Dissertation By

RONOH,THOMAS KIPKORIR

History of Egerton University

A history of colonial education: among the kipsigis of Kenya, circa 1895 - 1963

SEPTEMBER 2000

Egerton University

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Department of History

A HISTORY OF COLONIAL EDUCATION AMONG THE KIPSIGIS OF KENYA, Circa 1895 - 1963

BY:

RONOH, THOMAS KIPKORIR

Reg. No: A25/0137/95

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History of Egerton University.

SEPTEMBER 2000

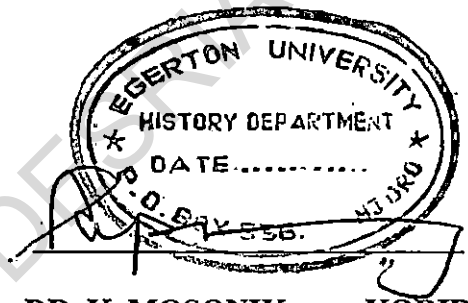
DECLARATION AND APPROVAL

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented in any other university.

RONOH, THOMAS KIPKORIR

Date: 11-09-2000

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.



DR. K. MOSONIK arap KORIR

Date: 11-09-2000

DEDICATION

To my father David Soy, my beloved mother, my brothers and sisters, my dear wife and my sons Kiprotich and Kipkirui, for their unfailing support. They have made me what I am, and continue to help me to be what I intend to be.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to all those who have offered me assistance – moral, intellectual and/or material – in the course of my postgraduate studies. My sincere thanks go to Egerton University and, in particular, its History Department for offering me admission to the M.A. (History) programme.

I am sincerely grateful to my University Supervisor, Dr. K. Mosonik arap Korir – Chairman, History Department and Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences – who guided me in drafting the proposal, and supervised the research and writing of the thesis. His patience and encouragement throughout the period of this study are fully appreciated.

My thanks also go to Mr. Peter Waweru of the History Department and Rev. S. Micheni of the Department of Educational Foundations, both of whom carefully read and commented extensively on this work. I am similarly grateful to the other members of staff of the History Department for their support and inspiration.

I want to thank my fellow students in the M.A. (History) programme – Chacha Babere Kerata, Evans Nyamwaka Omosa and Zedson Ogembo – who were invaluable in their support and encouragement throughout the programme.

I am grateful to the Director and staff of the Kenya National Archives and Documentation Service for access to the rich documentary sources which have formed the bedrock for this thesis. The Egerton University Library, the Kericho District Library Services and the Nakuru Provincial Library Services were useful for secondary materials. I must similarly express my most sincere gratitude to all my informants and respondents. They patiently answered my questions during fieldwork, thus enriching the study with essential oral data.

I would like to express my profound gratitude and appreciation to the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Dakar, Senegal, for giving me financial support under the Small Grants Programme for Thesis Writing. Without this assistance, I may never have been able to complete my study.

Hon. Simeon Nyachae, E.G.H., M.P. - then Minister for Agriculture, Livestock Development and Marketing - extended financial support to all of us M.A. (History) students on request from the Chairman of Department. I thank him for this.

Finally, I must thank the Chairman and secretarial staff of the History Department for assistance with typing at the earlier stages of my work. It was Mr. A.K. Kago who typed the last drafts and the final copy. I am grateful to him for his patience.

CONTENTS

DECLARATION ii

DEDICATION iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv

ABBREVIATIONS x

GLOSSARY xii

ABSTRACT xiii

MAPS xiv

CHAPTER 1 1

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Context of the Problem 1

1.2 Literature Review 1

1.3 Statement of the Problem 8

1.4 Objectives of the Study 9

1.5 Research Premises 9

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study 10

1.7 Justification and Significance of the Study 10

1.8 Theoretical Framework 11

1.9 Method of Study 14

CHAPTER 2 17

2.0 SOME ASPECTS OF KIPSIGIS INDIGENOUS EDUCATION 17

2.1 Informal Education 19

2.1.1 Infancy and Childhood 20

2.1.2 General Education at the 'Kokwet' 23

2.1.3 Other Forms of Informal Education 27

2.2 Formal Education 30

2.2.1 Initiation 30

2.2.2 Apprenticeship Schemes 40

2.2.3 Military Organisation 42

2.3 Conclusion 45

CHAPTER 3 *46*

3.0 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSIONS' CENTRAL SCHOOLS 47

3.1 Introduction 47

3.2 Administration 52

3.3 Staffing 70

3.4 Curriculum 77

3.5 Conclusion 84

CHAPTER 4 *87*

4.0 THE MISSIONARY FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OUT-SCHOOLS87

4.1 Introduction 87

4.2 Administration 89

4.3 Staffing 101

4.4 Curriculum 106

4.5 Development of Girls' Education 112

4.6 Conclusion 120

CHAPTER 5 *123*

5.0 THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS 123

5.1 Introduction 123

5.2 Administration 124

5.3 Curriculum 156

5.4 Staffing 163

5.5 Conclusion 171

CHAPTER 6 *173*

6.0 INDIGENOUS VERSUS COLONIAL EDUCATION: THE CASE OF FEMALE AND MALE INITIATION 173

6.1 Introduction 173

6.2 Female Initiation Controversy 173

6.3 Male Circumcision and its Adaptation 179

6.4 Conclusion 180

7.0 APPENDIX *181*

SAMPLE QUESTIONS 181

8.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY *192*

8.1 Primary Sources. 192

8.1.1 Archival Documents. 192

8.1.2 COMMISSION AND GOVERNMENT REPORTS 195

a) Colony and Protectorate of Kenya 195

b) Ministry of Education 195

c) Education Reports 196

8.2 CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS 196

8.3 ORAL EVIDENCE 197

8.4 SECONDARY SOURCES 199

8.4.1 UNPUBLISHED WORKS: THESES, DISSERTATIONS, MANUSCRIPTS, CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR PAPERS, etc 199

8.4.2 PUBLISHED WORKS: BOOKS, JOURNAL ARTICLES, ETC. 202

ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.C. – African District Council

A.G.C. – Africa Gospel Church

A.I.C. – Africa Inland Church

A.R. – Annual Report

A.I.M. – Africa Inland Mission

D.C. – District Commissioner

D.E.B. – District Education Board

D.E.O. – District Education Officer

E.A.L.B. – East African Literature Bureau

E.A.P.H. – East African Publishing House

E.D. – Education Department

G.A.S. – Government African School

K.N.A. – Kenya National Archives

K.L.B. – Kenya Literature Bureau

KER – Kericho

L.N.C. – Local Native Council

N.A.D. – Native Affairs Department

N.H.M. – National Holiness Mission

N.I.T.D. – Native Industrial Training Depot

NZA – Nyanza

O.I. – Oral Interview

P.C. – Provincial Commissioner

P.E.O. – Provinical Education Officer

P.W.D. – Public Works Department

R.C.M. – Roman Catholic Mission

S.D.A. – Seventh Day Adventists

W.G.M. – World Gospel Mission

GLOSSARY

1. Colonial education-refers here to school or western education as provided by the missionaries and colonial government.
2. Indigenous education-Kipsigis education in precolonial times.
3. Kipsigis - will be used to refer to the people and the land and as an adjective.
4. kokwet' (plural: 'kokwotinwek') - forms the smallest unit after the family and the clan in the Kipsigis social organisation.
5. Lumbwa - it refers to the Kipsigis people and land.

ABSTRACT

Education is a key element in the social life of any community. Without knowledge of its educational system, the historical destiny of a community cannot be understood. Likewise, it becomes difficult to formulate meaningful development goals.

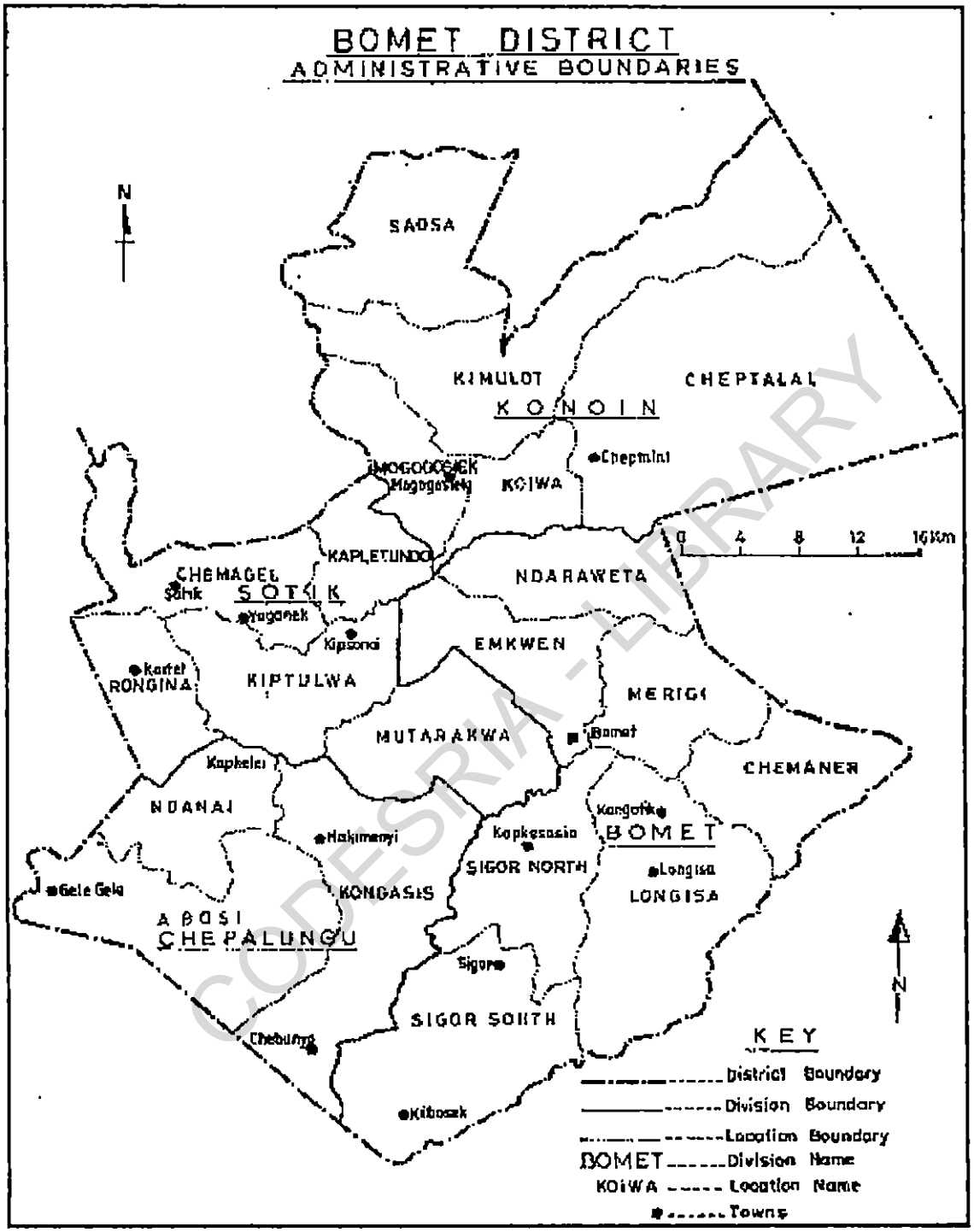
This study covers the history of education among the Kipsigis under colonial rule. It is intended to fill a gap in the historiography of the community. Also, the research findings could contribute to the accumulation of empirical data required for national curriculum planning and development.

As a background, the Kipsigis system of education as it existed in precolonial times is briefly examined in historical perspective. In respect to the colonial period, the study is concerned with the roles that the missionaries and the colonial administration played in the development of school education.

The study proceeds from the assumption that, in precolonial times, the Kipsigis had evolved a system of education suitable to their environment. Similarly, the view is taken that the colonialists' provision of school education to the community was ultimately dictated by the need to promote the overall colonial enterprise in Kenya. In this situation, the Kipsigis took initiatives in the educational field parallel to those of other Kenyan Africans - culminating, inter alia, in the establishment of independent schools.

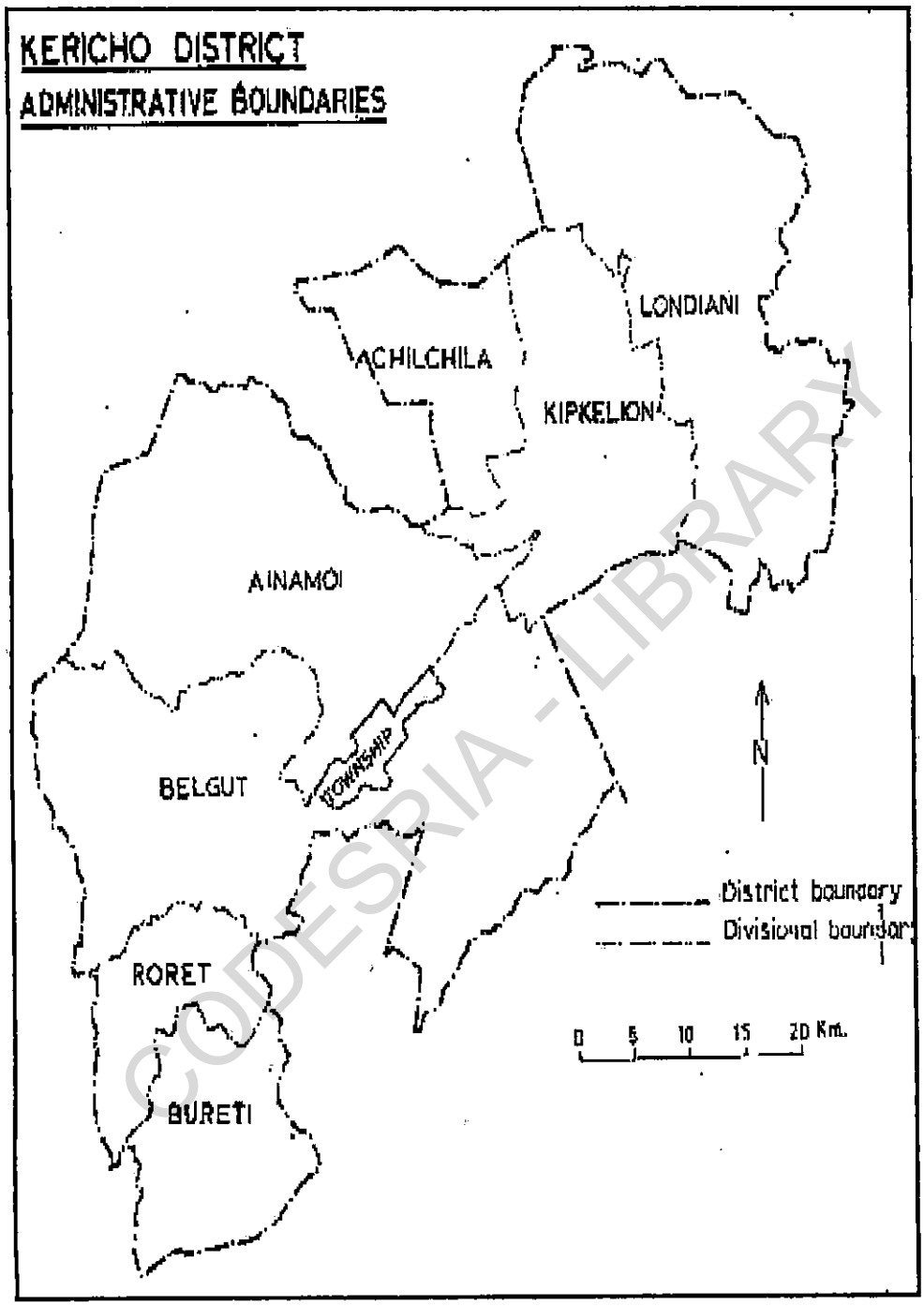
Two theories formulated to explain culture and cultural change in the colonial situation - viz. structural functionalism and the historical materialist conception of colonialism - are utilised in this study. The historical inquiry proceeded in three major phases. These were research into secondary materials in libraries, the marshalling of primary data through archival research, and the collection of oral evidence through fieldwork.

MAPS



Source: Bomet District Development Plan 1997-2001, p.6.

Fig. 1



Source: Kericho District Development Plan 1997 – 2001, p.6.

Fig. 2

CHAPTER 1

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context of the Problem

The Kipsigis, who constitute the subject of this study, form the largest unit among the Kalenjin. They presently live mostly in the Bomet, Bureti and Kericho districts, although they have also spread into parts of the Nandi, Trans Mara, Nakuru and Uasin Gishu districts - especially since the 1960s. They inhabit the Rift Valley Province, but for most of the colonial period their district was part of the Nyanza Province.

In precolonial times, the Kipsigis had developed a complex system of indigenous education. The coming of school education to Kipsigis was therefore an alien imposition, and its origins are traceable to the early colonial period. As with the rest of Kenya, the early development of such education in Kipsigis was associated with the advent of Christian missions. Later, the colonial government intervened and came to control formal education. The Kipsigis - like many other Kenyan African communities - took the initiative to establish their own schools in competition with the established colonial order.

1.2 Literature Review

There are historical studies that have been carried out on the Kipsigis, especially concerning their migration, settlement and economic as well as political organisation. However, little attention has been paid to the development of education among them. Specifically, no comprehensive study has been devoted to the history of education during the

precolonial and colonial periods. However, some information on aspects of their indigenous system of education may be gleaned from extant anthropological and sociological studies.

For one, I.Q. Orchardson[1] argued that the basis of Kipsigis government before the colonial administration displaced it was the social unit called "kokwet"*. It comprised the inhabitants of a compact area, and it was on the basis of this social unit that precolonial Kipsigis education was organized. J.G. Peristiany[2] focused his attention on the social institutions of the Kipsigis. He summarised the system of Kipsigis indigenous education for the youth as composing initiation into secret rituals, invocations of fertility, teaching of ethics and customary law, casting off uncleanliness, coming forth from seclusion and discarding of old clothes before full membership of the society. On the other hand, Robert A. Manners[3] studied the cultural changes that the Kipsigis underwent from the period of contact with British colonialism. He stressed that the Kipsigis were "a 'model' tribe...moving most rapidly from a primitive past to a civilized future" thanks to colonial tutelage. His study contains valuable information on aspects of Kipsigis indigenous education as it was transformed under colonial rule.

Burnette and Gerald Fish[4] have published a generalising work on the religious and social practices that underlay Kipsigis indigenous education. Earlier, the two authors had published a compendious book[5] in which they supply useful information on the work of the World Gospel Mission/Africa Gospel Church in education in different areas of Kipsigis where the mission operated. In this book, they also document the important issue of girls' education[6].

---

[1] I.Q. Orchardson, The Kipsigis (Nairobi, 1961), p. 79. See also The Journal of the East Africa an Uganda Natural History Society, No. 5-6, pp 200-210.

* See Glossary p. iii.

[2] J. G. Peristiany, The Social Institution of the Kipsigis (London, 1939), p.26.

[3] Robert A. Manners,"The Kipsigis of Kenya: Culture Change in a 'Model' East Africa Tribe," in Three African Tribes in Transition ed. J. H. Steward (Urbana, Ill., 1967).

[4] Burnette C. and Gerald W. Fish, The Kalenjin Heritage: Traditional Religious and Social Practices (Nairobi, 1994).

[5] Idem., The Place of Songs (Nairobi, 1990), pp. 212-239.

[6] Ibid, p. 240.

In this respect, it is a pity that no similar study has been undertaken on the work of other major mission organizations operating in Kipsigis during the period of this study —namely, the Africa Inland Mission/Africa Inland Church, and (to a lesser extent) the Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventists.

There also exist historical works on the community which were useful for this study. For instance, Taaita Toweett has examined the Kipsigis socio-cultural activities which had some similarities to those of the ancient Egyptians[7]. Another early historical study is S.C. Langat's[8] "Some Aspects of Kipsigis History Before c1914". Unfortunately, education was not among the aspects of precolonial Kipsigis history that this author discussed. A chapter in H.A. Mwanzi's[9] work touching on education is titled "Social Evolution". In this chapter, the author briefly defines the subject matter of Kipsigis indigenous education as the sum total of the experiences of the family, clan, lineage and the community; central to this system of education were initiation and the attendant rituals.

K. Mosonik arap Korir published a short biographical study which contains valuable information concerning education in Kipsigis. He stresses that, up to the mid colonial period, there was no clear demarcation between church and school. The introduction of school education was a slow process, and parents often did not allow their children to attend school[10].

---

[7] Taaita Toweett, Oral Traditional History of the Kipsigis (Nairobi, 1979), p.6. The question of the possible connections between the Kalenjin (and, indeed, other East African ethnic groups) and the ancient Egyptians is a vexed one which requires serious investigation.

[8] In Ngano ed. B. G. McIntosh (Nairobi, 1969), pp. 73-78.

[9] H.A. Mwanzi, A History of the Kipsigis (Nairobi, 1977), p 152.
see also his unpublished paper for the Lagos Cultural Festival (n.d.) [1977] titled "Education and Cultural control in Traditional Kenya: a Case Study of the Kipsigis," a copy of which is in this writer's possession.

[10] K.Mosonik arap Korir, "An Outline Biography of Simeon Kiplang'at arap Baliach - a 'Colonial African Chief' from Kipsigis," Kenya Historical Review. Vol.2, No.2, 1974, p.168.

On the other hand, in his B.A. dissertation[11] he stresses that schools were also used as "magnets for juvenile labour-the picking force" for the two major tea companies operating in Kipsigis: Brooke Bond/Kenya Tea Company Ltd; and the African Highlands Produce Company Ltd/James Finlay. It is clear from this work that education was closely associated with the labour needs of the tea plantation economy. Finally, in another work,[12] the same author shows that the independent schools movement existed among the Kipsigis from as early as the late 1930s, was suppressed by the colonial authorities during the Second World War, but continued into the post-war years - extending its scope to include the sending of Kipsigis pupils to the renowned Githunguri School in Central Province.

A review of the related literature on other Kalenjin sub-groups may be prefaced with the observation that, although these sub-groups together constitute one community, the term "Kalenjin" by which they are all referred to may be of recent vintage. According to B.E. Kipkorir[13], it was at the Alliance High School that the term was coined by members of the emergent Kalenjin educated elite in the mid-1940s. It was conceived as a collective way of referring to hirtherto discrete sub-ethnic groups.

I. Chesang[14] argues that the Keiyo shape their ideas, institutions and beliefs so as to conform to their natural environment. He stresses the role of the natural environment in determining the socio-economic activities to which education belongs. On the other hand, Isaac Tarus[15] briefly discusses the role played by Tambach School in stimulating the development of education among the Keiyo. He emphasises that school education came in response to the need to improve agricultural techniques and produce more food. From Tarus's

---

[11] Idem., "The Tea Plantation Economy in Kericho District and Related Phenomena circa 1960," B.A. Dissertation, History Department, University of Nairobi, May 1976, p.53.

[12] Idem., "The Kipsigis, Land and the Protest Phenomenon in Colonial Kenya", Seminar in African History Research Paper, Northwestern University, May 1978, passim.

[13] B.E.Kipkorir, The Marakwet of Kenya: A Preliminary Study (Nairobi, 1973), p.73.

[14] I. C. Chesang, "Analysis of the Superstructure of the Semi-Pastoral Keiyo," B.A. Dissertation, University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1973, p.110.

[15] Isaac Tarus, "The Colonial Transformation of the Keiyo, "M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1994, p. 214.

work, it would seem that the development of education in Keiyo influenced the provision of the same to the Pokot.

Sarah Cherotich[16] undertook a study on female initiation among the Nandi and the Christian impact upon it. She discusses at length the Nandi's great attachment to initiation and how they resisted the introduction of the alien culture aimed at eliminating this age-old practice of great educational significance. As concerns the colonial period, A. T. Matson[17] contends that the Nandi were slow to appreciate school education.

B.E. Kipkulei[18] has studied the origins, migration and settlement of the Tugen with special reference to the Arror. It is clear from his work that trading was a major framework under which the Tugen interacted with other Kalenjin sub-groups. This early form of interaction extended to socio-political endeavours.

R. O. Hennings[19] mentions that the building of the Kabarnet-Tambach road in the 1930s opened up Tugen to foreigners. This was followed by, inter alia, the establishment of schools. Daniel Kandagor[20] similarly mentions that the establishment of education in Tugen was more associated with the coming of the colonial administration than with the missionaries. On the whole, as B. E. Kipkorir[21] observes, the Kalenjin are bound together as much by their culture and traditions as by their language. The central feature of Kalenjin life is the rite of initiation. This is like a crash educational programme under which rules of social behaviour and conduct are inculcated. From Kipkorir's works, we get valuable information

---

See also idem., "An Outline History of the Keiyo, 1700-1919," B.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1988, p.33.

[16] Sarah Cherotich, "The Nandi Female Initiation and the Christian Impact upon it", Dini na Mila, vol.2, Nos. 2-3, 1967.

[17] A. T. Matson, "Reflections on the Growth of Political Consciousness in Nandi", in ed. B.A. Ogot Hadith 4: Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya, (Nairobi, 1972), p.32.

[18] B. E. Kipkulei, "The Origin, Migration and Settlement of the Tugen People, with special Reference to the Arror from the Earliest Times to the Turn of the Twentieth Century," B. A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1972, p.62.

[19] R. O. Hennings, African Morning (London, 1951),p.21.

[20] Daniel Kandagor, "The Economic Transformation of the Tugen of Kenya, 1895—1963", M. A. Thesis, University of Nairobi,August 1993, pp.56-75.

[21] B. E. Kipkorir, Kenya's People: People of the Rift Valley (London, 1978), p.38; idem., "The Alliance High School and the Making of the Kenyan Elite 1926— 1962", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1969, Chapter 5.

concerning the development of both precolonial and colonial education. He, inter alia, provides vivid evidence that there was educational interaction among the Kalenjin in the colonial period, especially at the Alliance High School.

Anthropological and sociological studies have been done on other Kenyan communities that address the same issues as those outlined in this thesis. For instance, L.S.B. Leakey[22] discussed female initiation and how it generated controversy between the Kikuyu and the British colonialists. Other scholars who have paid attention to the question of female initiation among the Kikuyu community include W.G. Mahinda[23] and Jocelyn Murray[24]. Those who have conducted similar studies among other ethnic groups during the colonial period include: S. Monyenye[25], for the Abagusii; and E. Njiru[26], in the case of the Ameru. In their works, all these scholars discuss at length the great significance the respective communities attached to initiation.

There are also scholars who have specifically examined how Christian missions influenced the development of education among other Kenyan communities. They include: Stanford Kay[27], who studied on the Friends African Mission and its development of education among the Southern Abaluyia; S.N. Bogonko[28] on Christian missionary education and its impact on the Abagusii; A.S. Adebola[29] on Western education among the Kikuyu; S.

---

[22] L.S.B. Leakey, "The Kikuyu Problem of the Initiation of Girls," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol.61, 1931.

[23] W.G.Mahinda, "A Survey of Traditional Education Among Members of the Kikuyu Tribe in Gachiaka Sub-location," Manuscript, University of Nairobi, 1967.

[24] Jocelyn Murray, "The Kikuyu Female Circumcision Controversy of 1928-1931: Background, Comparisons and Perspectives," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1972.

[25] S. Monyenye, "The Indigenous Education of the Abagusii," M.Ed.Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977.

[26] E. Njiru, "Indigenous Education as Practised by the Ameru with Special Reference to Circumcision Ceremonies," M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1982.

[27] Stanford Kay,"The Southern Abaluyia, the Friends Africa Mission and the Development of Education in Western Kenya, 1902-1965" Ph.D., Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973.

[28] S.N. Bogonko, "Christian Missionary Education and its Impact on the Abagusii of Western Kenya, 1909-1963," Ph.D Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977.

[29] A.S.Adebola, "A History of Western Education among the Kikuyu 1898-1952," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1978.

Micheni[30] on the Ameru; and P.M. Shilaro[31] on the impact of Christianity and Western education on Kabras culture. The questions addressed in these studies were of great assistance in identifying parallel issues for this thesis.

The independent schools movement has been studied extensively in the context of the communities of Nyanza. For instance, J.E. Odhiambo[32] stresses that the advent of independent schools among the latter is closely associated with African reactions to colonial education. The same view is held by various scholars who have studied the movement among the Kikuyu - notably, Franklin B. Donald[33] and Michael H.Kovar[34].

There are general works on the development of education in Kenya which were useful for this thesis. Those that stress the role the missionaries played in the development of education in Kenya include: Beulah M. Raju[35], Stephen Smith[36], and J.E. Otiende[37]. On the other hand, among scholars who hold the view that the development of education in Kenya resulted from mission-state co-operation are James Dougall[38], James R. Sheffield[39], Sally Abbot[40], Donald G. Schilling[41], Rosalind Mutua[42], Daniel N. Sifuna[43], S.N. Bogonko[44] , and

---

[30] S.Micheni, "The Contribution of Christian Missionaries to Education in Meru, 1908-1963," M.A. Thesis, Kenyatta University, 1988.

[31] Muronji P. Shilaro, "Kabras Culture Under Colonial Rule:A Study of the Impact of Christianity and Western Education," M.A. Thesis, Kenyatta University, August 1991, pp.111-123, 143-159.

[32] J.E. Odhiambo, "The Independent Schools Movement in Nyanza," Typescript, University of Nairobi, 1967.

[33] Franklin D. Bruce, "The Kikuyu Independent School: A Study of Response by the Colonial Government in Kenya," M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1967.

[34] Michael.H.Kovar, "The Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement. Interaction of Politics and Education in Kenya, 1923-1953," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 1970.

[35] Beulah M. Raju, Education in Kenya (Nairobi, 1973), p.1.

[36] Stephen Smith, The History of The Alliance High School, 1927-1965 (Nairobi, 1973), p.170.

[37] J.E. Otiende, et al Education and Development in Kenya: A Historical Perspective (Nairobi, 1992), pp 55-56.

[38] James W.C. Dougall, Missionary Education in Kenya and Uganda: A Study of Co-operation (London, 1936).

[39] James.R.Sheffield, "Policies and Progress in African Education in Kenya 1949-1963," Doctor of Education Thesis, Columbia University, 1964.

[40] Sally Abbot, "The Education Policy of the Kenya Government, 1904-1935," Ph.D Thesis, University of London, 1969.

[41] Donald.G. Schilling, "British Policy for African Education in Kenya. 1895-1939", Ph.D Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1972.

[42] Rosalind Mutua, Development of Education in Kenya (Nairobi, 1975) pp.14-85.

[43] Daniel N. Sifuna, Short Essays on Education in Kenya (Nairobi, 1980), pp.1-26.

[44] Sorobea N. Bogonko, "National Responses to African Pursuits for Intellectual Education in Kenya, 1920-1934", Staff Seminar Paper, Kenyatta University, 1984.

R.N. Ernest[45]. Scholars who argue that the development of education in Kenya was largely due to local African initiatives and that there was a symbiotic relationship between the independent schools and the independent church movements include: John Anderson[46], S.M.E. Lugumba[47], E.H. Berman[48], Irving Kaplan[49], Elsa Abreu[50], Maliro J. Barasa[51], S.N. Bogonko[52], and Daniel N. Sifuna[53]. These scholars assert that the development of education in Kenya rested largely in the hands of the Africans. The Africans' active intervention was a clear manifestation of the spirit of co-operation that prevailed in their communities before the advent of colonialism. A review of the historiography of education in the other countries of East Africa and the rest of Africa would have taken us too far away from the subject of this study. However, such works were utilised and are cited wherever necessary.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

No comprehensive study has been done to the history and development of education among the Kipsigis. Specifically, the role the missionaries played in the introduction and development of school education in Kipsigis has not been researched in any substantial way. Further, the question as to the aims and role of the colonial administration in the development of school education awaits resolution. Similarly, the independent initiatives that the Kipsigis

---

[45] Ernest Stabler, Education Since uhuru, The Schools of Kenya Middletown, Connecticut, 1969 p.4.
[46] John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London, 1970) Chapter 1.
[47] S.M.E. Lugumba, A History of Education in East Africa, 1900-1973 (Kampala, 1973).
[48] E.H. Berman, African Reactions to Missionary Education (New York, 1975).
[49] Irving Kaplan, Handbook for Kenya (Nairobi, 1976), p.152.
[50] Elsa Abreu, The Role of Self-help in the Development of Education in Kenya, 1900-1973, (Nairobi, 1982).
[51] J.M. Barasa, "An Analysis of Selected Studies of Kenyan Secondary School Education 1945-1981," Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio University, 1982, p.1.
[52] S.N. Bogonko, "The Role of Local Native Councils in African Emancipation in Kenya 1924-1934, with Particular Reference to Education," Seminar Paper, University of Nairobi, November 1983.
[53] Daniel N.Sifuna, Development of Education in Africa (Nairobi 1990), pp. 123-158.

took in acquiring school education for themselves have not been the subject of a special historical inquiry.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study is intended to fill a gap in the historiography of the Kipsigis. It is a broad reconstruction of the history of education in Kipsigis under colonial rule. The specific objectives of the study are:

i). To describe in historical perspective the Kipsigis system of education as it existed on the eve of the colonial intrusion.

ii). To examine the role played by the missionaries in the introduction and development of school education in Kipsigis during the colonial period.

iii). To identify the aims and analyse the role of the colonial administration in the development of education among the Kipsigis.

iv). To explore the independent initiatives that the Kipsigis took in the colonial period in a bid to acquire school education for themselves.

1.5 Research Premises

This study proceeded from four fundamental assumptions:

i) That, before the colonial intrusion the Kipsigis had an elaborate system of education, which was conditioned by their social and natural environment.

ii) That, mission organisations played a significant role in the introduction and development of school education among the Kipsigis as part of their proselytizing campaign.

iii) That, the colonial administration actively participated in the provision of school education to the Kipsigis in the framework of the overall colonial policy on education for Kenya.

iv) That, the Kipsigis initiatives in the struggle for the school were a manifestation of their dissatisfaction with the availability, quality, and content of school education.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This is a historical study of the development of education among the Kipsigis during the colonial period. It is mainly concerned with missionary and colonial government initiatives in the field of education and the Kipsigis responses. It virtually ignores the role of the tea estate companies and other private employers in the provision of education to the Kipsigis. Furthermore, the interaction of the Kipsigis with fellow–Kalenjin in the field of education is not addressed. Similarly, the study does not delve much into the Kipsigis pursuit of education in other parts of Kenya.

1.7 Justification and Significance of the Study

Education is a key element in the social life of any community. Without detailed knowledge of its system of education, the general historical destiny of such a community cannot be understood. Likewise, it becomes difficult to formulate meaningful development goals.

This study of education among the Kipsigis briefly delves into the precolonial period. This is because it is necessary to understand the indigenous Kipsigis system of education whose development was disrupted during the period of the colonial domination. The research

was focused on the roles of the missionaries and the colonial administration because these were the chief agencies through which school education came to the Kipsigis.

This study should fill a glaring gap in the historiography of the Kipsigis and the history of education in Kenya. The research findings could constitute a significant element in the accumulation of historical data required in a retrospective diagnosis of the Nation's problems of curriculum review and development. Besides its purely academic interest, then, the study may be recommended to policy makers concerned with education.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

In attempting to understand indigenous education among the Kipsigis and school education during the colonial period, a thorough review was made of theoretical literature in the field of education*. Consequently, it was established that many of the theories were relevant only to the study of education in the developed countries. Two theories were found to be useful for this study. These are structural functionalism and the historical materialist conception of colonialism for the precolonial and colonial periods, respectively.

The theoretical formulations associated with the British structural-functionalist school of social anthropology[54], then, were applied in studying the precolonial period. The structural functionalists held that structures are parts of a social system. In the case of a society, the principal structures are usually considered to be the social institutions - notably the family,

---

* The works reviewed included: Ingemar Fagerlind, Education and National Development: a Comparative Perspective (Toronto, 1989), pp 12-22; M. Haralambos, Sociology: Themes and Perspectives (London, 1985). pp174-181, pp535-8; Roland Meighan, A Sociology of Education (London, 1981), p.233; Philip Wexler, Social Analysis of Education: After the New Sociology (New York, 1987), pp.77-90; Bill Williamson, Education, Social Structure and Development: A Comparative Analysis (London, 1979), pp.40-42 p126-130; Brian J. Ashley, An Introduction to the Sociology of Education (London, 1969), pp. 68-71; David Blackledge, Sociological Interpretations of Education (London and New York,1985), p.96; The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (London, 1985); Encyclopedia Britannia: vol.6, 28th Edition (London, 1960.

[54] See e.g. Adam Kuper, Anthropology and Anthropologists: the Modern British School (London, 1983); Idem., The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion (London & New York, 1988).

government, economic structures, religion and education. Each structure and each part within the larger structure is conceived to have a function in assisting the society to operate and preserve itself. Functionalists tend to see the relationship between social groups in society as one of co-operation and interdependence; this is particularly so in societies where different groups specialise in particular activities. This theory was of great assistance as an analytical framework in our attempt to understand the system of education among the Kipsigis before the colonial intrusion.

It is to be noted, however, that criticisms have been leveled against the structural – functionalist theory. It has been said, for instance, that it focuses on the static aspects of society to the neglect of change, process, conflict and dissent. It would seem also that it contains an ideological bias in the form of Euro–centrism. This probably explains why it was applied only to colonial peoples when it emerged in the 1930s[55]. Since this theory does not explain social conflict and cultural change, and assumes consensus on basic societal values and goals, it could not help our study in explaining colonial education.

In an attempt to understand colonial education among the Kipsigis, Karl Marx's[56] words in The German Ideology in respect to the superstructure of society are apt:

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.

---

[55] cf. Okot p' Bitek, African Religions in Western Scholarship (Nairobi, n.d). B.A. Ogot, "History, Anthropology and Social Change: The Kenya Case", in Hadith 6: Social Change in East Africa ed. B.A. Ogot (Nairobi, 1976), pp. 1-13.

[56] K. Marx & F. Engels, Collected Works. vol. V (New York, 1976) p.59 as cited in: James M. Lawler, I.Q., Heritability and Racism (New York, 1978), p.82.

The superstructure may be conceived as a definite circle of social ideas and theories[57]. The social views, ideas and theories are part of the superstructure; the latter includes not only a society's political, juridical, philosophical, aesthetic and religious practices, but also its system of education. The superstructure of any mode of production does not necessarily abolish that of the old mode of production being superseded. If any elements of the old superstructure can be of use to the new society they are not discarded; rather, they are incorporated into the new superstructure in either an unchanged or a modified form.

Karl Marx's ideas on colonialism were largely formulated in the context of Indian society during the colonial period. Marx[58] stated that England had to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating - the annihilation of old Asiatic society; and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia, respectively. The British were conquerors who destabilized the local communities by uprooting their industries and by leveling all that was great and elevated in the old society. Marx showed that at all its stages British policy towards India was determined exclusively by the interests of the British ruling class.

In the African context, a theoretical conceptualization of the educational component of colonialism based on the perception of contradictions has been made by Walter Rodney[59]. He emphasizes that racism and cultural boastfulness were included in the package of colonial education. Rodney further argues that colonial schooling was "education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion, and the development of underdevelopment"[60]. According to him, colonial education was a series of limitations inside other limitations - with high rates of dropouts, relative absence of secondary and university education, and so on. In

---

[57] Cf. D. I. Chesnokov, Historical Materialism (Moscow, 1969), pp. 274-278.
[58] Marx & Engels, On Colonialism (Moscow, 1974), pp. 36-38, 81-82.
[59] Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (Washington, D.C., 1982), p.238 ff.
[60] Ibid., p.241.

his view, the most important principle of colonial education was that of capitalist individualism. The formal school system and the informal value system of colonialism tended to destroy social solidarity[61]. In other words, colonialism imposed an overwhelmingly dysfunctional pattern of education on the colonized.

But viewed dialectically*, colonialism sought to destroy the old African educational order so as to introduce a new system of education. Rodney observes that the products of this new system - the educated elite or intelligentsia - was the smallest of the new social groupings formed under colonialism. Even so, as Rodney proceeds to stress:

> "... the educated played a role in African independence struggles far out of proportion to their numbers. They took it upon themselves and were called upon to articulate the interests of all Africans. They were also required to provide the political organization that would combine all the contradictions of colonialism and focus on the main contradiction, which was that between the colony and the metropole...."[62]

In fact, it was out of their appreciation of the value of school education that Africans pushed the colonialists to grant more education and provide more educational facilities than was allowed for within the colonial system. School education thus came to be, in Rodney's summation, "a powerful force which transformed the situation in postwar Africa in such a way as to bring political independence...."[63]

The above theoretical approaches have informed our study of the educational history of the Kipsigis.

---

[61] Ibid., pp. 254 -255.
*For this part of our argument see the section titled "Development by Contradiction" (pp.261-280) of Ibid.
[62] Ibid., p.262.
[63] Ibid., p.271.

1.9 Method of Study

In order to achieve an objective and comprehensive study, research was undertaken in three major phases. First, secondary sources were explored in libraries, including: the Egerton University Library; the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library of the University of Nairobi; the Moi Library of Kenyatta University; the MacMillan Library of the City Council of Nairobi; and the Kenya National Museums Library. In these libraries, data was collected from books and journals, together with unpublished theses and dissertations, conference and seminar papers, etc. Also, the newspapers available for the period of our study were examined for relevant information.

Next, archival documents - which perforce constitute the core sources for the study - were combed at the Kenya National Archives. The relevant ones included reports of educational bodies - the Kericho District Education Board, the Provincial Education Office of both the Nyanza and Rift Valley provinces, and the Ministry of Education. Similarly, the minutes of the Local Native Council, the African District Council and the County Council of Kipsigis(as this local authority was variously named over time) were examined. Emphasis here was put on items directly relating to education. Further, general administrative reports from the district through the provincial to the central government levels were consulted.

Another important source for the study was private documentary collections. They included:mission and church records of the World Gospel Mission/Africa Gospel Church, the Africa Inland Mission/Africa Inland Church, the Roman Catholic Church and Seventh Day Adventist Church. In this category also fell varied personal and family papers, and documents of the tea companies operating in Kipsigis since the 1920's - Brooke Bond and the African Highlands Produce Company Ltd.

The last phase of the research was an exploration into the oral sources. Fieldwork was conducted principally in Kipsigis in the Kericho, Bureti and Bomet districts. Here, indigenous

Kipsigis religious leaders were identified for thorough interviewing. This was because custody of knowledge about education in precolonial times was their prerogative. Generally, the respondents were limited to the elderly men and women. Others who were interviewed included old school teachers, pupils and students who were identified through school and other educational records. Similarly, educational officials who served under colonial rule, and other administrative officials who had the requisite information, were sought and consulted. In selecting these informants and respondents the snowball and purposive sampling techniques were used to ensure that their contribution to the inquiry reflected the total Kipsigis educational experience.

In the fieldwork, the help of research assistants was utilised. To ensure a systematic approach to the collection of data, sample questions had been formulated covering all the major parts of the study (Appendix p.175). The questions were later recast in a questionnaire form and thus administered to literate respondents.

Initially, informants were asked open-ended questions using the themes outlined under the objectives as a guideline. In this way, informants were able to talk freely. In the course of interviewing, both note–taking and tape-recording were used. Tape recorders was employed by all the research assistants as well as the principal investigator. It was used because it was found to be very difficult and sometimes a strain to listen to an informant at the same time taking notes. The information on tapes would be transcribed at the end of each day.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 SOME ASPECTS OF KIPSIGIS INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

Kipsigis indigenous education was the deliberate and systematic influence exerted by mature persons upon the immature through instruction, discipline and harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, aesthetic, social and spiritual powers of latter. It included all influences which acted upon an individual during his passage from the cradle to the grave. Hence, it entailed largely the process of cultural transmission. In short, education was a continuous, life-long process. In this connection, one may borrow J.S. Mill's words: "education is the culture which each generation purposely gave to those who were to be its successors, in order to qualify them for at least keeping up, and if possible for raising, the level of improvement which has been maintained"[1].

J.E. Otiende's definition may be useful for our further understanding of Kipsigis indigenous education. According to Otiende, education is the process of cultural transmission not only from one generation to another but also within the same generation[2]. On the same, education may be defined as "the whole process by which one generation transmitted its culture to the succeeding generation or better still as a process by which people are prepared to live effectively and efficiently in their environment"[3]. On the basis of these definitions, it is easy to see that, before the coming of the Europeans, there was an effective education system in each community, including the Kipsigis. Indigenous education was the process which provided the young with the knowledge, skills and values which the society believed were necessary.

---

[1] A.S. Seetharama, Philosophies of Education (New Delhi, 1989), p.22.
[2] J.E. Otiende *et al.* Education and Development in Kenya: A Historical Perspective (Nairobi, 1992), p.7.
[3] For variation in the types of education in different communities, cf., Daniel N. Sifuna, Development of Education in Africa: The Kenyan Experience (Nairobi, 1990), p.4.

Essentially, education and society were interdependent, and it was the society which got and set the goals that education followed. It is against this background that I have devoted a chapter in this thesis to showing that there existed informal and formal education among the Kipsigis - as was elsewhere in other African societies.

Kipsigis indigenous education was geared to training the child to deal with the problems of living in his particular environment and with the right behaviour[4]. Essentially, this education was concerned with conserving the society, maintaining its social and political integrity and passing on the skills necessary for its economic survival. Through this type of education, the Kipsigis were able to find ways of passing their own culture or their way of life to the next generation. In fact, this system of education was effective, tangible, definite and clearly intelligible[5]. This is contrary to the view held by many Europeans when they first came to Africa, that the African was a savage, a pagan with no history and culture to perpetuate and that he was primitive.

