send their children to school?

Sons? Daughters? Which sons were sent? Did they encourage other people to send their children to school? Which ones were most interested in education? Are any of these headmen still alive? If so, where are they living? Did any of them make any attempt to keep other denominations from coming in to open schools? If so, what did he do? Were any school buildings ever burned down by a headman?

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Series G3A7: Uganda Diocese, 1895-1921.

Series G3A5: Mombasa Diocese, 1921-1926.

Each series contains: 1) letter books, containing the letters sent by the Parent Committee in London to missionaries in the field; 2) Precis books, containing summaries of incoming letters from missionaries in the field; and 3) original letters, comprised of all incoming correspondence.

2. Unofficial and Miscellaneous Papers.

A collection of private papers contributed by various people affiliated with C.M.S. missions in the past. Those which proved useful for this study include the following:

Accession 28.

Z1: East Africa, Jan.-Sept. 1927. Notes on the Uganda Railway.

Z2: East Africa, March-Sept. 1927. Includes notes on Kavirondo warriors.

Z4: Kenya: Maseno, Kakamega Gold fields.

Accession 35.

Z1: 1892. Statement by Bishop re. the death of Bishop Hannington.

Z2: 1893. Declaration of manumission of slaves by 40 Wawanga chieftains.

Accession 64.

Circular letters and diary of F. H. Wright, Maseno, 1909-1914.

Accession 83: W. E. Owen Papers.

- 01: Native Authority and other ordinances, 1912-30.
- 02: Land Committee of Inquiry, 1915-35.
- 03: Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association.

Accession 109.

- F1: Diary of J. P. Nickisson.

Accession 120.

"Uganda Revisited," by Rt. Rev. J. J. Willis, 1949.

Accession 121.

Memoirs of Edith Downer.

Accession 167.

Elizabeth Chadwick Papers.

Accession 267.

W. H. Jones Diary, "Behind my Bishop through Masailand to Kavirondo, 1885-6.

B. Colonial Office Archives, Public Record Office, London.

C.O. 533. Vol. I-DXXXVII, 1904-1946.
Contains official correspondence of the Governors of Kenya and the Colonial Office Staff.

C. Edinburgh House Archives, London.

Papers of the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House. Includes some missionary correspondence files, government reports, and miscellaneous papers on African education collected by J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the Council.

D. Kaimosi Mission Records.

Selected papers and correspondence of the East African Yearly Meeting of Friends, Kaimosi, 1902-61. S.U. Mic. no. 1825 and no. 2081, reels 11, 44-50.

E. Kenya National Archives (KNA), Nairobi.**1. Church Missionary Society Deposit.**

Contains files deposited by CMS authorities in Kenya with many financial and administrative records for individual mission stations.

2. Kenya Land Commission evidence and memoranda. Vol. I-II. S.U. Mic. no. 1524.
 3. [Local Authority Records] 1925-38.
Minutes, resolutions, correspondence and committee minutes of the Local Native Councils, S.U. Mic. no. 2246.
 4. Ministry of Education Deposits.
Contains three separate deposits of records from the Colonial Education Department. They contain various files on individual missions and schools, but pertain primarily to the post-1930 period.
 5. Minutes of the Legislative Council Debates. 1907-38. S.U. Mic. no. 2806.
 6. Nyanza Province daily correspondence and reports.
Sec. 10-A, 1899-1942, S.U. Mic. no. 2262;
Sec. 10-B, 1925-1960, S.U. Mic. no. 1949;
Sec. 10, 1930-1963, S.U. Mic. no. 2800;
 7. Provincial and District annual reports.
S.U. Mic. no. 2801.
 8. Provincial and District political record books.
S.U. Mic. no. 2802.
- F. St. Peters Catholic Mission, Mumias.
The local records of this station include Baptismal records and the very rich Mission Diaries, 1904-07, 1912-18, and 1918-44.

II. Manuscript Sources

A. Lambeth Palace (London)

Papers of the Rt. Rev. J. J. Willis, Bishop of Uganda.

B. Rhodes House Library (Oxford)

1. Accession no 29.

W. A. Crabtree: manuscript of the missionary journey to Bishop Tucker's party from Mombasa to Kampala, 1892, with photos.

2. Accession no. 46.

B. Whitehouse: Account of the survey of the northern section of Lake Victoria, 1897-1901, as surveyor, British East Africa.

