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A History of Formal Education in Nyeri County, Kenya 1920-1990, Kenya

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Abstract:

Formal education in Kenya was introduced by the Christian missionaries from Europe who built the first schools in the country. Formal education which entailed primary, secondary and tertiary education which was offered in classrooms by trained instructors started about a hundred years ago in Nyeri County. Formal education in Nyeri has experienced transformation since its inception. This study focuses on the history of formal education in Nyeri County from the period 1920-1990. It focuses on the history of primary, secondary and tertiary education in Nyeri County. The study investigates how formal education emerged in Nyeri County between 1920 and 1945. It also analyses how it developed between 1946 and 1963; and between 1964 and 1990. The aspects of formal education in Nyeri County the study discusses include the curriculum followed, management of formal education, facilities available, examinations, African contribution in the development of formal education, school enrolment, teachers and challenges faced by formal education during the three periods. Special attention has been given to the Kagumo School because of its peculiarity as the first Government African School to offer higher education in Nyeri County. The study also gives attention to Indian and European education in Nyeri during the colonial period. The aim of this study was to add some new knowledge to the already existing knowledge about the history of formal education in Nyeri County. The objectives that guided the study were to examine the emergence of formal education in Nyeri County from 1920 to 1945; to examine the developments in formal education in Nyeri County from 1946 to 1963 and to investigate the changes in formal education in Nyeri County in the independence era, 1964 to 1990. The study employed the theory of social development as a guide. Being a qualitative research, the study used descriptive survey where guided interviews and observation were used to gather information from respondents. Secondary sources of information like books, journals, newspapers and others were used. Information from the internet was also sought. The Kenya National Archive in Nairobi was of much value to the study. The study used a sample population of fifty people of ages between 50 and 105. Data obtained was analyzed using thematic analysis in which related topics were categorized and explained. Historical criticism was applied and the data collected through oral interviews was corroborated with the existing written sources from the Kenya National Archives. Finally, conclusions were made.

Keywords: assisted schools, bush schools, central schools, director of education, education department, formal education, intermediate schools, kikuyu private schools, maintained schools, out schools

1. Introduction

1.1. Background to the Study

Formal education has been widely embraced in the globe since ancient times. In Greece, formal education started thousands of years ago. There emerged great thinkers or philosophers like Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, Archimedes and Aristotle who founded schools and provided formal education to students. They offered disciplines like mathematics, philosophy, medicine, political science, astronomy and others. Boys, in particular, learnt oratory skills, poetry and music (Gichema, et.al., 1987). An academy was established at Athens in Greece which attracted many learners from the ancient world in search of knowledge. In 1337, the National Capodistrian University was started in Athens to offer formal education. Every parent in Greece was expected to give the best education to his or her children. People learnt how to read and write. According to Kapiyo, et.al. (2011), Athenians would even write books as a way of promoting formal education.

In England, formal education was started as early as the 15th century in London (Gichema, et.al., 1987). The city of London financed the founding of many schools to offer formal education. These were for example, St Paul's and Charterhouse. These schools, however, were for the poor masses. In India, the first universities were to provide an education based on philosophy and religion, maths, history, astronomy and the laws of economy (Ottosson, 1978). In Africa, formal education was introduced by the Europeans who came as missionaries and whose work was reinforced by the colonialists. They built schools, trained African teachers and provided school facilities. According to Okoth

(2006), Ghana introduced free and compulsory formal education for her children. Nigeria followed the same trend in 1976. In Sierra Leone, formal education grew very slowly until 1945. The Methodist Mission had started two schools in the 19th century (Fyfe,1962). These were the Methodist Boys' High School in 1874 and the Methodist Girls' High School in 1980. In the year 1960, the government of Sierra Leone took over the running of formal education from the missionaries. According to Lloyd (1967), the colonial government bequeathed to the West African states educational systems which were more egalitarian. There were virtually no private schools in the colonial period and mission schools were at least supervised by government officers.

In South Africa, during the white minority rule, formal education was largely controlled by the colonial government (Parker & Pfukani,1975). The Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Bantu Education Department created in 1958 gave the apartheid regime complete control over the education of the Bantu. Education was designed to adapt the Bantu to the roles the colonial government wished them to play. Teachers were forbidden to comment adversely on the policies of the government. The National Education Policy Act of 1967 gave the ministry of education power to decide on the curriculum to be used in white schools. In the white schools, the curriculum was designed to make the white children believe in white supremacy but in the schools of blacks, they were made to accept low position in the community. According to Parker and Pfukani, education in South Africa during colonialism had a lot of racial prejudice. Books read in Transvaal schools were selected from a special list that excluded alternative points of view.

The University of East Africa started in 1963 comprising of Makerere University College, Nairobi University College and Dar es Salaam University College (Okoth,2006). They university would admit students from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. It initially offered diploma courses but later started to offer degree courses.

In Tanzania, after independence, the Nyerere government ensured rapid growth of primary, secondary and university education (Kiruthu, et.al., 2011). Primary education was made free in 1977 and compulsory in 1978. Universities like the University of Dar es Salaam, Sokoine university and Muhimbili University have been built. In fact, Tanzania can boast of a fine university at Dar es Salaam, over a dozen teachers' colleges and many secondary and technical schools (Carstens & Reuben, 1972).

In Kenya, African communities experienced education transformation during the colonial period and more so started to get higher education especially in the late 1950's when Tom Mboya started the famous '*Student Airlift*'. According to Kimori, et.al., (2004), Wangari Mathaai from Nyeri was among the first beneficiaries of the project. The project was promoted by US Statesmen such as Bill Schinman (Mboya, 1986). Mboya continues to say that during 1957-58, Scheinman paid out of his own pocket for 53 students to fly to the US. The first charter aircraft with 81 students flew off in 1959. During the next two years, the number grew to 295 and by 1963, there were a total of 1,001 students from Kenya benefiting from it.

Education among the Agikuyu changed when the missionaries introduced western education. People took their children to schools and even developed their own independent schools. After independence, education continued to be expanded in Nyeri with more children joining schools due to the money economy, modernity and new religions. Middle-level colleges started to emerge.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

This work set out to investigate the history of formal education in Nyeri County from 1920 up to 1990. The study specifically focused on how formal education started in Nyeri County in the colonial period, how it developed through the colonial period and the changes it continued to undergo in independent Kenya. There has been several historical studies on formal education in Kenya but none of them has narrowed down to formal education in Nyeri County with a historical approach. Adebola (1978), carried out a history of western education among the Kikuyu in general from the year 1898 to 1952 but did not dwell specifically on Nyeri County. Lohrent (1976), studied the politics of educational development in Central and Southern North Nyanza which was not about Nyeri County. Kichamu (1978), studied the educational reforms and social change but generalized the whole of Kenya while Kamere (2012), did the growth and development of education in Kitui District with a case study of Kitui School. This study, therefore, studied an area which has not attracted attention of scholars.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to reconstruct the history of formal education in Nyeri County which would add new knowledge to the existing knowledge on the topic.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

The following were the objectives of the study:-

- To examine the emergence of formal education in Nyeri County from 1920 to 1945.
- To examine the developments in formal education in Nyeri County from 1946 to 1963.
- To investigate the changes in formal education in Nyeri County in the independence era, 1964-1990.

1.5. Research Questions

- How did formal education emerge in Nyeri County between 1920 and 1945?
- What were the developments in formal education in Nyeri County between 1946 and 1963?
- What changes have taken place in formal education in Nyeri County in the independence era, 1964-1990?

1.6. Justification of the Study

This study was about formal education in Nyeri County which has not been dealt with by any scholar before in a serious way. Those who have studied the history of formal education among the Agikuyu have done a general history of the same but this study narrowed down to Nyeri, thus being a special study which is of great importance. It shows the historic transformation of formal education in Nyeri County since 1920. The year 1920 was chosen since by this time, Christian missionaries had already penetrated into Nyeri and had started offering social services like education. The year 1945 was crucial to the study since it is after this year the World War II ex-servicemen started to demand higher education for Africans in Kenya. The 1963 was crucial since it is the year of independence in Kenya while 1990 was chosen as the right time to end the study since up to the present, it is about thirty years ago and History scholars consider history to be events which took place about thirty years ago at minimum.

1.7. Significance of the Study

The study adds new and more knowledge on the history of formal education in Nyeri County to the already existing knowledge on the same. It also shows the mistakes on and challenges of formal education in Nyeri County through the colonial and post – colonial times which will inform the County and National Governments of Kenya on formal education in Kenya.

1.8. Delimitation of the Study

This study involved a historical study of formal education in Nyeri County from 1920 up to 1990. The study started from 1920 because by this year, formal education in Nyeri had already started. It involved the residents of Nyeri only and covered the six constituencies in the county.

2. Review of Related Literature

2.1. The Period 1920-1945

The Christian missionaries introduced formal education in Nyeri County by setting up schools. They established primary and secondary schools near their stations where they taught literacy skills to African children with the main aim of enabling them to read the Bible. Other objectives of missionary education was to impart agricultural skills in the Africans, impart technical skills in them and to enable them do simple arithmetic. They began by setting up primary schools next to their mission stations. As Tindall (1968), reports, the missionaries were responsible for the spread of the beginning of literacy among many tribes in Africa. In 1924, Bishop Perlo, Vicar Apostolic of Nyeri, under the sponsorship of the Consolata Missionary Society opened the Kamwenja Teachers College in Nyeri and managed it up to 1958. The institution got its first African principal in 1970. This reference was important to the study as it shed light on how formal education started in Kenya.

Christian missionaries built schools next to their missions where they taught Africans how to read and write (Maranga, 2014). Some of the early schools in Kenya were Mang'u, Maseno and Tumu (ibid). This reference pointed to one of the earliest schools in Nyeri that offered formal education.