Generally, as Walter Rodney observed, that education was both formal and informal. The greater portion of the latter was acquired by the young from the example and behaviour of the elders in the society. According to Rodney, African education could be said to include: initiation or 'coming of age', hunting, organising religious ritual and the practice of medicine[6]. This typology of indigenous African education will be used here in organising our discussion of Kipsigis indigenous education in precolonial times.

---

[4] Chemorta arap Torongei, O.I., Cheboyo, 2nd January, 1997.

[5] This Phrase is Sifuna's in Daniel N. Sifuna, Development of Education in Africa: the Kenyan Experience. (Nairobi, 1990), p.4.
See also, D.N. Sifuna & J.E. Otiende, An Introductory History of Education(Nairobi, 1994), p.129.

[6] Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (Nairobi, 1989), p.261.
For a generally balanced view, which rather idealised the precolonial situation, see Daniel N. Sifuna, 1990, p.5ff.
See also S. Monyenye, "The Indigenous Education of the Abagusii People", M.Ed Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977 and the recent, and thoughtful, M.K. Arthur Bagunywa, Critical Issues in African Education: A case study of Uganda. (Kampala, 1980), p.16-23.
Further materials could be obtained in, J. Fisher, The Anatomy of Kikuyu Domesticity and Husbandry (London, 1964).

2.1 *Informal Education*

Informal education as practised by the Kipsigis was a lifetime process and involved the acquisition of values, attitudes, knowledge and skills relevant to the day - to - day affairs of the society. This type of educational development was stimulated by study, through observation and participation of the role of the extended family and the community as a whole, of its accumulated wisdom as translated through proverbs, songs and legends[7]. The development of moral character was a central theme of this education. Education took place informally where every adult was a teacher to a greater or lesser degree. But this lack of formality did not mean that there was no education, nor did it diminish its importance to the society. Indeed, it made the education more directly relevant to the society in which the child was growing up.

Informal methods of instruction included involving children in productive work and observation. A child was expected to learn largely by seeing and imitating. It could only be given formal teaching after it had made a mistake or when the outcome of its work was found unsatisfactory[8]. Hence a child was usually exposed to a gradual process of training according to age and sex. Those who were not yet ready for social life were prepared for it through day to day association of the young with the old. Training for special roles was accomplished through informal instruction given by persons already filling those roles; these were often members of one's own family or kin group. As much of the cultural heritage as was necessary for adult life could therefore be learned through informal instruction and participation[9]. In most cases, the children became educated through what they experienced in their interaction with the physical and social environment.

---

[7] Turumboso A. Chesengeny, O.I., Kapsinendet, 1st February 1997.
[8] Daniel arap Mosonik, O.I., Kapchumbe, 26.2.97.
[9] Kimalit arap Sang, O.I., Lelachgoin, 1.3.97.
See also, KNA, DC/KER/3/1: Political Record Book: Notes on Some Customs and Beliefs among the Kipsigis, 1925-1948, p.16ff.

2.1.1 Infancy and Childhood

Education began at birth and ended with death. The child had to pass through various stages of education defined for every status in life. Here the methods of learning and teaching were largely informal. Indeed, experience was the most important teacher. In the home, parents played a very important role in the early education of their children. The mother educated all children in the earliest years. With time, however, the father took over the education of the male children[10]; while the mother remained in charge of the females. Both parents aimed at instilling in the children the family and clan traditions.[11]. They would be assisted by other members of the society; in this way, the training of the child actually became the responsibility of the whole community. The child had to be taught how to live and work as a useful member of the community.

The education of the child broadened out in earnest immediately after infancy*. Boys learnt how to look after livestock in the grazing fields far away from their homesteads. They were required to count the animals, each of which they knew by name. They were supposed to ensure every morning and evening that none of the animals was lost[12]. The education of the children thus began in the family circle and, as they matured, they learnt to walk and to talk with affectionate promptings from the parents. Childhood was treated with a lot of indulgence, and it was only at the age of two and a half years or over that the children were taught to be accountable for their actions[13]. When the children acquired some modicum of language, they learnt the phrases of respect and greetings from elders.

---

[10] Chemorta arap Torongei, O.I., Cheboyo, 2.3.97.
[11] Peter Kipkoech arap Sambu, O.I., Kabianga, 1.3.97. *Infancy is defined by, Adam Kuper and Jessica Kuper in, The Social Science Encyclopaedia (London & Boston, 1985), p. 391., as period from birth to the onset of walking or put more poetically, the time of life prior to the emergence of independent behaviour.
[12] Barnabas arap Rop, O.I., Kapcheluch, 23.3.97.
[13] Grace Mobiro Maina, O.I., Cheboyo, 23.3.97.

The socialisation of the child was critically monitored by the parents. Throughout the period of childhood, a child's knowledge and performance of duties were checked carefully, not only by close relatives, but by neighbours as well. Indeed, the child learnt the importance of observing and understanding the activities of the elders, working hard and showing initiative. One was expected to be disciplined and to follow the basic rules of behaviour in the community. Also, the child learnt the names of the members of the family and neighbours, plants, animals, insects as well as colours with the assistance of the older children and adults[14]. In fact, quite small children could name almost every tree, bush, grass or weed and describe where they grew and what their flowers and seeds were like[15]. They also had knowledge of insects' behaviour, birds' nestings and so on.

In turn, the older children were largely influenced by the peer groups in their learning process, particularly through such activities as dancing, sports and weapon practice. Furthermore, the boys learnt the dangers and uses of each of these weapons when herding cattle with their fathers while the girls were helping their mothers in their homesteads. Boys played with wooden spears, bows, arrows and shields, for those would be tasks for them when they grew up. The girls made small pots of clay and cooked imaginary meals. During this period of their physical and social development, the children learnt the complex relationships existing among members of the clan and the community at large[16]. The children were also taught to observe various taboos, especially those concerning health and morality. Likewise, they were expected to work hard and show initiative in all social undertakings. In this way, adults were tolerant of children's ways and especially about their learning[17]. In fact, a child was never forced beyond his capacity. Boys often followed their fathers or older brothers to

---

[14] Babaiye arap Chelule, O.I., Cheboyo 17.1.97.
[15] .I.Q., Orchardson, The Kipsigis (Nairobi, 1961), PP. 48-49.
[16] Chumo arap Mosonik, O.I., Labotiet, 3.1.97.
[17] c.f. M. Fortes, "Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland", in Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa ed. G.N. Brown & M. Hiskett (London, 1975), pp.52-55.

the grazing fields where they learnt how to look after cattle. They also learnt methods of defence against enemies - as during this period cattle raiding was rampant between the Kipsigis and their neighbours. They were taught how to set traps for wild animals and, when they showed enough physical ruggedness, they were allowed to go on hunting expeditions[18].

On the other hand, girls were brought up as future wives and mothers of children. They learnt about cooking, weeding, gathering wild plants and how to be generally useful to their mothers. The learning of these skills was informal and girls gained full knowledge of them mostly from observing older women at work[19]. They accompanied their mothers or older siblings to fetch water and collect firewood, and they acquired the basic skills in cooking and domestic work. Further, the girls had the difficult responsibility of looking after younger siblings, whom they often had to carry on their backs or hips before they were old and strong enough for such a weight. These slightly older children were a strong directing force in the life of the infant. Their educative function was twofold: they mediated the adult word to the child, and introduced the latter to fresh adventures[20]. They were also encouraged to develop friendship with other children according to their age, sex and neighbourhood ties as a basis for establishing early socio-emotional adjustments.

At this stage, punishment usually took the form of beating with a stick, which was occasionally very severe; less frequently, it entailed deprivation of food[21]. Children rose before sunrise and had breakfast between seven and nine o'clock, when the herds would go

---

[18] KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/143: Ethnology: Native tribes and their Customs, 1942-1944, p.18.
[19] H.A Mwanzi, "Education and Cultural Control in Traditional Kenya:A Case Study of the Kipsigis, "Unpublished Paper for the Lagos Cultural Festival (n.d., 1975), p. 2.
[20] KNA, DC/KER/5/4: Political Record Book: Native Customs, 1940-1944, p.169.
See also, Catherine Lesan, O.I., Cheboyo, 2.3.97.
[21] One of the earliest accounts of childhood memories, See I.Q. Orchardson, The Kipsigis (Nairobi, 1961), p. 50ff. But also, Joseph arap Chepkwony, O.I., Cheboyo, 4.2.97.

forth to graze. It was also the children's duty, and they were trained, to look after the lambs and kids. On the whole, the elders or instructors had the duty to guide and assist them to grow from infancy into being socially useful members of the community.

2.1.2 General Education at the 'Kokwet'

The 'kokwet' consisted of a group of neighbours who interacted on a daily basis and recognised obligations of mutual aid and co-operation. It, inter alia, acted as a forum where young men learnt the art of settling disputes between any warring parties[22]. In Ciarunji Chesaina's words, the 'kokwet', "provided an axis on which a community's cohesion revolved"[23]. Specifically, it played a significant educational role in Kipsigis life.

At 'kokwet' meetings, the youths were taught by the elderly how to live and work together. Above all, they learnt that one could not live alone; and that, consequently, the group which made life possible demanded conformity to its manners, obedience to its laws, his services for its defence and the propagation of children for its perpetuation. They were also taught decency of speech and behaviour in the community at large[24]. Further, they were instructed on how to share in common tasks in the field and homestead. For instance, they were advised of the virtue of harvesting a large farm together, which would otherwise take a long time if left to an individual family. In this way, indigenous education at the 'kokwet' level emphasised, among other things, social and economic communal participation. The lessons learnt were towards work orientation and the application of what was learnt to the needs of the society.

---

[22] Robert E. Daniels, " A Study of the Social and Individual Foundations of Tribal Identity Among the Kipsigis of Kenya," Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, December, 1970, pp. 41-43.
[23] Ciarunji Chesaina, Oral Literature of the Kalenjin (Nairobi, 1991), p.4.
[24] Taprobkoi Mibei, O.I., Cheboyo, 1.2.97.

Indeed, the philosophy of functionalism really applied at the 'kokwet' setting in which children and youths learnt what was of utility to them; likewise, the learning imparted was geared towards preparing them for their rightful roles as future men and women. Hence, learning was largely practical and enabled living productively within their enclosed society[25]. Members of a 'kokwet' also shielded their fields within a common fence while helping one another at all kinds of work whether cultivation, fencing or building in return for a beer party or, in some cases food[26].

Ultimately, the'kokwet' provided the opportunity for other focus of communal life as reflected in dancing ceremonies. At the 'kokwet' regular meetings were held as which people ate together and drank in groups from the same pots and even from the same drinking tubes[27]. During these beer parties, the elders would advise the youth on varied issues pertaining to their behaviour in the 'kokwet'. All kinds of subjects were discussed and, particularly, those touching on the regulation of social conduct in the land. In this way, the education instilled in the 'kokwet' was to enable an individual to realise all his potential - physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual - in a balanced and integrated way. The elders ensured that the education would assist in bringing up harmoniously integrated personality. Lessons on hospitality were taught. For example, the youth learnt that the host at every beer party had the right to invite or exclude whomever he wished[28]. In most cases, strangers were also welcome, though after being interrogated as to the intentions and their relationship to those present at the party[29].

While in these social groupings, the youths were also taught about the natural environment. They learned which kinds of grasses were suitable for which purpose, the work

---

[25] For a more comprehensive account of the activities that took place in this institution, See KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/142: Ethnology: Native Tribes and their Customs, 1942-1944, pp.17-23.

[26] Robert A. Manners, "The Kipsigis of Kenya: Culture Change in a 'Model' East African Tribe," in Three African Tribes in Transition Vol.1 ed. J.H. Steward (Urbana, Illinois, 1967), p. 345ff.

[27] Samwel K. arap Rop, O.I. Sigor, 1.1.97.

[28] Daniels, 1970, P. 56.

which had to be done on the crops, or the care which had to be given to animals, by joining with elders in this work[30]. They were also oriented to learn the family, clan and community history and their relationships with other communities through stories told by the elders. Through these means and by the custom of sharing to which young people were taught to conform, social mores were transmitted. In all this, every adult was a teacher in an informal sense to a greater or lesser degree.

In the 'kokwet', everyday social interaction took place according to a complex etiquette, which included proper greetings at various times of the day. This training in correct behaviour was considered to be the outward evidence of a good education. Recognition of seniority was based on age; and observance of prohibitions such as the use of the right hand only for giving or receiving gifts was all considered to be important. The youth were taught to be mindful of others' welfare - the very young and the aged alike. The old men, who were members of the council of elders, advised the youth to be competent in trying to resolve all cases arising amongst them[31]. They also gave instructions in such practical matters as how to build houses. Particularly, the council educated the youth on the rules of contracting marriage by strict clan exogamy.

Endurance in the face of adversity and practice in the use of weapons - about which more later - were emphasised. This emphasis was based on the need to preserve the society against external enemies and internal dissension[32]. The performance of each individual was examined and, usually, instructions were given on how to improve.

---

[29]. These were all summarised in, KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/142: Ethnology: Native tribes and their customs, 1942-1944, pp.17ff. For a brief but detailed account, See, KNA, DC/KER/3/7; Political Record Book, 1925-1932, P.5-7.

[30] Stephen arap Soi, O.I., Kapsosurwo, 1.3.97.

[31] See the section on "Military Organisation" pp. 32-36. Also, Daniel Morikyon arap Mosonik, O.I., Kapchumbe, 23.2.97.

[32] David Tigole arap Soy, O.I., Cheboyo 15.2.97.38.

Every individual was brought up to be an extrovert, to be a social atom which was capable of entering into social relations with other social atoms which made up the clan[33]. Freedom of the individual was completely subordinated to the interests of the clan, or the community. However, co-operation was highly preferred to competition. Love and sympathy for fellow human beings were stressed and reflected in all aspects of human relations and most activities within the 'kokwet'.

At 'kokwet' gatherings, the elders also gave advice on how to offer sacrifices. Religion was valued since it was seen to cover and control the relations of the individual to the community. Individuals were taught when to invoke or avoid the ancestral spirits together with other mysterious powers for the sake of their survival[34]. During all 'kokwet' proceedings decisions were usually by consensus, with the younger men leaving most of the talking to the elders.

All important educational matters, then - whether private, family, clan or otherwise - were dealt with at the 'kokwet'. The 'kokwet' acted as an agent of education where every occasion and happening was used to teach one lesson or another. Festivals and customary rites, family gatherings, planting and harvesting seasons, beer parties and ritual observances during burial were all used as occasions to teach the young. The lessons learnt on these occasions within the 'kokwet' framework were not lost on the young; rather, they were later transmitted to the next generation.

---

[33] This phrase is J.P. Ocitti's in his book, tilted: African Indigenous Education as practised by the Acholi of Uganda (Nairobi, 1973), P.92.

[34] Taita arap Toweett, Oral Traditional History of the Kipsigis (Nairobi, 1979), pp. 35-41.

2.1.3 Other Forms of Informal Education

Informal education took a variety of other forms - both in the home and the 'kokwet'. This included learning through proverbs, myths, folktales, stories, riddles,[35] and so on. Proverbs may be defined as wise sayings expressed in a tense, concise and metaphorical manner[36]. They were mostly used in Kipsigis in general conversations and to some extent when older persons intended to give advice to younger ones. The use of symbols and other imagery in proverbs helped to communicate the message indirectly without causing unnecessary offence to the person to whom the message was aimed[37]. As a way of instruction, proverbs were not limited by time and place. Teaching could take place in any social context ranging from serious situations - as in a case of cleansing of a murder at the 'kokwet' - to lesser situations such as at beer parties. In a more practical sense, a father out to correct a child's behaviour would use a proverb to stress his point and thus enable the latter to learn in a vivid and memorable manner.

Most proverbs referred to different aspects of the socio-economic and political realities. There were proverbs dealing with co-operation and personal human qualities; some were related to authority and domestic life; while others referred to relationships, particularly between children and parents as well as wives and husbands[38]. The education involved here consisted in building character, and in developing the necessary skills and moral qualities felt to be an integral part of life in Kipsigis society. The content of this education was diverse and highly informal because it tended to be situational.

Proverbs were used to illustrate a point or merely to make statements in an enjoyable manner. On the other hand, older people sometimes used proverbs to exclude listeners who

---

[35] Daniel N. Sifuna, Vocational Education in Schools A Historical Survey of Kenya and Tanzania (Nairobi & Dares Salaam, 1976), p. 26.who gives this list at the East Africa level.
[36] Chesaina, 1991, P.13.
[37] Joseph arap Cheres, O.I., Kapsosurwo, 1.1.97.
[38] J. Kipkirui arap Ruttoh, O.I., Cheboyo, 19.1.97.

may not be part of a given conversation[39]. Also, parents used them in teaching their children about the socio-economic as well as political realities in the community. This was in regard to conveying some moral lessons, warning and advice - since they made a greater impact on the mind than ordinary words. In fact, some of the codes concerned with the regulation of behaviour were embodied in the proverbs. On the whole, proverbs were the condensed wisdom of the great ancestors.

Another form of informal education was instruction through myths. Elders used myths to explain to the young the things they did not understand. Particularly, they explained to the younger generation the mysteries around them. This could be about the metaphysical world. They were also taught about their natural surroundings.

Folktales were told mainly for entertainment, although they often had an important educational intent. They were usually told at night under the supervison of an elder. Often, this would be a grandparent and, in most cases, stories were told in houses of old women. At every discussion, the youth were taught the virtues of their customs and traditions and how they should uphold them while discarding others. Children were asked to repeat the previous night's episode as a test of memory and of narrative expressiveness[40]. Most folktales, as a method of instruction, conveyed moral lessons to the learners[41].

In order to facilitate the audience's participation, listeners sat in a circle during story-telling sessions[42]. Usually, the heroes in the folktales were revered and admired. The learners were led by the way the tale was told to know which characters and attributes were a cause for ridicule or scorn and which were to be admired in the longrun By listening to folktales, the children learned about the human problems, weaknesses and facts.

[39] Geoffrey arap Kitur, O.I., Kabianga, 25.3.97.
[40] Cheres arap Sirgatet, O.I., Kapsigiryo, 27.2.97.
[41] Turumboso arap Chesengeny, O.I., Kapsinendet, 1.2.97.
[42] Sila arap Koe, O.I. Kiplelji, 2.3.97

Furthermore, as Taaittta araap Toweett has observed, the stories told trained the youth in the use of the language - grammar, vocabulary, riddles, idioms, etc[43]. The instruction through folktales was accompanied by songs to facilitate memorisation. Individuals took turns in telling stories.

Much of the ethical teaching that was given to children was through folktales, most of which had happy endings and emphasised triumph over difficulties. Virtues such as work, conformity, communal unity, love, honesty and uprightness were reflected in many of these folktales. By listening to these folktales, children learnt a lot about human problems, faults and weaknesses. Essentially, the lessons learnt in these folktales contributed towards moulding children for their future social roles.

Informal instruction of the youth also took the form of riddles. These were created through imaginative use of language coupled with a keen observation on the environment. A riddle was very difficult to understand and it tested the learner's ability to remember. Competition in solving riddles helped the children to quicken their natural wit[44]. Children often gave the correct answer without understanding the riddle or the answer in the least, or a wrong and quite inappropriate answer was given from a different riddle. I.Q. Orchardson wrote that some riddles were seen to be simple and had merely a surface meaning[45]. Because of this, they were used in instruction as a means of sharpening the children's attention. Thus, a teacher would decide to throw a riddle at a member of the audience who needed to be awakened[46]. In this way, riddles helped the learners to build their own confidence in oratory as well as in development of their creativity. These evening sessions trained the children's verbal dexterity; at the same time, they introduced them to a wide range of oral literature,

---

[43] Taitta aarap Toweett, 1979, p.41.
See also, I.Q. Orchardson, p.50.
[44] Musa arap Langat, O.I., Cheboyo, 4.2.97.
[45] I.Q. Orchardson, 1961, p.50.
[46] Laboso K. arap Kenduiwa, O.I., Kataret, 1.2.97.

particularly myths, folktales, local history, proverbs and poems. This informal education gave the children and young people a heightened awareness of moral values, ethical discernments, and the comic as well as the tragic dimensions of human life.

2.2 *Formal Education*

In Kipsigis, there was a varying period of more formal instruction given by elders or special groups at initiation into adulthood. Likewise, children received specialised instruction as apprentices in herbal medicine, blacksmithing, and so on. The intent of all such education was to fit the child suitably in the society. Formal education as practised among the Kipsigis could be equated to school education. Informal education actually acted as a feeder to the formal educational structure. Formal learning was imparted by clearly identified instructors, and learners were aware of the education process, unlike with informal education where learning took place indirectly through observation, imitation and participation in daily activities.

2.2.1 Initiation

The period of initiation was the most important time in the life of the Kipsigis - both for the individual initiate and for the whole community. It marked the passage from childhood to adulthood and tested a youngster's ability and formally concluded learning before admitting him or her to the adult community. The rite of initiation for both sexes signified a distinct period of formal teaching and examining, with specially selected and experienced elders giving instruction and setting tests. It was deliberately made a highly-

toned emotional and painful experience, and sometimes covered a period of many months; it consequently would be engraved forever on the personality of the initiates[47].

A few weeks or months before the start of the ceremonies, a site was selected for the boys' seclusion hut, 'menjo', which was located away from the homestead. It was the responsibility of the candidates for initiation to build the ceremonial hut with the assistance and instruction of young men from the neighbourhood[48]. It was here that the practical tasks associated with circumcison and training of the boys and the foundation so that they may be able in future to build their own houses when they were adults. The candidates were sent to invite their close paternal and maternal relatives to the beer party to be held at their home at the start of the initiation. These relatives were the most important source of inspiration for the candidates before the actual initiation ceremony took place. In this the education of the child was not only the concern of the parents but of the whole clan and other members of the community. Each one of those invited gave instruction and advice to the candidates pertaining to physical perseverance. Moreover, in the period before the actual rite took place, the boys underwent particularly severe tests of endurance. On the day of circumcision they were stung with thistles as a test of their courage. But earlier, as initiation approached, the teasing that had been occasional throughout the boy's life became frequent. As he went about his activities, men would stop him and inform him that he would be circumcised by fire and generally, he would be reminded that the process was a very difficult one[49]. All this talk served to fully prepare the initiates to face the hard life ahead of them.

---

[47] For interesting sidelights on the initiation of other communities particularly with emphasis on their importance, see: V.A. Murray, The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of Native Education in Africa. (London, 1929), p.87.
See also E.B. Castle, Growing up in East Africa(Nairobi, 1966), p.43.
Also, recently D.N. Sifuna & J.E. Otiende, An Introductory History of Education, Revised edition (Nairobi, 1992), p.134.

[48] Daniels, 1970, p.76.

[49] KNA, DC?KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.20.

In the last few days before initiation, the candidates gathered in the evenings at each other's homes to practise the initiation songs to be sung the night before the operation. In these songs, boys were reminded to heed the advice and instructions given by their seniors[50]. And, during the penultimate day of ceremony, the candidates got up early and gathered at one of the homes and many boys joined them. This large group then went off to collect the sacred plants 'korosek' and 'sinendoik' to be used that evening. At night, songs full of advice about endurance and perseverance on the part of the initiates were sung. These songs were fixed texts[51]. Later, the candidates would be taken to the central house where they were taught many lessons pertaining to the importance of courage and other related social virtues. In this central place, the initiates were lined up in the order in which they would go through each part of the ceremony. This was in the order of the age- or sub-sets of their fathers, with the son or daughter of the most senior coming first and being known as 'kiboretiet'. The initiate of the second senior-most man was placed last in line, and was called 'Koyumgoi' ("the one who 'herds' the others home")[52]. The other candidates were placed in line in descending order according to their fathers' age-set. In this way, the training imparted was that the initiates were to attach great respect to seniority, particularly to their fathers'.

The next morning, as soon as the sun got warm (or at about seven o'clock) the actual operation began for the girl initiates; but for the boys it took place a bit earlier as early as five o'clock. Boys were circumcised in their individual 'menjo' huts. However, the girls' rite was performed in one central place - usually outside the home of a well-off person[53]. The actual

---

[50] Ibid., p.22.
*The sacred plants mentioned above were widely used among the Kipsigis on only important occasion for instance during marriage, etc. and the older members of the society attached great importance to them.
[51] Barnabas K. arap Rop, O.I., Kapcheluch, 1.2.97.
[52] Daniels, 1970, p.137.
[53] Catherine Lesan, O.I., Cheboyo, 19.2.97.

circumcision consisted in the cutting off of the boy's foreskin and cutting off of the clitoris for the girls. After the operation, the caretakers took their charges in hand. The girls were led away to the various homesteads where they would be put in seclusion. The movement also took a form of an emotional and dramatic event, culminating in the reunion by the clans and close relatives on the way. This stage marked the test of the initiates' bravery. Any girl who failed the test was finally expected to be married by old or sickly men of the community. Sometimes, and more seriously, some clans excommunicated such members[54].

Immediately after this, the elders began to teach the candidates the rules of behaviour pertaining to the whole period of seclusion. The initiates were taught to be obedient throughout this period, to listen to all instructions carefully, and to make no complaints even when they were mistreated[55].

The second ceremony was 'Labet ap eun' (the dipping of the hands) which took place after a prolonged period of seclusion. Here, the education imparted to the two sexes differed in methodology and curriculum, and this was because they were being trained to play different roles in society. For instance, boys were given instruction pertaining to military techniques and skills. The formal teaching also involved an important test of the boys' courage. The initiates were taken by their instructors to a stream where they dipped their hands in the water, washing off their uncleanliness including their childhood activities.

---

[54] Silas Koe, O.I., Kiplelji, 2.3.97.
In the past initiation ceremonies took much longer. For example, I.Q., Orchardson Writing in the 1920s, indicated that it took:
Labet ap eun - 3 to 4 weeks
Tienjinet - 2 weeks
Kayaet - 3 months
Yatet ap Oret - one month
Nowadays the whole process - from beginning to the end - takes about one month because of the school calendar, etc. *The details of all these ceremonies were not supposed to be revealed to children or members of other communities.

[55] Johana arap Laboso, O.I., Kataret, 16.2.97.

They were eventually allowed to handle and given tools and weapons such as machete, knife, axe, arrows, spears, etc. They were taught how to use them appropriately both for domestic and external purposes; in the evenings, they were also shown various constellations of stars and a planet called 'taboita', which they were taught to recognise. This was a metaphor for blessings during procreation[56]. For boys, it was especially important for the fathers to impact kinship knowledge by formal instruction. Sometimes, the sponsors assumed this role. The boy initiates had to know their genealogy and their exact position in the clan so that they might be able to claim their appropriate seniority rights later on. Further, they were also secluded in a state of limited mobility in which they practised the physical skills of manhood. These included making bows and arrows, walking sticks and similar wooden articles for shooting birds[57].

The ceremony of 'Labet ap eun' of the girls had some similarities to that of the boys. The initiates were taught some basic songs to sing led by the old women. Above all, the importance of cattle to the community was emphasised at every stage in this process. Hence, every morning and evening when cattle went in and out, the girls were instructed to sing praises to them[58]. Usually, the girls were instructed by their mothers for whom they had great respect.

Following the 'Labet ap eun' ceremony, the initiates were taught the virtues of love, generosity, courage and responsibility. Formal teaching through songs ('Tienjinet') commenced at this stage. The initiates sang every early morning, before and after each meal and every evening. The songs were archaic in language[59]. Lessons in proper behaviour in relation to the elders, parents, peers, the opposite sex, and children were emphasised. The

---

[56]Motto arap Kaptich, O.I., Kipkelat, 20.1.97.
[57] Joseph arap Chepkwony, o.I., Chebugon, 16.2.97.
[58] Chepbokirindent Chepkwony, O.I., Cheboyo, 1.4.97.
[59]archaic* songs - their literal meanings could not be understood as several informants stressed. The same had also been stated by I.Q., Orchardson, see, p. 62.

men usually took turns testing the boy initiates with the latter having to answer the questions asked very carefully, systematically and correctly. The boys were taught what they could and should do, and what they should not do, in terms of controlling natural calamities such as rain. They were also advised to love and defend their community from external attack. All this was meant to emphasise the initiates' acceptance of the received values.

The boy initiates were also taught the sense of oneness. Character formation was an essential and central component of this curriculum and was highly stressed. The boys were taught to show loyalty to their clan and their age-set. The importance of the individual's place in the community was clearly defined. Indeed, the education imparted to the initiates had a functional character since it was meant to be useful to them, then or in the future. Good behaviour and kindness were insisted on, and it was strictly forbidden for the initiate to use bad language or to quarrel. This, it was assumed, would bring a curse upon himself and the society. Further, such an individual would find it very difficult to obtain a wife because of his notoriety[60].

Similarly, during the 'Tienjinet' ceremony, the girl initiate underwent a tedious and rigorous training. She was expected to kneel down and put a basket on her head while holding a stool in each hand. The stool was placed across her back. She was instructed by her sponsors and elderly women to move four times around the central wall of manure without touching the ceiling with her basket. She was similarly prohibited to touch the floor with her stool[61]. The stool was not allowed to fall off.

Essentially, this was a test on the psychomotor skills of the girls, particularly on how to carry as many loads as possible. This was in anticipation of domestic chores which would involve carrying heavy items from one place to another. It was also learning the skills of

---

[60] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.5.
[61] Ibid., p.6.

balancing. The girls further received specialised knowledge concerning milking techniques since every woman was expected to be able to milk several cows within a short time. They had to sing praises to their would-be husbands, the clan and other community members. They were also taught how to keep their houses tidy and clean milk gourds as well as the art of cloth making.

'Kayaet' was the fourth stage, and it took place at night for both boys and girls. The initiates were led by their instructors ('motirenik') down to a stream. In both cases, emphasis at this stage was on ritual purification. The initiates were made to swear that whatever they saw during seclusion, and whatever they had been taught at any other stages of initiation, would not be revealed to the young children or any other unitiated within the community or outside. If they did so, they were taught, they would not prosper in future. And for those who went contrary to this, their family members would grow thin and sickly[62].

At this stage, girl initiates were allowed to do all the domestic chores, particularly cleaning their houses and grinding grain; however, they were not allowed to cook[63]. Their chief occupation was to sew their new dresses ('sirek'), which were hemmed with beads in readiness for their 'coming out' ('Ng'etunet').

The fifth and the last stage was more ritualistic than the other previous ones. It was called 'Yatet ap oret' (opening of the way). The emphasis placed in this ceremony involved ritual protection against death. For instance, those initiates who had lost at least three brothers older than them through death, would wear squirrel or blue monkey skin. During this stage, the boy initiate's mother formally recognised and anointed him as was the case during the beginning stages of his initiation. This implied that the young man was respected by the

---

[62]Kayaet* meant 'causing to do' and refered to the fact that after the ceremony, the initiates may go about, travelled and did certain work. For more side lights information on the ceremony See; KNA, DC/KER/3/7; Political Record Book, 1925-1932, P.5.

[63] Catherine Lesan, O.I., Cheboyo, 15.3.97.
Ngetunet* is the last ceremony and meant "arising or coming out of". See also Daniel's, 1970, p.134ff.

mother and who had accepted him as an adult. The newly initiated man now took the title 'arap' before his name. The patronymic "arap" was and is , taken from one of the father's non-patronymic names - especially from his childhood names such as Kipsoimo, Kipkoech, Kiprotich, Kipkorir, and so on[64].

During the 'Ng'etunet' ceremony, the girl initiates were taught how they should behave towards their husbands. More widely, they were taught how to interact with other members of the community as pertains to their social and moral conduct. They were constantly given instructions and advice on ways and means of looking after the husband's property[65]. The chief property in this case was cattle. These had occupied an important place in the girl's education throughout the whole period of initiation. On the whole, this fifth phase was meant also to train the initiates on how to protect themselves against evils they would meet in the life ahead of them. This in itself meant that initiation was virtually associated with culture. Social conduct in the family and in other circles was emphasised. The girls were also equipped with ritual powers to handle misfortune - thus reinforcing the idea that Kipsigis education prepared the youth for life in all its aspects. This stage constituted the final break with childhood, where the clothes worn in the previous stage were removed and new ones taken on. In addition, old hair was shaved off to mark the entry into a new life[66].

Generally, the values of the society were thus dramatised in a context outside the intimacy of the home. By taking the child out of the home environment, the initiation rite emphasised that an individual must be responsible to the whole society and that the community as well as the family had an interest in him. Initiation made great demands on the initiates emotionally. Their subjection to many ordeals and tests was recognised as a central

---

[64] Chemorta arap Torongei, O.I., Cheboyo, 1.3.97.
[65] J.G. Peristiany, The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis (London, 1939), p.49.
[66] Cherungas arap Bore, O.I., Ndanai, 2.1.97.

aspect of the experience for them. Without circumcision, one could not be declared a full member of the society, and neither would one have rights of property.

All customs related to initiation bound a person irrevocably to his society. As an institution and a 'convenant', initiation guaranteed an individual access to marriage and so on[67]. The Kipsigis elders who performed the rites of initiation were leaders of great power and prestige. They acted as key instructors to the youth as pertained to the society's customs and traditions. Because of this, they were not allowed to administer a curse on anybody. Usually, they were expected to demonstrate good morals as an example to the youth. And for them, wife-beating was an offence. If any such person performed an immoral act, he was automatically disqualified from being one of this chosen group and, eventually, all other privileges bestowed upon him were also withdrawn[68]. From all this, it is obvious that the personal behaviour of the instructors served to ensure that morality prevailed in Kipsigis.

Initiation rites had educational and symbolic meaning, in addition to the physical drama and impact[69]. This involved the segregation of the sexes, the initiates' isolation from the community, sex education, as well as tests of courage and endurance for both boys and girls. Youth were trained in corporate living during this period of seclusion. They received secret instructions before they were allowed to rejoin their relatives and the community at large[70]. This return could be said to have the symbolic significance of the process of dying, living in the spiritual world, and eventually being reborn in returning to the society[71]. The rebirth was the act of rejoining the families. The young people were

---

[67] Kimalit arap Sang, O.I., Lelachgoin, 11.3.97.
These *leaders were innumerable, since each year they kept on changing, others retired while others were demoted on various grounds.

[68] Jeremiah arap Mosonik, O.I., Kapcheluch, 27.3.97.

[69] cff. Sarah Cherotich, "The Nandi Female Initiation and the Christian Impact upon It", in Dini Na Mila, Vol.2, Nos.2-3, 1967, p.16.

[70] Chepchilat arap Koech, O.I., Kataret,20.2.97.

[71] Cf. H.A. Mwanzi, A History of the Kipsigis (Nairobi, 1977). p.63.

seen as newborn, thus dramatising that they had discarded childish activities. The education imparted was actually utilitarian in nature as maturity was realised. On the other hand, it was accompanied by lessons in the preservation of the society's customs, values, norms and traditions. Indeed, we could sum up with J. Peristiany that the whole Kipsigis indigenous education for the youth consisted of:

> ...initiation into secret rituals, invocations of fertility, teaching of ethics and customary law, casting off uncleanliness, coming forth from seclusion and discarding of old clothes before full membership of the society[72].

During initiation, the responsibilities of the instructors and elders as well as parents were clearly spelt out. In a way, this prepared the initiates for role specialisation and, hence, the youth were taught to identify with the social groupings formed to which they would belong. In short, during initiation, the core of the curriculum included instruction on general behaviour, etiquette and the moral code. The necessary technical instruction concerning specific duties as well as relationship to the elders in the community were also taught.

Initiation, then, acted as an educational force closely associated with culture, such that those who wanted to become Kipsigis had to be first initiated. The initiates were taught the community's lore as well as more practical elements of culture[73]. The occasion often marked the beginning of acquisition of knowledge which was otherwise not accessible to those who had not been initiated.

Also cited in, Mwanzi, "Education and Cultural Control in Traditional Kenya: A Case Study of the Kipsigis", Unpublished paper for the Lagos Cultural Festival (n.D.) [1977], p.6.

[72] J.G. Peristiany, The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis(London, 1939), p.26.

[73] Mwanzi, 1977, p.9.

2.2.2 Apprenticeship Schemes

Medicine was widely practised in Kipsigis in precolonial times. As Taaitta Toweett observes, "every Kipsigis man and woman was a herbalist to a greater or lesser extent"[74]. When children were sick or ill, the mother was responsible for giving advice and first aid before the father's assistance was resorted to. The first aid involved the fetching of different types of curative leaves, roots or even juices of particular trees. Men and women learnt this skill from their parents.

With time, the girls were also taught by their mothers to collect medicinal herbs from the forest. In the initial stages, they would accompany their mothers to the forest to learn the right types of species. Even so, there were individuals who were recognised as better herbalists than the average man or woman in the land. The former were well trained in the art of medicine and came from specific clans – the best known being the Kapkerichek. Such clans trained their young men and sometimes girls in the profession[75].

When a disease or sickness proved more complicated, the recognised herbalists were sought out. Most of these herbalists kept ready stock of well-known herbs for the treatment of ailments and common complaints. They also kept trying new herbs and mixtures for the treatment of new diseases[76]. Such specialists also learnt how to counteract witchcraft and, as Kericho District Commissioner C.M. Dobbs observed in 1926:

> When a person fell sick and the sickness was considered to be due to witchcraft the person who was supposed to have caused it was brought and made to perform various rites over the victim and the most efficacious being to smear him with grease[77].

---

[74]Taitta Toweett, Oral Traditional History of the Kipsigis (Nairobi, 1979), pp.40-41.

[75]Petero K. arap Birir, O.I., Sotik, 6.3.97.
Many informants acknowledged that Taputany Ng'asura of Kembu in Bomet was popular herbalist as of the time of my oral research.

[76]Chelal arap Chumo, O.I., Kelichek, 2.1.97.

[77]KNA, DC/KER/3/7; Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p. 12.

Persons practising witchcraft supposedly did this in secret and even trained their children in the act. When discovered, a suspected witch was driven out of his or her own home to live with the maternal uncles. People who persistently practised witchcraft could be subjected to the death penalty by strangling[78]. Some individuals specialised in exorcising witchcraft; these were very rare people in Kipsigis, and they passed on their skills to their own offspring.

Iron working was a major economic activity and it was similarly learnt through apprenticeship. It was practised by a cross-section of professionals in the field who later trained their children in knowledge of this technology. The knowledge was transmitted from father to son and thus developed over the generations within the patrilineage[79]. While skills and techniques were thus passed on, the arrangements were far from rigid. A son who had no natural bent for his father's craft might learn another trade from a paternal uncle or even from a non-relative. The specialists were known as "kitonyik", and they made all kinds of implements – including hoes, knives and axes and weapons such as spears and arrows. They specialised in the making of different types of tools. In some instances, however, training was not restricted to relatives, and those interested from outside a particular clan could be given the relevant instructions. For this, the specialists were paid in kind - for instance, goats , sheep or cattle.

Weaving was practised by women and taught to girls. The skills a girl obtained depended largely on her personal interest in skills practised by her older sisters, mother or grandmother[80]. The girl would learn techniques through observation. The older sisters spent

---

[78]Towett, 1979, p.41.
Mwanzi* suggests that these specialists originally came from the maasai or the Gusii. See, Mwanzi., 1977, p. 84.90.

[79]Chepkomon arap Chumo, O.I., Cheboyo, 5.3.97.
See also, Chemorta arap Langat, O.I., Abosi, 8.4.97.

[80]Grace Mobiro Maina, O.I., Cheboyo, 17.1.97.

some time with the younger ones in giving instruction on how to make clothing. Learning was also transmitted through examining very closely the ready items.

After marriage, a woman's profession could change to fit the arrangement of her new household. For example, she would seek to be skilful in making pottery[81]. This was a skilled art practised by women called 'Chepteren' using clay from the local soil. They made pots of various designs and sizes to suit all purposes. The girls learnt the skills through observation of their mothers at work. Every mother specialising in pottery would lead her young daughter to the field where clay was obtained. In the field the girls were taught which type of clay was suitable for their work[82]. The knowledge imparted here was practical. In general, pots were made to order, with anybody needing a pot being able to instruct the potter as to which design and size was required. The art was practised mostly by the section of Kipsigis women who were the immediate neighbours of the Luo and the Abagusii[83].

2.2.3 Military Organisation

The Kipsigis were organised into four fighting units called "poriosiek" Kipkaigei, Ng'etunyo, Kebeni and Kasanet[84]. These units were in turn organised into four lines (Singular:"kwanet"), each composed of the members of one "poriet"[85]. Military organisation was also predetermined by the age-set, which was marked by initiation[86]. In Kipsigis, the age-sets crosscut kinship ties and were the basis for important social bonds.

---

[81]Catherine Lesan, O.I., Cheboyo.
[82]Orian'go arap Kitur, O.I., Cheboyo, 1.4.97.
[83]Chepbokirindet Chepkwony, O.I., Cheboyo.
[84]S.C.Langat, "Some Aspects of Kipsigis History Before 1914," in Ngano ed. B.G. McIntosh (Nairobi, 1969), PP. 83-84.
[85]Ibid., P.86. cf. Orchardson, 1961, p. 11; Peristiany, 1939, p. 162; Manners, 1967, p. 247; Mwanzi, 1977, p. 147; Daniel's 1970, p.45; Also, Kimalit arap Sang, O.I., 1.3.97.
[86]Daniel's, 1970, p.46.

These age - based groups were made up of only males and had military and political functions. Women and girls did not belong to any age-set, except that after being married they were identified with the age-set of the spouse. A newly initiated age-set would normally form the "standing" army which had the task of defending the people of the community. It also carried out such raids as the elders may have decided on. Once the initiation of a new age-set was completed a ceremony was held called 'Sagetab-eito', to mark the formal handing over of military power to the next age-set. Whenever an older warrior group retired, the newly initiated members of the succeeding age-group were installed as the new warriors[87]. The divisional commanders were carefully selected by the retired ones together with the elders from among the new generation of warriors[88]. In fact the age-set reinforced values of responsibility, co-operation and defence. Military techniques and skills were taught at different stages of initiation.

Ascension to military leadership was based on merit and emphasized outstanding performance as a criterion. Those who were chosen to be leaders would undergo induction that was conducted by the elders pertaining to the necessary qualities required of a good leader. Two questions would normally be put to the future commander to test his military skills. The first question was:

> Given the numerical strength and the position of the enemy, as well as the physical obstacles, how would you take away the majority of their cattle, with minimum losses in your men[89].

---

[87]Peristiany, 1939, pp.32-37.
[88]Mwanzi, 1977, P. 146.
[89]Ibid., P. 147.

The second question required the candidate to demonstrate detailed knowledge of the omens and how to interpret them correctly. The most common, and probably important of the omens was the sound of a bird called "kiptiltilyet". In this regard, the formal instruction given to the leader was pragmatic. For instance, he would be given a few warriors to lead and be accompanied by some elders who were considered experts in auspices. When the cry of the bird was heard, the leader would stop and then examine the position of his feet and head and the direction of his eyes and then decide if the raid should be continued or not[90].

The training of leaders in military administration also innolved instruction being given to the young warriors on how to conduct themselves when dealing with their opponents in war[91]. Further, they learn the taboos and restrictions to be observed during war. One was that, when an enemy surrendered by discarding his spears, thrusting a handful of plucked grass at his opponent or when climbing a tree, he should not be killed. Neither was killing allowed in the middle of a river or when standing on a rock; however, fighting was permitted on a shallow water or at the edge[92]. Connected with the rise to warriorship was the practice of naming children after brave men. Women who had just given birth would go to the homes of such men and beg to use their names for the new-born babies[93].

The institution of 'Orkoiyot', too, had a formal educational and military value. The orkoiyot's position was hereditary and he had to undergo training before acceptance to lead.

---

[90]Musa K.arap Kolibay, O.I., Kapsinendet, 1.2.97. Unfortunately, a few months after conducting the interview, this informant died following along illness.

[91]Mrefu Kipkirui arap Koskey, O.I., Dikiri, 6.3.93. This was one of the interesting informants who confessed that he was a popular war veteran - who masterminded many raiding programmes of the late 1950s' among the Kipsigis and Maasai on the one hand and Gusii on the other.

[92]KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/140: Ethnology: Native Tribes and their customs particularly social Institutions, 1920-1924, p.16.

[93]KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.11.
For a detailed account on the evolution and development of warriorship in Kipsigis, See S.C. Langat, "Some Aspects of Kipsigis History Before 1914," in Ngano ed. B.G. McIntosh (Nairobi, 1969), pp. 83-115, also Mwanzi, p.147ff.
Also, see Henry A. Mwanzi, "Social Change Among the Kipsigis," in Hadith 6: History and Social Change in East Africa ed. B.A. Ogot, of the use of the title "arap" - which was closely related to the institution of warriorship in many aspects.