3. Accession no. 68.

Sidney H. Fazan: Miscellaneous notes on native laws and customs, Kenya, 1922-28 as D.C., Kenya; Report on relations between government and Local Native Councils, 1938.

4. Accession no. 84.

Jeanes School correspondence, memoranda, etc.

5. Accession no. 94.

Sir John Wallace Pringle: Diary of Pringle and Sir J. R. L. Macdonald, 1891-2. 2 vols, with associated photos.

6. Accession no. 157.

Sir Edward Brandis Denham: Kenya Diaries, 1923-28.

7. Accession no. 380.

John Ainsworth: "Reminiscences."

8. Accession 515.

C. M. Dobbs: "Kenya Tribal Studies"

C. Royal Commonwealth Society Library (London).

1. MSS 4.V: Ernest Gedge Diaries.

2. MSS 468: J. P. Nickisson Diary, "From Mombasa to Mengo, being an account of the journey of 750 miles through Central Africa made by the Missionary Party under Bishop Tucker, 1892.

D. St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society (Mill Hill,
London)

E. Grimshaw: "A short history of the Apostolic
Vicariate of the Upper Nile"

III. Interviews

Between August 1, 1972 and February 8, 1973, the author interviewed 87 individual or group informants. These interviews were carried out with the assistance of two interpreters and the information collected was recorded by hand during the course of the interview. Although the questionnaire in Appendix A was used extensively, certain issues were explored in greater depth as the memory of the informants permitted. Approximately twelve of the individuals or groups were interviewed two or more times. All others were interviewed once.

A. EAST BUNYORE

Ebubayi: John Adala & Melixadeck Otiato, Jan. 8,
1973.

Ebuchitwa: William Esiroyo, Reboam Temba, & Paul
Ongoko Indiyoy, Jan. 18, 1973; Wilson Otiado
Osotsi, Jan. 21, 1973.

Ebunangwe: Joseph Akenda, Erasto Olwamba, Saulo
Opeli, & Livingstone Imbire, Jan. 24, 1973.

Ebusamia: Paulo Angote, Jackson Esibuhi,
Zebulon Lukaha, & Thomas Omuhika, Jan. 23,
1973.

Ebusiratsi: Gemaliel Enane, Francis Osanya,
Raphael Nyawanga, Nehemiah Lipesa, & Jafeth
Ambuka, Jan. 15, 1973.

Ebusundi: Rev. Esau Oywaya, Jethron Okalo,
Zakayo Ojuock, Isaka Mutamba, Yonah Okusi,
Jan. 16, 1973.

Emakunda: Nathan Amayi, Parameno Ochiemo,
Alfayo Simekha, Lukase Libutsi, & Dishon
Omuseni, Jan. 22, 1973.

Iboona: Sila Akhaenda, Shadrack Ombwayo,
Gideon Khabwe, Charles Olembo, & Enos Musa
Ayoti, Jan. 17, 1973.

B. WEST BUNYORE

Ebusakami: Martin Achenje, Joseph Kela, Lazaro
Okumbe, Helekiah Chamwa, & John Angokha,
Jan. 13, 1973.

Ebusiekwe: Johnstone Otiente, Kelebu Omuyonga,
Joash Anamini, Manoa Aluoch, & Kutwa Ambaso,
Dec. 22, 1972.

Ebusikhale: Pita Ngonze, Mariko Isiche, Joseph
Marende, Abisayi Akolo, William Omuhango, &
Justo Okuto, Jan. 11, 1973; Jairo Asila,
Dec. 10, 1972.

Ebutanyi: Zefenia Ambwaya, Wilson Osiolo,
Omuyaku Mwando, & Nathaniel Nyawate, Dec. 29,
1972.

Ebwiranyi: Jakobo Ojuola, Shem Ogada, Andrea
Imbaya, Zedekia H. Oyando, & Cornelio Otieno,
Dec. 28, 1972.

Ekwanda: Jason Seka, Philip Ayecha, Elkanah
Ahunga, & Habakuku Akumu, n.d.

Embale: Hezekiah Opati, Ishmael Chitwa, Edward
Sayi, Aliedi Oyoya, & Nehemiah Angana,
Jan. 6, 1973.

Emusire: Isaiah Mureya, Johnstone Akengo,
Zakayo Mulembo, Andrea Muyela, & Josek
Khatili, Jan. 3, 1973.