Colonial education in Africa was usually Eurocentric which promoted racism (Mazrui and Tidy, 1984). Cultural imitation of Europe was to be rewarded. At all levels of education, schools for Africans were mainly agencies for the spread of European languages and culture. African geography and history were ignored but European ones were emphasized in schools. Emphasis on European language, handicrafts and agriculture was valued. The quality of colonial education was poor and inadequate funds were invested in education. Science education and higher technical education for Africans were neglected. Agriculture was taught not as a science involving new technology and developing ideas but as an unpleasant but necessary drudgery. Teachers were unqualified and pupils regarded the lessons as a form of punishment. Although the work referred to here is not specific on our study, the reference made here was relevant to this study as it shows some of the flaws of colonial education in Africa.

Throughout the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's, mission schools especially primary schools were set up in Nyeri County mainly by the missionaries of the CSM and the Consolata Fathers. The colonial government later supported elementary and basic education for Africans and built several schools for them.

One such school in Nyeri was the Tumutumu School in Mathira Constituency. Dedan Kimathi, a fierce freedom fighter from Nyeri, schooled at Tumutumu and started teaching there in 1949 (Mbachu, 2012). Another educated young man, Oginga Odinga, was offered a teaching job as a pupil-teacher at Alliance High School to teach Maths by his principal called Carey Francis (Odinga, 1967). Others were Nyeri High School and Kagumo High School. Meredith (2005), observed that through the efforts of Christian missionaries, literacy and primary education were slowly introduced throughout Africa, south of Sahara and with the support of the colonial government, a handful of secondary schools were established. The Agikuyu of Nyeri started taking their children to school for formal education as opposed to the informal education they had before the coming of the European missionaries. Due to the presence of Christian missionaries, the Kikuyu were among the earliest Africans to embrace western education (Ochieng, 1989). This citation was helpful to this study as they shed light on how formal education started and grew among Africans and more so among the Nyeri Agikuyu.

Another development of formal education in Nyeri County was the establishment of independent schools by the locals themselves. Children of the locals were sent to those schools after they were sent away from the mission schools due to the FGM controversy with the church. The schools also emerged as a reaction of the Africans against

colonialism. Ochieng (1985), asserts that in 1929, the CSM at Tumutumu suspended all the members who would not agree to a church law forbidding FGM. This led to 400 members leaving the church and subsequently forming a Kikuyu Independent Churches and Schools Movement. This was relevant to this study since it showed how the culture of female circumcision among the Agikuyu of Nyeri led to the emergence of independent schools and churches.

The FGM crisis, as told by Hornsby (2012), made the Agikuyu to strengthen the independent schools and despite state hostility, they managed to grow rapidly. By 1936, Hornsby says that there were about 44 independent schools in Central Province. In Murang'a, the Agikuyu there founded an independent school at Gituamba away from the CMS control. The elders got permission from the then DC to construct both a church and a school there. Two elders provided their own land for construction. They were Kagere Gatundu and Gathia Gichohi of Thiru sub-clan. The success of the school at Gituamba inspired many other schools to start in Murang'a. The reference made here was important to the study as it shed light on who were responsible for the start of independent schools in Kikuyuland.

Independent schools among the Agikuyu were established by two education associations. These were the Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association (KKEA) and KISA. The two emerged as a result of the FGM stand-off between the Christian missionaries and the Agikuyu. KKEA was common in Kiambu while KISA was common in Nyeri and Murang'a. KISA was closely associated with the African Independent Pentecostal Church while KKEA was closely linked to KCA. KCA was an early political organization among the Agikuyu. By 1952, there were about 400 independent schools in Kenya (Eshiwani, 1993). The reference made here gave further knowledge on the founders of independent schools in Kikuyuland.

In its endeavours, KISA encountered a number of challenges. For instance, it had inadequate funds to support its pupils and schools. Many of its teachers were untrained. Its leaders and managers lacked proper skills of management. Missionaries fought the efforts of KISA leaders and disagreements among its leaders were not uncommon even with some demanding return of money and land they had given to the growth of independent schools.

Initially, the schools built for the education of Africans were made of mud and thatched with grass. They were found in remote villages. The schools were called 'bush schools'. They accommodated only a few students. They faced numerous challenges like inadequate trained teachers, lack of trained personnel, lack of enough facilities, harassment by the colonial regime, among others (Ndege, 2011). Though not specific on Nyeri, this work helped us understand the challenges experienced by the Africans in Kenya during the colonial period.

In 1911, a department of education was set up to provide grants to mission schools and to help in the construction of government schools. A law was also passed by the Legco to ensure development, control and supervision of schools by the colonial government. From 1911, provision of formal education in Kenya spread rapidly as the government gave grants to mission schools. In fact, by the year 1926, a number of Africans had completed the primary education course and were eligible to join secondary school.

Formal education in Kenya during the colonial period was discriminative. Kimori, et.al. (2004), wrote that the Prince of Wales (Nairobi School) and Duke of York (Lenana School) were for European boys only while the Kenya Girls' High School and Limuru Girls' were for European girls only. Schools for Indians were, for instance, the Asian Railway School and Allidina Visram. For the Africans their first secondary school was set up by the missionaries at Kikuyu in Kiambu. It was none other than Alliance High School. The first multi-racial school only started in Kenya in 1953 and that was Hospital Hill School. This reference showed us discrimination as one of the reasons as to why independent schools emerged in Nyeri County.

Africans in Kenya yearned for education because they wanted to rise to prominent positions in politics and in the economic sector. The missionary education offered to them was not favourable to them as it prepared them for small tasks like clerical work and being catechists. Being able to read the Bible was another aim of them being offered missionary education. In 1921, the Luo and the Abaluhya people of Western Kenya held a great meeting in a place called Lundha which led to the birth of the Young Kavirondo Association. Odinga (1967), asserted that the association called for a better education for the Luo and Luhya children than what the colonial government was giving them. Though the works referred to here are not specifically about Nyeri, they helped us understand the desire for a better education by people in Kenya.

2.2. The Period 1946-1963.

As from 1946, Africans in Kenya started to agitate for higher education. They started yearning for secondary and more so for university education which was hitherto accessed by the whites and the Indians only. This was after the Second World War where Kenyans participated as servicemen. During the war, the Kenyan servicemen met with other Africans from the continent and shared ideas of progress and liberation including academic liberation. When they returned to Kenya, they boldly demanded for social and economic advancement for them and their children. One such demand was education development. Kagumo High School in Nyeri became one of the first schools in Kenya to allow native blacks to sit for university level entrance exams (Chenge & Kivuitu, 2004). Mbiyu Koinange from Kiambu became the first Kenyan to earn a degree. He returned to Kenya from abroad and became the principal of Githunguri Teachers' College. The references made here were relevant to the study as they hinted on how higher education started in Nyeri. According to Singh (n.d.), by 1944, education in Kenya had expanded, and some Kenyans educated abroad had even acquired political positions, an example being that of Eliud Mathu who had been nominated a LegCo member. This was a relevant work to this study since it told us that Kenyans yearned for formal education.

The nationalists in Africa considered formal education as one of their most important agenda and which could lead people to where they desired to be (Mazrui, 2012). The nationalists insisted that elementary education for Africans

had to be expanded, that secondary education for Africans had to be adequately provided and African universities started (ibid). This reference was important to this study as it showed the role of African nationalists in the promotion of formal education in Africa.

In the late 1950's, Tom Mboya founded the *Student Airlift* which enabled many Kenyans to access higher education from abroad. Wangari Maathai from Tetu in Nyeri was one of the students who managed to get higher education through the good offices of Tom Mboya. The project was promoted by US Statesmen such as Bill Schinman (Mboya, 1986) who paid out of his own pocket for 53 students to fly to the US. The first group of 81 students flew off in 1959. This work was important as it informed us of some of the people who acquired higher education in Nyeri.

2.3. The Period 1964-1990.

After independence, formal education in Nyeri continued to change. The founding father of the nation of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, identified three major social enemies of the nation and ignorance was one. He therefore embarked on fighting ignorance. His government was determined to change the social colonial order that had been established by the colonizers for the last seventy or so years. Through African Socialism, a philosophy drafted through Tom Mboya, he was ready to set things straight. The philosophy led to the birth of the Harambee Philosophy still during the reign of Kenyatta. The two philosophies led to change in Nyeri in the areas of education. More schools were opened and school enrolment increased tremendously. Many *harambee* schools were built. Ochieng (1985), argues that of all the Harambee projects, education claimed the lion's share of resources. He continues to say that by 1966, Kenyatta said that there were 282 schools. In Nyeri some schools were named after Kenyatta in recognition of his role in the development of formal education in Kenya. An example is Kenyatta High School, Mahiga in Othaya. The KANU government and citizens took expansion of primary and secondary schools very seriously immediately after independence. Education was seen by the government as a future source of skilled manpower to replace expatriates in the civil service, professions, commerce and land (ibid). Muthua (n.d), wrote of how in 1973, the locals in Othaya of Nyeri were permitted by the Kenyatta Government to start a Form One class through *harambee* and the government posted a teacher for the class. He continues to narrate that in 1974, the government said that they had to build the secondary school separate from the primary school adjacent to it so that Forms One and Two would be a separate entity. Muthua relates that they conducted a *harambee* and called Honourable Mwai Kibaki as guest of honour. The fundraiser raised 150,000 shillings and helped build four classes and two blocks for staff quarters. The analysis was important to this study as it helped analyze the role of the Kenyatta government in educational change in Nyeri County.