The title was usually passed on from father to son[94]. The 'Orkoiyot' gave advice and instruction to the young warriors on when they should conduct raids and, especially, on how to be successful in fighting the enemy[95]. The representatives of the 'Orkoiyot' known as "maotik" received instructions from the 'Orkoiyot' and underwent training on leadership tactics conducted by the senior council of elders and regularly supervised by the Orkoiyot himself. In fact, the chief "maotiot" had the responsibility for the transmission of messages to the people. As Hotchkiss observed, the "maotik" acted as a bridge between the Orkoiyot and his people[96]. In essence, the institution played a highly functional and utilitarian role. Through the said institution the Kipsigis society managed to develop in precolonial times as a unitary system.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the Kipsigis had a complex educational system in precolonial times. This indigenous system of education was both informal and formal. The training of children at the initial stages was the sole responsibility of the parents, but later the clan and the wider society intervened. During this stage, the education imparted was guided by the philosophy of learning through doing. In particular, children were expected to be useful to their parents, community and themselves. This was a clear manifestation that the child was treated as belonging to the community and not merely to the parents. At the stages of infancy and childhood, the children grew up in the society, learning the educational curriculum, which encompassed all aspects of the society's

[94]See, further, Mwanzi, "Koitalel arap Samoei and Kipchomber arap Koilegei ", in Biographical Essays on Imperialism and Collaboration in Kenya. ed. B.E. Kipkorir (Nairobi, 1980) pp.60-69.
[95]Mwanzi, 1977, p. 127.
[96]Hotchkiss, 1937, p. 115.Daniel Morikyon Mosonik of Kapchumbe made the suggestion that it was very difficult in Kipsigis to distinguish between the two, unlike in Nandi.

customs and traditions. This curriculum was geared towards the perpetuation of all the existing social institutions.

During the stage of puberty, the youth were given instruction pertaining to their social and physical development – and central to this was the rite of initiation. Throughout the period of seclusion, the training emphasised learning practical skills, domestic chores, social and human relations and the acquisition of knowledge which was useful to the individual and the society as a whole. Also, initiation embraced character building as well as the development of physical aptitudes to enable one to live as a full and productive member of the community. The education imparted formally in this stage was pragmatic, functional and utilitarian in nature and intent.

In a nutshell, the Kipsigis indigenous system of education was ultimately designed to help the infants, children and youth and the older members of the community to cope with the realities of life. Since it was concerned with the acquisition of practical skills, it made it possible for the children and the youth to produce while they learned and also learn while they produced. Learning was a life–long process.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSIONS' CENTRAL SCHOOLS

3.1 Introduction

In the British East African territories, education was for long left primarily to missionary societies[1]. In this region, education became available on a gradually increasing scale and was initially directed to a limited purpose. The teaching given by early missionaries was closely linked with their work of evangelisation. In fact, it could be said that the early history of education in East Africa was the history of the planting of Christianity[2]. In other words, education formed an integral part of missionary work.[3]. The main aim of the Christian churches in East Africa was to convert the indigenous people to Christianity. Their work in educating the young was subordinate to that of luring Africans into the missionary orbit.

In formulating their education policy, missions in Kenya were influenced by the Le Zoute conference. This was a study on world missions based on the work of the International Conference held at Le Zoute, Belgium from 14th to 21st September, 1926

---

[1] Roger Tangri, Politics in Sub Saharan Africa (London, 1985) p. 62.
Cf. J.F. Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite (Evanston, Illinois, 1965). p.134.
John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (Nairobi, 1970). p.1.
William B. Anderson, The Church in East Africa 1840 - 1974 (Dodoma, 1977), pp.80-84.
Andrew Beck, "Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa: 1900-1950", in The Journal of British Studies, Vol. V, No.2, May 1966, p.213 ff.
James W.C. Dougall, Missionary Education in Kenya and Uganda: A Study of Co-operation (London, 1936), p.210.
S.M. Lugumba & J.C. Ssekamwa; A History of Education in East Africa 1900 - 1973 (Kampala, 1973) p.21.
[2] C.P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa Vol. 1., (London, 1948), pp.3-15.
[3] Edward H. Berman, African Reactions to Missionary Education (New York, 1975), p.xi of the Introduction. See also; Ajayi, 1965, p.134.

under the auspices of the International Missionary Council[4]. The conference stated that sound education involved:

> Character development based on religion...covering every educational activity. Hygiene and health should be emphasised, not only in the practice of the school and home, but in the reading, writing and arithmetic of the school. Agriculture and industry should be taught in the classroom, field and workshop. The building of a sound home life and the value of recreation should be taught both by precept and practice[5].

The major contribution of the Le Zoute conference to education was that it hastened the production of literature in the indigenous (vernacular) languages, which in turn enhanced opportunities for literacy. The Roman Catholic Church co-operated in this move when it got involved in the formation of an International Institute of African Languages and Culture[6].

In Kipsigis, as elsewhere in Kenya, the missionaries preceded the administrators and settlers. Education was the inevitable concomitant of Christian proselytisation, especially with the Protestants to whom the ability to read the Bible was fundamental. But from the onset, it had been recognised that the principal actor in conversion would have to be the Kipsigis himself[7]. The missionary education was intended to prepare the Kipsigis in Christian dogma and to ensure that the students observed proper Christian principles. The education also aimed at discouraging the extended family system, encouraging individualism, abolishing polygamy and more so female circumcision.

---

[4] "The Christian Mission in Kenya", International Missionary Council, 1926, Vol. 20, p.32.
[5] Ibid., p.33.
[6] J.H. Oldham, "Introduction Address"; in International Review of Missions Vol. 24, 1927.
See; Education Department Annual Report, 1924, Government Printer, Nairobi, stated that the pioneers of education work in Kenya have been missionaries and until the last thirty years they had a practical monopoly. Missions of various kinds and denominations, controlled about three quarters of the schools during the colonial period and beyond. There was no department of government activity which had been more constantly under expert examination and reviewed than that of education.
[7] Diary of Mission Correspondence, 1927 5th April, 1927 Fr. A.M. Andersen to Rev. R.K. Smith of National Holiness, Tenwek, Litein Priest's House Archives, p.4.

The Christian missionaries had entered Kipsigis to preach the Gospel of Christ, but when they realised that illiteracy among the latter was a serious hindrance to their enterprise they picked up pen and book to spread Western education. This education was geared to serving their interests - basically evangelism. They achieved this by trying to reach out to the Kipsigis through elementary schools in the villages. Largely, they taught elementary education aimed at producing cheap but literate manpower[8]. On the other hand, the early Kipsigis converts saw education as a sure way of bridging the cultural gap between them and the Europeans who appeared to represent a superior type of human being[9].

There were numerous missions which immensely contributed to the development of school education among the Kipsigis. They included the Lumbwa Industrial Mission (1905), the Africa Inland Mission (1919), the National Holiness Mission (1933), the Roman Catholic Mission (1936) and, to a lesser extent, the Seventh Day Adventists (1950) and the Beulah Mission (1951).

In 1902, the Friends Africa Mission had begun work in North Kavirondo from Kaimosi to Mt. Elgon. One of the missionaries of this Society started the Lumbwa Industrial Mission in Kericho in 1905[10]. The mission had two stations under its operation: Chesinende, and Chagaik near Kericho Town which was opened in 1906. Neither of the stations was in the Kipsigis Reserve[11]. In its early development, the mission was deeply concerned about personal conversion. It was for this reason that its theology was basically spiritual conversion.

---

[8] Ibid., p.5.
[9] KNA, Education Department Annual Report 1930. P.5.
[10] Education Department, Annual Report, 1930, p.5.
Also cited in, S.M.E. Lugumba & Ssekamwa; A History of Education in East Africa: 1900 - 1973 (Kampala, 1973), p.1.
[11] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925 - 1932, p.14.

However, by 1912, the founder of the mission came to appreciate the importance of formal education in facilitating evangelism.

The Africa Inland Mission (A.I.M) had started to evangelise the Kalenjin when it established a centre at Eldama Ravine in 1909[12]. In 1919, A.M. Andersen one of the mission's leading personalities, bought a one-acre plot at Lumbwa and built a house and a church[13]. The following year, he did a good deal of evangelistic work among the Kipsigis. He also ventured into opening up schools in the region.

The third mission to evangelise in Kipsigis was the Beulah Mission. It was established on alienated land formerly known as Bochok, belonging to the Lumbwa Industrial Mission. It worked in conjunction with the Africa Inland Mission in Kericho in terms of physical resources, but it carried out its evangelistic activities independently. Its work consisted of a Sunday school, Sunday and mid-week services as well as religious instruction in the day school[14]. The mission also did some educational work, and by the end of 1936 it had twenty–four men, seven women, twenty - one boys and eleven girls enrolled, with an average attendance of forty-five[15].

In 1933, the position of the Lumbwa Industrial Mission and the A.I.M was somewhat complicated by the arrival of Messrs K.R. Smidt and FitzPatrick. They were connected with the National Holiness group from the United States of America, and the mission bought a ten-acre plot at Tenwek (then called Nyangoris Falls) in an area situated between Location 13 and 15[16]. During this period, the activities of the Lumbwa Industrial Mission were thwarted when its founder, W.R. Hotchkiss, gave up its educational work in Kipsigis and went back to settle permanently in America. The Lumbwa Industrial Mission

---

[12] John Baur: The Catholic Church in Kenya: A Centenary History (Nairobi, 1990), p.80.
[13] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.15.
[14] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925 -1932, p.15.
[15] Ibid., p.32.
[16] KNA, DC/KER/2/1: Handing Over Report, 1933, p.11.

thus came to be amalgamated latter to the National Holiness Mission Association. The National Holiness Mission (NHM) worked in collaboration with the A.I.M in its endeavour to promote the development of education in Kipsigis. The NHM station in Tenwek engaged in an ambitious educational programme and, by early 1936, plans for a school building had been drawn[17].

By 1937, the Roman Catholic Mission had established its headquarters in Kericho. It catered largely for the Abagusii and Luo labourers on the tea estates; but it also had outschools distributed among the three Kipsigis divisions of Belgut, Buret and Sot – with more concentration of schools in Buret[18]. In its initial stages, the mission was managed by a Father P.J. McElwee who strived very hard to establish more outschools. However, with the coming of two ordained priests – namely: Father Farrell and Nol in 1938 – the establishment of the schools came to a standstill. This was because the latter's concern was with the promotion of Christianity rather than education[19]. In this connection, they also targeted the non-Kipsigis in the tea estates until 1953. But during the early stages the Roman Catholic Mission in the Rift Valley was entrusted to the Mill Hill Fathers whose headquarters were initially in Uganda before its transfer to the Apostolic Vicariate of Kisumu[20] which thereafter administered the development of education within this mission.

In Kipsigis, the Seventh Day Adventists (S.D.A) were not one of the largest or most influential missions. Their headquarters were at Kisii, but by 1950 they made headway in extending their activities from Kisii into the Kipsigis Reserve. This was the only mission in Kipsigis which came into loggerheads with the colonial government with regard to the establishment and administration of schools. They advocated a high-quality

---

See also, KNA, DC/KER/1/6: Kericho District Annual Report, 1933, p.12.
[17] KNA, DC/KER/1/9: Kericho District Annual Report, 1936, p.26.
[18] KNA, DC/KER/11: Kericho District Annual Report, 1937, p.21.
[19] KNA, DC/KER/1/12: Kericho District Annual Report, 1938, p.11.
[20] John Baur: The Catholic Church in Kenya : A Centenary History (Nairobi, 1990), p.130.

education to be provided to its adherents and to ensure that the graduates of their schools would be well-placed in the modern economy, doctrinal caveats notwithstanding. The children of all Seventh Day Adventists were expected to attend S.D.A. schools, no matter how far away from home and irrespective of the number and size of other schools around[21]. This was a real source of contention with the government. In all Adventists schools, the teachers were Adventists but not all the students belonged to the church[22].

In all the missions already identified, the general objective was proselytisation. However, in Kipsigis, they did not often pursue this objective directly. They tried to acquaint themselves with the problems of the Kipsigis in order to see how they could help with solutions with a view to serving purely missionary objectives in the process. With the exception of the S.D.A, the other mission organisations in Kipsigis established a growing partnership between themselves and the colonial government, but the educational initiative always lay heavily on the former[23]. In this way, the missions were the first to open schools.

3.2 Administration

The central schools* were seen as centres set aside by different mission stations where the converts, particularly pupils, were to be taught how to build up a Christian civilisation. They were regarded as the forerunners of the primary schools, which performed well[24].

---

[21] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, March 1950, p.13.
[22] KNA, DC/KER/1/23: Kericho District Annual Report, 1950, p.10.
[23] KNA, PC/NZA/2/19/120: Confidential Report; Kipsigis Local Native Council and Kericho District Education Board, 1945-1951, p.6
*Central Schools were to be fed from the village schools. Village schools performed elementary work while the Central Schools concentrated on advanced classes.
[24] John Baur: The Catholic Church in Kenya: A Centenary History (Nairobi, 1990), p.201.

Most of these central schools were run by the Protestant missions. Later on, the government made some attempts to upgrade the bush-school system by subsidising the central schools[25]. In most cases, these schools operated from the syllabus drawn by the Missionary Staff Committee, which recommended subjects that should form the curriculum[26]. The three R's (reading, writing and arithmetic) formed the backbone of the academic part of the education, and the central schools at mission stations offered a more extensive education for the ablest pupils from the village schools. However, religion was always at the centre of the syllabus[27]. These schools were formed after the missionaries had discovered that conversions came not so much from preaching in the villages, but rather by living side by side with their converts and particularly pupils[28].

Initially, educational work was not separated from general evangelism, however, by 1910, it was felt that this ought to be a separate department of work. This was in line with the Fraser Education Report of 1909 which recommended that, although racial segregation in education should be upheld, Africans were talented enough to benefit from technical education. Thus, the Education Department of the Protectorate Government was set up in 1911, and it later offered grants-in-aid to mission schools to teach industrial education[29]. The coming of the railway and the Protectorate meant a rapid spread of missionaries into the inland parts of Kipsigis. It also meant that a market was created for clerical and mechanical skills[30]. By 1912, the Lumbwa Industrial Mission (L.I.M) had two stations with an enrolment of twelve boys under instruction: nine of them had been sent to school from the neighbouring outschools. The mission was credited with being the first to

---

[25] Ibid., p.202
[26] A.J. Temu, British Protestant Missions (London, 1972), p.142.
[27] KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/9: Education of Natives - General, 1928-1929, p.10
[28] Ibid., p.22. Cf. A.B.T. Byaruhanga - Akiiki, Religion in Bunyoro (Kampala, 1982), p.144.
[29] Provincial Unit of Research: Rabai to Mumias: A Short History of the Church of the Province of the Province of Kenya 1844 to 1994 (Nairobi, 1989), p50.
[30] AIM Mission Annual Report for 1910, Litein Mission Archives, Litein, p.10.

translate portions of the scripture into the Kipsigis language[31] in order to benefit from this, the people were expected to be able to read. In this way, schools came to be considered a necessity[32].

In the middle of 1912, there was a serious split in the L.I.M. and most of the missionaries departed, leaving W.R. Hotchkiss alone[33]. In October 1915, W.R. Hotchkiss's application to acquire five acres of land in Kiptere for mission purposes was not approved on the ground that he would not be able to manage both missions alone. The situation was compounded by the stiff competition that arose between different mission societies[34].

Among those who were educated at the Lumbwa Industrial Mission was Samwel arap Bargochut - who was later made chief of Location 1 in January 1914. This was after the Orkoiyot Kipchomber arap Koilegei was deported. At the end of 1913, Miss Jones returned to America, but McCreary and W.R. Hotchkiss remained behind. The last left Chesinende mission and went to live in the Kericho mission in 1915. So far, the only education provided in the district was carried out by this mission. McCreary concentrated the mission's activities in the Reserve[35]. During this early period of penetration, the missions work was desperately hampered by shortage of funds[36]. Despite this scenario, pupil enrolment steadily increased to sixty by October 1916, although the average attendance was only fifty. This was attributed to the fact that some parents withdrew their children by force claiming that the mission schools were too closely associated with European ways of life. Moreover, they felt that the missionaries, particularly the

---

[31] KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/4: Education of Natives, 1910-1919, p.11.
[32] David B. Barrett, *et al*, eds. Kenya Churches Handbook (Kisumu, 1972), p.33.
[33] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, Education in Kericho District, 1912-1919, p.14.
[34] W.R. Hotchkiss: Then and Now in Kenya Colony - Forty Adventurous Years in East Africa (London, 1937), p.106.
[35] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932; Notes on Education, Missions in general, p.15.
[36] Ibid., p.16.

Protestants, were teaching their pupil converts to abandon traditional beliefs and become Christians. Missionary work in establishing more schools was hindered by the pioneers of the Lumbwa Industrial Mission leaving the country to return to America. They were Miss Amelia Daniels and Mrs. Hotchkiss, who had acquired extensive experience while working among the Kipsigis[37].

In 1919, A.M. Andersen of the Africa Inland Mission was permitted to commence work in Litein. He put forward plans to begin educational work in co-operation with the Government, but his successors were not favourable to the idea[38]. During 1920, W.R. Hotchkiss began to open more schools in Buret and Sot. At this time, a larger number of Kipsigis took education more seriously than ever before. n November of the same year, the Director of Education visited the Lumbwa Industrial Mission station and announced the opening of a large government technical school in either Kipsigis or in Nandi[39]. In 1921, the Lumbwa Industrial Mission under W.R. Hotchkiss and Mr and Mrs Leasure worked together to ensure the rapid development of education in Kipsigis. Three boys were trained as carpenters, and they had an efficient saw mill[40].

By 1924, the Lumbwa Industrial Mission at Kericho was an independent station located on a large estate under the control of W.R. Hotchkiss. It had never been admitted into the Kenya Missionary Council and it was unable to qualify for recognition. Denominationally, it belonged to the American Friends. Even so, the *Phelps-Stokes Report of 1924 commented favourably on its industrial work and stated that it had then

---

[37] Ibid., p.18.
[38] KNA, PC/NZA/3/14/80: Monthly Intelligence Report for August 1920: Land Grants Application to set a side land by the A.I.M mission for a primary school, 1920, p.5.
[39] Diary of mission correspondence, 16th November 1920, National Holiness mission Archives, Tenwek, 1920, p.3.
[40] KNA, PC/NZA/1/16: Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1921-1923, p.6.
* Phelps-Stokes Commission was intended to push both colonial commitment to African educational progress and co-operation there in between administration and mission.

about three hundred and sixty pupils[41]. By this time, the government had already instituted a primary school for the Kipsigis at Kericho. It is imperative to note there that the age of the primary school in the colony was inaugurated after the First World War through the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. In this way, the close co-operation of church and state resulted – with missions running the schools, while the government subsidised and supervised them.

In the case of Kipsigis, the Phelps-Stokes Commission reported on Protestant schools and praised them for their work. It called on the government to give more assistance to education so that better standards could be reached, particularly in the central primary schools of Litein, Kericho and Tenwek. However, these schools were regarded as too bookish in their approach and as neglecting the training of its pupils in agriculture[42]. Most of the Protestant missionaries working in Kipsigis welcomed the report that the government would increase the educational grant to the mission. The government came to control the management of education in terms of setting up an inspectorate which would embrace all the central and village schools. Also, the Kipsigis District Education Board on which the mission societies and local administrators were represented was established to help with educational administration, which included the selection of schools to be aided and the allocation of grants[43]. In other words, the government claimed the supervisory and administrative responsibilities for the schools. This was because the missionary societies, which had very limited funds, had realised that they had to depend

---

[41] Horace R.A. Philips: A New Day in Kenya (London, 1936), p.54.
See; T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa: A study of East Central and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes fund, in co-operation with the International Education Board (London, 1925), p.8.

[42] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1924-1932, p.8.

[43] Ibid., p.11.

increasingly on the support and co-operation of the government in order to be able to maintain their growing and expanding education system.

Both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions did not, however, expect the government to unilaterally invade the field of education which had progressively become their main recruiting ground for converts. Financial aid was ironically given to schools which were already considerably well established and these were the central schools[44]. During the same year, the A.I.M under the management of A.M. Andersen based at the Lumbwa station opened a central school in Litein. The school had an initial enrolment of eleven boys and girls. One boy passed the Government Vernacular examination while another boy indentured for carpentry[45]. Training was later conducted at the school for teachers and their wives in such subjects as hygiene, handicrafts, and dramatics and in the organisation of village co-operatives and stores. It was hoped that the pupils of this school would thus have a widespread beneficial influence on the Kipsigis when they returned to the reserve[46].

In 1925, the District Commissioner, Captain C.E. Ward, reported that the A.I.M had made greater progress in the development of education[47]. The mission had a 5 acre plot at Litein under A.M. Andersen's management. The school registered good enrolment because of increase in the number of converts. By 1926, W.R. Hotchkiss did most of the educational work while his wife ran the shamba, sawmill and carpentry instruction shop[48]. This was made possible because during this time, the Lumbwa Industrial Mission had reached a level of being self-supporting from the production of coffee, maize and sawn timber. Under the same management of A.M. Andersen, the A.I.M. station at Litein

---

[44] DC/KER/1/1: Kericho District Annual Report, 1924, p.2. General Correspondence on missions.
[45] DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.15.
[46] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report for August 1924, p.6.
[47] KNA, DC/KER/1/3:Kericho District Annual Report, 1925, p.5.
[48] KNA, DC/KER/1/4: Kericho District Annual Report, 1926, p.13.

increased its acreage by five in 1927. An excellent brick school and other buildings were constructed with the aid of the boy trainees[49]. The government had to be satisfied that the mission had the right type of staff for the kind of school it wished to set up. In fact, the missions were always advised to train local teachers. At the same time, it was not easy to persuade the Kipsigis parents who had no tradition of literary education to send their children to school.

The Kipsigis generally feared that western education would undermine their social system and deprive them of those services – like herding cattle - which children traditionally rendered to the family. Most important of all, the argument of the missionaries that the new type of education would be highly beneficial to the people did not sound convincing. More so in the locations of Sot and Belgut where there were no examples of men and women whose prosperity on success could be attributed to their acquaintance with the new educational culture[50]. Therefore in these areas the school enrolment was generally discouraging.

By 1931, the spread of Christianity and Western education in Kipsigis had picked up considerable momentum as many important people, particularly the chiefs arap Tengecha, arap Taptugen and arap Kirui had accepted and supported the faith[51]. However, the A.I.M was affected drastically in its educational activities with the opening of The Government African School, Kabianga. This was because majority of the pupils at Kabianga were relatives of the A.I.M adherents. Also, the appointment of a Roman Catholic Kipsigis teacher to Kabianga further boosted the level of school enrolment. In this way, the A.I.M school enrolment reduced steadily; in fact, many boys left the mission

[49] KNA, DC/KER/1/5: Kericho District Annual Report, 1927, p.16.
[50] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report for September 1927, p.3.
[51] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/10: Intelligence Report: Sigalagala schools and other correspondence with particular reference to Education, 1930-1933, p.21.

to join the newly established government school. In assessing the emergent situation, the District Commissioner C. Tomkinson observed:

> the Kipsigis were not enthusiastic about any mission and even the desire to read and write, was everywhere the reason for a mission's failure to implement and accomplish its task among the community[52].

The development of education by the Lumbwa Industrial Mission (L.I.M) came to a standstill when W.R. Hotchkiss left for America. On arriving in America, he sent two missionaries to assist in the management of the mission's enterprises; but, instead they went to Kakamega[53]. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic Mission schools were under the control of the government, chiefly through inspection and regulations regarding the opening and closing of schools. All schools were expected to be open for inspection, and a penalty was also meted out on administrators of those, that refused to be inspected. During this period, however, the inspectorate in Kipsigis was quite inadequate since it relied on inspectors from Kisii and Kisumu[54]. This shortage of inspectors prevented the inspection of a number of assisted mission schools.

Gradually, opposition to schools was overcome in the areas which had been evangelised earlier, particularly Buret where the school enrolment had increased considerably in Litein Central School to two hundred pupils by 1935[55]. Christian parents wanted their children to go to school, but demand was not high enough for them to be willing to pay school fees from their meagre resources. To solve this problem, the determined policy of A.I.M was that all pupil converts should be supported from funds raised locally. In confronting this contentious issue, the missionaries were particularly suspicious of the chiefs who represented old ways which were not at all to their liking. As

---

[52] KNA, DC/KER/1/8: Kericho District Annual Report, 1931, p.17.
[53] Ibid., p.18.
[54] Roman Catholic Mission Annual Report, 1931, Kisumu Diocese, Nyanza Archives, p.3.
[55] A.I.M Mission Annual Report 1935, Litein Mission Archives, Litein, p.20.
See also; KNA, DC/KER/1/2: Handing Over Report, 1935, p.11.

time went by, the missionaries further made the claim that the chiefs did not truly reflect the Kipsigis public opinion. In any case, the Christian converts dropped in number, and this had a bearing in the drastic drop of the school enrolment at the Litein Central School to one hundred and two boys and eighty-nine girls in 1936. The average daily attendance was also very low as compared to the previous years in the ratio of 81:33 and 69:33 respectively[56]. The school enrolment was distributed as follows:

	Boys	Girls	Total
Sub-standards and Std. I	60	64	124
Standards II and II	28	25	53
Standards V and VI	14	-	14
Total	102	89	191

Table 1 Source: See footnote[57]

In the same period, the World Gospel Mission moved to Sot to establish a school at Tenwek. This mission was supported by J.H. Webb who held the position of Provincial Education Officer. He was based in Kisumu but travelled throughout the province establishing schools. He had a genuine concern for mission schools and was instrumental in supervising the activities of the Central School, Tenwek. He also established the levels of qualifications so that the schools the mission opened would be accepted by the government. His successor, John K. Benson encouraged the W.G.M to keep the standards high in the school's work.

With the above impetus, the school at Tenwek witnessed steady growth in enrolment in these early years and by 1937, there were one hundred children on the roll of

[56] KNA, DC/KER/1/13: Kericho District Annual Report, 1936, p.24.
[57] Ibid., p.25.

the Tenwek primary school[58]. On the other hand, the Central School at Litein had increased the boys' enrolment to one hundred and three boys while the enrolment of girls dropped to seventy. This drastic drop was attributed to the parents' withdrawing girls because they wanted them to be married in order to get brideprice. During this year, the school enrolment was distributed as follows:

	Boys	Girls	Total
Sub-standards and Std. I	65	60	125
Standards II and II	18	13	31
Standards V and VI	20	-	20
Total	103	73	176

Table II Source: DC/KER/1/10: Kericho District Annual Report, 1937, p.18.

The school had an average daily attendance of 84:66 and 63.66 respectively[59]. This was a great improvement in boy's attendance as compared to the previous year; but for girls it was a great drop.

Throughout Kipsigis, the activities of A.I.M missionaries in 1938, particularly in the field of education was hampered by lack of funds. Their revenue amounted to Shs. 2,932.70, of which Shs. 640 was provided by the Government for the Jeanes School teachers towards their salaries. Shs. 970 was given to cover for the same from the Local Native Council. The fees collected amounted to Shs. 272 while the food grown by the girls was valued at Shs. 600. Hence funds did not have to be provided by the mission[60].

[58] Burnette C. & Gerald W. Fish, The Place of Songs (Nairobi, 1990), p.237.
[59] A.I.M mission Annual Report 1937, Litein mission Archives, Litein, p.4.
[60] Ibid., p.6.

The Protestant missionaries of the National Holiness Mission, Tenwek continued with their own educational, medical and evangelistic work throughout 1939. By 1940, the Central School, Tenwek was managed by L.E. Adkins supported by R.K. Smith[61]. These two missionaries maintained the school as a centre where a completely new way of life was practised in opposition to much that went on outside it. In many ways, the Christian pupil converts were expected to abandon the ways of the Kipsigis and spearhead uncompromising westernisation[62]. The missionaries were convinced that their message could only reach the Kipsigis through evangelising them in their vernacular, and they therefore made attempts to produce textbooks in the local language.

Central schools were supposed to serve the missionary purpose not only by their Christian character and religious teaching, but also by showing the willingness of these mission churches to grant Christians in Kipsigis an opportunity of acquiring the best that Western culture had produced. In actual fact, educational progress in Kipsigis was very slow until after the Second World War. There was no real demand for education in most parts of Kipsigis – particularly in Sot and Belgut where resources were far from abundant[63]. Even so, the nascent Christian community amongst the Kipsigis was asking more and more of the missions in the field of education. In response to this demand, the A.I.M missionaries based at Litein received a grant of £150 in 1946 towards expansion of Litein Central school and other school buildings within the region. The mission by then was under the new management of C. Barnett who took over from A.M. Andersen[64]. The mission was able to boost its development of school buildings through the increasingly co-operative spirit with the local inhabitants through the Local Native Council.

---

[61] KNA, DC/KER/1/14: Kericho District Annual Report, 1940, p.8.
[62] KNA, PC/NZA/4/5/1: Monthly Intelligence Report, March 1940, p.12.
[63] Ibid., p.15.
[64] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/81: Provincial Commissioner Nyanza Education Department, 1946, p.17.

The Kipsigis treated these school buildings and other educational activities as their projects. In this way, by 15th March 1947, the A.I.M missionaries at Litein had admitted the first form one intake[65].

At the same time, the Director of Education Noman Larby rejected the proposal of having a two-year secondary school at Litein. He observed that the then school was poorly managed and had low academic standards. He stated that further development would be contingent upon a qualified educationist taking charge of the school and the renewal of the Board of Governors. Even so, the District Commissioner P.W. Low stated later during that year that the A.I.M school at Litein was by far and away the most efficient. The school made steady progress because its financial burden was placed squarely on the Local Native Council with excellent results[66].

The National Holiness missionaries at Tenwek also expanded educational activities in the same year by obtaining an extra eighteen acres for a primary school and a school garden[67]. The number of Christians at the Litein and Tenwek schools was proportionately larger than the number of Christians in all the outschools in Kipsigis. This was because there were many primary schools in these two places where Christians were concentrated. Christians were allowed to use assembly halls and other school buildings for worship. In the whole of Kipsigis, Christian converts began to assist the missionaries in the construction of schools. Christian parents were also willing to pay school fees which assisted in meeting the running costs of the schools[68]. With this help and the provision of Government grants -in-aid, mission schools in these areas were not a burden on mission funds except in the areas which had not been deeply evangelised. This

---

[65] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/83: Confidential Report, Correspondence-General, 1945-1947, p.1.
[66] KNA, DC/KER/1/21: Kericho District Annual Report, 1947, p.21.
[67] Minutes 57 of the NHM mission meeting held on December 19, 1947, National Holiness Mission, Tenwek, p.6.
[68] KNA, PC/NZA/2/11/3: African Education, 1946-1949, p.6.

problem was witnessed in Chepalungu - an area which was newly settled during this period with inhabitants who had not recognised the importance of Western education.

The government continued to provide inspectors of schools to ensure uniform standards of education in all schools in the region. However, the Roman Catholic Mission, following other denominations - namely NHM, AIM and Beulah - started to appoint their own Christian supervisors to ensure the maintenance of high moral standards and efficiency of teachers[69]. But with the rapid increase in school enrolment and new schools being established, the missionaries were unable to hire more trained teachers so as to maintain high educational standards. Also, they were no longer able to maintain their inspectors, and the government had to intervene.

In 1948, the NH missionaries expanded their educational activities by acquiring an additional twelve acres at Tenwek[70]. During the same year, Cheptenye mission in Belgut also received twenty acres for a mission station where, later, a school was built. The Roman Catholic missionaries, unlike the Protestants, did not look upon schools as tools of evangelism; hence, their schools did not grow out of the needs of the church. On the other hand, the Protestant missionaries engaged in an ambitious programme of building more and more schools in Kipsigis. However, this expansion was also limited by shortage of funds since, during this time, the Kipsigis Local Native Council had very little money set aside for education. In fact, the Kipsigis L.N.C. frequently clashed with administrative officers who refused to allow what they regarded as excessive council appropriations for education.

---

[69] Diary Correspondence of Lumbwa Catholic Priests to the Apostolic Vicariate of Kisumu, 5th April, 1948, Nyanza Mission Archives, 1948, p.3.

[70] KNA, DC/KER/9/7: Political Record Book; 1932-1948, Notes on Education in Kericho District, School Inspections 2 Schools Area Committee, p.4.

The confrontation crystallised with the governments' adoption of the 10-year development plan proposed in the 1949 Report on African Education chaired by Leonard Beecher[71]. The Kipsigis did not fully accept the commission's proposals; for instance, they objected to the use of English as a medium of instruction in schools. However, when the missionaries failed to provide the kind of schooling or education the Kipsigis considered desirable, the latter demanded secular schools which they could control locally and would perform the functions deemed appropriate to them. Among such secular institutions were the independent schools[72].

In 1950, the World Gospel Mission opened a station at Cheptenye, where the Kipsigis were desperately lacking schools. Loren Clark, who was in charge of the mission, worked with the District Education Officer in the opening of new schools in the Belgut area. Further, Soin was proposed as a possible school plot; but this was met with protests, particularly at Singoronik[73]. During the same year, the Seventh Day Adventists opened schools randomly in the Belgut area. In their endeavour to open up Kipsigis for educational development, the SDA never accepted government help on principle. In fact, they remained adamantly opposed to any form of radical social change, especially that initiated by the government. Students were taught to lead in church activities and to dislike indigenous ways of life. The Adventists missionaries associated dances, wrestling contests, moonlight plays, festivals, initiation and other cultural activities that featured prominently in the life of the Kipsigis as evil. Even to watch these events was forbidden for the Adventists; but worse still was the act of participating in them. Instead, they taught

---

[71] KNA, PC/NZA/2/11/3: African Education, 1946-1949, p.6.
For fuller explanation see; Beecher Commission Report: African Education in Kenya, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949.
[72] KNA, DC/KER/3/4:Kericho Monthly Intelligence Report for October 1947.
[73] KNA, DC/KER/3/9: Political Record Book, 1942-1950, p.6.

their students to be virtuous, to pray regularly, to be gentle and not to violate the Sabbath[74].

In 1951, the World Gospel Mission with its branch in Cheptenye continued to establish and develop the existing schools. In that year, eight men returned from Tenwek to take the second year courses at the Cheptenye Bible School. But due to limited teaching facilities and materials for further construction, no first year students were enrolled. However, on alternative Fridays throughout 1951, the men cared for the small children and guarded the cattle while their wives came to attend classes which were geared to training them in the improvement of their social needs. The eight men graduated successfully in December 1951. Still, when the older children were at home during their vacation from school, the WGM missionaries engaged in a one - week crashtraining programme devoted to the wives of those who had graduated. Afterwards, the Bible school was transferred from Cheptenye to Kericho town, where training the WGM converts in purely religious programmes commenced.[75]

With the Binns Education Commission of 1952 the central role played by the missionaries in the development of education changed. The committee stressed that the missions should not be encouraged to increase their responsibilities in education beyond what was required for school government and religious education. Thereafter, the professional supervision of all teaching, except that of religious education, was to be in the hands of qualified officers appointed and employed by the government[76]. In the exercise of these powers the government made increasing use of the Local Native

---

[74] Ibid., p.8.
[75] Mrs. Gerald Fish, "More Labourers for the Harvest', Call to Prayer, XXXIII, No. 12, May 1952, p.7.
[76] Cmd 9475: East Africa Royal Commission 1953 - 1955 Report. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (London, June 1955), p.177.

Councils and also reinforced the use of the District Education Boards. In contrast, the Christian missionaries in Kipsigis seized the opportunity and greatly expanded their educational services by means of the grants-in-aid they received from the government[77]. In this way, Cheptenye School had addition classes of standards V and VI. This was a step forward in attaining an intermediate school status. In 1953, the WGM missionaries started a standard VIII; thus, the school gained intermediate status.

By 1952, the Seventh Day Adventists had opened standard V classes in various schools. These classes were meant to attract children who had completed the Common Entrance Examination[78]. S.D.A Kabokyek was opened to standard VI, though the District Education Board rejected its development on the ground that they had not got permission to do so from the government. It admitted fifteen boys from other schools of different denominations. The government further prohibited the S.D.A missionaries from holding prayer meetings outside schools of other denominations. The District Commissioner, P.G. Tait, observed that the only inefficient schools in 1952 were those managed by the Seventh Day Adventists[79].

In 1953, the Tenwek W.G.M missionaries received a full grant of shs. 5000.00 to expand their primary educational facilities. Their school had an enrolment of one hundred and ninety - two pupils[80]. This increase in enrolment was proportional to the increase of converts within central schools, as was witnessed in the other two central schools of Litein and Kericho. During the same year, W.G.M. Solyat in Belgut was allowed to offer

---

[77] KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/121: Intelligence Reports, Notes on Kipsigis Arts, Crafts and Education, 1945-1956, p.16.

[78] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Confidential Report: Minutes of the 29th Meeting of the Kericho District Education Board held on 2nd December 1952, Min. 38/51. P.3.

[79] KNA, DC/KER/1/26: Kericho District Annual Report, 1952, p.19.

[80] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Minutes of the 34th Meeting of the Kipsigis District Education Board held on 14th July 1953, 1951-1959, p.7.

elementary primary education upto standard IV[81]. This was the beginning of the missionaries' attempt to improve and upgrade the outschools. However, the missions were not left to run their schools entirely as they liked. Schools were subjected to a system of inspection - the purpose of which was to ensure that the relevant sections of the education ordinances as well as the conditions governing the establishment of schools by missions were not violated. But the S.D.A missionaries opposed this move. They continued to remain unco-operative and, as a result, all the four remaining S.D.A schools in Kipsigis - namely: Marumbasi, Kabokyek, Bochorwet and Kebeneti (all in Belgut division) - were closed down. They had also been regarded by the government as poorly managed[82]. The government felt that education should be wholly secular and thought it adequate that schools should be given opportunities for religious instruction to those children whose parents wished it to be given to them. But to the S.D.A missionaries this was not the case, for education meant also the spiritual growth of the pupils.

Both the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries acknowledged that training in conduct and morals was so important that nothing could be done to discourage their schools from performing a dual role. In Kipsigis, all Catholic educational institutions were under strict supervision and management. In fact, the boys were segregated from the girls, and they never met with the girls during play or leisure time. On the few occasions when the boys and girls attended the same activities, strict supervision was provided by the school principals or nuns[83]. Girls and boys did meet in church; but even there the girls sat on the left side with the women, while the boys occupied the right side with the men.

---

[81] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Minutes of the 29th Meeting of the Kericho D.E.B. held on 2/11/1953, p.6. Min 38/56/.
[82] KNA, DC/KER/1/28: Kericho District Annual Report 1954, p.11.
[83] Roman Catholic Mission Annual Report 1954, Nakuru Diocese, Bishop Archives, Nakuru., p.20.

During 1957, Cheptenye Intermediate School under the management of W.G.M missionaries was turned into a boys' school. The school enrolment stood at one hundred and fifty pupils. By this time, the W.G.M was responsible for administering ten primary schools and one intermediate school, all distributed sparsely in the whole of Belgut division. There was a total enrolment of one thousand, four hundred and sixty - one pupils in all these schools. This growth was attributed to the increase in the number of converts in the outschools as well as in the central schools.

By 1960, the missionaries thought that it was necessary to form committees to be responsible for all the central schools. Therefore, a board of governors for each school was started, particularly in Tenwek and Cheptenye schools[84]. The Tenwek Central School got a boost in its activities in 1962 when Carl Waggoner, who served as secretary of the Christian Churches Educational Association of Nyanza Province, assisted it in the provision of facilities and staffing. As Waggoner reported in his pamphlet on the school:

> "...increased housing had been made possible by the closing of the intermediate girls' boarding, making their large dormitory available to secondary boys"[85].

Subsequently, during the same year, the World Gospel missionaries made the decision to phase out the intermediate level of work at the Cheptenye station and to use the twenty acres of plot to establish a secondary school. Permission to implement the same was given by the government, and by January 1964 Gene Lewton opened the school for the first students - and enrolment increased steadily. Wesley A. Rono became the next school principal and, despite financial constraints and lack of teachers, he steered the school to greater achievements[86].

---

[84] Fish, 1990, p.242.
[85] Kenya Field Annual Report for 1962, W.G.M mission Archives, Nairobi, p.5.
[86] KNA, PC/NZA/3/14/80: Intelligence Report: Correspondence on School Administration, 1947-1959, p.7.

The problems of distance and lack of personnel hampered the development of western education in Belgut, but also in Sot. While most of the costs of education were borne by the Kenya government and the Kipsigis African District Council and subsidised in part by tuition fees, the formal administration of the majority of these schools was still in the hands of one or another of the three leading missions within Kipsigis[87]. However, such autonomy in educational matters was at this time being drastically curtailed.

3.3 Staffing

Staffing formed an important component in the educational system. It is imperative to note that while the early missionaries in Kipsigis constituted the most important teaching force in nearly all the central schools, the catechists manned the mushrooming outschools. The acute shortage of teachers in the central schools was alleviated when a few converts were able to help the missionaries.

Some missions - like the Lumbwa Industrial Mission which moved southerwards to Kericho from Kaimosi were able to make use of the teachers from the more educationally advanced parts of Western Kenya, but missions like the Beulah which came direct from overseas had to train all their teachers from the beginning[88]. The missions soon found that an efficient teacher was not always a satisfactory Christian; and that a fervent evangelist could not always teach. In 1931, some technical work began at Litein Central School under the supervision of the first teacher who came from Jeanes school Kabete. The Education Department was not able to find a suitable teacher for the

---

[87] Robert A. Manners, "The Kipsigis of Kenya: Culture Change in a 'Model' East African Tribe", in Three African Tribes in Transition Vol. I ed. J.H. Steward (Urbana, Illinois, 1967), p.349.

[88] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.12.
Also cited in, KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/3: Education of Natives - General, 1928-1939, p.16.

Government African School, Kabianga from this mission[89]. All the missions that operated in Kipsigis were assisted by the Kipsigis Local Native Council to pay salaries for the Jeanes School teachers. The mission schools, notably Tenwek and Litein, benefited especially in 1932 from the work done by the wives of these teachers who had attended training together with their husbands at the Jeanes School. They were trained on the importance of child welfare and other domestic chores. This was a matter which most of the teaching force and administrators found difficult to approach[90].

By 1934, the three Jeanes school teachers at the Central School, Litein so far had not produced any noticeable result. This problem was also aggravated by the death of the school principal A.M. Andersen, who had a lot of experience in dealing with the Kipsigis.

In 1936, the A.I.M had increased its staff at the Central School to nine African teachers with three European part-time teachers. During the same period the W.G.M missionaries at Tenwek benefited from the co-operative spirit cultivated by the then Provincial Education Officer Webb, who gave genuine advice to the teaching staff on how to improve their teaching[91]. He provided them with inductive courses and was also able to pay their salaries. Hence, they were more motivated.

Still in 1937, the A.I.M missionaries increased European part-time teachers to four while they reduced the number of African teachers to eight. In this way, they had the ambition that the missionary staff could do better than the African. They were still motivated by the pseudo-scientific evaluation that Africans could not do much as the Europeans do. This was the point of dilemma that led the government to disagree with the S.D Adventists.

---

[89] KNA, DC/KER/1/18: Kericho District Annual Report, 1931, p.12.
[90] KNA, DC/KER/1/10: South Lumbwa District Annual Report, 1934, p.11.
See also, KNA, DC/KER/1/2: Handing Over Report, 1934, p.13.
[91] Fish, 1990, p.237.

Further, the missions found it difficult to meet all the requests they received for teachers and schools. Sometimes, Kipsigis benefited from the rivalry between missions, and played off one against another in order to get the education they wanted. However, this instead had a diverse effect on the case of staffing - where teachers from one mission could be employed in the other.

On their part, the NHM missionaries introduced and developed an elementary education system in Kipsigis from at the beginning of 1938. At Tenwek a pupil-teachers' class came into existence to train teachers who would help in opening elementary schools in the villages. Under the pupil-teacher system, the pupils in the teachers' class were expected to follow the normal academic syllabus and to teach in the neighbouring village schools each day[92]. However, in practice, the pupils did far more teaching than learning. At the end of the year, the pupils graduated as junior teachers or first certificate teachers. After a year's work in the village schools, they could return to the Central School, Tenwek to work for the second certificate[93].

The teachers' course which lasted a year and led to the first certificate included instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, blackboard writing, elementary instruction in method, drill, register and mark-book keeping, the Bible and practice in taking children's services and giving simple addresses[94]. The subjects which were taught to the would-be school masters demonstrated clearly that they were prepared to do both church and school work. Indeed, as the village schools were primarily used as instruments of missionary expansion, the teacher's course at Tenwek helped to strengthen the National Holiness Mission catechists who were exclusively engaged in church work.

---

[92] NHM Mission Annual Report 1938, Tenwek Mission Archives, Tenwek, p.12.
[93] Ibid., p.14.
See also; KNA, DC/KER/2/1: Handing Over Report, 1928, p.11.
[94] Ibid., p.15.

Everywhere the Protestant missionaries came to have access to the Christian pupils, the members of staff played a leading part in their Christian activities. In this way, the teachers were expected to set a good moral example to the pupils of the schools. In fact, teachers could be discussed because of drunkenness and any case of scandal by associating freely with women.

From the National Holiness Mission's viewpoint, the growth in education was significant in that every teacher was essentially an evangelist and took long hours after school to teach those inquiring about the gospel. In 1940, the National Holiness missionaries led by Alice Day of Tenwek Central School made a breakthrough when they co-operated with their counterparts of the Litein A.I.M. to prepare a scheme of work for the teachers to use throughout Kipsigis[95]. This was a way forward in the co-operation between different missions towards the educational advancement of the Kipsigis.

By 1947, the National Holiness Mission, Tenwek agreed to take lower primary teacher trainees from Government African School, Kabianga to whom Ä they were to provide temporary accommodation[96]. They also charged an extraordinary grant of Shs. 500 for this service. The opening of this lower primary teacher course at Tenwek was taken as an emergency step. With the increased government grants to the mission schools, the NHM, AIM and Roman Catholic missionaries decided that teachers needed to be better trained, and training colleges were started. The missions were given impetus by R.K. Smith's advice that:

---

[95] National Holiness Mission: Unnumbered minutes of the Field Council meeting held on 28th May 1940, Tenwek Mission Archives, p.3.

