

Education and Colonialism in Kenya

Author(s): George E. Urch

Source: *History of Education Quarterly*, Autumn, 1971, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Autumn, 1971), pp. 249-264

Published by: Cambridge University Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/367292>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



Cambridge University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *History of Education Quarterly*

JSTOR

Education and Colonialism in Kenya

GEORGE E. URCH

THE INDEPENDENT nations of Africa now face the task of re-evaluating and reshaping those institutions imposed on them by the former colonial powers. The educational institutions these emerging nations inherited are not linked to the realities of present-day African needs.

COLONIAL ATTITUDE

Before abandoning past practices and patterns, the new leaders recognized the need to examine the inherited structures in order to better comprehend the strengths and limitations of the educational systems now firmly entrenched in their countries. This is especially the situation in former British Africa where no uniform policy existed. Each territory supported its own educational program and each governor had his own ideas on how to educate the "natives." This British diversity contrasts with the practice of the French and Portuguese, who consistently transported their own cultures and orthodox methods of teaching them to their colonies. The diversity in British Africa ranged from educational policies that imposed the English model and all its components on the African to policies that attempted to develop an educational program based on the African's own environment and on his own way of life. This lack of uniformity in British educational policy led to a great deal of controversy. On one side were those Europeans who favored rapid Westernization of the African. They argued that old African values must be replaced since, whether educators approved or not, overwhelming social change was obliterating

Mr. Urch is Assistant Professor of Education, University of Massachusetts.

Fall 1971 249

long-existing traditions. The one great hope for progress in Africa, they felt, was the application of European knowledge, experience, and skill. The African students needed an educational program that prepared them to assume a viable position in the modern world, not one that bound them to the past.

On the opposite side were colonial officials, educators, and noneducators concerned with the maintenance of those traditions in African society which they believed essential to the well-being of the African. They realized the necessity for modernization, but they argued it could be accomplished more easily and with less harm, if advanced ideas were integrated into the existing culture. They lamented the fact that the school, in removing the students from their rural environment, had given them a dislike for their old traditions. They advocated schools that were less bookish and more practical.

The controversy over colonial educational policy was especially evident in the East African country of Kenya. Here early differences in the programs of government officials, missionaries, and European settlers had developed conflicting policies that still existed when Kenya gained its independence in 1963. Most of the present African leaders of Kenya are products of this educational "system."

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

Although missionary activity in Kenya dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century, (1) it was not until the last quarter of the century that mission work began in earnest. The Berlin Treaty of 1885 provided both freedom to operate and some degree of protection; missionaries soon set up stations in the interior of East Africa. Following close behind came the Imperial British East Africa Company. Together, the pioneering evangelists and the traders explored the hinterland, the former hoping to proselytize, the latter seeking new avenues of trade. In 1888 the company called on the Church Missionary Society to establish a chain of missions corresponding to the locations of the company's stations on a route into the interior. (2) The company looked to the Missionary Society not only to Christianize the natives but also to assist the company in developing communication and agricultural centers.

As missionary activity increased, native tribal leaders resisted what they sensed as a threat to their own authority. The missionaries soon

realized that they could exert little influence unless they were to enjoy the protection of the British government. Together with the Imperial British East African Company they urged the government to move into the area, referring to the Brussels Conference (1890) where Britain and the Western powers agreed to suppress the slave trade and prohibit the sale of spirits and arms to Africans. In June 1894, the House of Commons voted for the establishment of a protectorate, and one year later allocated funds for the construction of a railway into the interior. The forces of Western civilization in the guise of trade and Christian missions now had access to the area under the protection of the British flag. These traders and missionaries believed an educated population to be a precondition for the spread of commerce and Christianity; the first European educational ventures were a direct product of their activities.

From the very outset British attempts to introduce schools aroused opposition among the Africans. The tribal elders permitted the early missionaries to live among them, to preach on Sunday, and to practice medicine, but they did not want their youth indoctrinated in schools. They preferred to retain their own established educational structure — one designed to perpetuate African life as it was.