According to Patel (1988), the first concern of the government of Kenya at independence was to ensure that its own citizens took effective control of the country's industrial and commercial sectors. The surest way to achieve this was said to be through trained manpower. This necessitated the education of the *wananchi*. At independence, only few youths attended school at all levels. In 1974, the first independent government gave free primary education from Standard One to Four and in 1975, free education was provided in all classes of primary education. This had the effect of increasing the number of school-going children. As for secondary education, the government funded more *harambee* schools (ibid). This reference also showed the role of government in developing formal education in Kenya. In 1964, a boarding secondary school for girls was started in Nyeri by the late Bishop Caesar Maria Gatimu. The school was under the administration of the Comboni Sisters between 1964 and 1983 but afterward it came under the leadership of African heads. Up to 1967, schools for the Africans were Alliance, Maseno, Mang'u, Kagumo, Nyeri and Kisii (Eshiwani, 1993). Other schools that were established in Nyeri County after independence were for example, Dr Kamundia Girls', Kangubiri Girls', Muruguru Girls', Muthua-ini Girls', Ruthagati Boys', Kiangoma Boys', Hiriga Girls', Kimathi Secondary, among others.

Arnold (1981), reported that in 1978, enrolment of learners in Kenya in primary schools had reached 2,994,991 while that of secondary schools had reached a total of 200,782 students, both boys and girls. This work was important to our study as it showed the progress of enrolment in formal education in Kenya. In addition, private institutions of formal education were set up in Nyeri in the independence era. This was after the government allowed private ownership to run side by side with public ownership. The institutions included those of primary, secondary and tertiary levels. Some are run by churches, others by individuals while others are run by groups of people. Academies especially of primary level sprung up during the Moi regime.

2.4. Identification of Research Gap

The foregoing literature review indicates some gaps in the social history of formal education in Nyeri County. None has looked into the history of formal education in Nyeri in a historical way in the period 1920-1990. Historians who have written about formal education in Nyeri have conducted their study in an anthropological way as opposed to a historical one. These gaps are what this study sought to fill. It was hoped that this study would produce a more comprehensive reconstruction of the history of formal education in Nyeri County from 1920 up to 1990.

3. Theoretical Framework

This study being a social phenomenon was guided by the social development theory. The theory was developed by people like Jacobs, Garry and Asokan, Victor Fic and Harlan. According to it, development is a process involving social change. Increasing awareness in people leads to social change and better organization. Whenever societies sense new and better opportunities for progress, they develop new forms of organization to exploit new chances. The people of Nyeri after noting that formal education would liberate them economically, they started looking for it. Initially, they were not

willing to go to school nor send their children to school. When the people of Nyeri noted that the mission schools were not providing adequate formal education to them, they formed the Independent schools. They also pushed for the establishment of a secular/government school-which was Kagumo. Through the years, the study found out that enrolment in schools continued to increase considerably due to the economic benefits formal education brought to them like jobs.

The new forms of organizations enable societies to employ the available social energies and skills to get the intended results. The theory helped the study to identify the better opportunities that formal education provided to the residents of Nyeri County in the colonial and independence eras. The Africans who embraced formal education were employed as teachers in the various schools in Nyeri. Others were employed in the various ministries of the country.

According to the theory, there must be a motive behind any social change and essential pre-conditions for such a change. The motive must be strong enough to withstand any impediment to social change. The motives the missionaries had in educating the people of Nyeri was to enable them read the Bible and embrace Christianity. Another motive of missionary education was to equip Africans in Nyeri with agricultural and technical skills to enable them work towards promoting the economy of the Kenya colony. Social development also requires supporting factors such as capital, infrastructure and technology. The development of formal education in Nyeri was supported by the Christian missionaries, the colonial government and the locals in terms of money, construction sites and labour. The study found out that the African chiefs provided land for the construction of schools and some even built the first schools. Chief Muhoya can be used here as an example for he built the Ihururu outschool. Productivity increases enormously as the level of knowledge rises. The theory therefore helped to interrogate the contribution of the Christian missionaries, the colonial government and the locals in the development of formal education in Nyeri County.

The threemain stages of social development are physical, vital and mental stages. The vital one refers to the dynamic and nervous social energies in human beings that make them to make accomplishments.

In the physical stage, the society is interested in bare survival and subsistence. People here follow traditions and little changes take place. As innovative thinking is deterred, people follow tradition unwaveringly and think very little outside the established guidelines. The church controls the spread of new knowledge. For the case of this study, the initial years of colonialism in Kenya can be viewed as the physical stage when the church was controlling formal education in Nyeri and the education only aimed at enabling people to read the Bible and acquire hygiene and technical skills required in industry.

The vital stage involves change and dynamism. Society becomes curious for knowledge. Demand for education rises among people. New innovative thoughts lead to new ways of life acceptable to people as being beneficial. The vital stage in Nyeri County was felt in the period after the World War 2 when the ex-soldiers demanded higher education that would enable people to compete with the Europeans in the formal sectors of the economy and in the white-collar jobs. This continued in the independence era. The theory helped the study to examine the period 1946 to 1963 as a vital stage of formal education in Nyeri County.

In the mental stage, practical application of minds generates lots of inventions. This leads to more developed types of social organizations. Increased ideas enable people to change social lives. Education spreads that enables people to proclaim human rights and to recognize the value of the individual. After independence, education in Nyeri changed the social lives of the locals in terms of better housing, family planning, diet and so forth.

The theory holds that one of the best ways of promoting development in the society is through education. Education enables each new generation to face future opportunities and challenges with knowledge gotten from the past. It shows generations the opportunities ahead of them and raises their aspirations for more achievements. It equips people with the mental ability needed to improve lifestyles.

However, the theory ignores the role of government in social development yet the government has a lot of influence in development. It also fails to clearly show the impediments to social change among people. The researcher was therefore keen not to ignore these aspects.

4. Research Design and Methodology

4.1. Research Design

The study used descriptive survey. Structured and unstructured interviews were used on the various participants.

4.2. Location of the Study

The study was conducted in the entire Nyeri County because it had the target population.

4.3. Target Population

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), a population is a complete set of individuals cases or objects with some common observable characteristics. The target population of this was the elderly and middle-aged people of Nyeri County. The elderly in the study were aged between 85 and 105, the medium aged were between 70 and 84 while the youngest were between 50 and 69. The elderly were very useful because they have lived through the colonial and post-colonial times while the middle-aged had a better memory of the more recent history.

4.4. Sampling Procedure and Size

Mugenda and Mugenda (2012) define sampling as any process of selecting a group of units, items or subjects from the population to be included in the study. The study applied purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques. Purposive sampling allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study (Mugenda,2008). It was used to reach in-depth information from the specific residents of Nyeri who had lived there for long enough and had the required information. Snowball sampling helped the researcher to get to the elders who have the history of formal education in Nyeri County through the elders first identified but were not so well versed with the history. Some elders therefore helped to identify others.

4.5. Sample Population

The sample population of the study was fifty two residents of Nyeri of ages 50 -105 who are either referred to as medium aged or elderly. 17 participants were used to answer questions under objective number one. 22 informants answered questions to do with objective number two while the remaining 13 answered questions related to the third objective. Gender balance was implemented by having at least a third of the sample population being of either gender. Each of the six constituencies of Nyeri provided at least seven informants. Fifty two participants were enough as the information provided by them was corroborated with other primary and secondary sources of information like archival and library information. Since informants of different ages were knowledgeable of the different historical periods of the study, the researcher interviewed people of between 50 and 105 years of age. The eldest informants of ages from 85 to 105 gave information largely about the period between 1920 and 1945, the medium aged as per the age bracket (70-84) provided information largely on the period 1946 and 1963 while the youngest (50-69) provided information largely on the last period of the study.i.e. 1964-1990.

4.6. Research Instrument

Research instrument refers to the tools used for collecting data (Onen & Oso,2009). This study applied structured and unstructured interviews. Questions in the interviews were open-ended (See Appendix 1 Parts B, C and D). The interviews comprised face to face interviews. Pens, pencils, notebooks and tape recorders will be used to record information.

4.7. Piloting of Research Instrument

The researcher first tested the efficiency of the scheduled interview questions using five participants. The piloting informed the researcher of any corrections and improvements he needed to make on the research instrument.

4.8. Testing for Validity and Reliability

The research instruments were designed to obtain both validity and reliability using the following:-

- Pre-testing using a sample of participants to ensure that the study covered objectives in terms of content and detail.
- Use of clear and precise interviews to boost response and to avoid ambiguity.
- Administering the same type of interview schedule with the same wording to all participants to boost reliability of the study.

4.9. Data Collection Method and Procedure

The study collected data from both primary and secondary sources. The Kenya National Archive provided important government records both colonial and post-colonial. Libraries like the Mount Kenya University Library and the Kenya National Library Services were visited by the researcher to get books that had the needed information. Internet sources were also used to add more knowledge. Information from these secondary sources was weighed against information collected from oral informants. Oral informants provided information through answering questions that were oral and open-ended. The informants were from all the six constituencies of Nyeri County. The researcher noted down the information gotten and taped some using a smart phone.

4.10. Ethical Considerations

The researcher got the required permission for research from the various relevant authorities. These were the National Commission for Science and Innovation NACOSTI, the County Commissioner of Nyeri and the County Director of Education of Nyeri. He informed the participants of the importance of the research and granted consent to those who did not wish to have their names disclosed. No participant was forced to provide information but they all did so willingly. The researcher acknowledged the authors of books from which he cited information as a way of avoiding plagiarism. After completion of the study, the findings will be made available for use by any relevant institution.