[96] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/83: Confidential Report, 26th May 1947, p.4.

> "Where it was impossible ... carry on both the immediate task of evangelisation and ... educational work. [The missions should] neglect ... churches in order to perfect ... schools".[97]

During this period, the schools proved to be the main evangelistic agencies. Because of this, the missionaries began serious training of the teachers and evangelists who were still very limited in number. Improvements in this respect were necessary if the outschools were to lead the Kipsigis to a better future. The translation of the complete Bible into the Kipsigis language also encouraged a higher standard of teaching for evangelists, and it gave impetus to the idea of bringing pupils into the central schools.[98] Many missionary staff teachers learnt the Kipsigis language which was the medium of instruction, and they engaged in reducing it to writing and producing scripture translations with the assistance of the early educated Kipsigis teachers. Credit in this task was given to A.M. Andersen, K.R. Smith and W.R. Hotchkiss, among others.

By 1949, the teachers had to be registered with the Education Department and were expected to be capable of teaching the classes assigned to them. The government sought to ensure that the equipment was adequate for the number of children in regular attendance; and that the school authorities did not, without approval, depart from the curriculum spelt out at the time of the application for authority to open the school[99]. The standard of work and the teacher's attendance of duty were strictly supervised. In 1949 also, the NHM recruited the first Kipsigis into the teaching staff of Tenwek Central School. This was Dishon arap Kesembe, who was one among the graduates of the Sotik Bible School that year[100].

---

[97] Ibid., p.5.
[98] AIM Mission Annual Report, 1947, Litein Mission Archives, Litein, p.2.
[99] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report for February 1949, p.13.
[100] KNA, DC/KER/1/22: Kericho District Annual Report, 1949, p.11.

"Where it was impossible ... carry on both the immediate task of evangelisation and ... educational work. [The missions should] neglect ... churches in order to perfect ... schools".[97]

During this period, the schools proved to be the main evangelistic agencies. Because of this, the missionaries began serious training of the teachers and evangelists who were still very limited in number. Improvements in this respect were necessary if the outschools were to lead the Kipsigis to a better future. The translation of the complete Bible into the Kipsigis language also encouraged a higher standard of teaching for evangelists, and it gave impetus to the idea of bringing pupils into the central schools.[98] Many missionary staff teachers learnt the Kipsigis language which was the medium of instruction, and they engaged in reducing it to writing and producing scripture translations with the assistance of the early educated Kipsigis teachers. Credit in this task was given to A.M. Andersen, K.R. Smith and W.R. Hotchkiss, among others.

By 1949, the teachers had to be registered with the Education Department and were expected to be capable of teaching the classes assigned to them. The government sought to ensure that the equipment was adequate for the number of children in regular attendance; and that the school authorities did not, without approval, depart from the curriculum spelt out at the time of the application for authority to open the school[99]. The standard of work and the teacher's attendance of duty were strictly supervised. In 1949 also, the NHM recruited the first Kipsigis into the teaching staff of Tenwek Central School. This was Dishon arap Kesembe, who was one among the graduates of the Sotik Bible School that year[100].

---

[97] Ibid., p.5.
[98] AIM Mission Annual Report, 1947, Litein Mission Archives, Litein, p.2.
[99] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report for February 1949, p.13.
[100] KNA, DC/KER/1/22: Kericho District Annual Report, 1949, p.11.

In 1951, the S.D.A schools were assessed and adjudged to be inefficient and not showing any improvement. This state of affairs was partly attributable to the lack of European staff in the governmen's view. Even so, the S.D.A was still opposed to the type of supervision and curriculum advocated by the government and, more so, to the kind of students such a system would finally produce. However, the government recommended measures that should be taken to improve the conditions under which the teachers worked and the children learned. Further, it recommended that missions with schools which were not viable should shut them down; in some instances, it took the harsh step of ordering the closure of schools so categorised, especially the S.D.A ones.

In 1951 also, the District Education Board (D.E.B) reprimanded the S.D.A of transferring one teacher, Kimutai arap Koskei, from an aided school, A.I.M Musarian to S.D.A.[101] Kebeneti on a day's notice without any correspondence between the administrations of the two schools. This shows that the government was always concerned about the overall management of school. During the same year, the government inspected the W.G.M. schools and established that there was a shortage of or teachers. Most missionary staff members voluntarily contributed from their salaries to church funds. They strongly upheld the view that the teachers, just like nurses and evangelists, were servants of God who must be remunerated in order to enable them to live, although the real reward was spiritual. Some of the missionaries further boosted the development of schools by donating from their salaries.

Most missions - particularly N.H.M, A.I.M, Beulah and SDA - wished to control the lives of the teachers entirely. Teachers could be dismissed without notice for drinking, smoking, insubordination to the management, failure to pay church dues or to attend

---

[101] KNA, PC/NZA/2/19/120:Confidential Report:Kipsigis Local Native Council and Kericho District Education Board, 1945-1952, p.6.

religious services regularly[102]. Because selection of teachers rested ultimately with the supervising mission body, the missionaries tried to staff their schools with avowed adherents of their own church. However, many of the teachers did not like to live in strict accordance with the regulations laid down for them[103]. And virtually all the young men and some of the young women teachers smoked or drank, or did both, when they considered that they would be safe from detection. They resented deeply this infringement on their personal rights, and would point out that hypocrisy was not a choice but a necessity in such circumstances. Their employment depended upon outward conformity, and they needed their jobs[104].

The government sometimes intervened to assist the teachers not to be mistreated. Consequently, there was always a trickle of teachers from the mission schools to D.E.B. schools, and others to the independent school because of mission strictness regarding such matters as polygamy. Such exodus also resulted from the desire to secure more favourable terms. Some teachers left teaching altogether; because of what they regarded as missionary oppression, many joined government service. Although the missionary societies received no compensation in this situation, they were relieved of the financial burden of paying such teachers. The government eventually took responsibility for the payment of teachers salaries, especially with the creation of Teachers' Service Commission in 1957. However, some churches or denominations, particularly the Roman Catholic, took a conservative view and continued paying its teachers.

The Christian teachers helped carry the "spiritual burden" for the students and their families[105]. For example, the African school teachers in the NHM, Tenwek helped to

---

[102] KNA, PC/NZA/3/66/1: Nyanza Province: Miscellaneous Confidential Paper, 1940-1951, p.11.
[103] Robert A. Manners, 1967, p.351.
[104] A.T. Matson, "The Founding of Kericho", Kenya Weekly News, October 31, 1955, pp.40, 62.
[105] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Minutes of the 34th Meeting of the Kipsigis D.E.B held on 16th February, 1960, 1951-1961, p.7

extend the ministry. On the whole, there were one hundred and fifteen Kipsigis teachers who shared the missionaries' work in this field. About twenty of the African day school teachers also had Sunday schools or churches.

3.4 Curriculum

The first missionaries to work among the Kipsigis did not introduce the advanced Western secular type of education. In any case, they did not, at the beginning, have the staff or resources to do so even if they had wished to. Initially, they wanted to train catechists and evangelists and get the Kipsigis to study the Bible.

At this early stage, they also expected physical work from their converts. For example, young men and boys who came to W.R. Hotchkiss of the Lumbwa Industrial Mission for training spent part of the day working in the gardens and part of it in the classroom. Hotchkiss firmly believed that schools had a two-fold purpose. First and foremost, the schools were to be centres for evangelism, but they were also to train the Christian converts to become intelligent leaders of their people. Hotchkiss recognised the need for a training school for teachers and a Bible school for preparing pastors[106]. In 1915, he gave the curriculum of the Lumbwa Industrial Mission school as religious knowledge, reading, vernacular, reading Swahili, arithmetic, writing, composition in vernacular and Swahili, geography, physiology and hygiene[107]. This curriculum was to give the Kipsigis pupils an elementary type of education. On the whole, knowledge of the three R's became a condition for Protestants seeking baptism.

---

[106] Diary of Mission correspondence 1916, 5th September 1915 Fr. W.R. Hotchkiss of Lumbwa Industrial Mission to A.M. Andersen of A.I.M, Litein, p.3.
[107] KNA, DC/KER/3/4: Political Record Book, 1912-1922, p.11.

The first two missions to operate in Kipsigis by the early 1920's were not successful in the introduction of technical education; these were the Lumbwa Industrial Mission and the Africa Inland Mission. In theory, it was considered that training in crafts and agriculture was a basic need to uplift the Kipsigis as a community. This figured in the missionary programmes and, more widely, in the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. However, what the Kipsigis demanded was an education which would lead to white-collar jobs as teachers or officers - these were practically jobs which the Europeans were doing and which offered a good salary. Anything that involved manual work was hardly desirable and was resented by the community. And tilling the fields did not really need one to go to school[108]. On the other hand, industrial training needed much more than an ordinary school in terms of materials and facilities as well as teaching skills.

In 1925, the Lumbwa Industrial Mission started to emphasise teaching agriculture, carpentry and other trades, as well as compulsory scripture[109]. As part of its curriculum, the AIM stressed that pupils should make reed mats and baskets. The AIM schools operated from a syllabus drawn by their missionary staff; and the three R's continued to form the backbone of the academic part of the education. The technical part included woodwork, carpentry, hand-craft, house-craft and agriculture because of the belief that pupils ought to appreciate the value of manual work.

Christianity, particularly as advocated by the Lumbwa Industrial missionaries, relied heavily on a person's ability to read and understand the Bible. Although this in itself did not necessitate schools, the settings in which these missionaries laboured - characterised as they were by "heathen superstitions and savage customs" - dictated the

[108] KNA, DC/KER/1/3: Kericho District Annual Report, 1923, p.12.
[109] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.14.

expediency of establishing such institutions to ensure the success of the work[110]. The education provided by the mission was restricted, especially during the early years of 1920s, to the basics which would enable students to carry out only evangelist functions. The curriculum included singing, scripture, prayers, reading, spelling, writing, catechism, and arithmetic. This education emphasised the spiritual value of hard work and the tenets of evangelical Christianity. Although the role of religion was paramount, there was some room in the curriculum for secular subjects.

As noted earlier, the early missionaries started schools in order to further the cause of conversion. Later, the L.I.M passed a rule that no convert should be admitted into the church without first learning to read, exception being made only in the case of those far too old to learn[111]. By 1927, the AIM had intensified its industrial education to the Kipsigis. It taught different trades, including brick making and laying, carpentry, working in iron, road making and tailoring. As regards agricultural training, the pupils were taught to plant crops such as maize and tea[112].

By 1936, the AIM was giving agricultural instruction to the boys in the Central School, Litein[113]. At the same time, a teacher-training class of sixteen was established by the National Holiness missionaries at the Tenwek Central School. The teachers' wives were given a special course in hygiene and home-making. Agriculture was also taught, although to a limited extent. The Kipsigis furnished the materials and the buildings; this was a self-help practice which continued through the years. It was considered that getting the community involved in donating and supplying the materials for building gave them a

---

[110] AIM mission Annual Report 1926, Litein mission Archives, Litein, p.3.
See also: KNA, PC/NZA/3/7/80: Nyanza Provincial Monthly Intelligence Report, March 1926, p.16.

[111] Interview with the convert, Peter Sambu, Kiptere Parish, March 1997.

[112] Diary of Correspondence, 1927, 5th April, 1927, Fr. A.M. Andersen to W.R. Hotchkiss, Litein Priests house archive, p.4.

[113] Geoffery A. Koe, O.I. Kabianga, 25.3.97.

sense of "belonging" and of responsibility for upkeep and continuation[114]. Agricultural education of some kind or other, then, was imparted in all the central schools although it often degenerated into mere manual labour on large, non-typical holdings to supplement the fee revenue. To the Kipsigis, however, education was a means out of a harsh, mainly subsistence economy, and not the way back into it.

In 1942, the National Holiness Mission changed its curriculum for all its central schools. The mornings throughout the week were spent in the classroom and the afternoons devoted to working in the vegetable gardens. Beans, peas, pumpkins, green onions, cabbages and potatoes were raised to add variety to the pupils' diet. Classes in cooking, sewing, spinning and weaving, and maternity lessons were started[115]. The central schools occasionally taught vocational subjects. But the main obstacles to the widespread acceptance of vocational education were the Kipsigis themselves, who insisted on literary rather than vocational training. The missionaries argued that vocational education would help combat the "well-observed" Kipsigis characteristics of "indolence" and such "depravity" as cattle theft and would counterbalance "immorality"[116].

The Protestant missionaries working among the Kipsigis drew encouragement from the successful vocational education programme undertaken at Hamptom and Tuskegee institutes in the United States[117]. Missionary insistence on vocational training as part of the school curriculum was not exclusively ideological; there were very pragmatic concerns of economic viability and self-sufficiency involved as well.

---

[114] Fish, 1990, p.235.
[115] NHM mission, Tenwek, unnumbered minutes of the Field Council meeting held on 28th May 1942. Cited also, in National Holiness Mission, Annual Report, 1942, p.6.
[116] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, 1944, p.6.
[117] KNA, DC/KER/3/9: Political Record Book, 1933-1949, p.11.
For fuller explanation see:
T.F Jones, "Education in East Africa: A study of East, Central and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund", in co-operation with the International Education Board (London, 1925).

Missionary work in this region was woefully underfinanced, and it was only schools which consistently impressed the government that received official assistance by way of grants-in-aid.

Beginning in 1946, a more formally organised Bible training course was started at Tenwek. The entry requirements were that one was expected to have the ability to read and write[118]. Following the emphasis on vocational education by the leading Protestant missionaries, then, saw the establishment of workshops which were built to train the Kipsigis in carpentry, iron technology, pottery, basketry and masonry. The efficacy of the vocational instruction offered by these missionaries was vindicated by the number of its graduates found gainfully employed throughout Kipsigis[119]. The vocational instruction in Kipsigis was further motivated by the insufficiency of the mission funds and the high cost of employing skilled labourers. In fact, most of the central schools were built by Kipsigis pupil masons with the assistance of the technical instructors within each mission.

The Beulah Mission schools had traditionally been characterised by hard work, strict discipline, quality education and the inculcation of a spirit of fierce independence in the pupils. This mission imparted basically moral and religious education.In its central schools, the curriculum centred on the four R's - reading, writing, arithmetic and religion. The day usually started with morning worship which was attended by all the teachers and pupils. It was at this time that the required biblical quotations were expected from each class. A very trying oral test in arithmetic was generally the first classroom activity. Prayers marked the end of each day's activities[120].

Also, Kenneth J. King, "The American Background of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and their Influences in Education in East Africa, especially Kenya; Ph.D. Dissertation, Edinburgh University, 1968.

[118] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/83: South Kavirondo Correspondence to the Provincial Commissioner Nyanza; Confidential Report; 26th May, 1946, p.3.

[119] KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/121: Provincial Commissioner Nyanza Monthly Intelligence Report, May 1947, p.16.

[120] KNA, PC/NZA/2/11/3, African Education, 1925-1949, p.11.

The Kipsigis who had widely travelled, and especially those who had gone out of the country during the Second World War, knew that the pietistic approach to education would not lead to the type of training that would prepare them for social, economic and political development[121]. They demanded that the missionaries concentrate more on industrial training which would enable the Kipsigis to provide for themselves, thus making the Christian life more meaningful and attracting people to the faith. They were eager for education and anxious to learn beyond the three R's. Those who were sufficiently educated took charge of the elementary classes. And those who were already well versed in reading and writing the Kipsigis language were selected and formed into a special class which was taught English every day in the central schools.

The Roman Catholic missionaries believed in the ideal of both "civilising" and then Christianising their converts. They built schools and taught subjects like history, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and hymn singing[122]. There was one year's religious course which was incorporated into the school curriculum. The completion of the course had no substantial academic benefit except for some basic lessons in reading and writing. However, the course, which came into force in the late 1940s, reportedly had great religious impact on those concerned with life[123]. The course introduced the religious aspects of mission education: subsequently, the religious instruction in the primary school - as well as at other school levels - was merely a confirmation and an expansion of the religious instruction already received. Pupils were introduced to the Bible in primary one and two while continuing to study the different sacraments and other Christian doctrines. The class teachers were responsible for teaching of religion; but

---

[121] KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/363: Confidential Report: Institutions and Association: Kipsigis Central Association, 1944-1952, p.6.

[122] Minutes of Representatives and Pastoral sessions of Provincial Synod, Roman Catholic mission, 1949, p.6, Nakuru Bishop House Archives, Nakuru.

[123] Ibid., p.10.

occasionally the Father in charge of the parish would come to explain some points of the Catholic dogma beyond the teachers' comprehension.

The pupils in Catholic mission schools were required by the school rules to go to confession at least once a month and to receive communion at least once a week on Sundays[124]. All pupils were also expected to attend mass on Fridays during the school days and, as on Sundays, failure to appear meant punishment. The majority of the pupils became converts and, at the primary, intermediate and secondary levels of education, the number of Christian increased until they formed about fifty percent of the total school enrolment[125].

Pupils in the Seventh Day Adventist schools were encouraged to enter vocational and technical courses of study, which did not prepare them to be dependent on others, since Adventists were expected to be self-sufficient[126]. In Kipsigis, the courses encouraged were teaching, studying for the ministry and medicine. Other professions were regarded as unnecessary, as the purpose of acquiring education was to enable one to be of service to God and humanity irrespective of their position. The school curriculum included arithmetic, writing, language (Kipsigis and English), hygiene, nature study, general knowledge, handwork, singing, story telling and religious instruction. This last subject was taught daily (twice on Fridays) and was supplemented by a fifteen-minute morning devotion. Arithmetic, writing and language were given almost as much attention, while the other subjects were taught three periods weekly[127]. Attendance at Friday

---

[124] John K. A. Sang, O.I., Roman Catholic Mission Adherent, Kaplong mission, 15th May 1997.

[125] KNA, PC/RVP/6A/12/3. Confidential Report: General Information on African schools with a copy of Beecher Report on African Education, March, 1944 - February, 1950.

[126] For more details on the work of the S.D.A, See:G.N. Amayo, "A History of the Adventist Education in Kenya: Illustrated in the light of its impact on Africans' Social, Economic, Religious and Political Development, 1906-1963", Ph.D. Thesis, Howard University, 1974.

[127] KNA, DC/KER/1/27: Kericho District Annual Report, 1953, p.16.See, the extended discussion of the S.D.A. in Seventh Day Adventist Church Manual, General Conference of the S.D.A, Pacific press, 1932.

evening and Saturday church services was compulsory for all the pupil converts in all the four schools managed by the Church in 1953 among the Kipsigis.

There was also great emphasis on manual work. This emphasis was designed to demonstrate that education did not consist solely of reading and writing; but also must rely on people's ability to use their hands. Training in manual work enabled students to be self-employed as artisans or more scientific farmers rather than having to rely on office jobs or those provided by others. There were practical considerations which complemented the theoretical. Perhaps manual work was emphasised to reduce the expense involved in running the institution.

The S.D.A missionaries' emphasis on manual work had its negative side. Sometimes it seemed that it only served the interests of school administration. There was also a general feeling among the pupils that they were not compensated in terms of the quantity of crops they harvested from the school farm. In short, the S.D.A educational philosophy meant the development of the hand (through manual labour and the acquisition of skills), the heart (through the study of religion), and the head (through academic work).

3.5 Conclusion

The close association of Christianity and education in Kipsigis cannot be overemphasised, for it was through the innumerable schools established by both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries that many Kipsigis came into contact with Christianity. In fact, school was the church in many parts of Kipsigis. The Christian missionaries therefore saw the school as a key institution, being the most reliable means for membership recruitment and for creating self-perpetuating congregations whose members would ensure the survival of Christianity. Education and evangelisation were so closely linked that for, many parts of Kipsigis, the pitching of the missionary tent was synonymous with the establishment of a school.

The central schools were seen as a means of bringing the young generation of the Kipsigis pupil converts who were desirous of learning the missionary's Christianity and Western culture under permanent Christian influence. The pupil converts were bestowed with the responsibility of spreading the Christian message. Teaching was not restricted to religious subjects but included other branches of knowledge. The character of school administration, its curriculum and the training of teachers were not decided by the missions alone except in extreme cases; for instance, the S.D.A refused to be controlled by the government. The government intervened in the management of the missions' central schools through the grants-in-aid and also in the overall colonial policy of targeting of quality education.

Kipsigis culture - and most of their social and political institutions - was not given a chance of perpetuation, but doomed to near extinction under the weight of Western missionary influences. In particular, the Protestant missionaries played their part in the destruction of Kipsigis customs, values and norms with the introduction of central schools.

The missionaries were determined right from the start to abolish the Kipsigis religion and culture. They preached that the only God was the one whose nature and character had been revealed in the Bible and that all other gods were mere illusions. They asserted that it was their divine duty to bring all peoples into the arena of salvation and grace. This was clearly depicted in the curriculum of the central schools, with religion forming the centre of it. The neglect of technical and industrial education, the emphasis on elementary - literacy and clerical training - and the consequent love for white-collar jobs also created among the educated Kipsigis disdain for manual labour and agricultural work. Furthermore, the uneven nature of the distribution of educational facilities prevented a uniform process of modernisation in each of the three divisions of Belgut, Buret and Sot respectively.

The Kipsigis as a community made a very substantial financial contribution towards the cost of mission education. Sometimes, the Local Native Council stretched its resources to pay the mission teachers' salaries. On their part, the missionaries - particularly those of the NHM, AIM, Beulah, Lumbwa Industrial Mission and S.D.A - tried to abolish the old system of the Kipsigis indigenous education, replacing it with Western education and Christianity. In most cases, the Roman Catholic missionaries condoned these vices. Subsequently, it was the inability of these missions in the overall development of education in Kipsigis that led to the establishment of the Government African School, Kabianga[128].

Towards the 1960's, missions accepted the role of the government in education and began to concentrate on the lesser role of providing for the teaching of religious education in schools. However, the churches still played the role of being 'managers' of schools until after the country's independence. Thereafter, the churches were happy to occupy the role of 'sponsors' as recommended by the Ominde Report of 1964[129].

---

[128] Sorobea N. Bogonko, A History of Modern Education in Kenya: 1895-1991(Nairobi, 1992), p.36.
[129] KNA, Kenya Education Commission Report, 1964, p.22.
For a brief but excellent discussion on the commission's Report See, Education Department Annual Reports 1963-1965, Nairobi, Government Printer.
Ministry of Education Triennial Survey, 1955-1966. Further material contained in Rosalind W. Mutua: Development of Education in Kenya (Nairobi, 1975), p.116ff.
D.N. Sifuna: Development of Education in Africa: The Kenyan Experience (Nairobi, 1990) p.36ff.
J.E. Otiende, *et al*: Education and Development in Kenya: A Historical Perspective (Nairobi, 1992), pp.223-240.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 THE MISSIONARY FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OUT-SCHOOLS

4.1 Introduction

Unlike the central schools, out-schools were schools built by the Kipsigis around the mission centres. There was a limited supply of trained teachers and no suitable curriculum was available[1]. Elementary schooling in the traditional reading, writing and arithmetic was informed and guided by principles of religion and morality. The out-schools were viewed as adjuncts of the churches in what was regarded as the noble task of instilling Christian piety in the minds of the younger generation[2]; but they were established only with the consent of the chief[3]. The students would go round preaching with the teacher and the missionaries in the surrounding area.

The earliest outschools in Kipsigis of both the Catholic and Protestant missions were designed to produce readers and catechists. Those trained to read were sent to distant villages to propagate the gospel; and it was necessary for catechumens to know how to write[4]. The literature used was portions of the Gospels and selected passages in the Kipsigis language. The missions were keen to translate scriptures into Kipsigis in very simple orthography - at the expense of a literary style - as a basis for instructing the semi-

---

[1] KNA, PC/NZA/3/30/2: Native Catechists: Out or Bush schools and School villages, 1926-1928, p.17.
For an account of outschools in a colonial context see John Anderson; The Struggle for the School (Nairobi, 1970), pp.16-25.

[2] John Webb Pratt; Religion, Politics and Diversity: The Church-State Theme in New York History (New York, 1967), p.90.
Other earliest accounts include: Arthur Mayhew: Christianity and the Government of India (London, 1929), p.30. Stephen Neill: A History of Christianity in India 1707-1858(Cambridge, 1985), p.179. But more recent see also Max Warrren: Social History and Christian Missions (London, 1967). Pp.21-22.

[3] Cf. H.D. Hopper gave the pattern of early outschools in Kenya, a pattern which was fairly typical of East Africa in William A. Anderson: The Church in East Africa 1840 - 1974 (Dodoma, 1977), pp.80-81.

[4] KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/3: Education of Natives - General, 1928-1929, p.6.

literate converts[5]. The major means used by the Christian missions in their evangelism was to found networks of village schools in which children of all ages could be given a very simple education in the three R's alongside religious instruction leading to baptism and church membership. These bush schools were not impressive places architecturally. The buildings served as a school on weekdays and as a church on Sundays. Such were the beginnings of western education in Kipsigis[6].

In Kipsigis, the Roman Catholic missionaries followed Protestants in teaching reading, writing and a bit of arithmetic to catechumenates. This enabled the young people to refresh their religious knowledge at home by reading what Catholic or Protestant books there were. For instance, in the case of the Roman Catholic missionaries, their curriculum entailed catechism, a simple prayer book, extracts from the Bible, as well as learning church history[7]. With them, reading was not obligatory as was the case with Protestants.

In these outschools* , the first instructors were, of course, European missionaries; but the brighter Kipsigis pupils who emerged from the system - and particularly those from the central schools - were given further training as catechists and teachers. Classes were conducted where the adults and children came together under a tree to learn about God and religion. In order to do that better, they learnt how to read and write and do

---

[5] Interview with Kimalit arap Sang, One of the first converts of Ndanai Parish, Ndanai mission Archives, Priest House, 2nd April, 1997. For a detailed account of the history of education in the area from as early 1930s' to 1950, see The diary of mission correspondence of Fr. W. Fent of Kaplong R.C.M. to R.K. Smith of National Holiness Mission Tenwek, March 1938 ff.

[6] KNA, DC/KER/3/7:Polical Record Book, 1925-1932, p.17.
For a generally balanced view, which rather idealised the colonial situation, see Roland Oliver & Anthony Atmore: Africa Since 1800 (London & New York, 1981), p.149-1952.

[7] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.6..
This subject on mission curriculum was discussed in greater detail in KNA, DC/KER/1/2: Kericho District Annual Report, 1926, p.17.
For an Interesting and Informative Discussion on the same aspect of this subject and related issues, see KNA, DC/KER/4/4:Monthly Intelligence Report, March 1926, p.4.

* In the villages, outschools as centres of instruction consisted of little more than "a fence of grass, six feet high, surrounding some big trees (with a few poles laid across short forked sticks for seats) see, Robert I. Rotberg, A Political History of Tropical Africa (New York & Chicago, 1965), p.326.

simple arithmetic[8]. Generalising about the East African situation as a whole during this time, William B. Anderson wrote:

> "a mission may flourish without having a centre for higher studies, but it could not do without village schools. The village community was and would continue to be the fountain-head of African life[9]."

4.2 Administration

In Kipsigis, the pride of most missions - notably the N.H.M., A.I.M., Beulah and L.I.M. - were their outschools. Indeed, most people identified these schools with the missions'. This was the age of bush schools which, for the far-off countryside or less developed divisions, remained the only avenues of modern education long after the First World War[10]. For the parents, the school only became meaningful when they saw that it was a means for their children to get a paid job. The two L.I.M. stations occasionally organised tours of the Reserve and, as a result of one such tour, they opened an outschool in Kiptere (Location 1) in 1917[11]. During this period, there was no great enthusiasm on the part of the Kipsigis for mission education. One of the principal reasons for their reluctance to attend the mission schools was the mission's disapproval of certain practices in connection with circumcision festivals which the elders considered essential[12].

W.R. Hotchkiss, the pioneer of the Lumbwa Industrial Mission in Kipsigis, tried to open a school in Location 15 of Sot under the management of Mang'esoi arap Ng'etich. However, the chief of the area and the village elders objected strongly to the plan on the

---

[8] Chemorta A. Torongei, Village headman of Ndanai Parish, O.I., 3.2.97.
[9] William A. Anderson, 1977, p.153.
[10] AIM mission Annual Report, 1915-1920, Litein Mission Archives, p.20. Much of the material was also contained in Education Department, Annual Report, 1915. Government Printer, Nairobi, p.16.
[11] KNA, DC/KER/1/5: South Lumbwa District Annual Report, 1917, p.14.
[12] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book; Education in Kericho District, 1925-1932, p.14

grounds that they did not want foreigners in Kipsigis[13]. From the prophecies of Mugeni* , the Kipsigis believed that foreigners would bring radical changes that would conflict with their culture. In early 1918, some trouble was reported at Sotik, with children running away to join the mission schools without the consent of their parents. This created tension between the missionaries and the Kipsigis. In the circumstances, government intervened in support of the Kipsigis because it did not want to lose touch with this community and, at the same time, saw this as a way of achieving its policies generally. Hence, District Commissioner C.M. Dobbs stated that no girls would be admitted to any school without the express permission of their parents[14].

By 1920, the A.I.M. had seven outschools with a total enrolment of one hundred and seventeen boys[15] representing over 50% attendance. The District Commissioner was encouraged by this mission's work and, in particular, by the increasing number of outschools and pupils. He observed that there was no doubt that the Kipsigis were beginning to take education more seriously than ever before[16]. In the same year, the A.I.M. missionaries faced many difficulties in their educational and evangelical work in Kipsigis as was the case with their counterparts, the L.I.M. The trouble was occasioned by the Kipsigis girls' deserting their parents or guardians and joining A.M. Andersen's mission at Lumbwa[17]. In protest, many parents went to demand that their children be withdrawn, or they would fight the missionaries endlessly. Throughout the 1920s, the A.I.M missionaries did a great deal of work to assist the Kipsigis who remained in the mission in the technical field of repairing mills which had been built by Indians. A good

---

[13] Ibid., p.15. For a detailed discussion on the Kipsigis culture, see I.Q. Orchardson, 1961 and during the period of transformation. See the discussion on this subject R.A. Manners, 1967.

* See Chapter 2 on Prophets, Supra.

[14] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.10.

[15] Ibid., p.15.

[16] Ibid., p.16.

[17] Daniel Morikyon Mosonik, Preacher and Evangelist in Kipsigis, O.I., 2/3/97.

number of pupils attended the A.I.M outschools because they were free and they did not have to pay school fees. They later got employed in coffee planting and general agriculture.

The L.I.M outschools increased to twelve in 1925, but the enrolment drastically reduced to two hundred pupils. Many girls dropped out because of pressure from their parents who wanted them to be married[18]. In 1926, two outschools were closed due to lack of funds and unwillingness on the part of parents to send their children to school. Later in the year, however, the enrolment figures grew tremendously. To cater for this rising enrolment, the outschools were increased to nine - the figure being maintained in 1930. Despite financial handicaps, the outschools witnessed a steady increase in the number of converts[19]. Table III below is a summary of the particulars of these early outschools:

Name of School	District/Location	Date of Registration
Kericho	Farm	26.4.1922
Kiptere	1	"
Kipkena	10	"
Yaganek	11	"
Nyambugo	9	21.10.1927
Kapkesosio	1	21.10.1927
Meregure	5	2.3.1928
Koiwa lelach	1	"
Kaminjeiywet	9	"
Sitotwet	2	21.10.1927
Kapsimbiri	9	"
Chepwagan	10	"
Kapkimolwa (Amalo)	14	1.6.1929

Table V :Source: DC/KER/1/10: Kericho District Annual Report 1930, p.17.

[18] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.16.
[19] KNA, DC/KER/1/6: Kericho District Annual Report, 1926, p.6.

In 1929, District Commissioner P.R. Filleul observed that because of financial reasons, most missionaries were unable to visit the outschools[20]. He stressed that this was a serious matter and that one could only hope the situation would improve in the future. But even though the AIM was handicapped by lack of funds, its mason pupils were employed to support the school building programme as the mission had opted to be self-supporting. In fact, fourteen to fifteen mason boys built chief arap Roronya's new brick house at Litein. Although the outschools came to a standstill in terms of the development of physical facilities, the number of converts kept increasing[21]. In 1931, it was reported that the AIM had a number of outschools in which supervision was inadequate and no technical training was offered[22]. The missionaries experienced great difficulty in starting the outschools. It was difficult to get parents who had no tradition of literacy to send their children to school at the best of times and, in the farming season as well as herding, this was almost impossible. In fact, the AIM and Beulah Mission resorted to various enticements in attempts to attract children[23].

At Litein, for instance, the first AIM missionaries led by A.M. Andersen provided food and lodging for the first pupils. In the course of 1932 and 1933, Andersen was temporarily assisted by W.R. Hotchkiss in the supervision of the schools. In 1932, they were joined by a Father Stam, who tried to care for the Kipsigis in the so-called reserve. This was not easy because such areas were out of bounds to Europeans in those days.

---

[20] KNA, DC/KER/1/3:South Lumbwa Annual Report, 1929, p.21.
[21] AIM Mission Annual Report, 1929, p.7; Litein Archives, Litein. This subject was discussed in greater detail in KNA, DC/KER/3/7, Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.21, See also; KNA, DC/KER/1/2; Handing Over Report, 1929, p.16. and for the most recent discussion on the subject, with perhaps the most comprehensive data, see R.A. Manners, p.356ff.
[22] Diary of Mission Correspondence, A.M. Andersen, 15th April 1939, p.3., Litein.
[23] Ibid., p.6.

Even so, Stam got some foothold in Kipsigis through catechists such as Michael Kibereri and Barnabas Chesulut. The first Roman Catholic Mission station he established was Kaplong' with two hundred readers. For constantly "trespassing" in the closed Kipsigis reserve, however, Father Stam was banished from the area after eight months[24]; and the establishment of a school at Kaplong' was thus halted.

In 1934, the Lumbwa Industrial Mission built a school at Tenwek near Sotik Post. The mission had several outschools in Sot, with its most important centre at Siwot in Location 15. When the LIM ceased to exist, its activities were taken over by the Africa Inland Mission this was in 1935. In that year, however, many outschools managed by the AIM missionaries were not well patronised, and the mission's educational activities were thus adversely affected. The schools which managed to remain open included:

Belgut	Pupils enrolment in 1935
Cheptenye	17
Chepkosilen	21
Kiptere	10
Koiwalelach	13
Sitotwet	7
Buret	
Cheborge	39
Kaminjeiywet	20
Kapsimbiri	24
Chebwagan	32
Kipkewa	28
Boito	18
Mobet	13
Yaganek	14

Table IV: Source: KNA, DC/KER/1/5: Kericho District Annual Report, 1935, p.18.

[24] KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/3: Education of Natives - General, 1928-1929, p.10. For a brief and more recent discussion on the subject and related issues see, John Baur: The Catholic Church in Kenya: A Centenary History (Nairobi, 1990), pp.134, 200-207.

The total number of school enrolment for the two stations managed by AIM missionaries was two hundred and fifty-six. During the same year, the Mombwa outschool in Buret was closed due to lack of funds.

The AIM missionaries endeavoured to prevent the murder of newly-born babies of uninitiated girls by taking such girls into their schools when they were known to be pregnant. The Kipsigis attitude to such girls was extremely hostile and they were apt to be ostracised As a result they sometimes turned into prostitutes[25]. The mission endeavoured in this way to abolish clitoridcetomy among its adherents, through it achieved little success*. On the other hand, boys who were found to have impregnated the uninitiated girls would pay a fine. In this respect, the fine was in form of a fat ram given to the parents of the girl. The ram, which was single coloured was used for performing a ritual before being slaughtered[26].

In 1935, the Roman Catholic Mission had seven outschools in the reserve: one in Belgut, two in Buret, and four in Sot[27]. The total enrolment of pupils in these schools was three hundred and twenty - three. At the end of the year, the total enrolment of the pupils in these schools had increased tremendously to eight hundred and forty - two. There were also numerous small schools ion the tea estates that were under the supervision of this mission. The outschools in the tea estates rapidly increased to twenty - seven to cater for the demand of the labourers. Hence, the cumulative school enrolment increased considerably to one thousand, three hundred and seventy-six. In this situation, Father P.J.

---

[25] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, 1935, p.8.
See also, KNA, DC/KER/2/2: Handing Over Report, 1935, p.3.

* Issues regarding initiation in Kipsigis have been touched on, but not developed in this section. See the section "Kipsigis Indigenous Education", Chapter 2.

[26] Cheption'y arap Koech, O.I., Belbur - Njoro, 5th August 2000. Also, Chelule arap Birir, O.I., Egerton Centre, Njoro 6th August 2000.

[27] RCM Mission Annual Report, 1936, Kisumu Diocese, Bishop Archives, Kisumu.

McElwee got great assistance from the tea estate companies and the estate managers in financing these mushrooming schools[28].

In 1936, the Roman Catholic Mission had seven outschools in the reserve with an average attendance of three hundred and thirty-six pupils. The head of the mission observed in that year that there was a great keenness for education and religion; and that his work amongst the Kipsigis had been greatly assisted by Chief arap Roronya - who had shown himself keen on education and Christianity in his location[29]. In all these outschools, Father McClwee started football and athletics. In his view, such activities would help the Kipsigis out of mischief. He attributed cattle thefts and other troubles in Kipsigis to idleness.

On the other hand, the AIM schools had increased to fifteen in both Belgut and Buret. However, enrolment stood at only one hundred and eighty-six pupils, with an average attendance of two hundred and twenty. This absenteeism, which was rated high, was attributed to the socio-economic activities in which the Kipsigis children were expected to engage[30]. Even so, the missionaries were of the view that, although the Kipsigis were very reserved and slow to take on new ways, once they made up their mind to learn a thing they did so in a very short time. Hence, even though the educational problem was a difficult one at that time in the community, it was just a matter of time before the Kipsigis as a whole would want to be on the same level educationally as the most advanced communities in the Colony[31].

---

[28] KNA, PC/NZA/3/14/26: Genral Correspondence: Kenya Tea Company Ltd., and the Local Native Council, 1935-1953; p.20.

For an alternative, and much more complete description of the subject of education involved, see: Minutes of Representatives and Pastoral sessions of District Synod, 1935, p.6-10, Kisumu Bishop Archives, Kisumu, See also KNA, DC/KER/1/2: Handing Over Report 1935, p.10

Further material was contained in KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/83:Confidiential Report:Kipsigis Education - General, 1934-1939. p.11.

[29] KNA, DC/KER/1/9: Kericho District Annual Report, 1936, p.25.

[30] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, 1936, p.16.

[31] KNA, PC/NZA/3/66/1: Nyanza Province: Miscellaneous Confidential papers, 1905-1939, p.17.

In 1936, the AIM Kericho township outschool had a small church - also used as a school - had existed for many years in the residential area[32]. In addition, the mission had seven outschools in the tea estates. All these schools were used as centres for religious instruction rather than as schools in the ordinary sense. By mid-1936, there was a total of fifteen outschools under the management of the National Holiness Mission. The school administration at Tenwek was assisted by government inspectors to supervise these outschools, and regular reports were sent to the Department of Education concerning their development.

During 1937, the NHM also carried on work in the Sotik division, particularly in the reserve[33]. By that year, the mission's outschools had increased to twenty, and they had an enrolment of one hundred and sixty-four boys and one hundred and three girls. However, the average attendance was only one hundred and ninety pupils. This was attributed to the great absenteeism of girls from school who usually dropped out at an early age to get married. Also, some parents had not seen the need of taking girls to school[34].

In 1938, the AIM outschools were twenty-one and they continued to increase in number steadily in the following years. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Mission concentrated on evangelism as its principal objective rather than education. Consequently, the establishment of new schools as well as developing the older ones came to a halt. Further, inspection of these schools was handicapped greatly by lack of funds and supervisors.

See also: KNA, PC/NZA/3/30/3:Native Catechists: Out or Bush schools and School villages, 1926-1938, p.11.

[32] KNA, DC/KER/1/9: Kericho District Annual Report, 1936, p.8.

[33] KNA, DC/KER/1/12:Kericho District Annual Report, 1938, p.18.

See also: Unnumbered Minutes of the Field Council meeting held on 28th May 1938: Further material was contained in , see, Fish, 1990, p.254ff.

[34] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/81: Provincial Commissioner Nyanza Education Dept. 1936-1939, p.6.

Throughout 1939, religious work played a crucial part in the mission's work, and it only managed eight outschools. However, with the assistance of funding from the tea estates, the mission was enabled to supervise all religious and educational work in the adjacent parts of the Kisumu-Londiani District as well as in Kipsigis[35]. In 1940, the NHM outschools increased to eighteen, but all of them lacked funds for expansion and teachers. It would seem that this mission put more emphasis on the development of its central school than the outschools.

Upto the 1940s, the outschools commonly consisted of sub-standards A and B and standards one and two. Some pupils were able to proceed to primary school where at standard four pupils took the country-wide Common Entrance Examination. The latter was intended to admit them to primary five and six in a "full primary school" (central school) where they would sit the country-wide Kenya African Preliminary Examination (KAPE)[36] and, later, secondary one and two.

In March 1944, the Sotik Bible School was opened. R.K. Smith served as the first head of the school, and six men were enrolled in the first term of that year. Several of these men had been sent by the Africa Inland Mission at Litein[37], depicting the co-operation of the two missions in Kipsigis educational development. The AIM kept increasing its outschools and, by 1945, it had established the site of Kaborok in Belgut to erect a church and a school. These outschools continued to flourish despite their lack of both staff and funds[38].

---

[35] KNA, PC/NZA/2/11/3: African Education, 1929-1940, p.16.
Similar points were made in : NHM mission Annual Report, 1939, p.72.
Tenwek Mission Archives, Tenwek.

[36] Diary of Mission Correspondence, 15th April 1940, Fr. A.M. Andersen of AIM to R.K. Smith of NHM, Tenwek, p.3.

[37] KNA, DC/KER/1/17: Kericho District Annual Report, 1944, p.11.

[38] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/81: Provincial Education Department, Nyanza Province 1944-1947, p.6.

In 1946, under the new management of E. Barnett, the NHM was allocated £150 towards the building and expansion of Sitotwet in Belgut[39]. During the same period, the Roman Catholic Mission began building an excellent outschool at Kaplong'. And from 1947, the AIM outschools were enabled to survive because of the funds raised voluntarily by the local people[40]. The latter treated these schools as their own property, and the Local Native Council put a lot of effort in maintaining and paying teachers' salaries.

The first graduation from the Sotik Bible School took place on 14th December, 1947. The exercise was held in the partially completed Hotchkiss memorial church. Two-year certificates were granted to the nine men and three women in recognition of completion of their study. They included Zakayo A. Sonoiya and Daniel A. Chumo[41]. These people later became useful when they went out as either catechists in the outschools or teachers in the central schools. The NHM was also given £150 as a capital grant towards the construction of a permanent building at Siwot although the building did not commence immediately.

By 1948, nearly all the primary outschools in Kipsigis had greatly suffered from lack of adequate supervision by sufficiently competent persons and lack of responsibility in the part of the teachers[42]. In 1949, the RCM was granted a station at Kipchimchim in Belgut. In these two places - the mission endeavoured to build at Kaplong' and Kipchimchim schools.

The missions were usually the employers of teachers in their schools, and the supervisors actually went out on safaris of several days to pay salaries to teachers in cash.

---

[39] Ibid., p.7.
[40] Ibid., p.9.
[41] Fish, 1990, p.270ff.
[42] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/83: Confidential Report, 26th May 1948, p.3.

The supervisors also dealt with questions of discipline of pupils and teachers, and they procured and delivered equipment and saw to the maintenance of buildings. However, following the implementation of the Beecher Commission Report of 1949, things changed. The central government made some contribution to expenses in addition to what came in from school fees and mission funds. Similarly, the missions' inspection of schools was now left largely in the hands of the government[43].

In 1951, there was unrest and conflicts in AIM Chebongi School[44]. This was precipitated by the parents' refusing to contribute funds to the school and their accusing the administration of mismanagement of funds. During the year also, the AIM Chemamul outschool was awarded a building grant of Shs. 5,000, by 25th June, the building programme had started. The other outschools that benefited from the building grants included:

AIM Cheborge Intermediate	Shs. 10,000;
AIM Litein	5,000;
AIM Chebwagan	5,000;
and AIM Boito	5,000;

In November of the same year, three supervisors were appointed by the AIM management to carry out inspection of the outschools. They were: Ezekiel arap Kirui, Jonathan Ngeno and Henry Tamason[45]. Following this new development, the AIM managers charged an extra cess not exceeding Shs 1.50 above the school fees for the school fund. The money

---

[43] For a generally balanced view, which rather idealised the Beecher Commission See: Colony and Protectorate: Report of African Education in Kenya: A Committee Appointed to inquire into the Scope, Contents and Methods of African Education, Its Administration and Finance and to Make Recommendations, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949.

[44] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15:Minutes of the 27th Meeting of the Kericho District Education Board held on 11th April 1951, 1951-1959, p.4.

[45] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15:Minutes of the 29th Meeting of the Kericho District Education Board held on 2nd November 1951, p.5.

was to be used to support sporting activities in these schools[46]. It was also used for the maintenance of the supervisors, while the rest was to cater for the central school committee expenses. Because of this availability of funds, the mission was able to steadily carry on the development of education within its outschools until 1953. At this time also, the RCM had started building a school at Segemik in Sot following Kaplong and Kipchimchim. The RCM Chebunyo outschool in Chepalungu was also registered and undertook classes to standard five.