The traditional African social order, however, was soon threatened. Building and operating the railway greatly increased the cost of administering the territory; the British government sought ways to make the railway pay. It first explored the possibilities of white settlement, then sanctioned, and finally encouraged it, reasoning that the white settlement of the Americas and Australia a century earlier constituted “one of the nobler achievements” of the time. By 1903 the East African Protectorate (3) was committed to a policy of white settlement, and the government controlled the disposal of all land. (4)

When the settlers arrived the prestige and power of the European grew. The African was drawn toward Christianity in his desire to learn more about the white man’s world, for his traditional way of life offered few solutions to the problems created by the new socio-economic system. The educational projects of the missions now entered a period of vast expansion. In 1903 there were only four Protestant missions at work in the immediate neighborhood of Nairobi; a few years later these missions had opened a network of branches up-country. (5)

The mission’s educational objective was not only to expose Africans

to a superior culture, but also to instruct pupils in the Word of God. Missionaries wanted Christian "truths" spread into the villages and countryside. The school curriculum was dominated by reading and writing. A relatively high degree of literacy was necessary so that the Scripture could be understood and disseminated to others. Instruction was initially given in the vernacular. However, the multiplicity of African languages and the rapid expansion of the missions resulted in a move toward the use of English. The missionaries felt their primary role was to proselytize, regardless of whether English became the medium of instruction or the local vernacular was retained. A literary education was considered necessary to accomplish this task. (6) Forms of educational work which went beyond enabling converts to read the Bible were considered to be dangerous sidetracks. (7)

The African, who soon learned to equate Christianity with educational opportunity, readily responded to the missionaries' literary education. The ability to read and write became an accomplishment necessary to obtain one of the better paid positions on the newly established European farms.

While the Africans were developing an interest in Western-style literary education, the colonial government began to realize the necessity of training Africans for service to the white man. The influx of settlers had given a tremendous impetus toward trade and development. (8) With a policy of granting huge tracts of land to the wealthier settlers, a great demand was created for African help of all kinds. The government turned to the missionary educator for assistance.

The demand for skilled native labor by the white settlers and commercial leaders caused the colonial administrators to reevaluate the educational program of the missions. Education solely for proselytization was not considered sufficient to enable the colonies' economy to expand. Government officials saw the need for an educational process that would help to break down tribal solidarity and force the African into a money economy. Sir Charles Eliot, H.M. Commissioner for the East African Protectorate in 1904, expressed the opinion that the African must be forced into contact with the European if he were to improve his position in life.

It facilitates a better and more civilized life if natives can engage in some form of trade or occupation which causes them more or less to

break with their old associations and come under Christian supervision. From this point of view I think it is a great mistake to isolate natives and place them in reserves for such isolation inevitably confirms them in their old bad customs and cuts them off from contact with superior races which might improve them. (9)

THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT TAKES AN INTEREST

Divergent thought over educational goals soon arose between the government and the various mission denominations. The conflict caused colonial officials to realize the necessity for interesting themselves more deeply in the education of the indigenous people and the importance of creating an over-all educational policy to move African education forward in a desired direction. For this purpose the government invited Professor J. Nelson Fraser, Principal of the Training College, Bombay University, to be protectorate adviser on all matters relating to African education.

Professor Fraser arrived in Nairobi in January of 1909 and for the next six months held discussions with various interested individuals and groups in order to thoroughly acquaint himself with the educational scene. Government officials released his report, a document satisfactory to them, during October of 1909. Fraser, having been directed not to reinforce plans for the literary education of the African, (10) developed a scheme for industrial training. He further suggested that the government assume control of the entire educational program throughout the country. He proposed implementing this responsibility by appointing a director of education, and by stressing the natural adaptability of the African to industrial training. (11) The problem lay in inducing the native to participate in this form of education; the African preferred his accustomed mode of life and would not change further than force compelled. Professor Fraser considered it the white man's obligation to urge the native into industrial education; not only because white civilization required the service of the Negro but because it would elevate the African to a better standard of living with the concomitant advantage of contact with civilization. (12)

Professor Fraser envisaged industrial training for the African with dual goals — service under a white employer and work in his own community. He felt the government should be interested in both

forms of training since each would bring more prosperity to the protectorate.