Eshiandumba: Jeremiah Olusaba, Stephan Okwoch,
Ibrahim Odinga, Labon Akhombo, Raphael
Omolo, Jan. 4, 1973.

Essaba: Christopher Habwe, Zakayo Lubwayo,
& Enoka Olanda, Jan. 2, 1973.

Itumbu: Staus Obiero, Daniel Asiache, &
Jeremiah Ekongo, Jan. 21, 1972.

C. KISA

- Ekambuli: Noah Acheru & Zakaria Aduoli,
Dec. 11, 1972.
- Emasatsi: Albert Kubondo, Mukolwe Mbaye,
Jackton Oyondi, & Abisai Omulo, Nov. 30,
1972.
- Eshiangumba: Stephen Okech, Jan. 26, 1973.
- Mbulishe: Thomas Otiende & Noah Sakwa, Dec. 14,
1972.
- Mundabelwa: Lazaro Ndugwe, Benjamin Odinga,
Sila Shitoli, & Joshua Amunga, Nov. 29, 1972.
- Mundeku: Isaka Chirande, Eshihula Kochwa, &
Stephen Indumuli, Dec. 8, 1972.
- Munjiti: Nahashon Amurono, Alexander Bukachi,
& Eliakim Opuka, Dec. 2, 1972.
- Mushiangubu: Josek Mumosi, Zakaria Ndeda, &
Andrea Anyangu, Dec. 7, 1972.
- Mwikalikha: Ibrahim Okuomi, Zadayo Abuti,
Stephen Anyanji, & Meshak Okuomi, Dec. 1,
1972.
- Mwikalikha: Jairo Okuyu, Joseph Omungu,
Ramonus Ogutu, & John R. Achando, Dec. 15,
1972.
- Namasoli: Ibrahim Luta, Petro Ogweno, Daudi
Otete, & Jackson Abakolwa, Dec. 4, 1972.
- Shibinga: Reuben Omunyore, Festo Anene, Romani
Oyolo, & Shadrack Khatolwa, Dec. 5, 1972.

D. MARAMA

- Buchenya: Henry Wafula, Jones Okwaro, & Thomas
Wakala, Oct. 18, 1972; Henry Wafula,
Nov. 15, 1972.
- Imanga: Dixon Manyasa & Samson Wakhobe, Nov. 3,
1972.
- Inaya: Mbayi Nyangule, Apolo Mayeya & Noah
Luta, Nov. 21, 1972.
- Lunza: Petro Namakhabwa, William Shitseswa,
Christopher Lubanga & Daudi Were, Oct. 27,

1972; (same) Nov. 15, 1972: (same),
Jan. 30, 1973.

Manyala: Simeon Walukwe, Jonah Renja, Gerishom
Mungao, Martin Tuvula, & Matayo Ombuna,
Nov. 7, 1972; Dixon Opuka & Thomas Ashiembe,
Nov. 2, 1972.

Shianda: Ezekiel Omukhulu, Luka Shiroya, Jason
Shisoka, Oct. 24, 1972; Jonah Opiri, Nov. 13,
1972; Ezekiel Omukhulu, Luka Shiroya & Jason
Shisoka, Oct. 31, 1972; Luka Shiroya,
Feb. 2, 1973.

Shiatsala: Jeremiah Nyangule, Oct. 26, 1972;
(same) Nov. 14, 1972; (same) Jan. 29, 1973.

Shibembe: Japheth Kite & Enos Wanekaya,
Oct. 25, 1972; Japheth Kite, Nov. 14, 1972.

Shikunga: Josia Ojango, Petro Masinde &
Ezekiel Kangu, Oct. 31, 1972; Ezekiel Kangu
& Solomon Obiero, n.d.

Shinamwenyule: Paul Ochieng, Erasto Shisya,
James Omolo, Fanuel Omukolwe & Samuel
Wanyembe, Oct. 17, 1972.

Shiraha: Alufayo Umukhosia, Simeon Khakata,
Michael Anene, Saulo Likoyi & Joab Marigula,
Nov. 1, 1972.

Shirotsa: Yeremiah Rupiya, Oct. 11, 1972;
Festo Wakhu & Ham Mapesa, Oct. 12, 1972;
(same) Nov. 13, 1972; Filipu Ingutia,
Dec. 23, 1972; Jeremiah Omwidakho & Musa
Mukolwe, Nov. 5, 1972.