In 1954, the Kipsigis D.E.B. granted £200 to the AIM Kamung'ei School in Sotik for the building of a boys' workshop. Further, the AIM Sitotwet Primary School benefited from the same equipment grants of £80[47]. This was towards the expansion of the school buildings which had come to a standstill, notably classrooms and the workshop. 1954 was also a milestone year in the development of education by the AIM management in Kipsigis. Despite shortage of trained teachers, two other schools, AIM Cheptalal and AIM Embomos, were started[48]. And, during this time, the primary outschools had grown steadily to twenty-three; this was particularly the case with those managed by the Tenwek Holiness Mission. Some of the schools had also been graded to intermediate status - a noticeable example being WGM Longisa. Another intermediate school was opened at Kaboson in 1958. It was later upgraded to secondary school level for boys and girls. A short-time Bible school was also opened in 1960 at Kaboson[49].

The development of the outschools in general greatly determined the rate at which the Kipsigis were able to receive western education. The AIM worked very hard to

---

[46] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Minutes of the 30th Meeting of the Kericho District Education Board held on 21st February 1952, p.3.
[47] KNA, KAPT/1/14/15:Minutes of the 36th Meeting of the Kipsigis D.E.B on 2nd April, 1954, 1951-1959, p.3.
[48] Ibid., p.4.
[49] KNA, DC/KER/1/31:Kericho District Annual Report, 1958, p.11.See Also: KNA/DC/KER/1/2: Handing Over Report, 1958, p.4.
Further material was contained in, NHM Mission Annual Report, 1958, p.16.

provide education as was the case with other missions, particularly RCM, NHM and Beulah mission. In this endeavour, the missions struggled to stamp out what they considered heathenish practices of the community. For instance, the practice of clitoridectomy was one that the Christian missionaries fervently hoped to end.

4.3 Staffing

Staffing was an important issue in the development of education in Kipsigis. The spatial distribution of outschools depended to a large extent on the availability of teachers: in fact, some areas - particularly in Sot and Belgut - which lacked catechists and teachers had in the final analysis few outschools. Each mission also had a drawback in the training of staff. In 1918, Chief arap Korir of Location 16 had started an outschool, and Mang'esoi arap Ngetich became the first catechist. But the village elders objected to the matter[50], and there were no regular catechists in Kipsigis henceforth. In fact, there existed a tug of war between the early missionaries of the Lumbwa Industrial Mission and the Kipsigis over this issue. Even so, arap Bargochut, chief of Location 1, and arap Ngetich (headman of Location 3) both held classes for children in their respective locations.

The training the catechists gave was often very superficial and initially included a heavy emphasis on role learning aimed primarily at religious dogma and simple literacy[51]. In most cases, the people had to fulfil a difficult dual role - serving in the first instance the religious aims of the mission; and, in the second, the educational demands of the people[52]. With the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission on the need to train teachers before sending them to teach in either central or bush schools, the missionaries in Kipsigis

---

[50] KNA/DC/KER3/5: Political Record Book, 1915-1925, p.11.
[51] AIM Mission Annual Report, 1925, p.15.
See also: Education Department Annual Report 1925, p.6.
[52] Babaiye A. Chelule, O.I., Preacher and Evangelist of AIM, Litein mission, 1.3.97.

did the same. Hence, catechists were trained from the central schools - notably Tenwek and Litein - and sent to the various outschools. The village catechists would, during the week, gather a handful of boys (but seldom girls) in the mud or bamboo church for instruction in the three R's. Those who had long service training in the central schools were sometimes sent out to offer inductive courses. Classroom buildings in their own right were built alongside the church. The parish priests or pastors for the area continued to be the managers and kept the school accounts; they sometimes also received the sums allocated from the government funds to supplement the pupils' fees of a shilling or two a month each towards the salaries of the teachers[53].

The table below gives the names of both the teachers and chiefs who managed the first outschools in Kipsigis in the 1930s:

School	Chief	Teacher
Kiptere	arap Bargochut	A. Korir
Tegat	" Taptugen	A. Kimetto
Boito	" Tegutwa	A. Chemumok
Kiplelji	" Biamet	A. Koe and A. Mutai
Chebunge	" Kapkosum	A. Sitonik and A. Ngetich
Mugutma	" Kirui	A. Mngotemet
Nyambugo	" "	A. Kibet
Chepkosa	" "	A. Sonoiya
Amalo	" "	A. Mosonik

Table V: Source: KNA, DC/KER/1/7, Kericho District Annual Report, 1930, p.17.

See for example, Silas A. Koe, O.I., Kaplong Roman Catholic Mission.
[53] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, 1930, p.16.
See also: KNA, KC/KER1/7: Kericho District Annual Report, 1930, p.18.

These teachers gave religious instruction together with lessons in writing and reading to the pupils. In the case of the AIM, A.M. Andersen was able to inspect all the schools. Most missionary staff who managed these schools from the mission stations chose to use the new Kipsigis desire for education to induce them into a Christian way of life. They demanded that their pupils do away with some of their indigenous activities, beliefs and customs. The idea that the Christian Kipsigis could only be effectively civilised when away from their pagan environment, contributed, *inter alia*, to the setting up of boarding schools as well as central schools[54].

In a number of cases, missions refused early government offers to help because of their determination to retain the church's hold on formal education. However, some of the more progressive groups - for instance, NHM and AIM and later RCM - received government grants-in-aid for industrial education from as early as 1930s[55]. By 1930, the early missionaries realised that their education would not be effective on religious and moral issues unless they employed teachers who were also efficient in general teaching as well as technical subjects[56]. However, the missions found it difficult to meet all the requests they received for teachers and schools. Sometimes, the Kipsigis benefited from the rivalry between missions, and they played off one against another in order to get the education. This was clearly seen in the Belgut - Cheptenye area where there was tension between the NHM and RCM over the establishment of an outschool at Kiptere.

Upto the early years of the 1930s, the teacher was usually a catechist in the outschools. But later in the same decade, the roles of the two were separated, with the

---

[54] Some of these developments were reflected in the extended and comprehensive discussion on the section "The development of Central schools", pp.1-48.
[55] PC/NZA3/30/2: Native catechists: Out or Bush schools and school villages, 1926-1932, p.8.
[56] Ibid., p.10.

catechists continuing to teach reading and writing to those who wished to be baptised[57]. During this time, a lot of energy was being exerted to develop the central schools, but the village ones were not doing so well. The problem of personnel was still central in this period. This also explained why the development of education was slow. Indeed, the feeder schools were neglected at the expense of the former in the whole of Kipsigis. At times, the chapel served as a classroom not only for religious instruction, but also for other subjects. Another element in this situation was the proximity of NHM/AIM mission stations to Catholic chapels or schools. This often led to competition both for converts and pupils. In this way, the people were both "civilised" and christianised[58].

The 'bush schools' reflected the type of instruction their teachers had received, and in many cases were unable to provide more than the tokens of what passed for education. The early mission schools were geared towards or grew out of the desire to win converts; they trained Kipsigis catechists and workers, hence enabling the creation of a middle class. The catechists were trained to spread the gospel since they spoke in the Kipsigis language and were popular with their people. By 1936, the RCM catechists, apart from attending to the spiritual needs of a larger number of labourers, also held services for the Kipsigis at their outschools in the reserve[59]. During this time, the Rev. Father P.J. McElwee was the only European on the staff and was assisted by forty - one indigenous teachers who served in the outschools. He occupied only supervisory positions while the latter did most of the teaching and evangelistic work. These educated men constituted a new and very real kind of leadership rivalling that of the indigenous chiefs.

---

[57] Ibid., p.11.

[58] AIM Mission Annual Report, 1930, p.3. Litein Mission Archives Litein. Issues touched on, but not developed, See; Diary of Mission Correspondence 15th May 1930, Fr. A.M. Andersen and Father P.J. Fent of Kaplong. For a brief but excellent discussion on outschools, See KNA, PC/NZA/3/103: Education of Natives-General, 1928-1933. P.11.

[59] KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/4: Education of Natives, 1929-1938, p.16.

In the case of NHM, the missionaries recruited and trained some of the Kipsigis as church workers as well as teachers to assist them in the task of evangelising the Kipsigis[60]. Since this task was urgent, some of the recruits were not trained; however, others received formal training at the Tenwek Central School as catechists to serve in the outschools.

Both the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries provided theological education and training to the Kipsigis so that the latter could assume leadership and evangelical work for themselves. A trained catechist worked after the administration of holy communion and other religious necessities in frequent visits to the few churches under him. The day-to-day management of the church which included conducting of regular services, Sunday schools, etc. - were left to the elders of each church. Catechists were full-time employees of the church and were remunerated for their work. This organisational structure encouraged building of leadership among the Kipsigis. Therefore, it was easy for the catechists and pastors to take over the entire work of the church when the European missionaries left after independence. It may be added that persons trained by the missionaries were also found efficient in their work in government offices as well as in the local setting. Those in training developed their teaching skills and Christian grace. For instance, Nuhu arap Sonoiya (who was trained in the Sotik Bible School) later became a teacher at Siwot - one of the outschools of Tenwek. In 1954, the following was a list of teachers required by all AIM outschools in a bid to foster effectively the development of education:

---

[60] KNA, DC/KER/4/6: District Commissioner Correspondence to K.R. Smith of NHM, Oct. 1939, p.2.

School	No. of Children	Teachers Est.	Teachers required
Kiptewit	186	3	4
Kabartegan	183	3	4
Sosit	130	2	3
Chemamul	79	1	2
Kimulot	63	1	2
Musaria	60	1	2
Kaitui	71	1	2
Chepngobob	70	1	2

Table VI Source: KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Minutes of the 36th Meeting of the Kipsigis D.E.B. on 2nd April 1954, 1951-1959, p.3.

The same case was also witnessed among the Roman Catholic missionaries during this year. In fact, the mission suffered lack of staff to manage and teach in the outschools. Consequently, enrolment decreased as parents withdrew their children from the mission outschools and took them to the Government schools or to the recently established independent schools. The table below gives an example of those schools which had been seriously affected by the shortage of staff:

School	No. of Children	Teachers estimate	Teachers needed
Kapkisiara	113	2	3
Segemik	80	1	2
Kipchimchim	125	2	3

Table VIII: Source: DC/KER/1/4: Kericho District Annual Report 1940, p.8.

4.4 Curriculum

Curriculum is a central issue in the history of education of any country, and it determines what kind of product is educated. Therefore, a close examination of the

curriculum that was implemented in the outschools of Kipsigis would be crucial to understanding the development of their education. The early missionaries in Kipsigis ensured that all the outschools were self-supporting in terms of food. Small gardens were cultivated in each school. For instance, by 1920, the LIM missionaries practised agriculture and saw milling, posho milling and carpentry[61]. They emphasized vocational training because they wanted the mission to be self-supporting owing to the limited funds.

Later in the same year, a new curriculum was introduced, under which two hours a day were spent in class while the rest of the time was devoted to work in the school gardens. The pupils were taught to read, write and count. It was through these schools that the missionaries originally exerted their influence. They were very much aware that these schools, apart from their role in "civilising" the people, were the most fruitful source of converts. Hence their curriculum was developed in such a way that religious instruction formed the core. Rudimentary subjects were also taught. This was the line of action followed by both the Protestants and Catholics. Consequently, many parents came to object to their children attending schools, claiming that they were designed for the brainwashing of the pupil-converts[62].

The introduction of arithmetic was probably inevitable because it went with reading and writing in the European mind[63]. This was also based on the assumption that the Kipsigis had from the start shown a tendency to link the European with practical material achievement, particularly in the buildings which were characteristic of most of

---

[61] KNA, DC/KER/3/7; Political Record Book, 1920-1932, p.13.

[62] Ibid., p.14.

For an interesting, brief and informative discussion on this subject and related issues in the Kenyan context see, Welbourn, F.B. and A. Ogot, A Place to Feel at Home (London, 1966), p.80ff.

[63] KNA, DC/KER1/3: Kericho District Annual Report, 1924, p.15.

Further material were contained in KNA, DC/KER/2/1:Handing Over Report 1924, p.16. See also, Diary of mission correspondence of W.R. Hotchkiss to A.M. Andersen of AIM, Litein 15th May 1924., on the discussion of the mission Education. P.12.

the central schools. Further, with the passing of time and the growth of trade and the introduction of currency other than cowrie shells, mathematics became an essential study.

In line with the recommendations of the Phelp-Stokes Commission Report of 1924 to increase the outschools, the Kipsigis responded by increasing them such that the number ultimately rose to six[64]. The Commission had also recommended the teaching of basic literacy which became a common phenomenon in Kipsigis education. However, the Kipsigis were dissatisfied with technical education and actually discarded being taught vocational education.

By 1926, the curriculum of the mission outschools in Kipsigis involved singing, mapping the physical terrain of the country, and the memorisation of selected portions of the Bible, apart from the three R's. Those who performed successfully continued their education in the central schools where a higher primary and later-secondary school education was given. The curriculum included an introduction to the history of the colonial rulers, advanced lessons in the geography of the country and further drill in mathematics, the relevant foreign language and the scriptures[65]. But acquisition of school education was a slow process as the missionaries and the government did not want the Kipsigis to be on the same equal footing as Europeans.

---

[64] Ibid., p.16.
See also: KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.11.
For an alternative, and much more complete description of the outschools; see; KNA, DC/KER4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, 1924, May, p.14 also quoted in District Commissioner Correspondence to W.R. Hotchkiss of LIM on the development of outschools report, Oct. 1924, p.3.
For a section of this argument see, Okaro - Kojwan'g "Origins and Establishment of the Kavirondo Tax Payer's Association" in Ngano: ed. B.G. McIntosh (Nairobi, 1970) for the case of Nyanza.
For the most excellent and comprehensive discussion on the outschool in the African context see V.A. Murray: The school in the Bush: A Critical Study of Native Education in Africa (London, 1929).
See also, H.S. Scott: Some Aspects of Native Education in Kenya (London, 1936), pp.136ff.
For an account of Phelps-Stokes Commission's Recommendation of the Outschool's Curriculum see; James W. Dongall wrote of the Jeanes school Kabete in the Kenya Church Review of June 1929.

[65] Diary of Mission Correspondence between Fr. A.M. Andersen of AIM to Fr. W.R.Hotchkiss of LIM on the development of outschools - general, 17th March, 1926, p.2.

In their missionary endeavour, the AIM, LIM and NHM held that religion could not escape being involved in the cultural setting. Also, the early mission education emphasised the spiritual value of hard work and the tenets of evangelical Christianity. However, although the role of religion was paramount, some mission groups also gave room in the curriculum for secular subjects.

The AIM curriculum embraced reading, writing, arithmetic and elementary English besides vocational subjects. Students attended classes in the mornings and did some cultivation in the afternoons. Within a few years, schoolboys were trained in making mats, bags and baskets while also learning general trades. The girls spent the afternoon hours sewing. In all these ways, the outschools provided only very elementary education because the interest was not to educate the Kipsigis but to win converts among them. In other words, education was secondary to evangelism. Even so, the lure of education brought thousands of villagers within the orbit of the missions.

In 1936, domestic service courses were introduced in the curriculum of the outschools. The trainees of the central school, Litein, provided these services. In fact, as a resource, most of these outschools of the AIM and NHM started school gardens, and a large number of trees was planted by the pupils. The Roman Catholic missionaries also started classes in agriculture, laying out of gardens as well as games in the evenings. This kept the community relatively peaceful. For the greater part of this period, the schools themselves played the central part of educating the Kipsigis who were able to read a large number of purely secular subjects in both English and the vernacular. From the elementary reading and writing taught to catechumens developed more advanced classes for catechists and, later, for ordinand pupil-converts[66]. They required not only to

[66] NHM Mission Annual Report, 1936, Tenwek Mission Archives, Tenwek, p.2. For further material on this issue See: Minutes of Representatives and pastoral sessions of District Synod of Roman Catholic mission, 1936, p.7., Nakuru, Diocese of Nakuru, Bishop House Archives, p.4.

understand the faith, but to learn to teach it to others. Besides, the ability to read and write letters, and the elements of music if they were to lead services was inculcated. Further, they were taught such arithmetic as would enable them to keep simple accounts.

By 1938, the school curriculum of the Roman Catholic outschools from primary one to primary three was monopolised by reading, writing and arithmetic. Other subjects studied at this stage included simple Kipsigis grammar, in which learning of such things as nouns, adjectives, pronouns and sentences was emphasized. Singing of religious hymns and secular songs was part of the programme. Drawing or handicrafts were very much encouraged, and school gardens were maintained by the pupils where some principles of simple farming were learnt. However, the parents resented this and instead demanded that their children be paid for the work they were doing in these school gardens. This issue precipitated a tug-of-war between the parents and the early missionaries in Kipsigis. Hence some parents ended up forcibly withdrawing their children from these schools.

Although there was general Kipsigis opposition to the introduction of a curriculum which laid more emphasis on Christianity than western schooling (education), some of them developed an interest in it when settlers began to pay relatively highly for reading and writing ability on the new farms and on the tea estates in particular. The government further began to look for clerks and employees who could follow written instructions. The missions themselves helped to encourage interest in schools by giving their better educated Kipsigis employees responsibilities and material benefits. In this way, by 1945, the Bible school group at Sotik was taught separately in the afternoons[67] from those who

---

See also; Diary of Mission Correspondence of Father J. Fent of Kaplong Parish, Kericho, 19th May 1936.

[67] NHM Mission Annual Report, 1945, p.5.
For a brief but excellent discussion on curriculum, See: KNA, PC/NZA/10/6/3: Native Catechists: Out or Bush Schools and School Villages, 1931-1949, p.16.
KNA, DC/KER/4/4:Monthly Intelligence Report, 1945, p.10, March.

were in teacher training. Each week, they were assigned to nearby preaching points where there were no pastors. This was the time in Kipsigis when schools were separated from the church; otherwise, before this they were seen to be interwoven. The missionaries further insisted on instructing the Kipsigis to leave their old ways and customs; therefore, they needed to provide all that was required for their new life as Christians.

The pupils and students who had been taught the essentials of religion, and to read and write and do mathematics and who saw the country governed by the colonial government which possessed all kinds of wonderful knowledge in the arts of war and peace could hardly be satisfied with their level of education. Further, it was impossible to overlook the value of education in enabling the Kipsigis to share with other communities in the government. This dissatisfaction was further stimulated by the Kipsigis Central Association and other political parties that were formed during this period. Therefore, the Kipsigis demanded the kind of education that was available to the Europeans.

On their part, the Roman Catholic Mission taught catechism with practical bearing on life. In the morning classes began with subjects being taught on God, the angels, the commandments of God, sin, redemption, grace, baptism, prayer, the church, the theological virtues, etc. In the afternoon classes were devoted to reflecting on the commandments of the church, the sacraments and various other devotions. After catechism classes, the older people usually withdrew to see to their cooking or work in their shambas, while the pupils then did their schooling in the three R's. Before being allowed to attend classes at the central schools, the aspirants had to satisfy the local catechist that they knew some prayers and had some reasonable idea of the Catholic denomination. In fact, the Catholic policy of widespread elementary education in Kipsigis linked to the catchumenate proved more of a threat than the cultic aspects of missionary Catholicism. Each child coming to school was registered, and the schools were

supervised by catechists backed up by the mission priests. The Catholic doctrines contradicted Kipsigis culture, thoughÄunlike other missions the church gradually and partially integrated aspects of this culture through inculturation[68].

The expansion of the bush schools run by often barely literate teachers was not much approved of by government or by educational theorists and it may have brought no great range of examinable skills to the Kipsigis. However, it did bring within their reach an awareness of what reading and writing were about, tools both for new forms of culture and economic advancement. The education taught at these outschools remained basically quantitative in nature and extent. Even so, it would be true to say that these schools served a useful purpose in that they provided some sort of education to hundreds of children who could not find a place in the central schools. As political agitation grew and as independence loomed rapidly closer, it was natural that criticism of the outschools became more vocal. The main criticism was the inadequacy of the education provided at this grass-roots level. Parents were generally unhappy that their children were not able to find places in the central schools to further their education.

4.5 Development of Girls' Education

The education of girls in Kipsigis took place much later than that of boys because the parents had initially shown little interest in the former. It was also for this reason that the missionaries did not emphasise the construction of girls' schools. In 1925, however, the AIM started to take seriously the education of girls. During this year, twelve converts were baptised who were later to become useful in teaching the girls handicraft. The

---

[68] KNA, PC/NZA/2/19/120: Confidential Reports: Kipsigis Local Native Council and Kericho District Education Board, 1945-1959, p.17.
See also; Unnumbered Minutes of the Field Council Meeting held on 28th May 1948, NHM Mission Tenwek, Tenwek Archives.

mission also started the boarding school in the Central School, Litein, with the girls' enrolment of twenty-five, mostly orphans[69]. This enrolment grew steadily as more converts encouraged their daughters to go to school and also as the Kipsigis began to realise the importance of formal education.

By 1936, the number of boarders in the Central School, Litein rose to forty. The girls cultivated fifteen acres of land and so helped the mission administration in providing their own food. They applied the methods of farming that they had been taught. The girls' school curriculum also entailed instruction in home making, hygiene, infant welfare, the preparation of food, and sewing[70]. In fact, married women living near the school were invited more often than not to attend classes in these courses. Comparatively, however, a smaller number of girls were trained in domestic services at the outschools.

The Beulah missionaries had also established a boarding school for girls during this period, but they had no outschools. The mission had only six boarders and two teachers - one, a European missionary and the other a Kikuyu. Even so, the pupils consisted mainly of Kipsigis and a few Kikuyu on the tea estates. Apart from religion being taught, the curriculum offered also involved reading, writing, arithmetic, vernacular and Swahili[71]. Women and girls undertook instruction on how to make their own clothes, knit, wash and iron. On the other hand, the more advanced pupils studied English, hygiene, geography and drawing. Twenty–five minutes a day were devoted to agriculture, and the girls in the boarding school had each one and a half acre for agricultural work[72].

---

[69] This subject was discussed in greater details in KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/3: Education of Natives - General, 1925-1930, p.12. See also KNA, DC/KER/1/16, Kericho District Annual Report, 1923, p.14.

[70] The information collected was based on AIM mission Annual Report, 1936. Litein Mission Archives, Litein, p.3. Further material was gleaned from: Diary of Mission Correspondence, A.M. Andersen's report to the District Commissioner, 31st October, 1936, p.3. See also Ibid., p.13.

[71] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, 1936, p.14
Similar points were made in KNA, PC/NZA/3/30/2:Native Education, 1929-1938, p.7.

[72] Ibid., p.15.
For a brief but excellent discussion on this subject see also Interview with Kimalit arap Sang, First convert of AIM Litein, Chebwagan Church, on 1st February, 1997.

This clearly shows that the curriculum was geared towards vocational education. The missionaries preferred this system because they expected the mission to be self-supporting. They wanted to supplement the meagre funds allocated to mission education[73]. However, this system or practice was opposed by the parents who thought that their children were being used as slaves by the missionaries. They proceeded to request that their daughters be paid for the services they rendered the mission.

The NHM Annual Report for 1936 made it clear that girls' educational work was steadily progressing. The arrival of Misses Alice Day and Mildred Ferneau in Kenya on March 25, 1936 was greeted with enthusiasm, as they were to help in the establishment of girls' education at Tenwek[74]. In early June, Alice Day began her supervision of the children's and girls' day school work. The older girls went to school from seven to nine in the morning. They worked in the garden till noon during school days, so as to help pay for their schooling. The girls within the age of ten had their lessons from nine till twelve[75]. Despite all these efforts, the girls were only given elementary education as that was the primary purpose of mission work in this region.

By 1937, Tenwek had a boarding school for girls with an enrolment of eighteen. During this period, the construction of accommodation for the girls was completed. The doctor who was in charge of medical work on the tea estates gave valuable help in planning the sanitation unit for the dormitory. In the middle of the year, there were twenty-five girls on the roll with four more on the waiting list[76].

---

[73] Diary of Mission correspondence of A.M. Andersen to K.R. Smith of NHM, October 31st 1936. For an Informative and interesting discussion on the subject see: KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1938, p.12.

[74] NHM Mission Annual Report, 1936, p.5, Tenwek Mission Archives, Tenwek.

[75] For an excellent and extended discussion on this subject, See Rev. and Mrs. Robert K. Smith, "Progress in Africa", Call to Prayer, Xviii, No.2, July 1936, p.5.
Issues touched on, but not developed, see, Personal diaries of Alice Day & Mildred Ferneau, 1st May, 1936, p.14ff.

[76] Fish, 1990, p.251.

This was due to the fact that the new construction in the boarding department could only accommodate twenty-five and the mission was short of funds for further expansion. Neither did the Education Department extend its building grants to this mission during the year. This situation clearly was mentioned in the report of the then secretary in charge of Tenwek Central School, R.K. Smith when he wrote:

> ""our mission was in a formative state and in many ways was doing inadequate piece of work. Insufficient male staff and an extensive building programme had possibly been accountable for this. From statistical standpoint our first years averages were fair[77]."

The girls' work constituted a great part of the missionary endeavour, and Smith considered it the most potent force in Kipsigis educational training. He wrote that they were fighting a battle to root out, "the superstitions and injurious heathen customs practised chiefly against women particularly "clitoridectomy"[78]. He upheld the view that the girls raised and trained in the girls' school could be better wives to the educated boys. The Kipsigis, in fact, were taught in the schools to desist from their supposedly heathen customs and practices which were seen to be contrary to Christian ethics and western values. However, some Kipsigis were diametrically opposed to the mission schools' teachings, and many decided to force their children not to attend these schools. They considered these schools to be in opposition to their culture, and only the very few "genuine" converts retained their children in them. This tension intensified in the 1940s and through the 1950s, culminating in either the parents' sending their children to the government controlled schools or the emerging independent schools

---

[77] KNA, DC/KER/1/10: South Lumbwa District Annual Report, 1937, p.26.
[78] Ibid. p.18.
See also: NHM Mission Annual Report, 1937, p.12., Tenwek House Archives.

In both the Protestant and Catholic mission schools, agriculture remained the core of the curriculum in all the girls schools. The girls were further given practical courses in home-making, sewing and hygiene, with little emphasis being given to academic subjects. Technical education in the real sense of it did not take root in the mission run schools because of lack of facilities. Through 1937, the Beulah missionaries increased the enrolment to twenty-one girls with an average attendance of little more than half this figure. The great rate of absenteeism was attributed to the reluctance of the parents to send their children to school daily as they were needed for other socio-economic activities. For instance, children were told to remain to herd the cattle, to do domestic chores, to help in harvesting millet, sorghum, maize, etc.[79] Despite all this, the mission made significant progress by establishing a home for girls with seven girls at the end of the year. The mission further endeavoured to improve the girls' education by, *inter alia*, strengthening its financial position through growing pyrethrum.

In 1938, the Beulah missionaries registered a steady increase in the pupils to an enrolment of sixteen which represented an average attendance of 30%. Later in the year, the Kikuyu pupils left the mission schools to join the already emerging independent schools - hence leaving the Kipsigis pupils alone. In fact, this led to a great decrease in the girls' school enrolment in these schools run by the Beulah missionaries. Despite, this the Bochok (Beulah) mission still offered elementary education to the Kipsigis pupils[80]. The mission hired the staff from among other missions, notably the AIM, NHM and LIM. The mission was managed by F.B. Janzen who decided to put greater emphasis on the introduction of technical education. However, his efforts were thwarted by lack of finance

[79] Interview with Chemorta A. Torongei, Area School Committee of Chebunyo School on 3.3.97.
[80] KNA, DC/KER/1/21: Kericho District Annual Report, 1938, p.18.
See also: Personal Diary of Fr. F.B. Janzen, 5th October, 1938, p.6, Kericho Central School FIU correspondence.

and facilities so that the technical education curriculum came to exist only in theory but not in practice.

In 1939, there were thirty-four girls enrolled in the boarding department of Central School, Tenwek. They lived comfortably in a concrete dormitory located on one of the lower terraces of the station. Their ages ranged from eight years to the late teens. Though many more girls requested to be admitted, the NHM missionaries wanted to keep the number at thirty because of limited funds and teaching staff. By this time, when a girl entered the boarding department, they were trained in vocational subjects - being given cloth to make dresses, head-dresses, and under clothing. And, for the classroom work, the curriculum was tailored to give them instruction in the three R's, with religious knowledge being emphasised. Each girl was also given a number - and this was stamped on the items issued to her so as to make her responsible for their care[81]. The numbering system also made it easier to identify the girls themselves.

It was always a "heart break" when a girl fell back into sin and had to be dismissed from the girls' boarding department[82]. The missionaries were very critical, for example, of those girls who went home from the boarding department, only to come back after they had been circumcised. They referred to this act as a sin. A girl could give herself in to be circumcised because she wanted to be married. Sometimes, the parents forced girls to undergo the ritual for the same reason. Either way the missionaries did not condone the exercise. However, dismissal of such girls from the boarding department only came after counselling and prayer, and always in the presence of a recognised pastor or church leader.

---

[81] This subject was discussed in greater detail in Fish, 1990, p.251. See also, NHM Annual Report, 1939, Tenwek Mission Archives, p.3. Further discussion could be gleaned from K.R. Smith's personal diary, Oct. 5th 1939.

[82] Ibid., p.253. A 'heart break, according to Fish - when a girl was forced into the community's rites (female circumcision) by non-Christian parents or relatives

Sometimes, a girl who had been dismissed due to misconduct was readmitted, but only after she had passed a period of probation and proved by life and personal testimony that she had undergone a change of heart. The NHM missionaries also tried to ensure that girls from non-Christian families usually stayed in the boarding facilities through the vacation times, because most of them would have been forced into practices opposite to the Christian way of life had they gone to their homes. However, they were not always successful in this as parents came to the school and demanded to take home their daughters. In this, the parents were supported by the colonial government which insisted that children admitted to mission schools must stay therein only with the consent of their parents. The government did so because it did not want to be in unnecessary opposition with the community, particularly over issues to do with their culture. On their part, the missionaries did not succeed, especially in areas that had not been evangelised fully, notably in Chepalungu and the Belgut-Soin areas.

Due to this tension between the missionaries and the Kipsigis over indigenous culture, the enrolment of girls in all the missions' central and outschools dropped tremendously in the years preceeding the 1940s. By 1948, the Tenwek mission school provided secondary education for girls, even so, female education in Kipsigis was not popular[83]. Furthermore, the mission schools were regarded as inefficient by the government supervisors of schools. They were regarded as having an uncanny knack of falling foul of the Kipsigis, and especially so those managed by the NHM, Tenwek. Worsening the development of girls' education was the introduction of fees to be paid to the mission schools in 1949[84]. The boarding fees at Tenwek for a three-month school term had risen to twelve shillings. Some girls were able to pay in full and in cash on the

[83] For further discussion on this subject with perhaps the most comprehensive data; see Minutes 57 of the Mission Meeting held on Dec. 19th 1948, Tenwek NHM, Archives. Pp.3-6.
[84] Ibid., p.11.

first day of the opening. However, others paid a few shillings at a time as family or friends provided for them. A few others were subsidised by donations from America, and often missionaries stretched their meagre salaries to help some worthy girls who were destitute. Subsequently, some girls - particularly those from the non-Christian families - did not survive as their parents used lack of fees as an excuse not to send them to school. Some parents genuinely could not raise even half the required amount.

In 1950, for the first time, four girls came to join Tenwek from Chepalungu - an area which was newly opened to the gospel. Three of them came against the wishes of their non-Christian parents. In fact, the three were approached repeatedly by their family members who in various ways tried to lure them away from the mission school[85]. But with encouragement from those coming from Christian families they managed to continue with their education. Two years later, the WGM missionaries at Cheptenye saw the need for the introduction of a girls' school on the station[86]. Action had been taken by the mission in September 1951 to introduce education at Cheptenye. The District Commissoner P. Tait observed: "At times, it seemed that the girls were being lost to the enemy of souls because of hold ups in getting the project started"[87].

A few girls from the Cheptenye area were in the girls' boarding department at Tenwek, but it was quite a distance and travelling was expensive. Much of the delay was based on lack of finance. In fact, many of the girls dropped out of school because of economic constraints as well as the social-cultural influences. In the Cheptenye Bible School, Hazel Evans, a missionary staff member, conducted women's classes. He taught

---

[85] This subject was discussed in greater detail in Kenya Field Annual Report for 1951, p.4.
See also KNA, DC/KER/4/2: Handing Over Report, 1951, p.11.
Further material could be gleaned from: KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/169: Ethnology of the Kipsigis Notes on African District Council - Kipsigis ADC Control of circumcision By-Laws, 1951-1954, p.16.

[86] KNA, DC/KER/1/23: Kericho District Annual Report, 1950, p.10.

[87] KNA, DC/KER/1/24: Kericho District Annual Report, 1951, p.11.

them classes in Bible study, hymn singing, prayer and home studies pertaining to hygiene. By the end of the year, however, only two women were able to read well[88].

By 1954, the girls' enrolment at the Tenwek boarding department had increased tremendously to fifty-four and they were living in the dormitory built originally to accommodate only thirty-five pupils[89]. Elsewhere, however, the development of girls education was slow, and the statistics for Cheptenye Intermediate School in 1955 showed that enrolment stood at one hundred and thirty, of whom only twelve were girls[90]. During this period, the Christians in Belgut requested the WGM missionaries to develop boarding school for girls at the intermediate level rather than to begin a new school building. They wanted a boarding department for girls like the one at Tenwek.

4.6 *Conclusion*

As is well known, the basic assumption of the Kipsigis traditionally had been that the girls were destined to marry, to run the household and to bear and bring up children - all being skills which they best learnt from their mothers. When western education was first introduced, then, the view was that there was no need for schooling for girls. In fact, the conviction that women or girls had equal rights of personal development as with men and that they should therefore be given equal opportunities was a new concept that came with the colonial period. For most of this period, it was clear that there were only two girls for every twenty or so boys who received proper schooling. Education for girls, then, was a big problem. Girls were only sent to school where there were no more boys needing

---

[88] For fuller explanation see: Mrs. Gerald Fish, "MORE LABOURERS for the Harvest", in Call to Prayer, XXXIII, No.12, May 1952, p.7.

[89] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Minutes of the 34th Meeting of the Kipsigis District Education Board held on 14th July, 1954, 1951-1959, p.7.

[90] KNA, PC/RVP.6A/14/13:Confidential Report: General Correspondence on Education, Schools in the Rift Valley Province, 1955, p.16.

education. For them, schooling was seen as only delaying marriage, and an educated wife was assumed not to be sufficiently obedient to her husband. With time, however, these ideas upheld by the Kipsigis changed - though only slowly, in the late 1940s through the 1950s.

The missions' hope that proselytisation could be effected through schools was not misplaced. Christianity was the only religion taught in the schools, and the children had no option in the matter. In Kipsigis, the schools preceded the churches because it was easier for missions to point out to the elders and community leaders why schools should be established than to make the case for the building of churches. The dominant view of school children in this region was as potential converts to the faith. In the early years of mission advance, schools were used as churches and many of the schools started as classes for religious instructions. These classes were seen by the Kipsigis non-Christians as undisguised centres for religious indoctrination, and they were not subject to routine inspection by the government. Even so, the government recognised their usefulness in creating educational awareness, and most of them were later upgraded to the status of schools in the real sense of the term. Without the missionary involvement in education of the Kipsigis, this goal would not have been reached until much later, because the colonial government was not ready to allocate much money for the education of these people. The education of an elite was, then, the missionaries' essential contribution to the achievement of independence.

Undoubtedly, government schools were better staffed and funded and had the advantage that the staff were indigenous ones, unlike the mission school which recruited most, and sometimes all, their personnel from the missionary population. A major criticism of the mission education system in Kipsigis - as was elsewhere in Kenya - was that 'they were concerned not so much with the number of schools successes they could

produce... as with the number of converts they could claim[91] The argument was that, since the main objective of these missions was religious, their educational standards were not high because as soon as a pupil could read the Bible, many missions felt that not much more needed be done to educate him. In a nutshell, the missionaries used formal education, not as the final object of his mission, but a means to the conversion of the Kipsigis to Christianity. On their part, the Kipsigis used it, not necessarily to be converted to Christianity, but as a passport into the European type of supremacy.

---

[91] Ibid., p.17.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

5.1 Introduction

The first breakthrough in the development of education by the colonial government in Kenya was the arrival in 1909 of J.N. Frazer, an educationist from Bombay who was commissioned to carry out a survey of education within the British East African Protectorate. Particularly, he was to advise on the organisation and type of education to be given to the various racial groups. In regard to the Africans, he recommended the introduction of an industrial code to be followed by missions in training their apprentices in the three courses leading to the government examination[1]. This policy ensured that missionaries could not teach a curriculum which was not approved by the settler dominated government. As a result of this survey, a Department of Education was formed in 1911. The separate educational systems for Europeans, Africans and Indians recommended by the Frazer commission persisted until the last years of colonial rule in Kenya. This was clearly reflected in the system of education in Kipsigis which was modelled along racial lines.

The initiatives taken by the colonial government in the development of school education in Kipsigis came much later than did those of the missions. A proposal to establish the first Government African School at Kabianga was made in 1921. The opening of government schools in Kipsigis - as elsewhere in Kenya - was viewed with

---

[1] J.E. Otiende *et al*, Education and Development in Kenya: A Historical Perspective (Nairobi, 1992), p.44.
Also cited in, Robert Tignor, The Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Akamba, Kikuyu and Maasai from 1900-1939 (Princeton, 1976), p.134.
The Commission's proposals were also summarised by Daniel N. Sifuna, see
Daniel N. Sifuna, Development of Educaiton in Africa: The Kenyan Experience (Nairobi, 1990), p.116.

much apprehension by Christian missionaries as they did not approve of such secular institutions.

5.2 Administration

The colonial government educated the Africans as artisans in its endeavour to instil technical and vocational education so that they would be employed as apprentices, hence replacing the Asians. The colonial officials saw the latter as the prime threat to their economic and political power in Kipsigis. The colonial government started participating in the development of education later than among all the other communities of Nyanza Province. In commenting on this, the Kericho District Commissioner F.J. Fennings stated in 1923 that it was deplorable that the Education Department had so far evinced no interest in "so intelligent a community as the Lumbwa"[2]. By April 1925, however, the first government school in - Kipsigis that at Kabianga – was opened. It had thirty-five pupils, although enrolment had declined to thirty–three by the end of the year.

This decline was attributed to a certain amount of opposition to the establishment of the school from the warrior class who influenced the young boys to stop going to school and also from the elders[3]. The warriors opposed the introduction of Western education because they saw it as an obstacle to their occupation of warriorship and cattle raiding which was rampant during this period. This problem was resolved through the formation of the area committees for Kipsigis schools. The sole purpose of the committees' establishment in Kenya as a whole was to advise the Education Department concerning the organisation of education as well as harmonising the activities of the religious

---

[2] KNA DC/KER/1/1: Kericho District Annual Report, 1923, p.13.
See also, KNA< DC/KER/9/1: Political Record Book; Notes on some customs and Beliefs Among the Kipsigis and perceptions on Education, 1920-1924, p.17.

[3] KNA, DC/KER/2/1: Handing Over Report, Kericho, 1923, p.16.

denominations[4]. But in Kipsigis, they played a dual role. Apart from the above-mentioned objectives, the committees created awareness among the Kipsigis as to the importance of education which many of them did not yet have[5]. In 1926, the South Lumbwa School Area Committee (No.8) was appointed[6]. It consisted of the following officials: the District Commissioner as the Chairman, Maj. Caddick, Rev. Caddick, Rev. W.R. Hotchkiss, J.K. Matson, Chief arap Bargochut, Chief arap Taptugen and I.Q. Orchardson. The committee stressed the urgent need for expert advice and the co-ordination of education through a competent inspectorate. This was in line with the recommendations put forward by the second Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1925.

In 1927, the Government African School, Kabianga faced an unfortunate year because of frequent changes in the school administration. There were three principals during this year, namely: G.W. Bell, I.Q. Orchardson and P.R. Stanton[7]. During the same year, the School Area Committee decided that the school site should remain in the Kericho Township. Due to the repeated changes of the principals, no permanent building was undertaken. And on the recommendation of the Director of Education and the Committee, the school was transferred from the township to Mobego in Kabianga, twenty-five kilometres from the town centre, in August 1927. The site was chosen because of the availability of good land for both agricultural use and grazing. There were also raw materials for building and plenty of water power.

In 1928, a definite start was made in the construction of the Kabianga School. Two dormitories and classrooms were built by the Education Department with the

---

[4] KNA, Education Dept., Annual Report, 1925, Government Printer, Nairobi, p.3.
[5] Chepkomon arap Chumo, O.I., Cheboyo, 22.1.97
[6] KNA, DC/KER/3/7; Political Record Book, 1925-1932, -p.16.
[7] KNA, KC/KER/1/4; South Lumbwa District Annual Report, 1927, p.17.
also cited in, Education Department Annual Report, 1927, on the theme - Inspectorate - Nyanza Province on African Education, p.23.

assistance of the technical staff at the school. During the same year, the average enrolment figure for the pupils was forty-five. However, the school faced a major setback with the dismissal of the principal P.R. Stanton, who was very hardworking,[8] allegedly because of mismanagement of school funds. He was replaced by R. Howitt on 1st October, 1928 who acted as principal until Lieut. Col. P. Weir arrived on 18th December, 1928 from Kajiado School[9]. Col. Weir proved to be very hardworking. In reviewing the situation H.D. Weller, who was the supervisor for technical education in Nyanza, observed:

> It was gratifying to be able to say that the new Principal was doing well and the unfortunate period of Kericho history seemed to come to an end[10].

Col. Weir took keen personal interest in the school's work. There was every indication that he possessed both the force and the foresight which was essential in the development of the school. In fact, he ensured that the school was to be of greatest value to the Kipsigis by introducing technical education through which the people were trained in agricultural land use.

By 1929, Kabianga was the only school in Kipsigis that was directly under the control of the government with the rest being under missions. At the new site, the school flourished, and there was considerable increase in the pupils' enrolment to sixty. The ages ranged from twelve to sixteen, and this sometimes created problems in teaching[11]. Only very few of the pupils had received any previous instruction at village schools[12]. For administrative purposes, the principal divided the school into dormitories to which he

---

[8] KNA, DC/KER/4/4; Monthly Intellingence Report, March 1925-1932, p.17.
See for further material, KNA, PC/NZA/1/16; Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1919-1930, p.16.
[9] KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/196; General Correspondence on Kipsigis Education, 1926-1929, p.6.
[10] Education Department Annual Report; Kipsigis School; Notes on Agricultural Training Instructors, 1926-1929, p.10.
[11] KNA, Education Department Annual Report 1929, Report of the Nyanza Province on Native Education, p.66.
[12] KNA, DC/KER/3/71 Political Record book, 1925-1932, p.8.

appointed prefects as a way of delegating duties. On 1st March, 1929 he sent away all boys who had not met the requirements for admission to bring their parents. Only twenty-five pupils were left out of fifty, and most of the boys who went away never came back[13]. The principal obtained permission from the Director of Education to start a new system of food rations which was accepted by the boys[14].

During this time, the school also underwent a series of inspections. First, the supervisor of technical education visited and inspected the school on 26th July, 1929. On 2nd August it was inspected by J.H. Webb, and on 12th December by the Provincial Education Officer, Nyanza[15]. In all these inspections the school was praised for its dedication to work in all fields. Enrolment also increased to sixty-nine boys. In 1930, six pupils passed the Elementary 'B' examination and joined the Kabete carpenters' school[16]. With the implementation of the New Education Ordinance of 1931, which further stipulated the role of the School Area Committees, the Kipsigis School Area Committee continued to strengthen the development of education. During this period also, more buildings were completed by the Native Industrial Training Depot (N.I.T.D) trainees with the help of the school's labour force under the supervision of the principal. The entire construction scheme was completed and all the paintings and fittings done by the instructors. During this year, eight more pupils passed the Elementary 'B' examination and were also sent to Kabete for the carpentry training course. And one pupil was admitted to the agricultural school, Bukura[17].

---

[13] Kimalit arap Sang, O.I., One of the earliest member of the School Committee of Chebunyo School in the late 1940s, 2.3.97.

[14] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/83: Confidential Report: Correspondence between the Principal Government of African School, Kabianga and the Diector of Education, Nairobi, 1929, p.72.

[15] KNA, DC/KER/4/1: Monthly Intelligence Report, 1925-1929, p.14.

[16] KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/196: General Correspondence of the Kipsigis education, 1926-1930, p.16, see also, KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/4; Education of Natives - General, 1928 - 1931, p.2.

[17] KNA, DC/KER/2/1; Kericho District Handing Over Report, 1931, p.10.
see also, Ibid., p.3ff.

The disparity in the ages of the pupils in the school made the principal's task difficult; but then the teachers were trained and outschools established, thus enabling the admission standards to be raised. The school was certainly one of the greatest assets to the reserve and served not merely as a centre for the education of individuals but for the whole reserve. Pupils could be transferred after their preliminary schooling to other government institutions as instructors particularly the Native Industrial Training Depots agricultural, veterinary and medical schools. Upon returning from their training, they could materially assist the economic and hygienic progress of the reserve[18].