Fraser noted the desire of missionaries for financial aid in order to continue their educational work. Although not wholeheartedly in sympathy with their aims, he recommended that assistance be given them in order to enable the authorities to keep in touch with those in a position to influence the young African. (13)

The *Education Report* of 1909 made the colonial administrators aware of the role education could play in building a young colony. With the *Report* as a guide, the government began to assume a direct interest in African education. An education department was organized with Mr. J. R. Orr as director. The governor appointed an advisory board composed of government officials, commercial men, representatives of the missions, and members of the settlers' associations to assist the director.

In an attempt to satisfy the varied interest of the advisory board, Mr. Orr started to organize African education into three general categories. The first, classified as "General Education," was to be carried on by the missionary societies. It was to be primarily concerned with reading and writing with a view to proselytize and to train African teachers.

The second category was referred to as "Industrial Education." Missions were encouraged to develop the industrial side of education through government grants-in-aid. The system consisted of an initial equipment grant to two pounds per pupil and an annual grant of five pounds allotted for each pupil who passed an examination set by the public works, medical, or other governmental departments. (14) Grants were made available for carpentry, masonry, agriculture, tailoring, smithing, printing, and medical work. This course also included literary training. (15)

The third category was the "Education of Sons of Chiefs and Headmen." This education was designed to prepare young men to participate in the administration of the territory. Schools were to be developed by the missions.

By 1918 it was apparent to the government that various missionary sects were continuing to use education as a tool for expanding religious activities and enlarging their own sphere of influence. It was equally obvious that the missions were not providing the educational programs suggested by the education officials. The government's first attempt at

procuring a school census indicated that in 410 mission schools, thirty thousand African students from an estimated native population of 2,700,000 were learning to read and write but little else was being taught. (16) Much to its dismay, the government found the quality of both African and missionary teachers low. Buildings were erected with no apparent view toward permanency, and curriculum offerings did not comply with the department's recommendations. (17) It was an awakening which not only created general dissatisfaction with the state of education but also forced the government to reevaluate the protectorate's total school program. Accordingly, the director of education requested the governor to form a commission to investigate educational procedures throughout the colony.

The acting governor appointed to the commission prominent men in the protectorate, representing exclusively European interests. His instructions to them included an investigation and report on African education in the protectorate; they were also to assign priority to the type of education which should immediately be introduced among the Africans. (18)

Members of the Commission collected data and interviewed those Europeans who were most concerned with the educational situation. The newly arrived white settlers favored an industrial type education which, hopefully, would produce the African artisans essential for the economic development of the area. The government's provincial and district commissioners agreed with the settlers that literary education should be subordinated to technical training and be provided by the government, should the mission schools fail to comply. (19) They also informed the commission that some Africans were not happy with mission education and had begun to demand government schools devoid of religious training. (20)

The missionaries, dedicated to indoctrinating the African with a Christian moral code and knowledge that could be applied to the "betterment" of the tribal community, insisted it was necessary to coordinate education with religion. A general feeling persisted among the missionaries that the government was aiding the settlers to exploit the African. (21)

Conflict between colonial administrators and missionaries had been evident for some time. Government officials regarded the missions' practice of permitting each mission society to provide its own curricu-

lum for African education inimical to the protectorate's interest. Government administrators lacked the manpower to control the entire educational structure; the mission societies resented government intervention in an area which they had developed. Missionaries saw in education a means by which to extend Christianity and, in their view, to help the African. They now realized their plans would be inhibited by lack of funds.

THE COMMISSION REPORTS

The commission's report in 1919 appeared to favor the missionaries cause. The commission held that government secular schools could not be successful without the "proper" religious and moral instruction; Christianity was considered an essential for the civilization of the native. The best method of furthering the education of the African, according to the commission, was by utilizing the existing organizations. (22)

The commission then examined the literary versus technical education problem. It recommended that literary education, together with hand and eye training, be given to pupils up to eleven years of age, after which a transfer to schools providing technical or teacher training would be made. Technical training was suggested in such areas as medical, administrative, commercial, industrial, and agricultural work. (23)

As a solution to the language problem, the commission went on record as opposing the spread of Swahili, the *lingua franca*. It permitted the use of the vernacular in the preliminary stages of education but strongly recommended English to succeed it, both on practical and patriotic grounds. (24)

The government's role in education was also explored, resulting in the commission's urgent request that funds be allocated to missionary schools on the basis of an over-all plan for African education. The official policy of the Education Department was spelled out in a directive published in 1922. (25) In accordance with the recommendations of the education commission, this directive contained plans for the development of African education largely through the missionary society's "assisted schools" — defined as "any mission school receiving a grant-in-aid from colony funds." An attempt was made to categorize all schools in order to establish conditions and procedures for allotment

of government grants. All "assisted schools" were required to be open for inspection at any time; the principal teacher must keep a log book containing the lesson plans as approved by the education department; a system of inspectors was organized. However, no inspector was permitted to inquire into religious instruction or to examine any student for religious knowledge. This area of education was still to be exclusively under the aegis of the missionaries.