E. SOUTH WANGA

Buchifi: Manus Oloo, Filip Ogutu & Zedekia
Omondi, Sept. 5, 1972; Albert Odongo &
Zakayo Musungu, Sept. 19, 1972; Albert
Odongo, Paulo Watsiera, & Zakayo Musungu,
Feb. 1, 1973.

Bukaya (Luo): Gabriel Othiambo, Leo Ndonj,
Francis Babu, Nyahenga s/o Okwanji, Oguna
Ohoko, Constant Laos, Ondembo Ondera &
Maroko Odera, Sept. 2, 1972; Ojwang Abiro,
Sept. 6, 1972; Fanuel Ogony, Oct. 14, 1972.

Bungazi (Luo): Hilarius Radolo, Sept. 8, 1972; (Abaluyia): Patrick J. Kumama & Alon Shitindo, Sept. 11, 1972; (same) Feb. 1, 1973.

Ekeru: Andrea Luta, Sept. 14, 1972; Jasson Matanga, Musamia s/o Okumu, Mirikwa s/o Werimo, & Samwel Makokha Omuwinyi, Oct. 3, 1972.

Ihonje: Elkanah Odembo, Sept. 5, 1972.

Lureko: Matayo Shiundu & Jacob Ngamia, Aug. 31, 1972; Pasiliano Malala, Sept. 14, 1972; Theodore Sambula, Sept. 21, 1972; Thomas Manda, n.d.; George Kadima, n.d.

Musanda (Luo): Antipa Ngutu, Sept. 4, 1972 and Sept. 6, 1972; Mudany Wang'kal, Sept. 4, 1972; (Abaluyia): Musa Nanzai, Sept. 21, 1972; Isaac Fadumulla, Sept. 20, 1972.

Shikalame: Philip Omuralo & Jafeth Shikukule, Sept. 9, 1972; Bartholomeyu Makongo, Jafeth Shikukule, Samwel Wamwoma, Reuben Were, Petro Otsialo, & Meshak Wakanda, Jan. 31, 1973.

F. EAST WANGA

Lubinu: Musa Shitandi, Leo Salasya, & Bonaventura Wesa, Sept. 27, 1972; William Wambani Rapando, Sept. 18, 1972.

G. NORTH WANGA

Matungu: Charles Luta Kadima, Jan. 13, 1973; Abraham Mulama, Ali Wamukoya, & Adalla Chitechchi, Dec. 24, 1972.

Koyonzo: Osundwa, Sept. 26, 1972.

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Vol. LIV (1903) - LVIII (1907); Title then changed
to Church Missionary Review, Vol. LX (1909) -
LXXVIII (1927). S.U. Mic. no. 1086.

Church of God Missions (Anderson, Ind.)
Vol. I (1951) - Vol. XIX [i.e., V], (1955).

East African Standard. (Nairobi) daily and weekly.
S.U. Mic. no. 1627.

Friends of Missions (Anderson, Ind.)
Vol. VII (Aug. 1942) - Vol. XII (May 1948).

Gospel Trumpet (Anderson, Ind.)
Vol. 42 (1922) - Vol. 65 (1945).

Habari. (Nairobi) monthly.
July 1924 - Dec. 1931. S.U. Mic. no. 2082.

Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society.

Kenya Church Review (Nairobi).
No. 3, 1929 - no. 91, 1951.

Kenya News and Notes (Nairobi).
No. 2, 1929 - no. 15, 1936. Succeeded by Friends of Kenya, no. 1, 1937 - no. 8, 1939.

Mombasa Diocesan Gazette.
N.S., no. 1, 1922 - no. 15, 1925.

Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society.
Includes the Annual Reports of the Uganda and Kenya Missions. Compiled primarily from annual letters submitted by missionaries in the field.

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Vol. III (1895-1900) - XIII (1931-1933).
The official journal of the St. Joseph Foreign Missionary Society.

Uganda Church Review
No. 1, 1926 - no. 96, 1953.

Uganda Diocesan Gazette
V. 9, 1924 - V. 31, 1946.

Uganda Notes (first published as Mengo Notes, 1901-02)
V. 1 - 19; 1900-1918.
(Title changed again as of Jan. 1913 to Uganda Notes & Diocesan Gazette. In 1916 the magazine split and became Uganda Notes: a Quarterly Review (pub. until c. 1921) and the Diocesan Gazette (see above).

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- _____. "The will of God and the wiles of men," EAISR Conference Paper, Jan. 1962.
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