On 20th July, 1931 twenty-two candidates enrolled for the Elementary 'B' examination, but only six managed to pass. The school experienced a lot of absenteeism during the year because some pupils went to their homes to attend circumcision ceremonies. In most cases, the administering of these rites coincided with school work, and many pupils ended up abandoning their studies. Some of them also took up parenting responsibilities after initiation[19]. The year 1932 was also marred by frequent absenteeism. There was also the change in the school leadership, with Col. P. Weir being replaced temporarily by C.A. Berridge who had been a technical instructor for five months. In November, W. J. Glanville took over as the school principal. These frequent changes in principals, making ten in under eight years, really affected the development of education in Kipsigis (See Table below). School enrolment remained at seventy-seven pupils, though the number of absentees was higher than in the previous year.

The school continued to send pupils to central institutions where higher education was available. And, with the formation of the District Education Board in 1934, the problem concerning sub-elementary and elementary education offered to the Kipsigis was

---

[18] KNA, DC/KER/1/4; South Lumbwa District Annual Report, 1931, p.20.
[19] Ibid., p.61.

addressed. By the District Education Board Ordinance of the year, District Education Boards for North, South and Central Kavirondo were also established[20]. Such boards

Principals: Kericho Government Native School

	From	To
A. Healy Ryan	26/4/25	4/7/26
G.R. McDowell	4/7/26	20/9/26
G.M. Bell	20/9/26	28/2/27
I.Q. Orchardson	2/3/27	30/4/27
P.R. Stranton	1/5/27	30/4/27
R.H. Howitt	1/10/28	18/12/28
Lieut. Col. P. Weir	18/12/28	30/8/30
A.H. Hemman	1/9/30	1/8/31
" as Asst	2/8/31	25/7/32
Lieut. Col. P. Weir	2/8/31	25/7/32
C.W. Benidge	26/7/32	25/11/32
W.G. Glanville	23/11/32	

Ref: KNA, DC/KER/3/7; Political Record Book 1932, p.16.

had also been established for Fort Hall (Muranga), South Nyeri, Kiambu and Machakos[21]. These Boards were responsible for approving the establishment of new elementary schools and the provision of funds for the development of such schools in the respective districts[22]. The creation of the District Education Boards was also an attempt by the colonial government to regulate Local Native Council funds to ensure that they were not

[20] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1937, p.15.
[21] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1934, p.10.
[22] G.N. Amayo, " A History of the Adventist Education in Kenya: Illustrated in the light of the impact on the Africans social, Economic, Religious and Political Development, 1906-1963," Ph.D. Thesis, Howard University, 1974, p.170.

extensively used on education. The District Commissioner, being chairman, was in a position to control the flow of Local Native Council funds[23]. The Kipsigis viewed the establishment of the District Education Board as a direct channel through which they were to participate in the improvement of their education. The Board was generally instrumental in controlling and financing elementary education and, quite often, it was not necessary for the Director of Education to question their suggestions and decisions[24]. The board further handled the allocation of grants, fees and scholarships. It also determined salary scales, managed the leasing of plots for school development, and maintained a register of schools.

In January 1936, W.J. Granville became the principal of Government African School, Kabianga. He was later assisted by A.S. Walford and then, in May of the same year, he was transferred to Kapsabet. Thereafter E.T. Roberts became the principal for a short time before being replaced by W.H. Oglenby[25]. During this period, there was an average school enrolment of ninety-three pupils which represent 96.34 percent throughout the year. The enrolment was distributed as follows:[26]

Sub-standards and Standard I	-	24
Standards II and III	-	41
Standards IV and VI	-	28

---

[23] R.M. Mambo, "Local Native Councils and education in Kenya: The case of the Coat Province, 1925-1950,' in TransAfrican Journal of History, Vol. 10, Nos. 1-2, 1981, pp. 61-86.
See also, J.E. Otiende, *et al.*, Education and Development in Kenya: A Historical Perspective (Nairobi, 1992), pp.48-49, Also, D.N. Sifuna, 199, p.129ff.

[24] Chepkomon arap Chumo, O.I., Cheboyo 1.2.97.

[25] KNA, DC/KER/1/9; Kericho District Annual Report, 1936, p.12.
see also, KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1936, p.12.

[26] Daniel N. Sifuna, Development of Education in Africa: The Kenyan Experience (Nairobi, 1990), p.130.

E.G. Morris, the then Director of Education, observed that one great handicap to progress in elementary education, apart from the presumed general apathy of the community, was the almost complete absence of vernacular literature[27].

Steps were taken in 1936 to make provision for additional grants for elementary education in Kipsigis. In Government African School Kabianga, only three of the eight boys who took the primary examination passed. And of these boys who left the school during the year, one became a telephone exchange operator at Jamji and another went to the Jeanes School, Kabete for further training. The third one was employed at the Kericho garage[28]. No school buildings were constructed in the year.

In 1937, candidates ceased to take the Cambridge Preliminary Examination in the primary schools, and it was replaced by the Kenya Preliminary Examination, which became the entrance examination for admission to secondary schools. Children in standard IV had the option of taking this examination, and when they qualified, parents had the opportunity of sending them to secondary schools. The school enrolment figures rose considerably to one hundred and two pupils: with seventy-one and thirty-one in the elementary and primary levels, respectively. In the year, three boys sat for the primary examination and four managed to pass[29]. Government African School, Kabianga had ninety-five boarders. In 1938, more boys passed the primary school certificate than the previous year. Those who managed to pass were six, although none was recommended to proceed for secondary education[30]. This was very disappointing to the Kipsigis in general who began to think that the colonial government was out to limit their educational advancement.

---

[27] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1936, p.46.
[28] KNA, DC/KER/1/8: Kericho District Annual Report, 1936, p.24.
[29] KNA, DC/KER/4/4; Monthly Intelligence Report for May 1937, p.16.
see also KNA, DC/KER/1/10; Kericho District Annual Report, 1937, p.20.
[30] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1938, 1938, p.49.

On 18th January, 1939 T.A. Mackay took over as the school principal of Kabianga. He was assisted by a staff of six teachers and two technical instructors[31]. By then, the school enrolment of boarders had increased to one hundred and one. The policy then was to make the school purely a primary one, and more elementary pupils were accepted. The elementary pupils then enrolled would gradually pass into the primary section. In 1940, the elementary section had fifty-three boys and the primary section had forty-five. In practice, the sub standard (elementary section) was discontinued in September of that year. The remaining four boys in the class were transferred to Kiptere, while the others who came from Nakuru failed to return. In 1941, H.B.H.L. O'Neill was the principal of Government African School, Kabianga. The school was successful since the standard two class continued for the last time, but it was somehow difficult eliminating sub standard I. In this way, Kabianga could not be purely a primary school[32].

At this time, progress was made with the buildings and equipment for the post-elementary animal husbandry course. This was done in the hope that the Kipsigis would benefit from this new development. Also, a primary course was introduced with a strong veterinary bias[33]. The policy of involving intermediate pupils in agriculture and veterinary in particular was pursed because they were older and were supposed to be a middle class group who on graduation could influence the reserve (rural areas) by their number and example[34]. Efforts were made by government officials from the Department of

---

[31] KNA, DC/KER/1/13: Kericho Distric Annual Report, 1939, p.19.
Also cited in, Beecher Education Report: African Education in Kenya: Report of a committee Appointed to inquire into the scope, content and methods of African Education, Its Administration, Finance and Make Recommendations, 1949. p.9.

[32] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/81: Confidential Report; Kericho - General on the Kipsigis education and Teacher-Training-proposed FTC., 1946-1957, p.7.
see also, KNA, Native Affairs Department, Kericho District Annual Report, 1941, p.50.
Also cited in, KNA, DC/KER/1/15; Kericho District Annual Report, 1941, p.11.

[33] S.M.E. Lugumaba & J.C. Ssekamwa; History of Education in East Africa. 1900-1973 (Kampala, 1973), p.29.
See also, Barnabas arap Rop, O.I., Kabianga, 2.4.97.
A similar school was set up in Maasai at the Government African school of Narok. Another one was set up at Baringo

[34] KNA, Native Affairs Department, Kericho District Annual Report, 1941, p.53.

Agriculture to arrange agricultural projects in the neighbourhood of intermediate schools, seeking to secure the interests of the pupils of those schools in such projects. Besides, plans were also made for those who had left or were about to leave intermediate school to undertake agricultural training.

In 1942, Government African School, Kabianga was elevated to upper primary status. However, there were still some pupils in Standard Three[35], and enrolment was boosted to ninety. This was because many parents came to appreciate the benefits of education when they saw those who had completed school being employed as clerks, teachers, and so on in the colonial system.

The Kipsigis District Education Board met for the first time on 1st August, 1942. Then its activities came to a halt until 1948 when it met three times during the year. One of the most important decisions it passed concerned the rules and recommendations on the development of primary schools[36]. It laid emphasis on the establishment of aided schools - which were the majority to be found in Buret, followed by Sot and Belgut. Chepalungu, however, had none. The new grants-in-aid rules stated that the cost of primary schools should be the responsibility of the Local Native Councils, and that there should be European supervision of all primary schools[37]. Precisely, the Local Native Councils were to be responsible for all the expenses of the African staff and boarding together with half the cost of recurrent equipment and maintenance. On the other hand, the Government was to be responsible for the cost of European staff and half the cost of recurrent equipment and maintenance[38].

---

[35] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Politcal Record Book: Notes on Education in Kericho District, 1925-1942, p.11.
[36] KNA DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, February 1942, p.16.

[37] KNA, Native Affairs Department Kericho Annual Report, 1942, p.23.
[38] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book: Notes on Education in Kericho District, 1925-1942, p.11.

From 1944, the Government African School, Kabianga was directly funded by the Department of Education. During this time, some of its students went for further education to the Alliance High School, Maseno, Yala and Kabaa (Mangu)[39]. Others went for vocational training, while some took up employment in the public and private sectors. In 1945, it was proposed that a lower primary teacher training college for the Kipsigis be built in Kapkatet[40]. But later, the administration preferred that it be built at Kabianga because the capital costs would be much less than what had been proposed for Kapkatet. Furthermore, at Kabianga it would have been possible to utilise the alread existing buildings.

For the first time, then, the Kipsigis community was to have its own teacher training institution[41]. The need for this was enhanced due to the fact that Kipsigis boys were being turned away from joining secondary schools in other districts. The boys were compelled to seek entry into colleges in other Kalenjin districts - notably Tambach and Kapsabet - which offered teacher training. From 1947, the Butere teacher training college, which had been taking Kipsigis students for training was not prepared to take first year candidates anymore[42]. During this time, the Kipsigis had shown eagerness for education through the LNC twice voting sh. 5/- special education cess and by putting forward the Kabianga scheme. The cost of buildings at Kabianga of £1,500 was borne by the Local Native Council[43]. The vote was specifically towards the erection of lower primary teacher

---

[39] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/80: Confidential Report: Kericho - General on the Kipsigis Education and Teacher Training-proposed T.T.C at Kapkatet, 1944-1946, p.10.
see also, KNA, DC/KER/2/1: Handing Over Report, Kericho, 1944 p.16.

[40] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/81: Provincial Commissioner Department of Education, 1944-1946 on the proposed T.T.C centre - Kapkatet on 4th February 1946.

[41] For a detailed examination on the issue of Teacher Training College in Kipsigis, see KNA, PC/NZA/3/5/82: Confidential Report on Post-Primary Education and Teacher training for Kipsigis on 23rd May 1946, p.3ff.

[42] Ibid., 24.

[43] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/81: Correspondence between senior Education Officer T.O Benga to Provincial Commissioner, Nyanza concerning Kipsigis L.N.C. Meeting held on3rd February 1946, p.2., Minute 21/46/

training buildings. The government, on its part, hoped through the school to train the low-grade personnel it needed for staffing the bottom echelons of the colonial bureaucracy. It also intended to create such conditions - political, economic, social and moral - as would enable the metropole to exploit as fully as possible what was regarded as the hitherto insufficiently tapped resources in Kipsigis[44].

In 1946, two Kipsigis students - namely, Taaitta Kipyegon Toweett and Richard Koskey - made history by joining the Alliance High School from Government African School, Kabianga. In the period after the Second World War, however, the colonial government collaborated with all the missions in Kipsigis in continuing to provide only low-level education to the community. This led to Kipsigis pressure on the colonial authority to provide more and better education. The issue soon became the focus of the political associations that were to emerge in the late 1940s, including the Kipsigis Central Association whose activities extended from Kipsigis to Nandi and Elgeyo - albeit to a small extent[45].

The Kipsigis, then, needed better education and a teacher training institution of their own a point clearly appreciated when their boys were all turned away from Kakamega College on the grounds that they had performed poorly in the English language in their primary school examination. As the their District Commissioner, A.C.C. Swann, observed:

> "if the Kipsigis were to catch up with the more advanced communities, then they should be guaranteed a certain number of places each year. A

---

[44] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, February 1946, p.16.

[45] KNA, DC/KER/3/8: Political Record Book, 1932-1949, p.26. For an attempt to rleate these political parties, independency and education see, KNA, DC/KER/4/3: Kipsigis Central Association, 1947, p.31.
Also, KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/363: Confidential Report: Institutions and Associations, Nandi Association, 1944-1948, p.21.
Also quoted in KNA, DC/KAPT/1/14/15: District Educaiton Board Minuted of other Districts; Tambach, Baringo, Kapsabet, West Pokot, Maralal, Elgeyo-Marakwet; Confidential Reprot, 1946-1949, p.16ff.

junior secondary school for all the Kipsigis community was the best solution[46]".

It should be noted at this point that the Kipsigis were not happy to have been separated administratively from the other Kalenjin groups with whom they spoke one language. They were the only Kalenjin group placed in Nyanza Province, while their counterparts were all in the Rift Valley. Often, they felt isolated from the other communities of Nyanza, hence finding it appropriate if they could have their own schools in Kipsigis[47]. For these reasons, the Kipsigis sometimes bypassed the District Education Board and tried to establish schools without its approval. As is well known for Kenya as a whole, such independent schools came to strongly challenge the colonial set-up.

The Kipsigis manifested the phenomenon of independency in 1947 when they founded the first independent school in Boito near Litein[48]. The movement was entirely spearheaded by Solomon arap Mateget, who was also instrumental in the formation of the Kipsigis Central Association a year after. The Kipsigis wanted to have a school that would be independent of both government and mission control[49]. Research shows that, initially, it was the lack of sufficient schools, leading to political impatience – rather than discontent with the existing schools – that had given impetus to the founding of independent schools in Kipsigis[50]. Later, however, the Kipsigis began to question the type of education being offered to them. They wanted to be given an academic education to help them progress economically, socially and politically, and they saw attempts to restrict their education to technical and vocational training as aimed at keeping them in an inferior

---

[46] Ibid., p.28.
[47] KNA, DC/KER/3/4: Monthly Intelligence Report for March 1947, p.27.
See also, KNA, Report on Native Affairs, 1939 - 1948, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1947, p.7.
[48] Barnabas K. arap Rop, O.I., Kabianga, 2.3.97.
[49] Peter arap Seron, O.I., Kapsasian, 6.2.97. He was a school teacher, both in the colonial and post-colonial period.
[50] KNA, DC/KER/3/8: Political Record Book, 1932-1949, p.27.

position[51]. They also began to demand educational ad religious training that was related to their own culture, and the same educational opportunities as other races. From all these feelings developed the movement towards independent schools and churches in Kipsigis. Thereafter, a handful of schools opened both in the reserve and on the tea estates - and the colonial administration became extremely worried about, or opposed to, this independent movement.

In October 1947, the Kipsigis reportedly held meetings throughout Belgut in which they contributed sh. 12/- each - the money being contributions to the Githunguri Teachers' Training College in Kiambu in the Central Province[52]. Also, it was reported that postcards were being sold at sh. 3/- each in the Sondu market in order to raise funds for political purposes - perhaps indicating an even more generalised political consciousness. It was further reported that a fee of shs. 13/- was paid, of which some was sent to the Githunguri Teachers' Training College, and that the Kikuyu who lived in the neighbouring Kisii district attended the meetings. The links with Githunguri went further than financial contributions, however; some Kipsigis boys were actually sent to be educated at Githunguri, one of them being the son of Jonah arap Chuma. The political implications of these connections were feared by the colonial administration. As the District Commissioner wrote: "one wonders whether they will receive training as teachers or political saboteurs"[53].

The colonial administration soon took practical steps to destroy arap Mateget's organisation(s). On March 22, 1948 the members were ordered to appear before the District Commissioner and most of them, excluding arap Mateget, showed up.

---

[51] KNA, Report on Native Affairs Department, 1939-1948, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1947, p.28.
[52] KNA, DC/KER/4/3: Monthly Intelligence Report for October, 1947, p.7.
[53] Ibid., p.10. Cf. K. Mosonik arap Korir, "The Kipsigis, Land and the Protest Phenomenon in Colonial Kenya," Seminar in African History Research Paper, Northwestern University, May 1978, pp.33-41.

The particulars of each man were recorded, and they were given clearly to understand that any further political or religious agitation would be severely punished - and that the activities of each would be closely watched. Also, their photographs were taken outside the office for purposes of identification[54].

Our research, then, has shown that the need for schools providing secular education led to the founding of an independent school movement in Kipsigis. Consequently, we may agree with E.H. Berman that the Africans in Kenya had well defined ideas concerning the role of the colonial government and the missionaries and the kind of education they imparted in their schools. They readily articulated those ideas and applied pressure, forcing them to yield to their educational demands. However, whenever these desires were not fulfilled, the Africans often seized the opportunity and organised their own schools[55].

Another important development in Kipsigis education was the establishment of a girls' secondary education in 1947. It was approved and accepted by the government as part of the development plan of the Education Department. The funds were raised by way of a special rate levied by the Kipsigis Local Native Council. Previously, the Education Department had refused the establishment of a girls' secondary school on the ground that there were too few girls passing out of Standard VI to justify the capital outlay and recurrent costs[56]. The Department approved the £5,000 originally raised by the Kipsigis for girls' education to be put into the establishment of one single girls secondary school.

During this period, there were very few girls attending school in Kipsigis. This was attributed partially to the fact that the mothers needed girls to help them at home. This was indeed possibly the case since women and girls bore the main economic burden in the

---

[54] KNA, Monthly Intelligence Report for March 1948, p.13.
[55] Edward H. Berman, African Reactions to Missionary Education (New York, 1975), p.29.
[56] KNA, DC/KER/1/20: Kericho District Annual Report, 1947, p.12

homesteads[57]. The girls learnt life's duties through actual participation, and the school was seen as breaking continuity. Parents resented such interference with these essential duties, and they did not see immediate benefits to be gained by sending their daughters to school when they should have been helping in the domestic chores. It was observed that since girls would eventually get married, the parents would not benefit from their education as they would from that of the boys, who may by higher training earn more money[58]. In general, then, the most important reason for the inadequate education of Kipsigis girls stemmed from the low status accorded to them by the society. Moreover, even the colonial government and the Mission churches observed that:

> "conservatism - girls don't need education. Poverty - where fees was difficult, parents gave preference to boys. Usefulness of girls at home - and parents fears of mishaps"[59].

On 21st October, 1947 the Kipsigis Girls' School site was identified on a twenty-acre piece of land along the Kericho-Sotik road. The Government agreed to build it on a pound to pound basis with the Local Native Council. The latter authorised a special cess of £5,000 collected by the Kipsigis to be used in building the school, the balance of the cess was to be used to develop a rural crafts school[60]. By 1948, in line with a memorandum drawn with regard to educational development in the Rift Valley, a two-year course was offered in some schools in Kipsigis, notably: Kabianga, Kapkatet, Tenwek and Kaplong. During the same year, a Board of Governors was appointed for the

---

[57] Taprobkoi Mibei, O.I., Cheboyo, 2.3.97.

[58] Grace Mobiro Maina, O.I., Cheboyo, 2.4.97.

cf. In a Survey of Seven countries, of which Kenya was included - on his analysis of female education indicated that boys were generally sent to school first and boy's education was considered as a better investment. For a detailed study on the same, see, M.A. Riegeman (ed.), "A Seven Country Survey on the Roles of Women in Rural Development". A Report prepared for the Agency for International Development Under Contact No. AID/CM/ta-c-73-4, December 1974, p.29ff.

[59] J. Holland, "Girls Education in Kenya, " paper presented at the first Kenya Women's Seminar: "The Role of African Women, past, present and future". Limuru Conference Centre, 5th - 11th December, 1960. P.9.

[60] KNA, PC/RVP. 6A/12/3: Confidential Report: Concerning Provincial Planning; Rift Valley, 9th May 1947, p.3.

Government African School, Kabianga which subsequently became partly a day school. At this time, Kabianga retained its mantle as the only secondary school for all the communities residing in the Rift Valley[61]. The Kipsigis now attached greater importance to Western education and, in the words of the principal of the Government African School, Kabianga, "...the Kipsigis continued to regard education as the doorway to the next millennium[62] (sic).

Throughout 1948, there was a steady demand for more schools and for Government African School, Kabianga to develop into a secondary school. Buildings to serve the latter purpose were started during this time. Also, a lower teacher training college was established within the Kabianga school. It had an enrolment of seven Kipsigis and eight Nandi pupils. The centre continued to function as a provincial establishment until 1959 under E.A. Popkin as the Principal. In 1959, there were four classes of students at the T.3 level; while in 1960, there were five such classes, and one class at the K.T.S.I. level[63]. A Board of Governors for the centre was formed under the chairmanship of the District Commissioner.

The development of African education - including that of the Kipsigis - took a major turn with the appointment of the Beecher Education Commission of 1949. The commission's Report was at the time described by many, as the 'educational bible in Kenya' with regard to education for Africans[64].

---

[61] KNA, DC/KER/1/21: Kericho District Annual Report, 1948, p.11.
[62] Ibid., p.12.
[63] KNA, DC/KER/1/33: Kericho DistrictAnnual Report, 1960, p.34.
[64] KNA, Report of African Education in Kenya: A Committee Appointed to Inquire into the scope, contents and methods of African Education, its Administration and Finance and to make Recommendations, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1949, pp.1ff.
See also Rosalind Mutua, Development of Education in Kenya (Nairobi, 1975). Pp.111-115.
Also cited in KNA, Education Department Annual Reports, 1940-1949, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1949, p.20-36.
Babaiye arap Chelule, O.I., Cheboyo, 2.3.97. He testified before the Beecher Education Commission on some of the recommendations to be integrated in Educaion.

The Beecher recommendations seemed to have been based on the principle of high selectivity. Half of the students were supposed to drop out of elementary school after only four years at the age of eleven. Such wastage and highly competitive examinations made it difficult for the would-be-scholars to continue beyond the elementary level. The Kipsigis were opposed to this type of planning which allowed only five percent of the school - age children to go on to upper primary school. They accused the colonial officials of devising a method for providing cheap labour to the European settler community in the form of young school leavers[65]. This was also one of the main factors that promoted the Kipsigis independent schools to operate outside the Development Plan as outlined by the Beecher Report. In this regard, mission and government schools ran side by side with the Kipsigis independent schools. In 1950, despite the new changes in the educational policy, the outschools did excellent work in the promotion of education in Kipsigis. They were closely supervised by E. Bateman, the then Kericho Education Officer assisted by Taaitta arap Toweettt. The latter was replaced by Ezekiel arap Kirui who carried out extensive inspection of all the schools in Sotik, Buret and Belgut divisions. However, the overall supervisor of these schools was the Principal of the Kabianga school[66]. On the whole, supervision was hampered by lack of funds for travelling and hence was severely limited. Even so, the standard of education in Standard V and VI was improved in the outschools. But still, the girls lagged behind the boys in the same class.

At this time, government schools met the existing demand, although there were large gaps in location 6 (Chepalungu) and location 1 (Belgut) where no educational facilities were available. At the same time the African District Council with the assistance of the Kipsigis District Education Board funded the development of secondary and

[65] KNA, DC/KER/3/6. Monthly Intelligence Report, for October, 1949, p.29.
[66] Ibid., p.32.
See also, KNA, Native Affairs Department, 1945-1950, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1949, p.11.

Makerere education. They supported the pupils in these institutions to pay fees, and a special rate of £25 was voted in 1952 for this purpose.

From 1950, it became apparent that the end of mission education was drawing near. The missionary supervisors were being replaced by the better-qualified government education officers[67]. The missions now accepted the role of the government in education, and they began to concentrate on the lesser role of providing for the teaching of religious education in schools. In May 1951, Gorgor D.E.B. School was started. It was managed and supervised by the Principal of the Kabianga school. During the same year, the government provided building grants to the following schools in a bid to establish quality schools[68]:

	Kshs.	£
New Intermediate Getarwet area	10,000	500
New Intermediate Kongotik	10,000	500
D.E.B Kiptere Primary School	10,000	500
D.E.B Chepkosilen " "	10,000	500
D.E.B. Kyogong " "	10,000	500

The government education officers also passed a rule that the Kericho Township School would only admit pupils within the town. By this time, the appointment of a government inspectorate in Kericho was seen as the only satisfactory method of tackling the educational issue in Kipsigis. However, the colonial administration admitted that this would involve expenditure which the colony could not bear[69].

[67] KNA, DC/KER/1/22: Kericho Distric Annual Report, 1950, p.14.
[68] KNA, DC/KER/1/45: Confidential Report: Contained Information on Kipsigis District Education Board Proceedings held on 11th April 1951, p.3. 27th Meeting; Minute 34/39
[69] Ibid., p.3. Minute 34/50.

In 1952, the colonial government stressed that the rate of development of intermediate schools depended to a large extent on that of the supply of trained teachers (T2). Secondly, a minimum of 10 acres was a requisite to upgrading schools to intermediate status; this was purposely meant for the overall development of the school. Concerning the payment of fees in primary and intermediate schools, there was no definite fees structure laid down. Each school charged the fees differently, though they were subject to the management of the Kipsigis District Education Board[70]. However, the statutory fees of shs.10 for primary and shs. 30 for intermediate schools - as was suggested in the Beecher Report - seem to have been agreed upon by most schools[71]. Fees were also charged for equipment. There were sufficient vacancies in standard five in intermediate schools to absorb one quarter of the children in standard four.

Later the same year, the Kipsigis D.E.B recommended that the fees for all children at primary school (Standard I-IV) would be shs. 15/-m, while the fees for day pupils in intermediate schools (Standard V-Form II) would be shs. 45/-. However, the fees for standard V and standard VI at Government African School, Kabianga would be shs. 130/-. During the year, Cheborge Intermediate School received its full grant of shs. 10,000/= geared towards the building fund. When the site of an intermediate school in South Sotik was considered, the area chief Samwel arap Kirui recommended that it be built at the centre of the location, though very few children lived there. Similarly, as a result of his visit to the United Kingdom, the chief became the instigator of a movement to raise African District Council rates in an endeavour to have enough funds to provide free primary education to all Kipsigis children by 1953[72].

---

[70] Ibid., p.3., Concerning fees Payment in Primary and Intermediate Schools, p.4, Minute 34/51.
[71] KNA, DC/KER/1/21: Kericho District Annual Report, 1953, p.28.
[72] KNA, DC/KER/4/3: Monthly Intelligence Report for October 1953, p.12.
See also KNA, Native Affairs Department, 1946-1955, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1953, p.31.

The rest of the African District Council members and many Kipsigis seemed to support this movement; and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the Councillors were dissuaded from pressing the matter forward. Even so, due to pressure for more schools, two intermediate ones were started, namely: Kongotik and Sigor. The latter came directly under the management of the Kipsigis District Education Board. Another intermediate school was approved by the Kipsigis D.E.B. at Chesilyot area in Kamungei. This school later came under the management of the Africa Inland Mission[73]. Later, in the year, the Kipsigis D.E.B provided a £400 grant for equipment and furniture to be distributed to well-established schools. Further, a grant of £ 800 was availed for intermediate school workshops and £ 300 for buildings[74].

The year 1953 was a landmark one in the development of education in Kenya when the recommendations of Beecher Report of 1949 were put into effect. Thereafter, African education - including among the Kipsigis - was restructured into four years each of primary, intermediate and secondary levels[75]. Another important feature during the year was the progress made in rebuilding primary schools in the Kipsigis reserve using permanent materials[76]. It is worth noting that this was achieved through the co-operative spirit that existed between the African District Council and the Kipsigis population, and not the colonial government. The last only exercised a supervisory role, and the white settlers, in particular, had no interest in the development of African education.

By 1953, the total number of children who attended primary schools in Kipsigis was 8,917. Out of these, only 1,179 candidates enrolled for the Competitive Entrance

---

[73] KNA, DC/KER/1/4/5: Confidential Report: Minutes of the 30th Meeting of the Kericho District Education Board held on 21st February 1952, p.2. Min. 20/52/

[74] Ibid., p.2, Minute 22/54/

[75] KNA, DC/KER/1/26: Kericho District Annual Report, 1953, p.19.
See also, KNA, DC/KER/4/3: Monthly Intelligence Report, December 1953, p.21.
Also cited in KNA, DC/KER/2/1:Handing Over Report, 1953, p.6.

[76] Daniel Morikyon Mosonik, O.I., Kapchumbe, 2.3.97, and Chepkomon arap Chumo, O.I., Cheboyo, 1.2.97.

Examination into intermediate schools within Rift Valley. Those who successfully passed the examination were admitted and distributed to various intermediate schools. There were 791 children at intermediate schools in Kipsigis during the year - which included the Government African School, Kabianga. The percentage of those who passed the Kenya African Preliminary Examination (KAPE) in 1953 was eighty-five as compared to seventy-nine in 1952. Certainly, the credits and distinctions obtained were extremely low.

Although a number of new intermediate schools were built, there was a great pressure on the existing intermediate facilities. A major difficulty was experienced in obtaining land for intermediate school farms[77]. Throughout the year, these schools were supervised by three persons on behalf of the Education Department. They were: Ezekiel arap Kirui, Henry arap Tamason and Jonathan arap Ngeno[78]. They were expected to make extensive visits to all D.E.B. schools in the three divisions of Sotik, Buret and Belgut. However, their inspection was largely hampered by financial constraints which sometimes rendered travelling impossible.

In all the government-run schools, the church plots occupied less than one acre of land and the prayer house was built in temporary materials within this piece of land. In some places, the place of prayers was just a big tree in the school compound or the top of a hillock within the school. In the middle of the year, Mindililwet School in Belgut was closed down because of very few pupils. Many of the pupils left the school to join the newly established Seventh Day Adventists school in the same area, especially Kebeneti school. The fact that Adventists started schools without informing the Education Department brought them into conflict with the D.E.B. management.

---

[77] KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/121: Intelligence Reports: Notes on Kipsigis Arts, Crafts and Education, 1945-1956, p.37.

[78] KNA, DC/KER/1/4/15: Confidential Report; Minutes of the 35th meeting of the Kipsigis District Education Board held at on 5th November 1953, p.1., Minute 27/51&52.

The colonial government established two other schools, namely: Kapsimotwa and Kamirai near Kaplong[79]. Later in the year, three other intermediate schools - Cheborge, Getarwet and Longisa - were allocated £ 200 development fund grants by the Kipsigis District Education Board to further their building programmes[80].

In 1954, the Kipsigis D.E.B. insisted on the intermediate schools being converted into day schools. On the whole, the Kipsigis had eighty-four aided primary schools, sixteen unaided schools and nine intermediates - including the Government African School, Kabianga. In all the primary schools, there was a total student enrolment of 9,549, while intermediate schools had 1,054 pupils. These figures clearly indicate that there was a lot of wastage, and it was reported that pupils tended to repeat the lower classes more often than not.

Fees in all the primary schools were increased to shs. 15/- per year as recommended in the Beecher Report Recommendation No. 17. During the year, there was an increased attendance of pupils in Chepalungu - an area which had registered low turn-outs in the previous year. In fact, the area was a newly settled one and the new immigrants had not fully established themselves so as to be able to pay much attention to education. On the other hand, the more advanced divisions of Buret and Belgut further benefited from the government by the establishment of two additional schools: Chebwagan and Sitotwet, respectively. During this time, the number of intermediate schools considerably increased to twelve - including the Government African School, Kabianga[81].

---

[79] KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/10: Intelligence Report: Sigalagala School: Schools Badges and Other Correspondence with particular Reference to Education, 1953-1957, p.34.
[80] KNA, PC/NZA/3/66/2: Nyanza Province: Miscellaneous Confidential papers, 1945-1955, p.16.
[81] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Confidential Report Minutes of the 36th Meeting of the Kipsigis District Education Board on the 2nd April 1954, p.3., Minute 13/54.

Throughout the year, there was still very slow development in girls' education. In most areas of Kipsigis, particularly Chepalungu and Belgut, very few girls went to school. As already mentioned, most parents had a negative attitude towards the education of girls. Instead, they attached great importance to initiation and marriage. Unfortunately, the colonial government also capitalised on this situation by not establishing more girls schools. By this year, then, only one girls' school was completed in its first stage. And Miss E. Napier, who had been transferred from Embu, came to head the school in January 1955[82]. The Kipsigis came to greatly favour boarding education for girls for two reasons: one was that marriage would be postponed to a more reasonable age; and, secondly, the chances of pregnancies would be reduced[83]. Also, the girls would hopefully carry over into eventual married life some knowledge of enlightened behaviour. Despite all these expectations, girls' education in Kipsigis was greatly hampered by a considerable amount of repetition of classes and by a tendency to leave school before completing a course[84]. Furthermore, many girls did not even finish more than two years of schooling. And the colonial government entirely left the development of girls' education to mission organisations that operated in Kipsigis, both Protestants and Catholic[85]. In fact, the government did very little to supervise or co-ordinate this work.

By 1955, the most notable feature in the development of Kipsigis education was that Kericho District was returned to Nyanza Province for educational and administrative

---

[82] KNA, DC/KER/1/27: Kericho District Annual Report, 1954, p.28.

[83] Ibid., p.29. For more information that idealised the colonial situation, see; J. Carlebach, "The postion of women in Kenya" UNECA Workshop, Addis Ababa, 1963, p.4.

[84] KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, 1954, p.23.
For a generally balanced view that idealise the Kenyan Colonial context see, J.A. Nkinyangi, "Socio-economic Determinants of repetition and Early School Withdrawal at the Primary Level and their Implications for Education Planning in Kenya" Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1980.

[85] KNA, CCEA 404/7; Education Department: Education of Women and Girls in Kenya, 1947-1959, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1954, p.2.

purposes. But now, the Kipsigis were not daunted by the fact that they had to compete with other Nyanza communities for places in intermediate schools in the province. During this period, there were only eight aided and seventeen unaided schools in Kipsigis[86]. The pupils' enrolment in all these schools had considerably increased to 10,871[87]. This represented a 13% increase to that of 1954's enrolment. Compared to other Nyanza communities, however, these figures were negligible. In 1955, no less than 76.6% of the standard IV leavers had no intermediate outlet (a proportion of these did not pass with a high enough mark).

In 1955, the following primary schools came directly under the control of the Kipsigis D.E.B.: Chepkosilen, Kiptere, Kyogong', Kapkimolwa, Kapmaso, Koiwa, Sigor, and Gorgor[88]. These schools were closely supervised by trained administrators, and they were all in turn under the management of the principal of the Government African School, Kabianga. The Kipsigis Girls School by then had doubled its enrolment to one hundred and twenty girls spread across the four classes. Administratively, the school continued to be headed by Peggy E. Napier. And only one central school was opened; this was in the Songhor area[89].

Later in 1955, due to pressure from the colonial government, the Kipsigis continued to make financial contributions so that better school buildings were constructed. Specifically, financial sacrifice went to the development of intermediate schools - on the

---

[86] KNA, DC/KER/1/28: Kericho District Annual Report, 1955, p.25.
[87] Ibid., p.27.
See also, KNA, DC/KER/2/2: Handing over Report, 1955, p.27.
[88] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Confidential Report, Kipsigis District Education Board Estimates in January 1955 to 30th June 1955, p.6.

[89] KNA, DC/KER/1/28: Kericho District Annual Report, 1956, p.21.
See also, KNA, DC/KER/3/9: Political Record Book, 1950-1959, p.42.
Also cited in, KNA, DC/KER/2/3: Handing Over Report, 1955, p.16.

basis of pound to pound donation by the A.D.C. and D.E.B[90]. In fact, the D.E.B. would not initiate a school without the assistance of the Country Council and the community. And, through this co-operation, the Kipsigis were enabled to increase aided primary schools to one hundred and four together with seven unaided ones by 1956. While the schools' enrolment had been raised to 12,969 pupils, there was outstanding improvement in the performance of the Kenya African Primary Examination (K.A.P.E). This was attributed to the availability of more equipment than had been in the previous years and intensive supervision. Likewise, the work load had been reduced as per the recommendations of the Beecher and Binns Education Commissions' reports of 1949 and 1952, respectively. This success gave satisfaction to the Kipsigis in view of the much lower performance previously as compared to the schools of Central and South Nyanza. There were 1781 candidates for six hundred places available in standard V, indicating that the demand for admission into places of higher learning had outstripped the supply[91].

In 1957, the Lugumek School in Sotik division came under the management of the Kipsigis District Education Board[92]. Generally, the demand for educational facilities in Kipsigis with particular emphasis on better school buildings continued unabated during the year. However, the government stressed consolidation rather than the actual expansion of schools. In fact, the task of the Kipsigis D.E.B was made immeasurably easier in the year as a result of a ruling from the Director of Education that he could not agree to the opening of any further primary schools in Kipsigis[93]. The ban was to hold

---

[90] KNA, DC/KER/1/291: Kericho District Annual Report, 1956, p.21.
See also, KNA, PC/NZA/3/33/8/5: Local Native Councils - General, 1955-1961, p.3.
[91] KNA, Education Department, Triennial Survey, 1955-1957, p.25.
[92] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Confidential Report: Kipsigis District Education Board, Estimates period I July 1955 to 30th June 1957 concerning Aided schools as at 1st January, 1957, p.2.
[93] KNA, DC/KER/1/30: Kericho District Annual Report, 1957, p.27.

until an overall ratio of two to one (2:1) trained to untrained teachers had been achieved. The figures below represented the enrolment of the Kipsigis pupils in 1957[94]:

Standard/Class	pupils
1	7,444
2	4,203
3	3,514
4	2,998
5	661
6	502
7	288
8	250

Table I. Source: KNA, DC/KER/1/30: Kericho District Annual Report, 1957, p.28

The Kipsigis continued to make financial contributions in 1957 well beyond their means in order to carry on with the replacement of old mud and wattle school buildings with those in permanent materials[95]. During the same year, the Kipsigis D.E.B. started to operate a school equipment scheme. The inability of the D.E.B. to open more primary schools did not cause serious complaints among the community until the emergence of political parties. The government in turn began to suppress such organisations' efforts, including imprisoning the leader Solomon arap Mateget. In the year, few children were denied admission into standard one because of shortage of places. This was partly due to the economic conditions that prevailed. There was a good maize harvest, part of which was converted to ready cash. As a result of this easy availability of money, large numbers

[94] Ibid., p.28.
[95] Ibid., p.30.
See also, KNA, DC/KER/3/9: Political Record Book, 1955-1959, p.16.

of children failed to go to school[96]. The central school equipment scheme became very effective during this year, and this made possible greater educational advancement although the government confined its operations to only aided schools.

In 1958, the Kipsigis had considerably increased primary school enrolment as follows:

Class	Pupils
Standard I	5,427
" II	3,865
" III	3,489
" IV	3,102
Total	15,883

Table II Source: KNA, DC/KER/1/31: Kericho District Annual Report, 1958, p.30.

The standard one enrolment figures, however, contained a high proportion of repeaters. The tempo of construction of school buildings was maintained to keep pace with the intermediate school development programme. And, as a result of government's effort, four intermediate schools were opened in January 1958 - bringing the total number to twenty. Due to the high demand for schools in both the Kipsigis reserve and settled areas the government was forced to adopt a policy of providing good temporary buildings. Despite all these efforts on the part of the administration, only 38% of those students applying to the intermediate schools in 1958 were accepted, and 35% in 1959[97].

In 1958, fees in the four primary years for each pupils were twenty shillings a year

---

[96] Chemorta arap Torongei, O.I., Cheboyo, 2.1.97.
See also; Samwel arap Rop, O.I., Kabianga, 3.4.97.

[97] Robert A. Manners, "The Kipsigis of Kenya: Culture Change in a 'Model' East African Tribe", in Three African Tribes in Transition Vol. 1. Ed. J.H. Steward (Urbana, Illinois, 1967). P.347.

and forty-five shillings in the intermediate schools. Essentially, the costs for the primary pupil were computed at slightly more than sixty-three shillings, and for the intermediate student at one hundred and seventy-one shillings. The expansion of secondary education, not surprisingly, attracted most attention; however an important change was made in the administration and financing of primary and intermediate schools. Indeed, their control and supervision was strengthened by the appointment of many more education officers at the district level to assist Provincial Education Officers.

By January 1959, another six intermediate schools had been opened, bringing the number to twenty-six. However, the problem of financing primary and intermediate education continued to press. In these circumstances, the African District Council (A.D.C) tried to offer a solution by contributing its stipulated share to the Kipsigis D.E.B. towards development of these institutions[98]. Even then, the government was not able to contribute its share and, in this way, it was through Kipsigis initiative that large sums of money were raised through voluntary collections to build primary and intermediate schools. The African District Council also put pressure on the government to build more intermediate schools and to abolish the Competitive Entrance Examination (C.E.E)[99]. In 1959, the results of the Competitive Entrance Examination showed that boys performed better than girls as follows:

---

[98] KNA, PC/RVP.6A/14/13: Confidential Report: General Correspondence on Education, Schools in the Rift Valley Province, 1952-1959, p.6.
Also quoted in KNA, DC/KER/2/2: Handing Over Report, 1959, p.32.

[99] KNA, PC/RVP.6A/12/3: Confidential Report: General Information on African Schools with a copy of Beecher Report on African Education, March 1944 - Feb. 1960, p.19.

	Candidates	Selected for Standard V	Percentage
Boys	3,092	1,060	34.3
Girls	623	208	33.4
Total	3,715	1,268	34.1

Table IV Source: KNA, DC/KER/1/32: Kericho District Annual Report, 1959, p.33.

By 1960, the colonial government had increased tuition in primary and intermediate schools to twenty-five shillings and fifty-five shillings a year, respectively[100]. There was an additional eight intermediate schools in the year, and many were now convinced that primary and intermediate education would soon be available to almost every Kipsigis child whose parents were able to afford the fees and bear the loss of labour or income implied by the child's attendance at school[101]. The addition of eight new intermediate schools in 1960 allowed 65% of the students who applied in that year to be accommodated as follows:

	Candidates	Selected for Standard V	Percentage
Boys	3,460	2,213	64%
Girls	757	537	71%
Total	4,217	2,750	65.2%

Table V Source: KNA, DC/KER/2/2: Handing Over Report, 1960, p.21.

[100] Robert A. Manners, "The Kipsigis of Kenya: Culture Change in a 'Model' East African Tribes", in Three African Tribes in Transition Vol. I of Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies ed. J.H. Steward (Urbana, Illinois, 1957), p.350.

[101] Ibid., p.351.

Also cited in KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report, 1960, p.16.

During the year, E. Harmsworth was the Assistant Education Officer in Kipsigis until his departure on June 15th. He was replaced by H. Routledge, but by the middle of the year, three new Kipsigis Assistant Education Officers - namely: Richard arap Koskey, Edwin arap Koskey and William arap Chebelyon - had started working in Kipsigis[102]. Their appointments were made in accordance with the new policy of the D.E.B. of taking over completely the supervision of educational development in schools from the mission managements. The three had considerable success and promise during the year. This change partially reflected the process of decolonisation in the educational sector.

At the end of the year, the District Education Officer was working on a plan for the commencement in the very near future of seven years of education for all, or rather seven years education for those children whose parents would be able to afford the inevitable increase in fees resulting from this plan. From the preliminary research, the Education Officer wrote:

.....it would appear that seven years for all was a feasible proposition in the Kipsigis reserve but was going to be extremely difficult to promote it in the settled areas for financial reasons.[103]

By the end of 1961 all standard IV children were given places in standard V for 1962. The enrolment in all primary schools in Kipsigis had risen to 22,352 at that year; of these, twenty-three percent or 5,959 were girls. At the intermediate level, there were 5,960 students enrolled, of whom 17 percent or 813 were girls. One facility for teacher training had been introduced and there was every expectation that independence would see an accelerated training programme. Due to the limited places of secondary education, some Kipsigis students either took their further studies in schools outside the district or

[102] KNA, DC/KER/1/33: Kericho District Annual Report, 1960, p.5.
[103] Ibid., p.31.

abroad through the airlift programme. For example, at the Alliance High School there were eleven Kipsigis students in 1960[104]. On the other hand, those who benefited from overseas bursaries and scholarships in 1962, jointly sponsored by the government and the African District Council, included the following[105]:

Timothy Kiprotich arap Siongok	- went to Spain to study medicine.
Richard Kipngeno arap Rono	- attended a five-year course on co-operative societies in Liberia.
John Maritim	- went to Holland to study Administration.
Joseph arap Ngeno	- went to Cairo University to pursue a course in Building Engineering.

The unplanned secondary school to expand secondary education in Kipsigis - as was the case in the broader Kenyan context may also be attributed to the Hunter Education Report of 1962 which cautioned against governments failure expansion as potentially leading to declining academic standards, financial problems and unemployment.

In 1962, practically all Kipsigis primary and intermediate schools were managed by the D.E.B. or by voluntary agencies. They were largely financed through pupils' fees and subventions from African District Councils (A.D.C) and the central government. In most cases, the cost incurred in the administration of these schools had by far exceeded the Beecher Report predictions[106].