The government directive planned for a broad base of elementary mission schools supported, in part, by grants-in-aid. The "assisted schools" were to concentrate on literary training with such obligatory subjects as reading and writing in the vernacular and/or Swahili. (26) Beyond the elementary level the government envisaged a system of assisted, mission-operated "central schools" providing both literary and vocational training. Students were to be prepared for a specific industrial vocation while simultaneously studying such obligatory subjects as English grammar and literature, arithmetic, and history. (27)

The directive helped move African education away from its formative stage toward a well-defined program, involving the financial resources of the colony. Interest in the education of the African thus broadened from a few missionary societies to include both government officials and white settlers.

The early 1920s also brought concern for the people of Africa from the outside world. By the end of the First World War the principles of democracy became the prevailing mood as a wave of idealism swept the European continent. The League of Nations and the development of the "trustee" concept aroused a strong feeling that colonial governments had a greater responsibility toward their subjects. There was a growing recognition that the education of the indigenous population was the concern of the controlling government; a concern especially evident in 1923 when the British Colonial Office in London published a white paper declaring the interests of the African native in Kenya to be "paramount," and emphasizing the intent of the British government to improve education in its colonies.

There can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level than that which they had reached when the Crown assumed the responsibility for the administration of this territory. (28)

The British government realized that before progress could be made,

Fall 1971 257

a determined effort must be made to discover the educational needs of the African people. Help arrived from an unexpected source.

GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

As American missionary efforts in Africa increased, problems developed in defining their educational role. The contrast between educational ideas pursued in Africa and those pursued in other parts of the world caused both confusion and criticism. At the instigation of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America petitioned the trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to support a study of education on the African continent. The trustees welcomed the opportunity since one of the stated objectives of the Fund was educational support for the Negro, both in the United States and in Africa. (29)

With the aid of the Phelps-Stokes Fund two commissions were organized and sent to Africa. The first visited west, south, and central Africa; the other went to East Africa. Both were headed by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, a Welsh-born American trained as a sociologist at Columbia University. The assignment was to inquire into the educational work and to investigate the people's educational needs in the light of religious, social, hygienic, and economic conditions. (30) The two reports they published were to have a far-reaching impact on educational development in British Africa.

The general theme was the advocacy of African education to be adapted to African needs. The reports warned that the time had passed when a curriculum suited to the needs of a particular group was necessarily the best for other groups at a different level of advancement. They urged the adaptation of the school curricula to the natural and social environment of the African and especially encouraged the adaptation of education to the needs of the local community. (31)

The Phelps-Stokes group which visited East Africa mentioned the conceit of Western civilization in imposing a superficial imitation of European ways on others. It counseled both native leaders and European educators not to blindly follow European customs, but through Western education to develop respect for whatever was good in traditional history. The Commission decried the triviality of a school curriculum that taught African youth to sing "British Grenadiers" and

despise the music of their own people. It also questioned the reason for teaching the history and geography of Europe and America while ignoring the more essential elements of the local environment. (32)

The East African Commission also commented on the lack of cooperation in the educational area among government, missions, and commerce. Before education could progress, it was stressed, the help of all three groups pulling together toward well-defined educational objectives was mandatory.

The Phelps-Stokes reports created a widespread interest in African education previously reserved for missionaries' conferences. The British government now realized the necessity of assuming a more prominent role in the education of its colonies' native populations. They also portrayed to the home offices of the various missionary societies the serious deficiencies in the education proffered by their men in the field. In June of 1923 a memorandum was submitted to the Secretary of State by the Educational Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. It brought to the attention of both the government officials and the missions in Africa what it considered the deplorable state of education in Africa, stressed the need for more cooperation between the various organizations, and finally, asked that a permanent educational advisory committee be established. (33) The result was the formation of yet another committee, this time a permanent advisory committee with official authority to supervise the entire educational program in British Africa.