4.11. Data Analysis

Data analysis involves working with the data, organizing them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesizing them and searching for patterns. The data collected was analysed in the following ways:

- Information given in Kikuyu language was translated into English.
- All data collected was compared and grouped according to the various historical periods in the objectives of the study and finally coded using numerical. Data with similar information were given common numbers.

- Similarities and differences of the various data were established.
- Ambiguous data was interpreted well and categorized correctly.
- Data that was not in line with the objectives of the study was ignored.
- After sorting out the data, it was kept safely for later use. The data was later presented in a narrative form which involves thematic analysis. This form of analysis categorizes related topics and explains them (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). Conclusions and recommendations were finally made.

5. Emergence of Formal Education in Nyeri County (1920-1945): A Period of Elementary Formal Education

Formal education in Nyeri County was mainly introduced by the European missionaries working for the Presbyterians (CSM) and the Catholics (CCM). As they preached the gospel of Christianity, they also took the responsibility of educating the Africans as a way of civilizing them. As such, they built schools in their mission stations where they offered elementary (basic) education to their followers. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) for the Anglicans was not heavily felt since it only managed to evangelize in a small section of Othaya, next to Murang'a where it had its most influence in Kikuyuland (Washington, O.I., 16/8/2018). As Ochieng (1989) postulates, by 1920, missionaries dominated in the provision of formal education for Africans but state intervention increasingly became marked.

This chapter describes how the European missionaries started schools at Tumu Tumu and Mathari and, thereafter, extended their education to the other areas of Nyeri. It discusses the curriculum offered in the mission schools and the aid given to them by the colonial government. It shows how enrolment of learners progressed, the teachers who taught, the management of the schools by the missionaries, examinations done and the participation of Africans in the development of formal education in Nyeri. The chapter discusses some examples of early mission schools in the former district which were either Outschools, Bush schools or Village schools.

The Kagumo African School was started by the Government away from missionary influence after the residents of Nyeri agitated for a government-controlled school which would not insist on religion that was common in mission schools. In 1933, therefore, the Kagumo African Government School was opened and welcomed by many Nyeri people. This chapter discusses well the birth and early growth of the school. The Nyeri Indian School is also discussed in this chapter.

5.1. Formal Education Begins in Nyeri

Formal education in Nyeri County was introduced by two main missionary societies. The two were the Church of Scotland Mission (CSM), today otherwise known as P.C.E.A. and the Consolata Catholic Mission (CCM) from Italy. The CSM was based in Tumu Tumu in Mathira West Sub-county (Shelmith, O.I., 14/8/2018) while the CCM was based in Mathari in the present day Nyeri Central Sub-County which was originally in Tetu North Division (Muteru, O.I., 10/8/2018). The two competed against each other stiffly but CSM enjoyed a wider influence in the district (Waruguru, O.I., 9/8/2018; KNA/VP1/9/6: 1913-1931). The CCM was the first to be established in Nyeri in 1903 at Gekondi before spreading to Kaheti, Karima and Mathari while the CSM mission at Tumu Tumu was the second to be set up in 1908 by its missionaries and Kikuyu evangelists on the southern slopes of Tumu Tumu Hill (Mashu, 2017). The Church Missionary Society (CMS) of the Anglicans was not able to penetrate in Nyeri because of the competition and rivalry that existed among the missionaries. As already mentioned, the CMS only managed to establish itself in Othaya where it was near Murang'a, her main area of influence. It should be understood that the three missionary societies were not occupying the same areas. As Barker (1950) hinted, missionaries in Kenya agreed to establish no new stations within a 10-mile radius of each other, so that there would not be too much overlapping of their work. They were fiercely competing for followers. For instance, the colonial chief in charge of Chinga area, Chief King'ori had allowed the CCM to build a school in Chinga area but due to the missionary rivalry, the CMS refused (Wanjiru, O.I., 16/8/2018). The CMS was therefore only able to set up a school at Irende in Othaya, near the CMS-accepted area of Murang'a. The missionaries started with offering elementary education to the natives of Nyeri. In 1924, the D.C. of Nyeri, in his annual report, remarked that the CSM mission had made considerable progress.

Did the Agikuyu of Nyeri receive formal education well? And how was formal education received in Nyeri in the 1920s and 1930s? Initially, in the 1920s and 1930s, the attitude of the Agikuyu in Nyeri towards formal education was completely negative. This was common to all communities in Kenya (Mukathe, 2012). This is because it was altogether a new thing to them! A foreign one! Adebola (1978), observed that other reasons could be due to their nature of their indigenous system of education which was intimately related to their political, social and economic set-up and partly due to their reaction against the initial impact of colonialism on their society.

Parents would not allow their boys to go to school because they wanted them to always look after their goats, sheep and cattle in the forest (Kibiru, O.I., 9/8/2018 & Muteru, O.I., 10/8/2018). As such, boys who insisted on going to school and who would sneak away from home to attend school would be beaten by their fathers upon return in the evening. Kibiru (ibid) was not able to proceed to Standard Four because of the same attitude of parents. Gachanja (O.I., 13/8/2018), remembered how they would be beaten by their fathers for leaving their flocks to go to school. In fact, he said that the reason as to why he did not proceed to Mathari Central School after receiving elementary education at Gekondi CCM School for a higher education was grazing. Mbuthia wa Nyota (O.I., 16/8/2018) was another one who said that he failed to go to school because of grazing. Muteru Muthoga (O.I., 10/8/2018) told of how his elder brother had to flee the Ihururu area of Tetu to Othaya where he hid himself in order to go to school. His relatives tried as much as possible to keep the schooling of Muteru's brother a deep secret because if the Ihururu relatives got to know, it would cause a serious conflict between them and those in Othaya. Muteru later became the first son in their family to obtain formal education to the fullest after his parents saw that formal education had instilled the virtues of responsibility and hardwork in him (ibid).

Gichini wa Gakuru (O.I., 17/8/2018) found it hard to go to school in the 1920s because his father refused to buy him writing materials (slates) and books.

As for the girls, going to school was considered as being a *malaya* and girls would severally be restricted from going to school (Salome, O.I., 8/8/2018; Shelmith, O.I., 14/8/2018). If a girl went to school and started speaking in English or Swahili, no man would bother to approach her for marriage (Muteru, O.I., 10/8/2018). Salome, an elderly woman of 102 years of age narrated to the researcher how her mother would wake up very early in the morning to prevent her from going to school. She further narrated that parents, during the 1920s, would break any slates (writing materials) they would see around as a way of discouraging their children from schooling. Monica Wambui (O.I., 11/8/2018), informed this study that during her early childhood in the late 1930s and the early 1940s, girls in Nyeri would hide in the homes of the elites for them to be able to go to school. She asserted that girls would attract beatings from parents for going to school. If girls went to school, she added, that their fathers would say that *iyoninjohiyaitika*-that's spilt liquor. This would point to the thought that to those fathers, a girl going to school meant loss of bride price in the form of drinks and other things. In those days, girls were to grow up, get married; and fetch wealth for their father in the form of bride wealth (Muthoni & Wangui, O.I., 16/8/2018).

Ngima Rutharia (O.I., 16/8/2018), said that she did not go to school because of the negative attitude her parents had towards formal education. They would refer to girls who went to school as *jangili*. In her narration, she told of a girl in her village who attempted to attend the only school in the locality, the Irende CMS school but she was beaten by her parents until she fled home completely. She said that then, elites would go and search for people in their homes to try and take them to school but they would not respond positively. For this reason, schools in Nyeri had very low attendance in the 1920s and early 1930s. At the Kiriti Independent School, for instance, Salome Muthigio (O.I., 8/8/2018) remembered that they would only be about four or five learners in their class in a day. Her assertions were confirmed by Peter Kibiru (O.I., 9/8/2018) who schooled in the same school in the early 1930s. At the Munyange Independent School in Othaya, learners in a single class would be about seven in the 1930s (Karari, O.I., 11/8/2018). What is more interesting, according to Salome, is that the four or five learners were those who would manage to sneak out of home and go to school. As Gachanja (O.I., 13/8/2018) remembered, the few girls at the CCM Gekondi Outschool would be heckled for joining school by the ones who were not attending school. Charity Kirigo (O.I., 14/8/2018) schooled at Tumu Tumu Central School from Standard I up to IV and then proceeded for training as a nurse in the same institution but she never completed her course since she got married.

By 1924, the CSM had a Central School at the mission centre (Tumu Tumu) and 56 Outschools which comprised of Intermediate Schools, Bush Schools and Village Schools (KNA/VP1/9/6: 1913-1931). Examples of Village Schools in 1924 by the CSM were Kwa-Mwangi, Mihuti and Headman Murigo's (ibid). Mihuti was an Outschool in Mukurwe-ini (Maigwa, O.I., 7/8/2018). 3,000 natives from the various parts of Nyeri were under education in the CSM schools by 1924.

In 1925, there were 4 stations of CCM with schools in form of churches. They included Karima in Othaya, Gekondi and Kaheti in Mukurwe-ini and Kamakwa in the present-day Nyeri Town (ibid). All the CCM major schools including Mathari had been born by the Gekondi Mission which had been born by the CCM at Tutho in Murang'a. The four major stations would provide schools where people went to get higher education of that time after getting elementary education in the small Village and Bush schools. For instance, many people from other parts of Othaya would complete elementary education in Village and Bush schools and go to Karema school for more advanced education (Nyota, O.I., 16/8/2018). They would afterwards leave the four main stations to join Mathari Central School for the highest formal education for the Catholics in Nyeri County at that time (ibid). The third president of Kenya, Mwai Kibaki, is one of those who followed that route as he started his elementary education at Gatuya-ini before proceeding to Karema School (Ngima & Muthoni, O.I., 16/8/2018). The four stations of the CCM in the reserves were very instrumental in expanding education in Nyeri County. People would go and be taught in them and then go to the Village and Bush schools to teach others. These elites spearheaded the building of schools in their villages. This way, formal education spread quickly (ibid).