---

[104] Stephen Smith, The History of Alliance High School, 1927 - 1965 (Nairobi, 1973), p.217.
For a detailed and comprehensive discussion see, B.E. Kipkorir, "The Sectarian Factor and Kenya's First African Secondary School", Typescript, University College, Nairobi, 1967 and a more recent, See Idem "The Alliance High School and the Making of the Kenyan Elite, 1926-1962" Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1969, Chapter 5.

[105] KNA, PC/NZA/2/3/30: Confidential Report, Minutes of Special Meeting of the Finance and General Purposes Committee held on Tuesday 18th September 1962, pp. 2-4.
For a detailed discussion on the recommendations of the Hunter Report, see. KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1962, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1962, p.3ff.
See also, KNA Education Department, Triennel Survey, 1955-1963, p.30ff, Also cited, Maliro Barasa, pp. 60-63.

[106] KNA, DC/KER/1/36: Kericho District Annual Report, 1963, p.24.
Also cited in KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1964, p.30ff. Also KNA, Ministry of Education Annual Summary, 1955-1964, 1964, p.43ff.

5.3 Curriculum

In the initial stages, the curriculum that the colonial government introduced in the Kipsigis school system was modelled to suit the recommendations of the Phelps Stokes Commission of 1924. Training in character formation put religious and moral instruction as priorities in the curriculum as the government considered these to be of primary importance in the child's development. Academic subjects such as health instruction, agriculture and physical education were considered of secondary importance in the early 1920s, while crafts and home economics formed a third group.

The above approach was reinforced by the Advisory Committee for African Education formed in 1925. It stressed the urgent need for expert advice and the co-ordination of education through a competent inspectorate. It also laid down as a principle that the greatest importance be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. The committee claimed that history had shown that devotion to some spiritual ideal was the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty and such influence should permeate the whole life of a school[107]. The colonial government emphasised the kind of curriculum that would suit its needs - especially in producing a docile and submissive labour force. The products of such an educational system were not supposed to question the colonial regime.

In 1925 a policy directive was issued, giving something of a vocational bias to elementary and primary education in Kipsigis. Schools were supposed to teach not only reading, writing and arithmetic, but also improved methods of agriculture and simple

---

Also quoted in KNA, Report of African Education: African Education Development Plan: Notes on Management and Establishment of Schools, 1956-1965, 1964, pp. 37ff.

Further material could be gleaned from the works of S.M.E Lugumba and JC. Ssekamwa, A History of Education in East Africa 1900 - 1973., 1973 pp.173-175.

[107] Stephen Smith, The History of the Alliance High School: 1927-1965. (Nairobi, 1973), p.68.

village handicrafts[108]. This was intended to facilitate the improvement of native house-building, domestic chores, cooking and clothing. Later, in 1928, Government African School, Kabianga settled for technical education. It specialised in carpentry, building, iron working, motor mechanics and agriculture[109]. According to Bogonko, however, such technical education taught in the school had only a slight influence on the Kipsigis agricultural system[110]. This was because the Kipsigis were still predominantly practising pastoralism, and not paying much attention to agriculture. By 1929, apprentices who had been trained at the Native Industrial Training Depot, Kabete had constructed a large number of permanent buildings at Kabianga. These included a principal's house and garage, dormitories, African teachers' quarters and classrooms. All this was done under the supervision of the European principal[111].

The literary work at the Kabianga school was elementary and continued to only standard two. Besides, carpentry, smithing, motor work and gardening were taught with a large measure of success. In mid 1929, the school established an agricultural plot for the demonstration of methods suited to the Kipsigis as well as for supplementing the food supply of the school[112]. It was the sole responsibility of the pupils to prepare the day's cooking. Because of the technical and vocational training they received at the school, some boys took jobs in the post office as telephone linesmen while on leave. And six boys were also enrolled in the King's African Rifles (K.A.R.) as learner signallers.

Throughout 1930, the school registered great progress in the pupil's work where physical training formed the core of the curriculum. The pupils performed favourably in

---

[108] The Times, May 31, 1938.
[109] Sorobea N. Bogonko, A History of Modern Education in Kenya, 1895-1991 (Nairobi, 1992), p.37.
[110] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, Government printer, Nairobi, 1928, p.63.
[111] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1929: Report of the Nyanza province on Native Education in Nyanza Province, 1929, p.66.
[112] KNA, DC/KER/1/6: Kericho District Annual Report, 1929, p.29.

their school lessons in carpentry and gardening. Blacksmithing work was added to the technical side. At the end of the year, six pupils passed elementary 'B' to join the Kabete carpenters' school[113]. During 1931, gardening and tree planting were incorporated into the school curriculum. These were undertaken by all pupils twice a week and included heavy manuring. Similarly, a crop of vegetables that was enough to supply the school twice a day was produced and consumed every term. Another important development was the introduction of Sunday school classes in the school; these were taught in the morning sessions under the supervision of the school principal[114]. The aim was to enhance spiritual growth and bring up pupils obedient to the colonial administration who were expected to be subordinates in all fields of the colonial order. However, these classes were not compulsory but were taught to only those who professed Christianity.

In 1932, twenty-one apprentices in carpentry and tailoring went to the Native Industrial Training Depot, Kabete for further training. At the same time, three teachers obtained their elementary teachers' certificates at the Kabianga GAS. The school was unfortunate to be situated in a stock raising area. Hence, although agricultural instruction was readily available, it was of little use to the neighbouring ommunity[115]. Even so, pupils were sent to a veterinary training centre adjacent to the school for courses related to animal husbandry.

Through the efforts of the school principal, A.S. Walford, elementary and vernacular education were taught for the first time in Kabianga in 1933. During the year, the boys at the school were encouraged through practical example to respect and aspire for the virtues of a blend of theoretical and practical skills. For instance, in agriculture,

---

[113] KNA, DC/KER/1/7: South Lumbwa District Annual Report, 1930, p.32.
[114] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1925-1932, p.16.See also, KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/3: Education of Natives, 1928 - 1939 and KNA, PC/NZA/3/66/1: Nyaza Province: Miscellaneous Confidential Papers 1919 - 1935, p.64.
[115] KNA, DC/KER/1/2: Handing Over Report, 1932, p.7.

classroom lessons were liberally complemented with practical work on the school farm, which was professionally managed. And at least three or four periods per week were spent by all the pupils on agricultural lessons[116]. Furthermore, the agricultural instructor had at least two combined classes doing practical work in the gardens on Saturday mornings. In this way deliberate attempts were made to strike a balance between technical and literary education. The school also devoted considerable attention to the danger of soil erosion in the neighbourhood. The work of terracing sloppy ground provided a very valuable practical and objective lesson.

In 1934, Government African School, Kabianga registered increased popularity of physical training and games. Even so, agriculture and technical subjects continued to form the core of the curriculum, and these were taught with a measure of success. During the year, the following non-technical subjects were taught: Geography, History, Hygiene, Arithmetic, Kiswahili, and Nature Study. At first Kiswahili was the medium of instruction; but as the standard of entry improved, English was taught in the first year, and it later became the medium of instruction. Religious education was imparted during the morning assembly and Sunday service through scripture reading, hymns and prayers. Vocational training at the school then consisted of tailoring, carpentry and agriculture, which were all subjects required for the Kenya African Preliminary Examination (K.A.P.E)[117].

Sewing, carpentry and clay-moulding were added to the school curriculum in 1936. Even then, agriculture and animal husbandry were important features of the curriculum. Later in the year, both carpentry and tailoring became popular subjects. In the

---

[116] Oriango arap Kitur, O.I. Kabianga, 2.3.97. Served the school on his capacity as the school head cook during the heyday of colonial rule.

[117] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1934, pp. 25-26.

government taught lower classes basket-making, clay-moulding and mat-making[118]. But the Kipsigis attitude towards this training was negative: they disliked technical and vocational education and, particularly, they had a negative attitude towards manual work. In particular, they were against agricultural education; consequently, the results were often disappointing. In light of the developments, the colonial government later put greater emphasis on animal husbandry as this could have direct benefit to the Kipsigis. Facilities for teaching the practical aspects of this subject were therefore extended.

Also encompassed in the curriculum were football, athletics and physical training together with a variety of entertainment games - drama, singing, scouting, as well as school magazine writing competition[119]. The standard of athletics at the school was high while physical training was popular[120].

Most of the wood work was done by pupils of standard IV B. By 1937, the new improved methods of agriculture that had been taught at G.A.S Kabianga had great influence on the reserve at large[121]. However, carpentry continued to be popular with all the boys taking it. The greater stress on technical education began to be clearly seen in 1937, when the main school 'shamba' acted as a demonstration project. Hand labour was reduced to a minimum, while oxen were used for the heavier cultivation and donkeys for the lighter. Every operation was done along contours and pieces of terraced land were used for trying new crops[122].

Until 1937, the school had provided a five-year programme of technical education in tailoring and carpentry for indentured pupils. After three years at the school, the

---

[118] KNA, DC/KER/4/3: Monthly Intelligence Report, 1936, p.31.
See also, KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/16: Farm schools: Notes on Agricultural Training Instructors, 1935-1937, p.16ff.
[119] KNA, DC/KER/1/2: Handing Over Report, 1936, p.22.
[120] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1936 While reporting on the progress of Government African School Kabianga, p.49.
[121] KNA, DC/KER/1/1: Kericho District Annual Report, 1937, p.18.
[122] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1937, p.50.

indentured pupils had the option of transferring to the Native Industrial Training Depot (N.I.T.D.) at Kabete for the remaining two years[123]. At the end of their indenture, the pupils were provided with tools to set up their own income-generating activities. By 1939, a firm tradition had evolved where boys were taught and encouraged to do things for themselves. And by 1940, they were being encouraged to complete construction of the new administration block[124]. As part of a tree planting training campaign, boys were required to build seed-beds and to plant trees at home during school holidays. The objective of the exercise was to reveal to what extent the training and teaching given at school was being carried across into the home life environment.

Throughout 1940, the government's involvement in the development of vocational and technical education in Kipsigis was further intensified. The emphasis on agricultural education continued to form the core of the curriculum. In 1942, preparations towards implementation of a post-elementary animal husbandry course was finalised. Pupil enrolment increased since the course was of direct benefit to the local community. By this time, those who had completed their full five-year apprenticeship gained employment as subordinate staff in the colonial administrative system in the skill for which they had been trained. Handicraft, home science and agriculture were then regarded as special subjects; in fact, they were made compulsory for every body who hoped to get a primary leaver's certificate. No certificate was issued without a pass in agriculture, domestic science or arts and crafts. This was, of course, a major move towards the emphasis on technical subjects in the Kabianga school -as was the case with other Government African schools.

The colonial government continued to offer the practical and agricultural-oriented curriculum in Kipsigis through the post-war years into the 1950s. In Kabianga, the boys

---

[123] KNA, DC/KER/3/9: Political Record Book, 1932-1948, p.20.
See also, KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Monthly Intelligence Report for June 1937, p.6.
[124] Ibid., p.23.

prepared themselves adequately by undertaking courses that would be beneficial to them when they returned to their reserves[125]. In accordance with the recommendations of the Beecher commission, the school syllabus was modified to cater for religious instruction which was given intensively by the teachers[126]. By 1952, religious instruction in all District Education Board schools was conducted by an approved teacher of any denomination with the aid of the scholar pastors. This was done only at the time set aside in the school time table[127]. Children were not forcibly been taught, but only those who were willing and professed their faith. During the year, a new primary gardening syllabus was introduced. At the time, however, there were only twenty schools which had started their own small plots. The intermediate schools were required to have fifteen acres of land for that purpose. In 1953 the importance of practical work was stressed, and agriculture and the dignity of manual labour were given more attention[128].

1953 was also the year when the exam- ridden curriculum was changed so as to help destroy the Africans' desire for certificates leading to clerical jobs. At the same time, the Kenyan Africans - including the Kipsigis - regarded these multiple examinations as a deliberate attempt by the colonial government to limit their progress in education. Some training in domestic science found a place in the curriculum of all girls' schools in Kipsigis. The then Assistant Director of Women's and Girls' Education in Kenya observed that on her visits to villages it was very easy to pick out those homes in which a woman had received some training in domestic science[129]. The curriculum also embraced

---

[125] KNA, PC/RVP.6A/12/4:Confidential Report on Minute 3/46 on Educational Development, 1948, p.3.
[126] S.M.E. Lugumba & J.C. Ssekamwa, A History of Education in East Africa in East Africa 1900-1973 (Kampala, 1973), p.25-26, 39.
[127] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/45: Confidential Report: Minutes of the 27th Meeting of the Kericho District Education Board held on 11/4/1951, p.3, Minute 9/53.
[128] KNA, DC/KER/1/26: Kericho District Annual Report, 1953, p.20.
See also, KNA, DC/KER/4/3: Monthly Intelligence Report for August 1951, p.21.
[129] KNA, East African Royal Commission 1953-1955 Report, Presented by the Secretary of state for the Colonies to parliament by Command of Her Majesty June 1955, Cmd 9475, London, pp.183-185.
See also, KNA, DC/KER/2/1: Handing Over Report, 1953, p.18.

needlework. And where girls' schools were situated in proximity to hospitals, arrangements were made for training in the rudiments of health work and midwifery. In this sense, the rationale for girls' education - according to the colonial regime - was to prepare them for motherhood and wifehood.

5.4 Staffing

Staffing played an important role in determining the nature and trends in the development of education. Generally, in the initial stages, educational development in Kipsigis was greatly hampered by lack of teachers. Sometimes, senior students in a school were requested to teach the lower forms or classes. For example, in 1929, the lowest class in Government African School, Kabianga was taught by a pupil teacher who had twenty-three pupils; while the middle class was also taken by a teacher-cum-carpenter instructor with eighteen pupils[130]. In 1931, the school experienced an acute shortage of teachers. Consequently, three Kipsigis were requested to assist the staff in the capacity of pupil teachers. As a result of this problem, the blacksmith's work ceased, and sewing was started instead. Also, an African instructor was sent to train the boys in tailoring.

Later in the year, the principal of G.A.S. Kabianga divided the school into three classes under three teachers: Daniel arap Korir, Daudi Kibuatu (carpenter instructor), and arap Kikwai (pupil teacher)[131]. Since Kabianga had this shortage of teachers, it was even more difficult to start outschools. Even worse was the fact that there were limited places to train teachers, and Kipsigis as a whole had only one institution for training. Hence until

---

[130] KNA, DC/KER/3/7: Political Record Book, 1932-1942, p.8.
[131] KNA, DC/KER/1/4: Kericho District Annual Report, 1931, p.20.

1936, Government African school, Kabianga had only seven teachers of whom four were Kipsigis while the next came from other parts of the country[132].

In 1937, the school principal complained that frequent changes in the administration and the reduction of the European staff from two to one had an adverse effect on the development of education. By this time, the staff consisted of eight Africans of whom five were Kipsigis. In sports, the school continued to maintain its high standards. This was largely attributed to an African teacher who was respected for his ability as an athlete. By 1941, Kabianga had begun to offer a teacher training course for students who had completed their primary eight education (intermediate). The course was to last two years, and the students were classified in two categories. Those who had passed their Kenya African Preliminary Examination were classified as Grade II teachers or T.3, while those who had not passed it and yet had followed a similar teachers' course were categorised as Grade III teachers or T.4. Upon graduation, both categories of teachers taught in the first four classes in the primary section.

In 1944, Kabianga began to offer training to those who had sat and passed the Kenya African Secondary School Examination. They underwent training as teachers for two years and matriculated as Assistant Teachers Grade II to teach in the intermediate schools (standard five through eight)[133]. The Cambridge School Certificate holders were likewise trained for two years; but they were classified as Kenya Teachers Grade I (K.T.I) although they too taught the upper classes of the intermediate schools. These latter were very few in Kipsigis.

The start to decolonisation of the G.A.S. Kabianga administration took place in 1944, with the arrival of the first African principal, John Some. At this period the urge for

---

[132] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, 1936, p.25-26.
[133] Ibid., p.13.

education among the Kipsigis grew greatly, and the colonialists felt that it was essential for the European staff to be increased to advise and control this surge forward. The colonial government claimed that without such control the result would be disastrous. Essentially, then, the colonial government did not want the Kipsigis to control the system of education which might culminate in provision of education to suit their own ends. On the other hand, the Kipsigis were beginning to question the inequalities in the education system which manifested themselves along racial lines.

During this period, teachers began to press to have a union so that they could express their views. The Kipsigis teachers joined other teachers country-wide to pressure the government to allow them to have a strong union so as to improve their conditions of service. This need was felt more among teachers in the lower levels of the educational ladder. The teachers expressed a need to have a unified teaching force with the same conditions of service for all teachers[134]. They were dissatisfied with the state of affairs, and they began to organise themselves into a union in the late 1940s called the Kenya African Teachers' Union (K.A.T.U). On its part, the colonial government saw this movement as a threat aimed at decolonising the country.

In general, the development of education in Kipsigis was disrupted by the Second World War. In fact, resources which would have otherwise been used for its expansion were diverted to the war effort. There was experieced an acute shortage of teachers in Kipsigis schools, particularly the Government African School, Kabianga. The European teachers went to war to help defend the motherland, while the Kipsigis teachers were largely attracted to the army because it offered better salaries than teaching[135]. On their return from the war, the Kipsigis teachers began to demand and aspire for more literary

---

[134] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/21: Confidential Reports: Orthography School Magazine, Nandi, Kipsigis and Elgeyo Marakwet Orthography Minutes, 1945-1958, p.29.
[135] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1946, p.10.

education. This demand for better education was spearheaded by Kipsigis war veterans who were also instrumental in the formation of political parties as well as independent schools[136]. Their experience in the war and exchange of views with other soldiers from different countries widened their horizons and awareness that possession of western education was necessary in the liberation struggle against European hegemony.

In 1946, there was a serious strike that occurred at G.A.S. Kabianga. The Kipsigis teachers and ex-teachers of Kabianga wanted to throw out the Luo teachers and the European principal and to run the school themselves[137]. It was clear that though the movement had ethnic sentiments, it was essentially a movement for decolonisation. This agitation was supported by the political groupings and associations that had been formed in Kipsigis spearheaded by Solomon arap Mateget. The colonial government treated this with suspicion and ensured that proponents of the movement were arrested. The Education Department intervened in this matter by protecting the Luo masters, J. Obala and P. Omolo, from being intimidated and they were able to continue teaching in the school - although with fear. In the same spirit, the Kipsigis continued to press the government to allow more students to be trained as teachers and for a teachers college; their intention was that eventually they would have their own staff. However, the colonial government claimed that the prime instigator of the strike was the first primary teacher in the school, who was trained in Kagumo and "appeared to have acquired all the more unpleasant characteristics of the Kikuyu independents"[138].

In 1950, some of the teachers who had been trained in Kabianga Teacher Training College became instructors at the combined centre at Kabianga The centre trained

---

[136] Barnabas K. arap Rop, O.I., Kabianga, 2.1.97. He was one of the war veterans who went to Burma and he was one of the Area School Committee of Government African School Kabianga.
[137] KNA, DC/KER/4/3: Monthly Intelligence Report, October 1946, p.22.
[138] KNA, DC/KER/1/21: Kericho District Annual Report, 1948, p.7.

agricultural and veterinary instructors as well as teachers. In turn, the Kipsigis teachers gave instruction to the pupils in the lower classes at the primary level because they were conversant with the mother tongue which was the medium of instruction in these classes. In 1951, the demand for quality rather than quantity in education was emphasised. However, a disturbing feature was the tendency for trained teachers to start looking around for other employment and yet Kipsigis did not yet have enough teachers[139]. Throughout the 1950s, the supply of women teachers was particularly difficult because of early marriages and because parents were generally reluctant to send their older daughers to be taught in mixed classes or by male teachers. Even in areas such as Buret where parents had a more positive attitude towards girls' education, there was reportedly a tendency on the part of teachers to devote the greater attention to the boys than the girls[140]. Also, the fees payable by parents were high, and parents in the larger families thought it better to spend their money in the boys.

The Binn's Education Commission in 1952 expressed concern about lack of dignity in the teaching profession caused by the structure of teacher institutions[141]. It observed that, as long as teacher education continued to be conducted in small scattered training centres, the profession could not achieve the dignity it required. It therefore recommended the setting up of larger institutions or institutes of education. One result of this was the transfer of the teacher training at Kabianga to a central place at Kericho. However, the development of primary education in Kipsigis continued to be hampered by

---

[139] KNA, DC/KER/1/25: Kericho Annual Report, 1952, pp. 17-18.

[140] Ibid., p.16.

See also KNA, DC/KER/4/3: Monthly Intelligence Report 1952 for November, p.22.

[141] KNA, Education Department Annual Report, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1952, p.10.

See also, KNA, DC/KER/1/2: Handing Over Report, 1952, p.8.

For a more critical and striking discussion on the Binns Education Commission see, Report of the Proceedings of the Conference on Teacher Training held in Nairobi, 27-30th November 1956, Mimeograph, pp. 16-20.

See also, Beecher Education Commission Report, on African Education in Kenya, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1949, pp.45-47.

lack of teachers. Children were seeking education in greater numbers, and the demand for teachers easily outstripped the suply. By 1953, the shortage of teachers not only affected primary education; it even extended to the intermediate levels. In Buret alone, for example, fifteen extra teachers were required in order to manage its enrolment. The staff/pupil ratio in Government African primary schools in Kipsigis was 1:42[142]. The worst scenario was that witnessed in 1954 at D.E.B. Gorgor School which had a population of one hundred and seventeen pupils, with only two teachers[143]. The District Education Officer recommended very strongly that the school needed three more teachers in order to have better management. Similarly, in 1954, the Kericho Township Primary School faced the problem of staffing. The school had no extra financial inducement for the teachers, and those who were unsettled for some reason (and who were not necessarily the most suitable) tended to drift into the job[144]. Land pressure, together with ever-rising bride prices, caused a constant stream of Nyanza teachers to offer themselves for employment in the township schools - a trend that continued into the late 1950s. Even so, the willingness to teach did not denote fitness or stability on the part of these teachers.

A major breakthrough in the teaching profession was the creation of the Teachers' Service Commission (TSC) in 1956. Its establishment seemed to confirm the government's determination to solve teachers' problems, and particularly to pay teachers directly[145]. Henceforth, the salary scales and terms of service which had been differentiated along racial lines were harmonised, with full consideration being given to the teacher's level of education, professional training and years of service. The

---

[142] Ibid., p.3, Minute 30/53.
[143] KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/18: Confidential Report: Minutes of the 36th Meeting of the Kipsigis D.E.B. on the 2nd April 1954 p.32, Minute 14/53.
[144] KNA, DC/KER/1/27: Kericho District Annual Report, 1955, p.28.
[145] G.N. Amayo, "A History of the Adventist Education in Kenya: Illustrated in the light of its impact on the African's Social, Economic, Religious and Political Development, 1906-1963", Ph.D. Thesis, Howard University, 1974, pp.273-4.

establishment of a unified teaching service had been recommended by the Binns Education Commission in 1952, and was accepted by the government for implementation during the Five Year Plan period of 1957-61.

The creation of the Kenya National Union of Teachers was another important development in Kenya's education system. In 1957, Daniel arap Moi tabled a motion in the then Legislative Council that a teachers' organisation be formed. The motion was allowed, and the government appointed B.A. Ohanga to organise the teachers[146]. However, the teachers from Nyanza objected to the appointment of Ohanga by the government on the grounds that teachers were capable of organising themselves. In December 1957, teachers from all over the country sent representatives to Nairobi where they met and formed the present Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT). Even during this time, there was a widespread shortage of teachers - although the formation of the Teachers' Service Commission (TSC) seemed to alleviate this problem.

In most schools in Kipsigis, the shortage of trained teachers and inadequate school supervision continued to be the chief impediment to education development in 1958[147]. As a result of this, the Kipsigis D.E.B. pursued a policy laid down in 1957 of refusing to open more primary schools until an overall ratio of 2:1 trained to untrained teachers had been realised. During that year, 46 percent of the primary school teachers were trained. This percentage was equal to 168 trained teachers, while 199 were untrained. In 1959, the proportion of primary teachers who were trained was 51 percent - a figure that reflected a slight improvement compared to 1958. This was attributed to the increase of the lower primary teacher training colleges and the subsequent programme of consolidation of those

---

[146] Lugumba, 1973, pp.43-46.
See also, KNA, Education Department, Triennial Survey 1955 -1957.
[147] KNA, DC/KER/1/31: Kericho District Annual Report, 1958, p.28.

which had previously existed[148]. In this sense, it illustrated the efforts made by the government in trying to improve Kipsigis education. However, the increase was also the result of Kipsigis pressure through the African District Council to enhance education. The ADC went as far contributing funds for the development of these institutions. The government positively responded to this pressure because it feared the increasing number of independent schools which were acting in competition to the government schools.

In 1959, the number of teachers in Kipsigis was four hundred and seven. Of these, two hundred and ninety-nine were trained while one hundred and ninety-eight were untrained. The trained teachers then represented nine percent. But there was a great disparity in the distribution of teachers among the three divisions of Kipsigis[149]. For example, lower Sot and lower Belgut were severely understaffed; while central Buret was overstaffed. However, this varied concentration of staff was partially influenced by the mission stations. It also followed that the enrolment of pupils in these schools was similarly determined by the availability of staff. A total of six hundred and sixty-one teachers was actively training pupils in various fields by 1960. Out of these, three hundred and twenty-nine were trained, while three hundred and thirty-two were untrained. At this time, most schools were being built with voluntary contributions of cash and labour by the members of the 'kokwotinwek'. The increase in enrolment within the three-year period from 1958 to 1961 not only reflected the value being placed on education as a device for upward mobility in the new cash oriented world of the Kipsigis; it also carried the threat that funds and staff would be unable to keep pace with the demand.

---

[148] KNA, DC/KER/2/2: Handing Over Report, 1959, p.16.
[149] KNA, DC/KER/1/33: Kericho District Annual Report, 1960, p.32.
See also, Manners, 1967, p.348.

5.5 Conclusion

The few men that the missionary system had produced began to filter through to the government administration. These were mostly teachers who had sufficient education to be trained in a limited number of fields, particularly in clerical jobs and also in other simple professions. The colonial government considered it an invaluable means of providing effective administration through the production of junior administrators and others in professions necessary for the promotion of order and good government. The colonisers assumed that in this way civilising influences would be maintained in their respective districts in the colony. In this way, the Kipsigis were only used as junior clerical officers, teachers, etc.

The impediments that faced the development of education in Kipsigis were largely solved with the creation of the Kipsigis D.E.B. in 1953. The Kipsigis D.E.B. greatly assisted the development of both primary and intermediate education and, later, secondary education. The Board played greater a role in the expansion of the Government African School, Kabianga - especially in terms of funding, supply of trained teachers and inspectorate, and so on. Generally, the Board ensured that schools under its management obtained adequate facilities. It also monitored the payment of school fees to ensure uniformity in all aided schools; and it supervised the work of the Boards of Governors that were formed in the early 1950s in these schools. In its activities, it sought reduction in the number of unaided schools.

Despite this, criticism was often levelled at the content of colonial education. The Kipsigis felt that the education provided in primary and middle schools was insufficiently academic, and that too much school time was being spent in the farm and workshop. In other words, pupils were therefore being given an inferior kind of education which fitted them only for the farm or workshop. The Kipsigis indeed regarded the school as an

instrument of change, but only on terms broadly acceptable to their traditions. That is one reason for their reluctance to send girls to school. By 1960, mounting criticism forced the colonial government to abandon handwork in middle schools and retreat from its previously - held conviction about the place of agriculture in primary as well as intermediate education.

The colonial administrators did not arrive in Kipsigis with ready plans to produce manpower who would assist them in the gigantic task of the entire administration of the region. What the missionaries had laboured to produce was later utilised by the colonial administration.The colonists tailored education and administered education to serve their own ends. That was why after independence, the Kenya government was faced with the problem of establishing an educational system which reflected the Kenyan needs, values and ideals. This resulted in the appointment of the Ominde Education Commission in 1964.

CHAPTER 6

6.0 INDIGENOUS VERSUS COLONIAL EDUCATION: THE CASE OF FEMALE AND MALE INITIATION

6.1 Introduction

The missionaries - those of the Africa Inland Mission and World Gospel Mission - made it plain that everything African was heathen and superstitious barbarism[1]. The missionaries demanded that their converts should change their beliefs, customs, traditions and dress and unquestionably accept the new way of life and social code. This new morality was opposed to the traditional way of life, and what was demanded was nothing short of a revolution[2]. The A.I.M. and W.G.M., as already mentioned, were American Protestant fundamentalist sects. They condemned most dancing, all "pagan ritual", and unsupervised communication between boys and girls[3]. The more relaxed attitude of the Roman Catholic missionaries in these matters had won them greater support from many Kipsigis, while simultaneously earning for them a reputation among the American missionaries of opportunism, syncretism and down-right paganism[4].

6.2 Female Initiation Controversy

Of all the problems that faced the Christian missionaries in the early colonial period in Kipsigis, perhaps the thorniest was the female circumcision issue.

---

[1]DC/KER/3/7; Political Record Book, on Mission Education in Kericho District, 1925-1932, p.14.
[2]Zablon John Nthamburi, A History of the Methodist Church in Kenya (Nairobi, 1982) p.81.
[3]Robert A. Manners, "The Kipsigis of Kenya: Culture Change in a 'Model' East Africa Tribe," in Three African Tribes in Transition Vol. 1 of Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies ed. Julian H.Steward (Urbana, Illinois, 1967), p.347.
[4] Ibid., p.348.

Trouble began in the Tenwek and Litein areas in 1934 when the mission churches were trying to consolidate disciplinary matters among their followers[5]. To the missionaries, decency was part of the new teaching, and it was this attitude on which their view of female circumcision hinged[6]. To the missionaries, female circumcision was nothing more than an act of sheer savagery and indecency. They taught fervently that the custom should be discontinued because it interfered with women's privacy and health[7].

Many Kipsigis converts came to be convinced that circumcising girls was an unnecessary indulgence, and whenever a suitable opportunity accrued, they preached against it[8]. In 1935, a pastoral council meeting was held in Litein A.I.M., which passed a resolution that Christians would not circumcise girls[9]. Some of the Kipsigis catechists and chiefs - including arap Tengecha, arap Taptugen and arap Kirui - who were on the side of the missionaries, preached against the circumcision of girls. The approach of some of them any time they went to the pulpit was to tell people that "whoever would circumcise was not of God". They emphasized the condemnation of heathen customs; and they resolved that representatives of churches and catechists would go round denouncing the circumcision of girls[10]. They also recommended the excommunication from local churches or outstations of those who did not comply. Further, they stressed that those who refused to abide by this would not partake of Holy Communion. However, there were converts who favoured the practice and vowed to continue with it[11].

---

[5]KNA, DC/KER/1/7; South Lumbwa District Annual Report, 1934,p.15.
[6]KNA, DC/KER/1/2; handing Over Report, 1936, p.13.
[7]DC/KAPT/1/4/15: Minutes of the 36th Meeting of the Kipsigis District Education Board (D.E.B.) on 2nd April, 1951-1959; p.3.
[8]Turumboso A. Cheseng'eny, O.I., Kapsinendet, 2.6.97.
[9]Litein Mision Archives, priest's House, Litein, 2.1.1934, p.6.
[10]Ibid., p.8.
[11]Ibid., p.7.

Meetings were held all over Kipsigis as the controversy continued. The church elders publicly condemned the practice, and the missionaries insisted that the church members should discard all traditional customs or be expelled. A.M. Andersen of A.I.M. Litein took the lead in the whole crisis[12]. The National Holiness Mission and the Beulah Mission added insult to injury by terming the custom as a sin[13]. Generally, the Protestant missionaries taught that women should be exempted from circumcision, as this was not required of them in the Bible. In response, some girls - especially from the N.H.M. Tenwek - expressed the feeling that, if they could be sure there would be men who would like to marry uncircumcised women, they would go along with the new teaching and forego the practice. Others thought it would be too hard to stand up to the public ridicule if one was not circumcised[14].

The tug of war between the Protestant missionaries and Kipsigis became intense when the churches started to excommunicate circumcised girls together with their parents or guardians. This continued for a long time, and church committees were launched to oversee the exercise. Even so, many Kipsigis converts continued the practice secretly because they wanted their daughters to be married so as to get dowry[15].

The leaders of the N.H.M and A.I.M - namely R.K. Smith and A.M. Anderson - fought vigorously against this custom. They attempted to influence other organizations to exert pressure, including the Kenyan government. However, the government chose to move cautiously on this delicate issue[16] - ruling that the custom could continue as long as the Kipsigis wanted it, although persuasion should be used in relaxing its more brutal forms. The government did not intend to infuriate the Kipsigis over a custom which did

---

[12]KNA,DC/KER/5/4; Political Record Book: Native Customs - Circumcision, 1934-5, p.12.
[13]KNA,PC/NZA/2/11/3; African Education, 1925-1926, p.11
[14]KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/142: Ethnology: Native Tribes and Their Customs - infanticide, 1935-1937, p.6
[15]Ibid., p.7.
[16]Ibid., p.8.

not interfere with its policies[17]. When the church realized that some of those who were excommunicated founded independent churches and schools and continued with the circumcision of girls, a dialogue between the Local Native Council and the church was held to find a solution[18].

The churches were invited to attend the Kipsigis L.N.C. meeting held in 1939 during which they were involved in decision making on major issues - including the debate on the question of female circumcision[19]. The councillors unanimously agreed that female circumcision should continue. However, the District Commissioner who chaired the meeting emphasized the health dangers that occurred after a girl was circumcised and asked the councillors to be objective and to consider the matter more carefully. He further informed the councillors that Europeans were healthy and prosperous and yet they did not circumcise women. Also, some other communities in Africa did not circumcise their females[20]. The A.I.M. and N.H.M. missionaries suggested very strongly that the church discourage members from practising girl circumcision in any form, and that members would marry within the church so that there would be no question of uncircumcised girls remaining unmarried[21]. Finally, the District Commissioner summed the issue up by making the Council's decision harmonise with the government policy which was that the custom be officially condemned but if anyone wanted to continue, they could do so but only perform mild operations instead of the full indigenous fashion[22]. This was to prove extremely difficult to implement.

---

[17]K.N.A,PC/NZA/3/1/169; Ethnology of the Kipsigis; Notes on African District Council; Kipsigis ADC control of circumcision By - laws, 1938-1940, p.11.
[18]KNA,DC/KER/4/4; Monthly Intelligence Report of March, 1939, p.7.
[19]KNA,PC/NZA/3/1/60; General correspondence of the Kipsigis L.N.C, 1939-1940, p.2.
[20]KNA,PC/NZA/3/1/169; Ethnology of Kipsigis; Notes on African District Council - Kipsigis ADC control of circumcision By-laws, 1939-40, p.1.
[21]KNA,DC/KER/5/4: Political Record Book; Natives Customs - Circumcision, 1939-1942, p.6.
[22]KNA,DC/KER/1/12: Kericho District Annual Report, 1939, p.11.

It was very hard to convince parents that this kind of seemingly superficial circumcision was as a good as a full operation. The girls too doubted whether they would be accepted as real women by the society. Even those councillors who preached against the practice went home and conducted secretly the operation for their daughters in the traditional manner[23].

In the other areas - notably Sot and Belgut – the practice of circumcising girls continued unabated. But bitter attacks were launched against it by some Kipsigis[24] who had gradually become convinced that the physical operation was harmful to women. The controversy persisted for several years and became a major plank for political manoeuvre. For example, the Kipsigis Central Association led by Solomon arap Mateget discouraged people from following the teachings of Protestant missionaries who were out to erode Kipsigis culture[25]. As a result, the Kipsigis independent schools movement gained strength. Schools and churches that were independent missionary control was established as early as 1947. This was to cater for those who refused to obey the orders of the European missionaries and were excommunicated and for the teachers who were dismissed from their teaching posts, prosecuted, or imprisoned[26]. Many children left mission schools because of pressure from their parents[27]; consequently, the enrolment in these schools throughout Kipsigis dropped precipitously[28].

The first independent school was established in Boito near Litein in Kipsigis led by Solomon arap Mateget[29]. Money was also raised for sending students to Githunguri

---

[23]Ibid., p.12.
[24]Daniel Morinkon Mosonik, O.I., Kapchumbe, 2.3.97.
[25]KNA,DC/KER/4/3; Kipsigis Central Association (K.C.A), 1947, p.6.
[26]KNA,DC/KER/4/4; Monthly Intelligence Report, May, 1947, p.3.
[27]KNA,PC/NZA/3/1/363; Confidential Report: Institutions and Associations. Kipsigis Central Association (K.C.A), 1944-1948, p.8.
[28]KNA,PC/NZA/2/19/120; Confidential Report: Kipsigis Local Native Council and Kericho District Education Board, 1945-1951, p.3.
[29]KNA,DC/KER/4/4; Monthly Intelligence Report, June, 1947, p.4.

School in Central Province, while the Kipsigis Local Native Council voted to raise money to support independent schools. By 1949, the movement towards the church and school independence was widespread[30]. The District Commissioner noted the danger involved in the growth of independent schools in close proximity to the mission outschools. On the whole, the government officials grew increasingly suspicious of these mushrooming independent schools, viewing them as potential breeding grounds for seditious political activities[31]. Consequently, these schools had difficulty in getting the Education Department to grant licences. Moreover, some European Education Officers considered it undesirable to have schools that would train the Kipsigis in leadershipwhen progression through the colonial hierarchy was denied to them as a matter of policy[32]. The independent schools had a certain latitude with regard to Kipsigis customs; female circumcision, polygamy, as well as other rituals were tolerated.

It is be imperative to state that the missionaries failed to appreciate a culture other than their own and used their position and strength to impose changes in the indigenous culture of the Kipsigis - and more so through opposition to female circumcision. There is little doubt that the efforts of the missionaries had some success over this matter. Even so, the overwhelming majority of girls - even many of those who had been to mission schools - continued to submit to circumcision together with the protracted initiation ceremonies and rituals associated therewith[33].

---

[30]KNA,PC/NZA/3/1/362: Confidential Report: Institutions and Associations, Kipsigis Central Association (K.C.A), 1944-1950, p.9.

[31]DC/KER/1/22; Kericho District Annual Report, 1949, p.11. See also; KNA,PC/NZA/3/30/2; Native Catechists; Out or Bush schools and school villages, 1928-1950, p.2.

[32]KNA,PC/RVP.6A/14/12; Legislative Council Ordinance, 1931-1950; Rift Valley Electrol Constituency.

[33]Robert A.Manners, 1967, p.350.

6.3 *Male Circumcision and its Adaptation*

The Protestant missionaries supported the circumcision of boys, considering it hygienic. They highly commended it as necessary for health purposes, for instance to avert penis cancer. They further stressed that the Bible commended circumcision for Hebrew boys, and so the Kipsigis were in line with this Jewish custom as far as males were concerned[34]. However, they expressed strong disapproval with the latter rituals and the National Holiness Mission and Africa Inland Mission as well as in the forefront in encouraging parents to take their sons to hospital where they could have surgical operations done more hygienically[35]. A few converts followed this advice from the late 1930s despite strong rumours that the boys would be sterilised in hospital and would consequently never get children[36]. However, when those who underwent circumcision in hospital raised their families normally, the number of those seeking such surgical operations rose steadily[37]. Even so, those who thus underwent the operation could not escape criticisms from their counterparts as not being 'real men'. Many Kipsigis condemned those who underwent circumcision in hospital as cowards[38]. Sot was the last place in Kipsigis to accept this new way of initiation. The Christian initiation was not seen as real test of manhood since the boys underwent the rite when they were too young and were not yet ready to take their place as adults[39].

---

[34]KNA,DC/KER/3/7; Political Record Book; On mission Education in Kericho District, 1925-1932, p.15.
[35]Litein Mission Archives, Priest House, Litein, On Education, 1920-1939. also, see, A.M.Anderson, Diary and Correspondence 1923-1927. Idid., p.16.
[36]Babaiye A. Chelule, O.I., Cheboyo, 2.1.97.
[37]KNA,DC/KER/1/2; Handing Over report, 1938, p.12.
[38]Kimalit A.sang; O.I., Lelachgoin, 2.3.97.
[39] This could be infer from T.O.Ranger and I.N.Kimambo, The Historical Study of African Religion (Berkley & Los Angeles, 1972), p.242. Masasi people of Tanzania.

6.4 Conclusion

Armed with the conviction of possessing the only truth, missionaries condemned all that was 'pagan'. They preached against all kinds of traditional practices - the pouring of libation, drumming and dancing, indigenous rites of passage such as female circumcision and other related rituals and customs. Generally, they denied the validity of the indigenous religious beliefs and practices of the Kipsigis. On the whole, becoming a Christian meant ceasing to be a Kipsigis and using European culture as a point of reference. Adaptation was the approach taken in the case of boys' initiation. On the other hand, the intention was not to modify female circumcision but abolish it. However, the missionaries failed to achieve their aim of abolishing the circumcision of females because they did not take their time to study the meaning of the custom in the total context of Kipsigis culture.

7.0 APPENDIX

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

GENERAL INFORMATION

Name..... Sex.....

Clan..... Locality (Sub-location).....

Age..... Marital Status.....

Occupation..... Level of Education.....

CHAPTER 2: KIPSIGIS INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

1. (i) What forms of education existed among the Kipsigis on the eve of colonial rule?

   (ii) How were they acquired?

2. Who had the right to train the youth and children, and how were they chosen?

3. Were there any stages of development under which one had to go through in this form of education?

4. In your opinion, was the provision of Kipsigis indigenous education distracted by other socio-economic activities notably agricultural production, iron working, pottery, hunting, weaving, warfare, famine, drought, raiding and rampact celebrations as well as festivities?

   If yes,..... How?.....

   If No, ... Why not?.....

5. How did the following political and social institutions among the Kipsigis affect or stimulate the provision of indigenous education:

   (i). Clan?

(ii) 'kokwet'?

(iii) Initiation?

(iv) Age-set?

(v) Marriage?

(vi) Council of elders?

(vii) Orkoiyot?

6. What was the role or place of parents in Kipsigis indigenous education?

7. What practical skills would one learn from the Kipsigis indigenous education?

8. How did one plan to make use of the new skills acquired in later life at home, clan level, 'kokwet' age-sets or society level?

9. In your opinion, was Kipsigis indigenous education successful or did it fail as compared to the colonial school education?

10. What, when, and how was the curriculum of the Kipsigis indigenous education conducted?

11. Explain how the Kipsigis used the following.

work,

play,

oral literature;

myths and folklore;

as avenues of stimulating the development of indigenous education.

12. Explain whether there were some aspects of Kipsigis indigenous education which continued into the colonial school education (western education).

CHAPTER 3: THE MISSIONARY FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL SCHOOLS

1. (a) Which were the first central schools to be established by the missionaries in Kipsigis?

   (b) Why did they choose to establish them there and not else where?

   (c) Was the distribution of central schools even or uneven among the Kipsigis?

   (d) What criteria were used in the admission of children into these schools?

2. What educational changes did the missionaries bring into the area with regard to the development of these schools?

3. (i) How did the indigenous Kipsigis education differ from the education offer by missionaries?

   (ii) How did this education affect the individual's role in the Kipsigis society with special reference to the social structure?

4. How was the introduction of mission education received by the Kipsigis in the central schools? Did they wholesomely welcome it. or did they respond negatively?

5. What was the relationship between mission education in the central schools and the spread of Christianity?

6. (i) What role did colonial chiefs play in relation to mission education in central schools?

   (ii) What role did they play in hastening the development of this system and, if so, were there some who resisted it?

7. Did the Kipsigis take any initiative in fostering the development of mission education in the central schools? If so explain.

8. (a) Who and how, were supposed to teach in these schools?

   (b) Did the missionaries introduce uniform curriculum in all these schools?

9. Were there efforts made by the Missionaries to increase

the expansion of schools or development of schools among the Kipsigis? If so what activities did they engage in?

10. How did the 1925 Advisory Committee for African

education alleviate or weaken mission schools in Kipsigis?

11. Did the Missionaries value the education of girls?

12. What role did the Kericho Bible College as the

headquarters of African Gospel church (AGC) play in improving the development of education during the colonial period?

13. What participation or contribution have the following

church organizations played in the development of education among the Kipsigis:

(a) World Gospel Mission (WGM) and African Gospel Church (AGC)?

(b) African Inland Mission (AIM) and the African Inland Church (A.I.C.)?

(c) The Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventists (S.D.A.)?

14. In your opinion, did, the Economic Depression Years of 1929- 1933 affect education in Kipsigis?

15. (a) How did the introduction of District Education Board in 1934 affect education?

(b) What was the relationship between the Mission Schools and District Education Board (D.E.B.) policy on school education with specific regard to:

- the curriculum and syllabuses (content methodology)?
- gender sensitivity?
- staff and school adminstration?

(c)How did the Mission Organisations (13 above) enhance spiritual growth among their students?

16. (i) Do you agree that the presence of Dini ya Mbocho Sect among the Kipsigis in 1948 affected or promoted the development of education in Kipsigis? Give reasons in each account.

(ii) Which area was this Sect predominantly found?

(iii) What did they preach about?

17. Account for the protestant contribution to Kipsigis education.

18. Why did the Roman Catholic participation in educational activities come later than other Missionary groups among the Kipsigis?