To advise the Secretary of State on any matters of native education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa, which he may from time to time refer to them; and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates. (34)

The Advisory Committee met immediately to study the two Phelps-Stokes reports.

After verifying the views and positions expressed in the reports, the committee issued a memorandum outlining the principles designed to form official government policy. (35) Some of the most important were:

1. The British government reserved the right to direct educational policy and to supervise all educational institutions.
2. Voluntary missionary efforts in the field of education were to be welcomed and encouraged with a program of grants-in-aid.

3. Technical and vocational training should be carried out with the help of government departments.
4. Education should be adapted to local conditions in such a manner as would enable it to conserve all sound elements in local tradition and social organization, while functioning as an instrument of progress and evolution.
5. Religious training and moral instruction should be regarded as fundamental to the development of a sound education.

A new surge of interest in the education of the African, heightened by the Phelps-Stokes group and their reports, set in motion a definite policy. Using Booker T. Washington's book, *Working with the Hands*, as a framework, the Education Department accepted the concept that African education should be adapted to African environment and should be guided by both social and economic aims. The department was determined to raise the standard of living in the native reserves while endeavoring to satisfy the pressing demand for skilled labor. A program of industrial and manual training was deemed essential in order to meet the needs and aspirations of the African and to enable him to be of assistance to his own people. (36)

Another result of the Phelps-Stokes visit was the establishment of Kenya's first education ordinance. Idealistic and progressive, it firmly placed the control of education in the hands of the government. Under its provisions a district education committee was to be established in each native administrative area throughout the colony. Composed of both Africans and Europeans, these committees were responsible for the efficiency of each school within their districts. The Central Education Department was to assume the responsibility for licensing every teacher in the colony. (37)

The year 1924 also saw the formation of the Central Advisory Committee on African Education, intended to serve as a sounding board for proposals of the Education Department and to make recommendations of its own. A notable achievement in the committee's efforts to promote cooperation between government and missions was seen when the missions approved the suggestion of the Education Department to exempt objectors in their schools from attendance at religious instruction. As a consequence schools were open to all Africans regardless of their religious beliefs.

The spirit of cooperation also inferred a greater effort on the part

of the government to support mission schools financially. By the end of 1924, the Education Department had classified 296 mission schools with an enrollment of 12,986 students as government aided, and had given £14,305 for their maintenance and development. (38) This was out of an estimated 50,000 African students attending mission schools. (39)

By 1925, with control firmly in its hands, Kenya's Education Department began to criticize mission schools openly and to establish principles governing African education. The department called for curriculum based as far as possible on the mentality, customs, and institutions of the African which reinforced the activities and operations of the village, not the interests of the European. Citing the mission schools' alienation of the African from his traditional customs and beliefs, the department ordered the teaching of reading and writing in the vernacular accompanied by hand and eye training in the workshops and gardens. The primary objective was to develop the school as a community center providing instruction and service for the surrounding community. (40)

Although cooperation between missions and government continued to be stressed, it was understood by those concerned that the administration of the educational system was now under the control of the government. Through its grants the government was able to insist on inspection, the curriculum of its choice, and the qualifications necessary for teachers. The education of the African had moved from a private endeavor to a public responsibility.

Thus, by 1925 the fundamental problems which faced education in Kenya throughout the colonial period had been magnified to the point where concern was being shown by both African and European. The government continued its criticism of mission education which displayed more concern for religious training than meeting the social and economic needs of its parishioners; the missionaries were frustrated when their newly educated students left the tribal compound to seek work in the fast developing urban area.

The African, virtually ignored a few years before, now began to make himself heard in Kenya. The initial shock generated by the European impact had begun to dissolve. The traditional causes of tribal war, famine, and epidemics were disappearing and the African had time to focus attention away from his local environment. A grow-

ing minority took note of the developing Western society and wanted to become part of this world no matter how it affected the indigenous way of life. The attempt of the government to introduce an education relevant to the traditional needs of the African in his tribal community was not well received. Instead, the African perceived in education an opportunity to become part of the Western world.