5.2. Classification of Early Mission Schools in Nyeri County

In our first period of formal education in Nyeri, i.e. 1920-1945, a school providing education only to the end of Standard II was called Elementary A School. A school providing education inclusive of Standard IV was called Elementary B School. A school providing education inclusive of Standard VII was called Elementary C School. A school providing education to children of up to 14 years of age or Form II was called a Junior Secondary School. A school which provided education up to university scholarship or Intermediate Arts Standard was called a Senior School (KNA/VP1/9/6: 1926).

5.3. Financing of Early Mission Schools

The schools would be financed by the missionaries and the colonial government. In 1928, for instance, the Local Native Council (LNC) in Nyeri gave a total of 3,000 development of African education (KNA/VP1/9/6: 1928). In 1929, the CSM received 4,700 sterling pounds as grants-in-aid (KNA/VP1/9/6: 1929). The Mathari school, however was not receiving any grants (ibid). The Advisory Committee on education recommended education for the natives to be offered through the Christian missionaries and as a result, the government instituted the policy of grants-in-aid to mission bodies to train what the government demanded. E.g. Training African artisans. In 1929, the LNC in Nyeri voted Kenya Shillings 100,000 for the establishment of a government school (ibid). Mission schools were producing pupils to join Standard IV and VII and, undoubtedly, the 'the natives are much disappointed over the delay in establishing a Government School with the money voted. It is to be hoped that a start can be made with a school at Nyeri early next year. The Native Council will willingly vote more money for the maintenance.' (ibid). The demand for education was outrunning the missions' resources

and there was a remarkable increase in school enrolment of 50% by the year 1930. The LNCs did a lot to extend African education (Simba, 2012).

5.4. Examples of Early Schools at the CSM Tumu Tumu Mission

The Girls' Boarding School at Tumu Tumu

Its normal school day started before 7 am and ended at 6 pm. It observed the following timetable:-

Before 7am - Drill, prayers and breakfast

7 am – 9.30am - Kindergarten school.

7 am -10 am – Elementary school, Sub - standard (Nursery) to Standard IV, teacher apprentices teach under supervision.

10am -10.30 am – Church service

10.30 am – 12 pm – Teacher apprentices do manual work, carpentry, gardening or attend special classes

12pm – 1.30 pm – Dinner and recreation

1.30 pm – 4.30 pm – Afternoon school, Standard IV to Form 1 male apprentices, Outschool teachers and a few boarders.

4.30 pm – 6 pm – Games and religious classes

Its medium of instruction was English and Swahili (Wathiaka, O.I., 7/8/2018). The pioneer girls in this school were viewed with admiration by their contemporaries and were highly respected and sometimes feared. They had been widely known as *mambere* by people- meaning the pioneers (Muthigio, O.I., 8/8/2018). The Tumu Tumu School was started by Mr. Barlow whom the Agikuyu in Nyeri used to refer to as *Bwana* Barlow (Wanja, O.I., 14/8/2018).

5.5. Kindergarten School

It had 8 blackboards, 7 tables and forms, a table and a chair for the teacher, a cupboard, harmonium, pictures and a large quantity of useful kindergarten material. The school was under the leadership of Ms M.B. Pirie who was assisted by Johana Wanjau, three teacher apprentices and three village girls who received a subsistence allowance. The school was intended for children of more or less normal school age(3 years entry and pass out at 9 or 10 years at Standard 1). The school had the following timetable:-

Washing, drill and hygiene – daily period of 20 minutes

Bible – daily period of 15 minutes

Counting – 2 periods of 25 minutes and 3 periods of 20 minutes

Singing – 3 periods of 25 minutes

Reading – 5 periods of 20 minutes

Games and gardening – 3 periods of 20 minutes

Writing – 3 periods of 20 minutes

Nature story – 1 period of 20 minutes

English – 1 period of 20 minutes

Boys' drill – 2 periods of 30 minutes

Girls' serving – 2 periods of 30 minutes

Drawing and handwork – 2 periods of 30 minutes per week. Prayers were also part of the timetable.

The handwork was for example making an umbrella of banana bark. This Kindergarten School had the following entry in its register during 1928:

CLASS	ROLL			TOTAL AVERAGE ATTENDANCE
	Boys	Girls	Total	
Beginners I	6	9	15	9
Beginners II	5	8	13	7
Board I a	6	5	11	8
Board I b	8	2	10	9
Board I c	7	8	15	10
Board II a	8	3	11	9
Board II b	3	10	13	12
Board V	4	14	18	13
Standard I b	1	4	5	4
TOTAL	48	63	111	81

Table 1: Entry of the Register at the Tumu Tumu Kindergarten School, 1928.

Source: Kenya National Archive

5.6. The Elementary School

It had buildings like the church and a block of classrooms made of poles and banana bark with earth floors. 17 blackboards were attached to the walls of the church. Its classes ran parallel to those in the Kindergarten School. At the time of inspection, 30 teachers were teaching in the school. Classes included those of the lowest apprenticeship up to Standard IVB. African teachers employed were Johana Kirongothe (as Supervisor), Simeon Mwagiru (in charge of Board 1), Gerishon Mugo (in charge of Board IV), Justin Kabuiko (in charge of Standard IVB), Isaiah Wahome (in charge of Standard IVC), Elijah Njeru (also in Standard IVC), Henry Mahinda (in charge of Elementary B Exam Candidates), Arthur wa Tutu (in charge of Board VI).

In this school, the lower classes did Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic. Geography, Hygiene and Swahili were added in the curriculum of Standard II. English, Geography and Drawing were added in Standard IV. The disciplines were tested at various stages using exams.

The various classrooms had various equipment. These were : 15 desks with ink wells, each desk to seat six pupils, 7 maps, 2 blackboards, cupboard, chair and a table for the first classroom, 12 desks to seat six pupils, 5 maps, 6 blackboards, cupboard, a table and a chair in the second classroom, 16 desks to seat six students, 4 blackboards, 3 maps, a cupboard, a table and a chair in the third classroom, 6 desks to sit 6 pupils, 4 maps and a large blackboard in the fourth classroom and finally, 10 desks each to sit six learners, 8 blackboards, 2 maps, a table and a chair in the fifth classroom.

5.7. *The Afternoon School*

This school was held in the classrooms used by the Elementary School of the morning. Its school hours were between 1.30 pm and 4.30 pm divided into four periods with a short break at the end of the second period. It had the following classes:-

5.8. *Standard IVC – The Lower Group*

7 pupils in the class were male apprentices while 9 of them were female who boarded. The teacher in charge of the school was Johana Wanjau who doubled up as the Kindergarten School teacher in the morning. Its curriculum was the 3R's, Hygiene, Geography and Drawing. Reading and Writing were examined and were well performed.

5.9. *Standard IV C – The Upper Group*

It had 18 male apprenticeships and 3 Outschool teachers. The teacher in charge was Johana Kirongothe who doubled up as the Elementary School Supervisor. Swahili was an added subject in this school. Subjects examined were Arithmetic in which performance had been weak and Swahili in which performance was also weak.

2.4.4.3 *Standard V*

It had 4 male apprentices and 2 teachers. The teacher in charge was Henry Mahinda. History and English were added in the curriculum of this class. Swahili was poorly performed.

Standard VI

It had 7 male boarders and 1 girl. The teacher in charge was Teacher William. English was examined and was fairly performed. Geography was fairly well performed as well.

Standard VII – The Lower Group

There were 13 male apprentices. The teacher in charge was Stanley Kiama, a Native Headmaster.

Standard VII – The Upper Group

It had 9 male apprentices. Its teacher was Miss Pirie. The results in English in this group were satisfactory. At 3 pm, certain Outschool teachers came in for preparation for the Elementary B teachers Exam and the two classes were conducted by the same teacher. The system involved Blackboard Writing, Criticism and Blackboard Drawing and Method.

Form I

It had 10 pupil apprentices, 5 carpenters and 5 teachers. The teacher in charge was Miss Low. Girls here did such courses as cultivation, sewing, cleaning, drill, washing, ironing, mending, knitting, mat-making and cutting out garments under Miss Brown's guidance.

Other Schools Away from the Tumu Tumu Central School

They were of three categories: Outschools, Intermediate Schools and Village Outschools.

5.9.1. *Outschools*

They were small and situated within a radius of five miles of Tumu Tumu Hill. Pupils were mostly young and the work given was mostly very elementary up to about Standard I. There was only one session during mornings and which ended at 10 am. The teachers handling the learners here were assisted by one or more teacher apprentices who returned to the Central School at Tumu Tumu at 10 am.

5.9.2. *Intermediate Schools*

They were larger in size. They were found in various parts of Nyeri. They had two sessions. The first session of the morning hours reached Standard II. The afternoon session was for assisting teachers in the neighbourhood.

5.9.3. *Village Outschools*

They were small in size and population. Some of them were attached to the Intermediate Schools. State-aided teachers were teaching in these schools. Examples of these schools were:

5.9.4. *Mahiga*

It was an Intermediate school offering Elementary B2. Its building was made of banana bark walls and roof. It had 113 pupils for the morning session and 12 for the afternoon session. Subjects offered in the school were Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Swahili, Hygiene, Geography and English. The school had a field for football. Attendance to the school was not satisfactory. The teacher in charge was Mr. Ibrahim Karue who had obtained an Elementary B School Certificate in 1923.

He was assisted by Teacher Wambugu wa Miana who had no certificate. It was the first school to be built in the Mahiga Location of Othaya (Warutho, O.I., 16/8/2018).