CHAPTER 4: THE MISSIONARY FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OUT-SCHOOLS

1. (a) Which were the first outschools to be established by the missionaries in Kipsigis?

(b) Why did they choose to establish them there and not else where?

(c) Was the distribution of outschools even or uneven among the Kipsigis?

(d) What criteria were used in the admission of children into these schools?

2. What educational changes did the missionaries bring into the area with regard to the development of these schools?

3. (i) How did the indigenous Kipsigis education differ from the education offer by missionaries?

(ii) How did this education affect the individual's role in the Kipsigis society with special reference to the social structure?

4. How was the introduction of mission education received by the Kipsigis in the outschools? Did they wholesomely welcome it. or did they respond negatively?

5. What was the relationship between mission education in the outschools and the spread of Christianity?

6. (i) What role did colonial chiefs play in relation to mission education in outschools?

(ii) What role did they play in hastening the development of this system and, if so, were there some who resisted it?

7. Did the Kipsigis take any initiative in fostering the development of mission education in the outschools? If so explain.

8. (a) Who and how, were supposed to teach in these schools?

(b) Did the missionaries introduce uniform curriculum in all these schools?

9. Were there efforts made by the Missionaries to increase the expansion of schools or development of schools among the Kipsigis? If so what activities did they engage in?

10. How did the 1925 Advisory Committee for African education alleviate or weaken mission schools in Kipsigis?

11. Did the Missionaries value the education of girls?

12. What role did the Kericho Bible College as the headquarters of African Gospel church (AGC) play in improving the development of education during the colonial period?

13. What participation or contribution have the following

church organizations played in the development of education among the Kipsigis:

(a) World Gospel Mission (WGM) and African Gospel Church (AGC)?

(b) African Inland Mission (AIM) and the African Inland Church (A.I.C.)?

(c) The Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventists (S.D.A.)?

14. In your opinion, did, the Economic Depression Years of 1929- 1933 affect education in Kipsigis?

15. (a) How did the introduction of District Education Board in 1934 affect education?

(b) What was the relationship between the Mission Schools and District Education Board (D.E.B.) policy on school education with specific regard to:

- the curriculum and syllabuses (content methodology)?
- gender sensitivity?
- staff and school adminstration?

(c)How did the Mission Organisations (13 above) enhance spiritual growth among their students?

16. (i) Do you agree that the presence of Dini ya Mbocho Sect among the Kipsigis in 1948 affected or promoted the development of education in Kipsigis? Give reasons in each account.

(ii) Which area was this Sect predominantly found?

(iii) What did they preach about?

17. Account for the protestant contribution to Kipsigis education.

18. Why did the Roman Catholic participation in

educational activities come later than other Missionary groups among the Kipsigis?

CHAPTER 5: THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS.

1. (a) Which were the first schools to be established by the colonial adminstration? Give the list or order of their establishment

(b) Name the key personalities who passed through these schools.

(c) Generally, what impact have these schools had on the Kipsigis and the Kalenjin at large?

(d) Where were the children in these schools drawn from?

(e) Who taught in these schools, and how was the school curriculum conducted?

2. How did the introduction of taxes and Kipande affect the colonial education of the Kipsigis?

3. How did the First World War (1914-1918) affect educational development in Kipsigis with regard to government policy on education during this period?

4. How did the Government Education Ordinance of 1924 affect the development of education in Kipsigis?

5. (i) What role did the Local Native Council play in the development of education?

(ii) In your opinion, were there any efforts made by the Local Native Council to demand for better and higher education for the Kipsigis as those offered by

then, at Alliance High School and Makerere College? If so, What were the results of their demands?

6. (a) Did the introduction of Kenya School Certificate work in 1939 by the colonial administration in Kenya weaken or strengthen the development of education among the Kipsigis?

(b) How did the inspection of schools facilitate the improvement of education?

7. How did the Second World war affect the development of education among the Kipsigis?

8. (a) Apart from Taita Towett and Richard Kosgei as the first Kipsigis students to be admitted at Alliance High School in 1944, name other Kipsigis who might have sought entry to this school before 1950.

Given the fact that Alliance High School was opened in 1926, and by 1944, only two Kipsigis students had been admitted. One may be correct to suggest that the development of education among the Kipsigis was slow!

(b) Do you agree, and if so, what factors might be attributed to this slow growth?

(c) Was there any relationship or association between the development of education among the Kipsigis and the Mau Mau movement?

If so, how did it affect the development of education and which areas were really affected by this phenomenon?

(d) Did some Kipsigis teachers leave teaching and go to join the second world war?

9. What role did Kabianga School play in the development of education among the Kipsigis since its inauguration until independence?

10. How did the colonial adminstration respond to the Kipsigis

growing demand for more schools and particularly secondary schools?

11. (a) What happened to the development of secondary education between 1958 and 1961 in Kipsigis with regard to its expansion and distribution?

(b) In your own opinion, did the period coincide with the decline in employment of standard eight graduates? If so, explain?

(c) Did the Kipsigis students benefit from the scholarship awards to study overseas (1958-1963) which were organised by Tom Mboya?

12. (a) How did the introduction of the 'A' level classes (1961) in Kenya, either affect or improve the development of education in Kipsigis?

(b) How many schools were able to provide this type of facility?

(c) Specify whether it was Arts or Science or mixed?

13. How did the introduction of day schools in 1962 affect the growth and expansion of Kipsigis education?

14. Account for the Kipsigis responses to the Ominde Commission Report of 1964

15. What contributions has Kericho Teacher's College made in enhancing education in the area?

16. Account for the role-played by the Local Native Council (L.N.C.) African Native Council (ANC) and the County Council of Kipsigis (C.C.K.) in the development of education among the Kipsigis with special reference to school fees, scholarships, bursaries, construction of schools and supervision.

In your opinion, did they encounter any problems in this exercise? if so, how have they manage to solve these problems?

17. (a) What contributions did the colonial chiefs and headmen make to the overall development of education among the Kipsigis?

(b) How did the educational officers improve education of this people during the colonial period?

(c) In what way/ways would you say that the Kipsigis benefited from colonial education?

Chapter 6: INDIGENOUS VERSUS COLONIAL EDUCATION: THE CASE OF FEMALE AND MALE INITIATION

1. To what extent do the Kipsigis community attach to:
   i) female initiation?
   ii) male initiation?
2. What benefits could one attain after being initiated?
3. Why did the early missionaries to Kipsigis want to abolish the practise of female initiation? What was the community's response?
4. Was there any roles that the colonial chiefs played with regarded to encouraging or abolishing female circumcision?
5. Did the colonial government support the abolish of female circumcission or did they took sides?
6. What was the Kipsigis community response to the initiation of males in the hospitals? Did they wholesomely welcome the idea or did they reject it?
7. In your view, was circumcision a necessary undertaking or a luxury?
8. In general, how did the outbreak of female circumcision controversy affect the colonial education?

8.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY

8.1 Primary Sources.

8.1.1 Archival Documents.

KNA, DC/KER/1/1, Kericho District Annual Reports,1920-1923.

KNA, DC/KER/1/2, Kericho District Annual Reports, 1924-1929.

KNA, DC/KER/1/3, Kericho District Annual Reports, 1930-1936.

KNA, DC/KER/1/10, Kericho District Annual Reports, 1937-1946.

KNA, DC/KER/1/20, Kericho District Annual Reports, 1947-1960.

KNA, DC/KER/I/34, Kericho District Annual Reports, 1961-1963.

KNA, DC/KER/2/1, Handing over Reports, Kericho, 1919-1938.

KNA, DC/KER/2/2, Handing over Reports, Kericho, 1939-1960.

KNA, DC/KER/3/1, Political Records: Notes on Some Customs and Beliefs among the Kipsigis, 1925-1932.

KNA, DC/KER/3/2, Political Records: Notes on the History of Lumbwa Laibons, 1930-1934.

KNA. DC/KER/4/1, Ethnology: Kipsigis Customary Law, 1958.

KNA, DC/KER/4/2, Notes on Girls` Education and Relations with other Information Services, 1946.

KNA, DC/KER/4/3, Kipsigis Central Association, 1947.

KNA, DC/KAPT/1/3/13, Educational Tours: Visits of L.N.C. Members of Nairobi, Various Visits.

KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/15, District Education Board Minutes of other Districts: Tambach, Baringo, Kapsabet, West Pokot, Maralal, Kipsigis, Elgeyo-Marakwet: Confidential Report, 1959.

KNA, DC/KAPT/1/4/21; Confidential Reports: Orthography School Magazine: Nandi, Kipsigis and Elgeyo-Marakwet orthography minutes, 1950-1957.

KNA, DC/KER/3/7; Political Record Book: notes on education in Kericho district-government industrial school Kericho, missions in general, school inspections, Kipsigis language committee, Indian schools and schools area committee, 1925-1932.

KNA, DC/KER/5/4: Political Records; native customs- circumcision.

KNA, DC/KER/4/4: Intelligence Reports, 1941-1949.

KNA,PC/NZA/1/3: Nyanza Province Annual Reports, 1907-1908.

KNA, PC/NZA/1/4: Nyanza Province Annual Reports, 1908-1909.

KNA, PC/NZA/1/16: Nyanza Province Annual Reports 1923.

KNA, PC/NZA/2/11/3, African Education, 1925-1926.

KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/116; Farms Schools: notes on agricultural training instructors, 1942.

KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/121: Intelligence Reports: notes on Kipsigis arts crafts and education, 1945-1956.

KNA, PC/NZA/2/19/120: Confidential Reports; Kipsigis local native council and Kericho District education board, 1945-1951.

KNA, PC/NZA/2/19/141: Correspodence: Kipsigis Local Native Council Resolutions,1946-1947.

KNA, PC/NZA/2/19/154: Education and Local Native Councils' elections, 1946-1951.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/169: Ethnology of the Kipsigis: Notes on African District Council - Kipsigis ADC Control of circiumcision By-Laws, 1954 - 1958.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/196: General Correspondence of the Kipsigis African District Council, 1956 - 1957.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/363: Confidential Report; Institutions and Association, Nandi Association, 1949 - 1948.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/553: Movement of Natives: Kipsigis irrigation Voluntary move to Kipsigis to Tanganyika, 1954 - 1958.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/122: Confidential Report: European, Indian, Arab and African Election; Kipsigis representation in the LEGCO, 1940 - 1951.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/142: Ethnology: Native Tribes and their Customs: Circumcision - Infanticide, 1942 - 1944.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/10: Intelligence Report, Sigalagala School: Schools Badgets and Other correspondence with particular reference to education, 1954 - 1956.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/65: Confidential Report: Kipsigis secondary school, 1956.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/81: Confiential Report: Kericho - General on the Kipsigis education and teacher training - proposed T.T.C at Kapkatet, 1946 - 1951.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/83: Confidential Report: Kipsigis Government School - Education of Kipsigis Girls, 1946 - 1951.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/14/80: Intelligence Report: Land Grants - Application to set aside land by the Mill Hill Mission for a primary school, 1947 - 1959.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/13: Education of Natives - General, 1928 - 1929.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/4: Education of Natives, 1929 - 1930.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/30/2: Native Catechists: Out or Bush schools and school villages, 1926 - 1928.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/33/8/4: Local Native Councils - General, 1926 - 1927.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/33/8/9: Nyanza Province: South Kavirondo Local Native Council, 1929.

KNA, PC/NZA/3/66/1: Nyanza Province: Miscellaneous Confidential Papers, 1905 - 1919.

KNA, PC/NKR/2/10/40: Confidential Report: Contains Information on Beecher Report, 1950 - 1951.

KNA, PC/NKR/2/10/43: Kericho District Education Board: Correspondences, Agenda and Minutes, 1961-1962.

KNA, PC/RVP.6A/12/3: Confidential Report: General Information on African schools with a copy of Beecher Report on African Education, March, 1944 - Feb. 1950.

KNA, PC/RVP.6A/14/12: Legislative Council Ordinance, 1931 - 40: Rift Valley Electoral Constituency.

KNA, PC/RVP.6A/14/13: Confidential Report: General Correspondence on Educaiton, Schools int eh Rift Valley Province, 1952.

8.1.2 COMMISSION AND GOVERNMENT REPORTS

a) Colony and Protectorate of Kenya

Education Department Annual Reports, 1923 - 1925, Nairobi: Government Printer.

Education Department Annual Reports, 1931 - 1939, Nairobi: Government Printer.

Education Department Annual Reports, 1950 - 1959, Nairobi: Government Printer.

Education Department Annual Reports, 1960 - 1963, Nairobi: Government Printer.

Education Department, Friennel Survey, 1955 - 1963.

b) Ministry of Education

Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1955 - 1956.

Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1958 - 1959.

Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1961 - 1962.

Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1955 - 1964.

Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1955 - 1966.

c) Education Reports

Report of the Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate, 1919. Nairobi: Swift Press.

Report on African Education in Kenya: A committee appointed to inquire into the scope, contents and methods of African education, its administration and finance and to make recommendations, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949.

District Education Board Ordinance: Memorandum on Some features of educational policy for the information of District educational boards - Secondary education of Africans, 1949.

Report of African Education, African Education Development Plan: Notes on management and establishment of schools, 1956 - 1961.

Kenya Education Commission Report 1, Nairobi: English press, 1964.

8.2 CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS

Frager, D.: The Future of Africa: Missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland, Nyasalanad. London:Young Peoples' Missionary Movement, 1911.

Hollis, A.C.: The Maasai: their Language and Folklore. Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1905.

Hotchkisss, W.R.: Then and Now in Kenya Colony - Forty Adventurous Years in East Africa. London: Oliphants, 1937.

Huxley, Elspeth: The Sorcerer's Apprentice: a Journey through East Africa. London: Chatto & Windus, 1948.

Jones, T. Jessse: Education in East Africa. New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1925.

Thomson, Joseph: Through Maasailand: A Journey of Exploration...London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1885.

8.3 ORAL EVIDENCE

This was derived from interviews conducted principally in Kipsigis with the folowing informants or respondents:

NAME	PLACE	DATE
Barusei, K. Joseph A.	Kelichek	1.3.97
Birir, K. Petero A.	Gelegele	6.3.97
Bore, Cherungas A.	Kimulot	4.2.97
Bos, Richard A.	Chebunyo	7.4.97
Chelal, Chumo A.	Borut	2.1.97
Chelule, Babaiye A.	Cheboyo	23.2.97
Chepkwony, Chepbokirindet	Sambuso	1.4.97
Chepkwony, Joseph A.	Chebugon	4.2.97
Chepkwony, K. Masing'ong	Kaplutiet	21.3.97
Cheruiyot, Paulo A.	Cheboyo	17.2.97
Cheseng'eny Turumboso A.	Kataret	1.2.97
Chumo, Chepkomen A.	Cheboyo	5.3.97
Chumo, Kiplelgot A.	Ndanai	7.2.97
Kaptich, K. Motto A.	Lelachgoin	20.1.97
Kenduiwa,.K. Laboso A.	Sigor	1.2.97

Kitur, K. Oriango A.	Kabianga	9.3.97
Koe, K. Geoffrey A.	Kibingei	25.3.97
Koe, Sila arap	Kiplelji	4.3.97
Koech, Kiplangat Chepchilat	Kaplutiet	20.2.97
Kolibay, K. Musa A.	Kapsinendet	1.2.97
Koskey, Mrefu Kipkirui A.	Dikirr	6.3.97
Laboso, Johana K. Arap	Sotik	16.2.97
Langat, Chemorta A.	Kapkatet	8.4.97
Langat, Musa A.	Bomet	4.2.97
Lesan, C. Catherine	Cheboyo	19.2.97
Maiwa,.K. Joseph A.	Chemamul - TransMara	13.2.97
Maiwa, Samwel A.	Mokondo - "	24.2.97
Mibei, Taprobkoi	Kapsinendet	15.1.97
Mobiro, Maina Grace	Kapsosurwo	17.1.97
Mosonik, Chumo A.	Kiproroget	3.1.97
Mosonik, Jeremiah A.	Kapcheluch	13.2.97
Mosonik, Morikyon Daniel	Kapchumbei	27.1.97
Rop, K. Barnabas A.	Kapcheluch	23.3.97
Rop, K. Samwel A.	Sigor	1.3.97
Rutto, J. Kipkirui A.	Kapkesosio	19.1.97
Sambu, K. Petero A.	Kabianga	14.3.97
Sang, Kipkoech A.	Kipkelion	4.3.97
Sang, Kimalit A.	Kipkelat	11.3.97
Seron K. Peter A.	Soimingin	12.3.97
Sirgatet, Cheres A.	Kapsigiryo	27.2.97

Soy, T.K. David	Cheboyo	15.2.97
Soy, Seron K. arap	Chebugon	26.1.97
Taptugen, Kipkoech K. A.	Kiptere	7.1.97
Terer, Joseph arap	Kapsosurwo	1.1.97
Torongei, K. Chemorta A.	Cheboyo	2.1.97

8.4 SECONDARY SOURCES

8.4.1 UNPUBLISHED WORKS: THESES, DISSERTATIONS, MANUSCRIPTS, CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR PAPERS, etc

Abbot, Sally: "The Education Policy of the Government of Kenya, 1904-1935," M.A Thesis; University of London, 1969.

Adebola, A.S.: "A History of Western Education Among the Kikuyu, 1898-1952,"Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1978.

Amayo, G.N.: "A History of the Adventist Education in Kenya: illustrated in the light of this impact on the Africans' social, economic, religious and political development, 1906 - 1963", Ph.D. Thesis, Howard University, 1974.

Barasa, J. Maliro: "An Analysis of Selected Studies of Kenyan Secondary School Education (1945-1981),"Ph.D Dissertation, Ohio University, 1982.

Blackburn, R.: "Honey in Okiek Personality, Culture and Society", Ph.D. Thesis, Michagan State University, 1974.

Bogonko, Sorobea. N.: Christian Missionary Education and its Impact on the Abagusiii of Western Kenya, 1909 - 1953", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977.

————: "Christian Villages and Christian Imperialism in Kenya, 1910-1950", Seminar paper, Department of History, Kenyatta University College, 1977.

Chesang, I.C.: "An Analysis of the Superstructure of the Semi-pastoral Keiyo", B.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1973.

Daniels, E. Roberts: "A Study of the Societal and Individual Foundations of Tribal Identity Among the Kipsigis of Kenya", Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, Illinois, Department of Anthropology, 1970.

Donald, Franklin B.: "The Kikuyu Independent Schools: a Study of the Response and the Colonial Government In Kenya," M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1967.

Githae, M.: "The Place of Religion in African Traditional Education". Manuscript, Department of Education: University College, Nairobi, 1966.

Holland, A.W.: "The Problem of African Education in Kenya, 1919 - 1939", M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1967.

Jowitt, H.: "The Reconstruction of African Education in Rhodesia", M.A. Thesis, The University of Cape Town, 1927.

Kandagor, D.R.: "The Economic Transformation of the Tugen of Kenya, 1895 – 1963", M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, August 1993.

Karani, A.M.: "The History of Maseno School, 1906-1962: its Alumni and the Local Society", M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1974.

Kay, Stanford: "The Southern Abaluhya, the Friends Africa Mission and the Development of Education in Western Kenya, 1902-1965," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973.

King, K.J.: "The American Background of the Pheips-Stokes Commission and their Influences in Education in East Africa, especially Kenya", Ph.D. Dissertation, Edinburgh University, 1968.

Kipkorir, B.E.: "The Sectarian Factor and Kenya's first African Secondary School", Typescript, University College, Nairobi, 1967

_____: "Non-formal Education in Kenya", Nairobi: Universityof Nairobi, 30 pages Discussion, No.211.

_____: "The Alliance High School and the Making of the Kenyan African Elite, 1926 - 1962", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1969.

_____: "The Kalenjin Phenomenon and the Misri Legends", Semianr paper, No. xiii, Department of History, University of Nairobi, 1970/71.

Koech, K.S.: "Kipsigis Child Development: an African model", Ph.D. Dissertation, Union Graduate School, Yellow, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1974

Korir, K. Mosonik arap: "The Tea Plantation Economy in Kericho District and Related Phenomena To circa 1960," B.A. Dissertation, History Department, University Of Nairobi, May, 1976.

_____: "The Kipsigis, Land and the Protest Phenomenon in Colonial Kenya," Seminar In African History Research Paper, Northwestern University, May 1978.

Lonsdale, J.M.: "A Political History of Nyanza 1883 - 1945" Ph.D. Dissertaion, Cambridge University, 1964, Chapter 4&5.

Mahinda, W.G.: "A Survey of Traditional Education among Members of the Kikuyu Tribe in Gachiaka Sub-location", Manuscript, Department of Education, University of Nairobi, 1967.

Merle, M.: "The Kikuyu Independent School Movement of Kenya", M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1963.

Micheni, S. : "The Contribution of Christian Missionaries to Education in Meru, 1908-1963," M.A Thesis, Kenyatta University, 1988.

Monyenye, S. "The Indigenous Education of the Abagusii People," M.Ed. Thesis; University of Nairobi, 1977.

Murray, J.: "The Kikuyu Female Circumcision Controversy of 1928 -1932: Background, comparisons and perspectives", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1972.

Mwanzi, H.A.: "Development of Educational Self-help in Maragoli and Chavakali School: A case study", B.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1971.

Njoroge, N.: " An Outline of the Historical Development of Primary Education in Kenya, 1884 - 1970", Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio University, 1972.

Odhiambo, J.E.: "The Independent Schools Movement in Nyanza", Typescript, University of Nairobi, 1967.

Odwako, E.H.O.: "The Church and Education: the Contribution of the Church Missionary Society to Education in Western Kenya, 1905 - 1963", M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1975.

Ogutu, G.E.M. "Iron Working and Trade in the 19th Century Kenya", Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Historical Associatoni of Kenya (HAK), 1978.

Saltman, M.: "A Restatement of Kipsigis Customary Law", Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, 1971

————————: "The Kipsigis". Nairobi: Unpublished paper in Kenyatta University Library, n.d.

Schilling, D.G.: "British Policy for African Education in Kenya 1895 - 1939", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972.

Sheffield , J.R.: "Policies and Progress in African Education in Kenya 1949 - 1963", Doctor of Education Thesis, Columbia University, 1964.

Shilaro, P.Muronji: "Kabras Culture under Colonial Rule: a Study of the Impact of Christianity and Western Education", M.A. Thesis, Kenyatta University, August 1991.

Sifuna, D.N.: "Indigenous Education in Western Kenya", A paper presented at the annual conference of the Western Kenya cultural festival symposium, 1977.

Tarus, I.: "An Outline History of the Keiyo, 1700 - 1900" B.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1988.

———— :The Colonial Transformation of the Keiyo, 1895 - 1961", M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1994.

Were, G.S.: "The Changing Concept and the Role of Religion in Society: the interaction of African Religion with Christianity in Western Kenya", Seminar paper, Department of History, University of Nairobi, 1973.

8.4.2 PUBLISHED WORKS: BOOKS, JOURNAL ARTICLES, ETC.

Afigbo, A.E.: The Social Repercussions of Colonial Rule: the new social structure", Adu Boahen (ed.) General History of Africa Under Colonial Rule 1880 - 1935. Unesco. Vol. Viii, California: Universtiy of California press, 1985, pp. 487-507., pp.526, 657.

Ajayi, A.J.F.: Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841 - 1891: the making of a new elite. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965. Pp.133, 272.

———— : "The Continuity of African Institutions Under Colonialism", in T.O. Ranger (ed.) Emerging Themes of African History. Nairobi: East African publishing House, 1968, pp. 189 - 200.

Altbach, P.G.: Comparative Education. London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1982.

Amayo, G.N.: "African Indigenous Childhood Education", Basic Education Research Centre, Bulletin No.5, Kenyatta University, 1983.

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

Anderson, W.B.: The Church in East Africa 1840 - 1974. Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1977, pp.80 - 152.

Ashley, J. Brian: An Introduction to the Sociology of Education. London: Macmillan, 1969.

Atieno-Odhiambo, E.S.: " A Potrait of the Missionaries in Kenya Before 1939", in Kenya Historical Review. Vol. 1, No.1, 1973, pp.1-4.

Ayisi, E.O.:An Introduction to the Study of African Culutre. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1969.

Ayyar, C.: Education and Intellectual Pursutis. Shandara, New Delhi: Prakashan Publishers, 1987.

Bagunywa, A.M.K.: Critical Issues in African Education: a case study of Uganda. Kampala: E.A.P.H., 1980.

Barret, D.G. *et al.*: Kenya Churches Handbook: the Development of Kenyan Christianity, 1498 - 1973. Kisumu: Evangel Publishing House, 1973.

Beck, A.: "Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900 – 1950". In The Journal of Britsh Studies, Vol. V, No.2, May 1966., pp.218-240.

Beetham, T.A.: Christianity and the New Africa. London: Paul Mall press, 1967.

Berman, H. Edward: African Reactions to Missionary Education, New York: Teaching College Press, 1975.

_____: Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya: the dialectic of domination. Nairobi: East African Educational publishers, 1990.

Bigala, B.J: A Framework of Political Socialisation. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1979.

Blackledge, D.: Sociological Interpretations of Education: Social Analysis. London, Oxford University press, 1985.

p'bitek, Okot: African Religions in Western Scholarship, Nairobi: E.A.P.H., N.D. (1971).

Boahen, A.A.: General History of Africa. VII, African Under Colonial Domiantion 1880 - 1935. California: University of California press, 1985.

Bogonko, Sorobea. N: "Education as a Tool of Colonialism in Kenya, 1911 - 1935: the case of the first Government School", in TransAfrican Journal of History, 1983, Vol. 12, pp.1-32.

_____: "Africans and Politics of their Education in Kenya. 1910-1934", in Journal of Eastern African Research and Development, Vol.14, 1984, pp.19-38.

_____: Colonial Chiefs and African Development in Kenya with Special Reference to Secular Education", in Journal of Eastern Africna Research and Development, Vol. 14, 1985.

_____: Reflections of Education in East Africa. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1992.

———————: A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895 - 1991). Nairobi: Evans Brothers, 1992.

Brown, G.N. & M. Hiskett: Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1975.

Burns, D.G.: African Education: an Introductory Survey of Education in Commonwealth Countries. London: Oxford University press, 1965.

Carnoy, M.: Education as Cultural Imperialism. New York: David Mckay co., INC. 1974.

Castle, E.B.: Growing up in East Africa. Nairobi: Oxford University press, 1966.

Cherotich, S.: "The Nandi Female Initiation and the Christian Impact upon it", in Dini na Mila, Vol.2, Nos-2-3, 1967.

Chesaina, C.: Oral Literature of the Kalenjin. Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya Ltd., 1991.

Chesnokov, D.I. Historical Materialism. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969.

Coleman, J.S.: Education and Political Development. London: Princeton University press, 1965.

Coopland, R.: East Africa and its Invaders: from the Earliest times to the Death of Seyyid Said in 1956. London:OUP, 1965.

Cowan, L.G.: Education and Nation Building in Africa. New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, 1965.

Crowder, M.: (ed.) The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 8, C.1940-1975. Cambridge: CUP, 1984.

Curtin, P. (ed.). Africa and the West: Intellectual Response, to European Culture. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin press, 1972.

Curtis, A.: Memories of Kenya, Stories from the Pioneers. Nairobi: Evans Brothers, LFO., 1986.

Curtis, S.J.: A Short History of Educational Idea. London: University Tutorial press Ltd., 1967.

Dain, F.R.: "The Protestant Contribution to Kenya Education", in Kenya Educational Journal, Vol. 1, No.6, November 1960.

Debrunner, H.: A History of Christianity in Ghana. Accra· Waterville Publishers, 1967.

Diedrich, W.: The African Today and Tommorrow. International Institute of African Languages and cultures: OUP, 1939.

Diop, C.A.: " Origins of the Ancient Egyptians", in G. Mokhtar (ed.) General History of Africa, UNESCO Vol. II. London: Heinemann, 1981, pp.27-51.

Dougall, J.W.C.:Missionary Education in Kenya and Uganda: A study of co-operation. London: OUP, 1936.

Fagerlind, Ingemar: Education and National Development: a Comparative Perspective. Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1989.

Fisher, J.: The Anatomy of Kikuyu Domesticity and Husbandry. London: Deaprtment of Technical co-operation, 1964.

Fish, Burnette C. & Gerald W. Fish: The Place Of Songs. Nairobi: World Gospel Mission/Africa Church, 1990.

_____: The Kalenjin Heritage: Traditional Religious And Social Practices. Nairobi: Africa Gospel Church/World Gospel Mission, 1994.

Frost, R.: Race against Time: human relations and politics in Kenya before independence. London: Rex Collings, 1978.

Furley, O.W. & T. Watson: A History of Education in East Africa. New York: NOK Publishers, 1978.

Gatheru, M.R.: Child of Two Worlds. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1964.

Gawronski, V.D.: History, Meaning and Method: 3rd edition. . Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1975.

Gluckman, M.: "Malinoswki's Fundamental Analysis of Social Change", in Wallerstein, 1., (ed.) Social Change: The Colonial Situation, Wiley, 1966.

Goldthorpe, J.E.: Outlines of East African Society. Department of Sociology, Makerere: MakerereUniversity College, 1962.

Goldsworthy, D.: Tom Mboya: the Man Kenyan Wanted to Forget. Nairboi * London: African Publishing Co., 1982.

Gottneid, J.A.: Church and Education Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: East African Publsihing House, 1976.

Greaves, L.B.: Carey Francis of Kenya. London: Rex Collings, 1969.

Groves, C.P.: The Planting of Christianity in Africa. Vol.1., LondonL Lutterworth press, 1948.

Gulliver, P.H.: Tradition and Transition in East Africa. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.

Guy, A.: Kenyatta and the Politics of Kenya. Nairobi: Transafrica Publishers, 1974, p.15.

Hake, C.: Child-rearing Practices in Northern Nigeria. Ibadan: Ibadan University press, 1975.

Hanson, W.J. & B. Coles: Education and the Development of Nations. New York & London: Michigan State University, 1966.

Haralambos, M. : Sociology: Themes and Perspectives. London: University Tutorial Press Ltd, 1985.

Harlow, V.C. & E.M. Smith: History of East Africa, Vol.2. London: Clarendon, 1965.

Harris, A.: The Church in Africa 1450 - 1950: Oxford History of the Christian Church. New York: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Hennings, R.O.: African Morning. London: Chatto & Windus, 1951.

Hill, M.F.: Permanent Way: the Story of the Kenya & Uganda Railway, Vol.1. Nairobi:East African Literature Bureau, 1961.

Hodgin, T.: Nationalism in Colonial Africa. London: OUP, 1968.

Hunter, G.: New Societies of Tropical Africa. London: OUP, 1963.

Huxley, E.: Whiteman's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya, Vol.2, 1914 - 1931. London: Chatto and Windus, 1935.

————: The Sorcerer's Apprentice: A Journey through East Africa. London: Chatto and Windus, 1948.

————: A New Earth: an experiment in colonialism. London: Chatto and Windus, 1960

Huxley, E. & M. Perham: Race and Politics in Kenya. London: Faber and Faber, 1956.

Ingham, K.: A History of East Africa. London: Longman, 1962.

Ishumi, A.G.M.: Education and Develpment: theory and practice. Nairobi: EALB, 1976.

Johnson, W.G.: Double Impact: France and Africa in the Age of Imperialism. London: OUP., 1985, pp.335-345.

Jones, T.Jesse: Education in East Africa. New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1925.

Kakwenzire, P.: "The Introduction of Western Education in Northern Maasailand", in, Transafrican Journal of History Vol.9, No.2, 1980, p.158ff.

Kandawire, J.A.R:"Education and Rural Development in Colonial Nyasaland", in Journal of Eastern African Research Development, Vol. 4, No.2, 1974

Keller, E.J.: Education, Manpower and Development: the impact of educational policy in Kenya. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980.

Kellner, D.:Critical Theory, Marxism and Modernity. London: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1989.

Kendall, E.: The End of an Era: Africa and the missionary. London: The Camelot press Ltd., 1978.

Kenyatta, J.: "Facing Mount Kenya. London: Seckar and Warburg, 1983.

Kipkorir, B.E.: "The Education Elite (Sic) and the Local Society: the basis for mass representation". In Hadith 4: Politics and Nationalism in Kenya ed. B.A. Ogot Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972.

————————:The Marakwet of Kenya: a preliminary study. Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau, 1973.

————————: "The Inheritors and Successors: The traditional background to the modern Kenyan African Elite: Kenya c1890-1930", in Kenya Historical Review, Vol.2, No. 2, 1974, pp.143-161.

————————:Kenya's People: Peoples of the Rift Valley. London: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1978.

Knappert, J.: East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda). New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd., 1987.

Korir, K. Mosonik arap: "An Outline Biography of Simeon Kiplang'at arap Baliach: a 'Colonial African Chief' From Kipsigis," Kenya Historical Review. Vol. 2 No. 2, 1974.

Kuper, Adam: Anthropology and Anthropologists: the Modern British School. London: Routledge And Kegan Paul, 1983.

_____ : The Invention Of Primitive Society: Transformations Of An Illusion. London And New York: Routledge And Kegan Paul, 1988.

Langat, S.C. "Some Aspects of Kipsigis History Before 1914," in Ngano: Studies In Traditional And Modern East African History. Ed B.G. Mcintosh. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1970.

Lawler, J.M.: I.Q., Heritability and Racism. New York: International Publishers, 1978.

Lonsdale, J.M.: "Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa", in Journal of African History, Vol. 9, 1968, pp.119-146.

————————: The Politics of Conquest: the British in Western Kenya, 1894 - 1908", in The Historical Journal Vol.20, No.4, 1977, pp.841-870.

Low, D.A. & Alison, S.: History of East Africa, Vol.3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, pp.391 - 419.

Lugumba, S.M.E. & J.C. Ssekamwa: A History of Education in East Africa 1900 - 1973. Kampala: Kampala Publishing House, 1973.

Macdonald, A.J.: Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East. London: Longman, 1916.

Makulu, H.F.: Education, Development and National-building in Independent Africa: a Study of the New Trends and Recent Philosophy of Education. London: SCM press Ltd, 1971.

Mambo, R.M.: "Local Native Councils and Education in Kenya: The case of the Coast province, 1925 - 1950", in TransAfrican Journal of History, Vol. 10, Nos.1-2, 1981, pp.61-86.

Manners, Robert A. : "The Kipsigis of Kenya: Culture Change in a 'Model' East African Tribe," in Three African Tribes in Transition Vol. 1 ed. J. H. Steward. Urbana, Illinois: University Of Illinois Press, 1967.

Marx K. And F. Engels: On Colonialism. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974.

Masolo, D.A.: African Philosophy in Search of Identity. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1995, pp.47 - 49.

Mathiani, J.: "Dyfunctional Education in Africa", in Pan African Journal, Vol. V, No.1, Spring 1972., pp.117-125.

Matson, A.T.: "Reflections on the Growth of Political Consciousness in Nandi", in Hadith 4: Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya. ed. B.A. Ogot, Nairobi: E.A.P.H., 1972.

———————: "Elijah Cheruiyot arap Chepkwony: a great Nandi Chief", in B.E. Kipkorir Biographical Essays on Imperialism and Collaboration in Colonial Kenya. (ed.) Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980, p.107-115.

Maxon, R.M.: John Ainsworth and the Making of Kenya. New York: University press of America, 1980.

Mbaekwe, S.: "Colonialism and Social Structure", in TransAfrican Journal of History, Vol. 15, 1986 , pp.81-85.

Mbilinyi, M.J.: "African Education During the British Colonial Period, 1919 - 1961", in M.H.Y. Kaniki (ed.) Tanzanian under Colonial Rule. Nairobi: E.A.P.H., 1979, pp.236-276.

Mbiti, J.S.: African Religion and Philosophy. Makerere University College, Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya Ltd., 1969.

Morrison, R.D.:Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case. London: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1976.

Moumouni, A.: An Essay on Traditional Education. Nairobi:K.L.B., 1981.

Muga, E.:African Response to Western Christian Religion: a Sociological Analysis of African Separatist Religious and Political Movements in East Africa. Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1975.

Mungazi, D.A.:Education and Government Control in Zimbabwe: A Study of the Commissions of Inquiry, 1908 - 1974. New York & London: Praeger publishers, 1990.

Murray, V.A.: The School in the Bush: a Critical Study of Native Education in Africa. London: Longman, 1929.

Mutua, R.W.: Development of Education in Kenya. Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1975.

Munro, F.: Colonial Rule and the Akamba: Social Change in the Kenya Highlands, 1889-1939. London: Clarendon press, 1968.

Mwanzi, H.A.: A History of the Kipsigis. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1975.

_____: "Social Change Among the Kipsigis" in Hadith 6: History and Social Change in East Africa. Ed. B.A. Ogot., Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1976, p.36ff.

_____; "Koitalel arap Samoei and Kipchomber arap Koilegei", in Biographiical Essays on Imperialism and Collaboration in Colonial Kenya. ed. B.E. Kipkorir, Nairobi: KLB, 1980.

Ndungu, J.B.: "Gitumbwa and Kikuyu Independency in Church and School", in Ngano: Studies in Traditional and Modern East African History. Ed. B.G. McIntosh. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1970.

Njobe, M.W.:Education for Liberation. Bramfontein: Skotaville Publishers, 1990.

Ochieng, W.R.: A Modern History of Kenya, 1895 - 1980. Nairobi: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1989.

Ocitti, J.P.: African Indigenous Education as Practised by the Acholi of Uganda. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1973.

Odinga, O.:Not Yet Uhuru: An Autobiography. London & New York: Heinemann Kenya Ltd., 1967, pp. 256-7.

Ogot, B.A. (ed.): Hadith 4: Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972.

Okaro-Kojwang: Origins and Establisement of the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association', in Ngano: Studies in Traditioanl and Modern East African History ed. B.G. McIntosh. Nairobi: E.A.P.H., 1970.

Oliver, R.: The Missionary Factor in East Africa. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1965.

Oloidi, O.: "Growth and Development of Formal Art Education in Nigeria, 1900 - 1960", in TransAfrican Journal of History, Vol.15, No.2, 1986, pp.113 - 119.

Orcharson, I.Q.: The Kipsigis. Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1961.

Oruka, O.: Trends in Contemporary African Philosophy. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1990.

Osogo, J.N.B.: "Educational Development in Kenya, 1911 - 1924 with particular reference to African Education", in Hadith 3. Nairobi: E.A.P.H., 1971, pp.103-120.

Otiende, J.E.: " Education Since the Early Times", in Themes in Kenyan History. Ed. W.R. Ochieng. Nairobi: E.A.E.P., 1990, pp.145-155.

Otieno, O.N.A.: Education and Culture Change in Kenya, 1844 - 1925. Nairobi: Equatorial Publishers, 1965.

Padgett, A.G.: God, Eternity and the Nature of Time. Hampshire & London: Macmillan press Ltd., 1992.

Parrinder, E.G.: African Traditional Religion. London: Sheldon press, 1974.

Peristiany. J.G.: The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis. London: Routledge And Kegan Paul Ltd, 1939.

Philip, H.R.A.: A New Day in Kenya. London: World Dominion press, 1936.

Pilgrim, J.W.: "Land Ownership in the Kipsigis Reserve", East African Institute of Social Research, 1959.

Pirouet, L.M.: Black Evangelists: The Spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891 - 1914. London: Rex Collings, 1978.

Porter, A.J.: "Crisis in African Education", East African Journal, Vol. 4, No.2, June 1968.

Prians, A. & K. Johan: East African Age-class Systems: an Inquiry into the Social Order of the Galla, Kipsigis and Kikuyu. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1948.

Raju, B.M.: Education in Kenya. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1973.

Ranger, T.O. & Kimambo, I.N. (eds) : The Historical Study of African Religion. London: Heinemann, 1972.

Raum, C.F.: Chagga Childhood: a description of indigenous education in East African Tribe. London: OUP, 1967.

Rancliffe, D.H.: The Struggle for Kenya. London: Gollancz and Co. Ltd., 1954.

Read, M.: "The Ngoni and Western Education", in Colonialism in Africa 1870 - 1960., Vol. II, ed. V. Turner, Cambridge: CUP, 1971, pp. 346-392.

Resnick, I.N.: Tanzania: Revolution by Education. Arusha: Longmans of Tanzania Ltd., 1968.

Roberts, J.: A Land Full of People: Kenya Today. London: Eyre & Spottishwoode, 1966.

Rodney, Walter : How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, London, 1982.

Roecker, J.R.: Mathu of Kenya: a Political Study. Standor, California: Hoover Institution press, 1976.

Rooney, H. & E. Halladay: The Building of Modern Africa. London: Geoge G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1966.

Rosberg, C.G. & Nottingham, J.: The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1966.

Ross, W. M.: Kenya from Within: a Short Political History. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1927.

Rotberg, I.R.: A Political History of Tropical Africa. Harcourt, New York: Brace & World Inc. press, 1965.

Sangree, W.H.: Age, Prayer and Politics in Tiriki, Kenya. Nairobi & London: OUP, 1966.

Santandra, S.: "Catholics, Education, Language and Religion in the Western Bar el Gazzal", in TransAfrican Journal of History, Vol.9, No.1, 1980.

Savage, K.: The Story of Africa: South of the Sahara. London: The Bodley Head press, 1961.

Scanlon, D.G.: Church, State and Education in Africa. Columbia: Teachers' College press, 1967.

Shilling, Donald. G.: "Local Native Councils and the Politics of Education in Kenya, 1925 - 1939", in International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol.9, No.2, 1976, pp.70 - 78..

Scott, H.S.: Some Aspects of Native Education in Kenya. London: Oxford University press, 1936.

————: "Education Policy in the British Colonial Empire", in International Year Book of Education, 1938.

Seidenberg, D.A.: Uhuru and the Kenya Indians: The role of a minority community in Kenya politics 1939 - 1963. New Delhi & Nairobi: Vikas Publishing House, 1983.

Shah, S.R.: A History of Asian Education in Kenya, 1886 - 1963. London: OUP, 1968.

Sifuna, D.N.: Revolution in Primary Education. Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1975.

————: Vocational Education in Schools: a historical survey of Kenya and Tanzania. Nairobi: EALB., 1976.

————: Short Essays on Education in Kenya. Nairobi: KLB., 1980.

_____: Development of Education in Africa: the Kenyan Experience. Nairobi: Initatives Publishers Ltd., 1980.

Sifuna, D.N. & J.E. Otiende: An Introductory History of Education. Nairobi: Nairobi University press, 1994.

Smith, S.: The History of the Alliance High School: 1927 - 1965. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 197

Snell, G.S.: Nandi Customary Law. Nairobi: K.L.B., 1986.

Soi, E.K.: Kipsigis Words of Wisdom. Sotik, Kenya: Rift Valley Review Associates, 1984.

Southall, A.: Social Change in Modern Africa. London: Oxford University press, 1961.

Spear, T. & Richard: Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa. Nairobi & London: James Currey Ltd., 1993.

Stabler, E.: Education Since Uhuru: the Schools of Kenya. Middletown, Connecticut: Western University press, 1969

Strayer, R.W.: "Missions and African Protest: a case study from Kenya, 1875 - 1935", in R. Strayer *et al.* (ed.) Protest Movements in Colonial East Africa: Aspects of Early African Response to European Rule. Syracuse: East African Studies, 1973, pp.2-37.

Tangri, R.: Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa. London: Heinemann, 1985.

Tignor, R.: The Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Akamba, Kikuyu and Maasai from 1900 - 1939. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University press, 1976.

Thomson, Joseph: through Masailand with Joseph Thomson ed. R. Young. New York: Northwestern University Press, 1962.

Toweett, Taaita: Oral Traditional History of the Kipsigis. Nairobi: K.L.B, 1979.

Turner, V. (ed.): Colonialism in Africa 1870 - 1960, Vol. III. Profiles of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule, Cambridge: CUP, 1971.

Ulich, R.: History of Educational Thought. Ram Nagar, New Delhi: Eurasia publishing House Ltd., 1935.

Vansina, J.: Oral Tradition: a study in Historical Methodology. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965.

_____ : Oral Tradition as History. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1985.

Verma, K. G.: Education for All: a landmark in pluralism. London: The Falmer press, 1989.

Wanjohi, G.J.: The Child and His Environment in Black Africa: an Essay on Traditional Education. Nairobi: Pierre Erny, 1981.

Watson, K.: Education in the Third World. London & Canberra: Croom Helm press, 1982.

———— : So Rough a Wind: the Kenya Memoirs of Sir Michael Blundell. London: Weidefeld & Nicolson Ltd., 1964.

Weeks, S.: Divergence in Educational Development: the case in Kenya and Uganda. New York: Teachers' College Press, 1967.

Were, G.S.: "The Making of Kakamega High School: a Tribute to Harold Arthur W. Chapman". in TransAfrican Journal of History. Vol. 17, 1988, pp. 186 - 192.

Westermann, D.K.: Africa and Christianity. London & New York: Oxford University press, 1937.

Williamson, B.: Education, Social Structure and Development: a comparative analysis. London: The Macmillan press Ltd., 1979.

Wolf, R.D.: Britain and Kenya: the economics of colonialism, 1890 - 1930. Nairobi: Transafrica Publishers, 1974.

Wrigley, C.C.: "Kenya: Administration and Changes in African Life, 1912 - 45", in History of East Africa, Vol. II eds. Vincent Harlow & E.M. Chilver. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1965.

Zwanenberg, R.M.A Van: "The Economic Response of Kenya Africans to European Settlement, 1903 - 1939", in Hadith 4: Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya. ed. B.A. Ogot. Nairobi: E.A.P.H., 1972.