A new era was about to begin in Kenya Colony — an era which would witness the gradual disintegration of traditional society as the African endeavored through education to emerge into the Western world of the twentieth century.

Notes

1. In 1846, Dr. Ludwig Krapf and the Rev. John Rebmann, German members of the Church Missionary Society, Church of England, established a mission station at Rabai, fifteen miles inland from the coastal city of Mombasa. It was at Rabai that East Africa's first mission school was started by Krapf, who realized that his converts must be taught to read the Bible. Both of these men explored the interior. An account of early missionary activity in East Africa can be found in Roland Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952).
2. Slater W. Price, *My Third Campaign in East Africa* (London: William Hunt and Co., 1891), p. 3.
3. Prior to 1920, the area of British influence in East Africa was called the East African Protectorate. In June 1920, the interior of what had been the East African Protectorate, excluding Uganda, became the Kenya Colony with a ten mile strip on the coast of the Indian Ocean designated as the Kenya Protectorate (Marjorie R. Dilley, *British Policy in Kenya Colony* [New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937], p. 30).
4. George Bennett, *Kenya, A Political History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 9.
5. M. G. Capon, *Toward Unity in Kenya* (Nairobi: Christian Council of Kenya, 1962), p. 5.
6. The ability to read and write was also made the criterion of a genuine desire for baptism on the part of the African.
7. Somerset Playne in F. Holderness Gale, ed., *East Africa (British)* (London: Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co., 1909), p. 92.
8. By 1903, the railway line stretched from the coast to the shores of Lake Victoria. Its completion gave to the East African Protectorate a sense of unity and encouraged European settlers.

9. Sir Charles Eliot, *The East African Protectorate* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), pp. 241-42.
10. East African Protectorate, *Education Report*, 1909 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1909), p. 32.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *The Leader of East Africa*, October 30, 1909, p. 2.
14. East African Standard, *The East African Red Book, 1925-26* (Nairobi: East African Standard, 1925), p. 227.
15. H. F. Ward and J. W. Milligan, *Handbook of British East Africa, 1912* (Nairobi: Caxton [B.E.A.] Printing and Publishing Co., 1912), p. 176.
16. East African Standard, *The 'Standard' British East Africa and Uganda Handbook and Directory* (Nairobi: East African Standard, 1919), pp. 163-64.
17. After educational officials visited a mission school up-country the Provincial Commissioner, Nyeri, was informed that education was so primitive that it was a matter of getting the young men to read and write and to grasp the simplest elements of arithmetic. Most of the students would appear only in the morning (East African Protectorate, *Native Affairs, Minute Paper No. 22 (d)* [Nairobi Government Printer, 1918]).
18. East African Protectorate, *Report of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate* (Nairobi: Swift Press, 1919), p. 6.
19. East African Protectorate, *Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate* (Nairobi: Swift Press, 1919), p. 214.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Empathy for the problem of the African caused the missionaries to suggest to the colonial government that they represent the native's interest in the protectorate's Legislative Council. George Bennett, "Settlers and Politics in Kenya," in *History of East Africa*, ed. Vincent Harlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 2:293.
22. East African Protectorate, *Report of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate*, p. 6.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
25. Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *Departmental Instructions Concerning Native Education in Assisted Schools* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1922).
26. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
28. Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Indians in Kenya*, Cmd. 1922 (London: H.M.S.O., 1923), p. 10.
29. The Phelps-Stokes Fund was provided for in the will of Miss

- Caroline Phelps-Stokes in May 1911. The fund was active in supporting Negro education in the southern states and in promoting interracial cooperation.
30. Thomas Jesse Jones, *Education in Africa* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), p. xvi.
 31. *Ibid.*, p. xix.
 32. Thomas Jesse Jones, *Education in East Africa* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1925), p. 18.
 33. L. J. Lewis, *Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954), p. 13.
 34. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, *Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa*, Cmd. 2347 (London: H.M.S.O., 1925), p. 2.
 35. *Ibid.*
 36. Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department, *Annual Report*, 1924 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1924), p. 19.
 37. Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *Education Ordinance, No. 17* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1924).
 38. East African Standard, *The East African Red Book, 1925-26* (Nairobi: East African Standard, 1925), pp. 230-31.
 39. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
 40. Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department, *Annual Report*, 1925 (Nairobi: East African Standard, 1925), p. 13.