5.9.5. Nyeri

This was an Intermediate Elementary B School. Its building was fairly large with wooden walls, iron roof and ceiling. The teachers in charge of the school were Naaman Githaya who had obtained an Elementary B School Certificate in 1924 and William Muthayani who had a Junior Secondary School Certificate of 1926. The school hours were between 7am and 9.30am and between 1.30 pm and 4.30 pm. It had 74 pupils attending the morning session and 11 pupils of the afternoon session. Its curriculum was up to Standard II in the morning session and up to Standard IV in the afternoon session. The subjects taught in the school were Arithmetic, Hygiene, Geography, Swahili and English. European supervision in the school was slight. It was later named Nyamachaki Primary School after the white woman who left the Tumu Tumu Station for Nyeri Town to spread the gospel of the missionaries. The woman had been nicknamed *Nyamachaki* by Africans due to his habit of paying workers using cheques (Kiriba, 13/8/2018).

5.9.6. Kiamwangi

This was an Intermediate Elementary B School. Its building was made of wattle walls roofed with banana bark. The teachers in charge were Meshek Muragi, who had an Elementary B School Certificate. It was one of the oldest schools in Mathira (Mundia, O.I., 7/8/2018).

5.9.7. Magutu (Murigu)

This was an Intermediate Elementary A School. Its building was made of banana bark walls and roof. The teacher here was Zecharia Wathirua, who had an Elementary B School Certificate. School hours were between 7am and 10 am. It reached Standard II. Subjects taught were the 3R's, Geography and Swahili. Drill was not taught. Swahili was poorly performed. Its school shamba was just like other school shambas. The school had 57 students. It had been born by Tumu Tumu (Kirigo, O.I., 14/8/2018).

5.9.8. Ihururu

It was an Intermediate Elementary A School. Its classroom was made of grass roof. Walls were made of banana barks and benches were split trees. Miriam Wangari (O.I., 8/8/2018) schooled there in the 1940s and she remembered that the school was built of *magoto* (banana barks) and since it was a CSM school, children belonging to the neighbouring CCM Mathari and Kamwenja would not be allowed to study at Ihururu School due to the denominational nature of missionary education. The teacher here was Jakubu Kimamo, who had an Elementary B School Certificate. It had 91 pupils and it run from 7 am to 10 am. It had subjects like the 3R's, Geography and Hygiene. It also owned a football field. This was the pioneer school in Tetu North after which the CSM spread education to Karunaini, Kanjora, Wandumbi and later to Gathuthi in Thegenge Location (Muthigio, O.I., 8/8/2018).

5.9.10. Tambaya

It was an Intermediate Elementary A School. Its building was simple like those of the schools discussed above. It had 80 pupils in the morning and 12 in the afternoon. The morning session ran from 7 am to 10 am while the afternoon one was from 2 pm to 4 am. It had 2 small gardens and a football field. It offered the same subjects with the other schools.

5.9.11. Ndiaini

This was a Village Elementary an Outschool. Its building was made of grass walls and banana barks roof. It was near Gakindu in Mukurwe - ini. The teacher in charge was Ibrahim Thuku. It had 88 pupils.

5.9.12. Ragati

This was a Village Elementary A School of the Kiamwangi Intermediate School. It lacked a school garden but had a field. Its teacher was Hezekiah Gakuru. Its classroom was as simple as of the aforementioned schools.

5.9.13. Wairagu (Ngaini)

This school was also called Ngaini. It was a Tumu Tumu Outschool. Its building was so small and in bad state in need of repair. It was an Elementary A School. The teacher in charge was Samuel, an Elementary B graduate. It had a very small shamba. The number of pupils was 29 and it reached Standard I.

5.9.14. Kiruru

This was a Tumu Tumu Elementary A School. Its building was as simple as of the already discussed schools. The teacher here was Gerishon, an Elementary B School graduate. He was assisted by an apprentice. It had 15 pupils. Subjects taught in the school were Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. It had a very diminutive (small) shamba, no larger than a dining room table and a small patch of grass for playground. It was classified as Standard II.

5.9.15. Gathigira

It was a Tumu Tumu Outschool and Elementary A School. It was located just below the Tumu Tumu Hill. Its building was very small with sticks walls and grass roofs. Its only equipment was three tree trunks. It had an aided teacher called Hurlbert Mathangani. Pupils in this school used to skip school often. It had 15 pupils and a tiny shamba. Apart from the above pioneer schools, other early primary schools in Nyeri which started as Village Schools were Kaigonde, Mung'aria (Wanja, O.I., 14/8/2018), Wamagana, Gathuthi (Ndung'u, O.I., 18/8/2018), Muruguru, Wandumbi, Kiangoma (Wangiga, O.I., 14/8/2018), Ruthagati, Kiriko, Ngunguru, Kianjogu (Waruguru, O.I., 9/8/2018), Mutathi-ini (Shelmith, O.I., 14/8/2018) and Kibutio (Kibiru, O.I., 13/8/2018). St Cecilia Boarding was another one, a girls' primary school which received girls from all the CCM small schools in Nyeri. They would then obtain higher education at St Cecilia. The Late Professor Wangari Maathai received her Intermediate level education at this school as from 1951 (Gichema, et.al., 2014). The school was later upgraded into a teacher training college for women (Anjelica, O.I., 9/8/2018).

5.10. The FGM Controversy and its Impact on Formal Education in Nyeri

In 1929, among the Agikuyu, not only from Nyeri but from all over Kikuyuland, there was widespread dislike of the missionary teaching in Nyeri on the female circumcision rite which had made the Kikuyu demand for secular education and for a Government controlled non-religious school as opposed to a mission one (KNA/VP1/9/6 : 1929). Missionary teachings deterred some cultural practices like FGM which were considered moral by the Agikuyu (Wanyoike, 2016). In Nyeri, the campaign against FGM did not cause a big disturbance in mission education at first. Later, however, it led to the birth of Independent Schools. 'It was only a ripple compared to the stir in the Kiambu District.' It did not cause any serious feelings between the natives of Nyeri and the CSM at Tumu Tumu. The desire for education outweighed the dislike of the missions' teaching against FGM. Education and religious issues were separated in the district. The issue was between baptism and FGM and not education and FGM. That way, people continued to enroll for education in the mission schools. The test was religious not educational. In the end, it is the number of baptismal candidates which reduced (ibid). As Edgert (1989) posits, many Kikuyu members left the Church of Scotland (PCEA) in protest against its anti-circumcision policy. They became known as *aregi* (opposition). This is attested to by Gichini wa Gakuru (O.I., 17/8/2018). Those who supported the FGM policy were called *Agikuyuakirore* (Waruiru, 1971).

5.11. The Rise of Independent Schools in Nyeri

Starting from early 1930s, there emerged schools called 'Independent Schools'. These schools were started by the Africans themselves away from European missionary influence. They were mainly started due to the cultural interference by the missionaries, especially the female circumcision controversy of the late 1920s. This female circumcision issue erupted in Kiambu when the Presbyterians (CSM) missionaries at Kikuyu had a fight with the Kikuyu, insisting that the latter had to stop circumcising their girls if they wanted to have their children receive education in mission schools (Mundia, O.I., 7/8/2018). This fight spread to the district of Nyeri among the CSM missionaries at Tumu Tumu. Girls who got circumcised were therefore chased away from the mission schools.

As Kibiru (O.I., 13/8/2018) asserted, the girls who were left in the CSM schools would be belittled and mocked by the ones who belonged to the Independent Schools. The former would be referred to in a derogative term as 'deacons' by the latter (ibid) and circumcised boys and young men would not talk to them (Gachanja, O.I., 13/8/2018). Ochieng (1985) asserted that in 1929, the CSM at Tumu Tumu suspended all the members who would not agree to a church law forbidding FGM. Consequently, 400 members left. An association of protestant churches had made a resolution of banning FGM. This gave rise to Kikuyu Independent churches and schools. At Kerichu CSM school near Nyeri Town, for instance, such girls run to the nearby Gachika Independent School (Gakuru, O.I., 17/8/2018). The missionaries saw the culture as a barbaric one and which mutilated women's genitals only to cause implications at birth (Kiruthu, et.al., 2011). However, the Agikuyu elders insisted that it was their age-old culture which made a girl graduate into a woman and which prevented sexual immorality among girls. In fact, they claimed that uncircumcised girls had become ill-mannered and had gone to Nairobi to engage in prostitution. Elders complained of lost bride price which they would have earned had such girls gotten married (ibid).

Who started these schools? Independent Schools in Kikuyuland were started by two Kikuyu education associations; the Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association (KKEA) and the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA). KKEA was common in Kiambu while KISA was common in Nyeri and Murang'a. It was KISA that started Independent Schools in Nyeri. KISA was established in 1929 and was connected with the African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa (AIPCA). It arose due to the female circumcision controversy in Kikuyuland (KNA/DC/EBU/4/5). It opened many Independent Schools in Kikuyuland –including Nyeri with monies provided by the Agikuyu who were out to protect their female circumcision culture which they termed as important and beautiful. By 1934, KISA had 24 schools in Kenya with a good number of pupils of both sexes.

According to Wambui (O.I., 11/8/2018), missionary education was not adequate to Africans as it only prepared them to know how to serve the white man like to 'count his eggs, his calves, measure his milk, and so forth. Therefore, Africans decided to start their own schools where they would ensure that the right education was offered to their children.' Independents in Nyeri were unhappy with elementary education that only reached Standard IV (Karari, O.I., 11/8/2018 & Wambui, O.I., 11/8/2018). They were unhappy of not being allowed to advance in formal education. As Sifuna and Otiende (2006) asserted, Africans took an active role during the inter-war period in providing education for themselves as a result of what they saw as a deliberate effort on the part of the colonial administration to limit their educational opportunities.

However, the issue of female circumcision was the main cause of the rise of these Independent Schools (Ndirangu, O.I., 11/8/2018, Kibiru, O.I., 9/8/2018 & Waruguru, O.I., 9/8/2018). The CSM at Tumu Tumu was bitterly fighting the circumcision of girls and would not allow the observers of the tradition to attend its schools in Nyeri. Catherine Waruguru, an informant of this study remembered very well and happily, how on one day in the 1940s when the PCEA parents of Tumu Tumu invaded a group of girls who were about to be circumcised enmasse in her village in Mathira. Political freedom was another reason for the rise of these schools (Karari, O.I., 11/8/2018). Africans started the schools as a way of showing their disappointment at the white rule. It was a way of indirectly saying that they disliked the colonizers. Independents viewed the mission schools as colonial schools (Muthoni & Wangui, O.I., 16/8/2018). Children of the Independent Schools belonged to parents who believed that the white man must go and who did not believe in the religion brought by him but believed in the Gikuyu religion (Mundia, O.I., 7/8/2018). This tells us that they were also started because of opposing the religion brought by the white man (Kang'eri, O.I., 8/8/2018; Wangari, O.I., 8/8/2018)

The object of KISA was to further the interests of the Kikuyus and its members and to safeguard the homogeneity of such interests in matters relating to their spiritual, economic, social and educational upliftment. According to Wathiaka (O.I., 7/8/18), Independent schools in Nyeri were of people who were against Europeans and people who were discussing African issues of how to develop the Africans. The association, in a meeting held at the Jeanes School in Kiambu, on the 11th of August in 1936, was advised by the Director of Education and other Government officials to cooperate with the Department of Education in the colony. It was advised to follow the Government syllabus in all its schools. These schools were opened in all parts of Nyeri where the Agikuyu lived in large numbers, with the exception of Kieni since Kikuyus were few there and Europeans were so many. Examples of places where these schools were built include Gikumbo in Mathira East (Mundia, O.I., 7/8/2018), Gathinga (Mwai, O.I., 14/8/2018), Kiriti, Ihururu, Gachatha, Mung'aria (Ndirangu, O.I., 11/8/2018), Muthua-ini and Giakanja in Tetu, Karindi and Muthuthi in Mukurwe-ini (Kiriba, O.I., 13/8/2018), Gachika and Ngangarithi (Gakuru, O.I., 17/8/2018) in Nyeri Town and Witima in Othaya (Nyota, O.I., 16/8/2018).

Independent Schools were closed down by European missionaries but later, KISA re-opened them after obtaining license from the Education Department of the colony. The Kikuyu Private Schools (Independent Schools) lost influence and prestige in 1933 mainly due to economic depression and lack of cash. They were not able to pay their teachers more than a subsistence of 12 shillings a month (KNA/VP1/9/7: 1933). The exam of the Kagumo Government School did a good deal to bring home to the Kikuyu the low standard of the Independent Schools. Out of the 90 boys selected to join the Kagumo School, only 2 came from the Independent Schools while the rest were from the mission schools. The Independent Schools also faced a perpetual shortage of funds.

In 1937, an Independent school was opened at Kiamariga without permission but was eventually closed but not until a prosecution and an appeal to the Supreme Court had taken place. However, the appeal was dismissed (KNA/VP1/9/7: 1933-1937). In 1938, the KISA schools had started making efforts to cooperate with the government and fall in with the policy of education Department (KNA/VP1/9/8: 1930-1948). The medium of instruction in the schools was Kikuyu for the beginners. English was taught from Standard 3 and from Standard 4 onwards, the medium of instruction was English. Kiswahili and other languages were optional in the Upper Standards.

The Independent Schools were always in competition and rivalry with the mission schools as the missionaries always tried to have more pupils join their schools. They also 'did their best to prevent the allocation of any funds to the Independent Schools Association whom the unofficial members of the Nyeri District Education Board (DEB) decided should receive some assistance in view of the general improvement in their schools and their willingness to co-operate with the government.' (ibid). One of the major incidents of rivalry was in 1942 with the Catholic School at Karema. The Karema Father reported that the 'Independents were holding an unauthorized sports meeting and in consequence the meeting was stopped. On that Sunday the Independent Pastor took the subject of 'fire' as his sermon and the Catholic teachers' house unexpectedly went up in flames that night. Although it was impossible to find the perpetrators, the matter was amicably settled by a collection among the Independents for a new house.' (KNA/VP1/9/8: 1942).

These schools used to engage teachers trained in the Independent teachers college, Githunguri in Kiambu (Waithaka, O.I., 16/8/2018). Their followers had to attend the AIPCA church and observe Kikuyu traditions like circumcision of girls and polygamy. However, polygamy was optional.

It is worth noting that the KISA schools enjoyed the membership and support of the first president of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, who was a staunch follower of the AIPCA church (Karari, O.I., 11/8/2018). Since he was against the white rule in the country, Kenyatta did not believe in the mission churches and their schools. In fact, he used to visit the KISA schools in Nyeri and to offer them moral support and guidance. When time came for Kenyatta to go to Europe to present the demands of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), his transport costs were met by the Independents of Nyeri and other Kikuyulands. Even the expenses of his studies abroad were met by the Independents (Muraya, O.I., 18/8/2018; Karari, O.I., 11/8/2018). Karari remembered that every Independent had to contribute towards Kenyatta's higher education in Europe. He said that in Nyeri, anyone without money to contribute would have his *kabuti* – jacket taken and sold to help raise money. The KISA followers wanted Kenyatta to go and learn and therefore get to know what the whites already knew, since they were considered more civilized by the Africans (ibid).

Independent schools displayed the capacity and ability of Africans to organize themselves and provide education for their children. But more importantly, they served as a catalyst for the colonial administration to continually change education policies to keep pace with the demand for education expansion. Unfortunately, the colonial education policies continued to favour the European community in financing, curriculum, structure and development. At independence, the colonial education was still divisive with Europeans getting priority closely followed by Asians while the Africans stayed at

the bottom of the colonial education ladder (<https://informationcradle.com/kenya.education/history-of-education-in-kenya/>). Freed from mission control, the schools could practice female circumcision and other Kikuyu customs as they saw fit. As we said earlier, the Independent Movement members earned the derogatory name-*aregi*- while the Kikuyus loyal to the PCEA church were called *kirore* (thumbprint) for their support of the missionary ban on FGM (Sandgren, 1976; Gakuru, O.I., 17/8/2018).

The Indian School-Nyeri (KNA/AV/12/207)

The school was started by the Indian community in 1928 and its president was Mr. Shah Champs Jevshi. The school was situated near the Asian Quarter in the lower part of Nyeri Town which is today near Temple Road (Muteru, O.I., 10/8/2018; Washington, O.I., 16/8/2018). It had to be located in town because the Indians were living in Nyeri town where they carried out various kinds of businesses (Kang'eri, O.I., 8/8/2018). It held classes in a private building of Mr. Mohammed Ally Rattansi. This is further confirmed by Karari D.W. (O.I., 11/8/2018), who noted that the school was held in one of the homes of the Indians. This tells us that the school served poor Indians (Mahindu, O.I., 8/8/2018). The school was exclusively for the Indians who would not mix with the Africans at all (Thitai, O.I., 11/8/2018). Because of their different culture, the Indians would not mix with the Africans in school (Maigwa, O.I., 7/8/2018).

It had Standards named Gujerati and English. It had one desk for typing on, 5 chairs, 4 long tables, 5 benches, 1 clock, 1 blackboard, 3 maps, 2 picture charts, 2 globes of the world and some kindergarten material. Subjects taught in the school were Arithmetic of infant classes up to 12 x 12 known by heart, addition and subtraction which was up to 10; and was well understood, Geography of the Kenyan colony and Typing using a typewriter.

The school had 23 boys and 13 girls of ages between six and sixteen in 1934. The total average daily attendance of the school throughout the month of June 1934 was 32.2. It used to receive a grant from the government. In April 1934, for instance, it received 137.50 shillings as grant and 143.50 shillings in May of the same year. In March 1934, the school had received 127 shillings. In 1933, its teacher was Mr. P.N. Dave who was fairly capable but lacked training to enable him deal with the complicated organization of such a school. He received a salary of 200 shillings per month. Staff was a serious problem as only one teacher taught the whole school. The school had a great deal of confusion with regard to the classification of the students in it.

5.12. The Birth and Growth of Kagumo Government African School

The Kagumo School was opened on 21 January 1933 with 90 boarders, of whom 70 were from Nyeri area mostly of the CSM Elementary Schools (Gachanja, O.I., 13/8/2018). It was opened by the Honourable P.C. of Central Province (KNA/VP1/9/7). The school started as a primary school before becoming a teachers' college. This was through the intervention and mediation of the African Council. It was a Government school for boys (Kirigo, O.I., 14/8/2018). Training of teachers in the school started in 1944 (theadmissions.com/kagumo-teachers-college-2). It provided education of higher classes (Standards), Standard IV to VII and derived pupils from the mission elementary schools (KNA/VP1/9/6). It was opened as a District Government School in Central Kenya. Up to January 1933, native education in Nyeri was entirely in the hands of the European mission societies. As from 1933, the colonial government started offering formal education to Africans and that is why it opened the Kagumo School. Earlier in 1930, the Government had approved the establishment of a secular African school with funding from the Nyeri Local Native Council (KNA/VP1/9/8). This school became Kagumo.

As a matter of fact, the Nyeri LNC had been begging for a Government school even before the 1929 circumcision controversy with the CSM. Natives called for Government secular education and not religious. They argued that such an education would be 'more something from mission education and is more practical to life.' (KNA/VP1/9/8). The DC of Nyeri area in 1930, Mr. Peace J.W.K. thought that the natives' feel they need a sort of education that will enable them to deal with the new conditions of life resulting from contact with ideas and methods of western industrial civilization. An education that will put them on more equal terms with the more civilized communities, they are now in contact with, they feel changes are occurring and they must educate their sons soon if they are to face and survive the changing conditions of their life. (KNA/VP1/9/8). African men wanted their children to acquire formal education which would enable them access political power and compete favourably with the Asian and white children (Furley & Watson, 1978).

The residents of Nyeri willingly gave funds and 20 acres of land on the borders of Nyeri Township above the Chania River. The natives hoped that their sons would be efficient in business and contracting as the Indian trader, competent in accounting and office work and in time capable of making their influence felt in affairs and politics (KNA/VP1/9/8). A Government school was regarded by the natives as magic door to knowledge, efficiency and well paid positions in government service or business. Chiefs, tribunal elders, interpreters, all were desperately anxious to get their sons into the new Government School, Kagumo (KNA/VP1/9/7) 20 of its pioneer students came from the CMS Schools of Kerugoya and the Elementary Schools at Kabare and Mutira, all of which fall under the present - day Kirinyaga County. Its first principal was Mr. J. Macmunn, who had shown a capacity for effective administration. In 1934, the school was made provincial in its scope. It would now admit pupils from all the Kikuyu districts (KNA/VP1/9/7). The LNCs of the various districts would, therefore, contribute money towards the development of the school in terms of doubling its size (Sifuna & Otiende, 2006). The residents of Nyeri also enlarged its plot to 100 acres.

The amenities of the school were greatly improved by the completion of the swamp drainage scheme where the school was assured of ample water supply. The LNC assisted in the construction work. Dorms were built with stone bought from Kikuyu contractors (KNA/VP1/9/7). In 1936, the school had 154 boys (KNA/VP1/9/7). It offered technical subjects like Joinery and Carpentry (Mundia, O.I., 7/8/2018). Examples of African boys in the school during 1940 were Douglas King'ori Muthua, Francis Kiigu, Njuguna Gakuo, John Gacui, Timon Murage, Simon Kimani, Peter Maganjo, Kirubi Mwangi, Benson Gakahu and Onesmus Cege (Muthua, n.d.). The Administration and the teaching staff of the school in the 1940s

was largely white. For instance, in 1940, the Principal of the school was Mr. V.A. Ottoway while his Deputy was Mr. Lerich (ibid). In 1944, the school started to train primary school teachers of all denominations (Sifuna & Otiende, 2006). Since it was not a mission schools, learners of all Christian denominations were allowed to school there.

5.140 Enrolment of Learners

Enrolment was very low in the initial stages and rose gradually. 3,000 natives were under education in the CSM schools by the close of the year 1924(KNA/VP1/9/6). In 1925, the total number of schools in Nyeri had reached 111 without counting the two Central Schools at Tumu Tumu and Mathari. The total number of pupils stood at 4,596. The teacher-pupil ratio stood at one is to twenty (KNA/VP1/6). In 1926, the number rose to 5,419 pupils (KNA/VP1/9/6:1926). The CSM had 1,618 pupils daily attendance with 700 of them being at Tumu Tumu. 1,200 pupils were receiving literacy education in the Bush Schools and 1,000 in the Central Schools. The year started with 65 schools but closed with 56 due to difficulties in the district (ibid). Wanja (O.I., 14/8/2018) schooled in the late 1930s and she noted that in their class as well as in other classes in her school, there would be about 20 pupils every day.

The advance of the railway into the district adversely affected education attendance as many young men had gone to offer labour to the construction with the aim of earning wages. In 1928, the Tumu Tumu central school had 118 male boarders and 47 girl boarders (KNA/VP1/9/6:1928). In 1929, the enrolment rose to 50 girls and 150 boys. Boys in carpentry were 30 while boys in masonry were 30 too. Medical students were 30, training as medical dressers. Some students were training in tailoring while the rest trained as teachers (KNA/VP1/9/6:1929). During 1929, the Tumu Tumu central school sent five pupils to Alliance High School, three students to Kabete School and one teacher to JeanesSchool. In 1929, the Tumu Tumu Mission had a day school and a kindergarten at the headquarters. The number of Outschools had reached 52 with a total pupil population of 4,434 compared to 3,855 of 1928. The demand for education had started to outgrow the capacity of the missions and enough pupils to board a Government school from Standard IV were available (KNA/VP1/9/6:1929).

5.15. African Contribution in Formal Education

What did the Africans in Nyeri do to promote formal education? Behind the success of every school during the early period of colonialism was the African effort (Musyoka, 2012). The schools rested on grounds donated by the Africans themselves. *MbariyaNjora* (Njora's sub-clan) had embraced formal education and it gladly provided land for the construction of the Tumu Tumu School (Kirigo, O.I., 14/8/2018). The four schools of CCM at Gekondi, Kaheti, Kamakwa and Karima had been built with the consent of *shamba* or *githaka* owners who had been converted to the Catholic faith (KNA/VP1/9/6:1913-1931). A very large proportion of the African learners intended to make their living in clerical vocations (ibid). The land on which the Kagumo Government School was built was provided by the Africans themselves. Many elders who joined the AIPCA church provided land on which to build their schools. An example here is Hezekiah Mundia who gave out a piece of land for the construction of the Gachika Independent School in Nyeri Town Constituency (Gakuru, O.I., 17/8/2018).¹

They also contributed funds to build schools and sent their sons to study there. Others welcomed the missionaries and encouraged the locals to embrace formal education. e.g. the first school in Chinga, Irende Primary, was built through the good offices of two local elders, Gidraf Wokabi and Wangome (Wanjiru, O.I., 16/8/2018). At the Gekondi area in Mukurwe-ini, one of the sub-clans of the *Akiuru* clan called *Mbari'aKangoro* welcomed the CCM Fathers who were from Tutho in Murang'a; they even absorbed them into their clan through slaughtering and sharing a goat. They then allowed the Fathers to establish a CCM mission at Gekondi which later opened a school (Kibiru, O.I., 13/8/2018). And since the Senior Chief Wambugu wa Mathangani also belonged to that clan, the Fathers were warmly welcomed and encouraged to further their mission at Gekondi (ibid). The kindness of this clan became very helpful to the residents of Nyeri as it was the Gekondi station that gave birth to the Kaheti, Karima, Kamakwa and Mathari CCM missions all of which were instrumental in the rise of the CCM Village schools in the various villages of the Nyeri Reserve. However, the Mathari Station grew into a bigger one and even housed the only CCM Central School in Nyeri before 1945 because of its location near the district headquarters/administration and the Nyeri Town. At Wandumbi in Tetu, an elder called Philip Nganatha who had been educated at the Tumu Tumu School as a nurse mobilized people to accept formal education and the gospel of Christ (Muteru, O.I., 10/8/2018). He was responsible for the establishment of the Wandumbi CSM (PCEA) Church and the Wandumbi Primary School (Ndiang'ui & Ndumia, O.I., 18/8/2018). The school gave birth to the nearby Gathuthi CSM Primary School and the Ithite one too still through the efforts of Mr. Nganatha (Muraya, O.I., 18/8/2018).

Africans provided their own labour in erecting the pioneer classrooms in the missions and schools by the Independents. Peter Kibiru (O.I., 9/8/2018), vividly remembered how he and his village neighbours at Kiriti in Tetu went to the nearby Aberdare Forest to get mirangi for building the classrooms of Kiriti Independent School. They managed to build three classrooms. Muteru Muthoga (O.I., 10/8/2018), said that the parents of his school days in Tetu in the 1930s would go to the Aberdare Forest to get *ikingi* and *mirangi* for construction materials. Then, the parents and big *ihii*(boys)like him would prepare mud for construction of classrooms. They covered the classrooms with *magoto*. Salome Muthigio (O.I., 8/8/2018) and her neighbours belonging to the PCEA built Ihururu Primary, the first school in Muhoya Location of Tetu using mud and *marebe*. Salome asserted that they used to contribute wood for classroom construction. They were later told to contribute *mabati*(iron sheets). Salome added that they were also instrumental in building the nearby Karunai-ini and Kanjora primary schools.

Some colonial African chiefs played very important roles in the development of formal education in their areas. Chief Muhoya of Muhoyas Location of Tetu welcomed the CSM from Tumu Tumu and supported the construction of the

first school in his area, the Ihururu Primary School (Muthigio, O.I., 8/8/2018 ; Wambui, O.I., 11/8/2018). The chief had been educated at Tumu Tumu by Mr. Barlow. Some chiefs gave out land for construction of schools an example being Chief Ndiuni who provided land to the CCM Fathers for the Mathari Mission (Mahindu, O.I., 8/8/2018).

5.15.1. Facilities

Missionaries built simple structures of buildings for churches and close to them they built simple structures of classrooms. The CCM Gekondi Outschool started off in a Sisters' house (Gachanja, O.I., 13/8/2018) and that would interfere with the spiritual mission. In 1926, school materials in the missionary schools were plentiful than before but still more were required (KNA/VP1/9/6:1926). In 1927, the Tumu Tumu Mission undertook a large building scheme, taking its share of education work under government subsidy (KNA/VP1/9/6:1927). In 1928, a two-storied girls' boarding house was built in concrete blocks (KNA/VP1/9/6:1928). At the Mathari Central School, a workshop with eight benches was built plus a new boys' dorm erected with two classrooms. The dorm was built of asbestos walls and roof (ibid). A new small football field had also been cleared and was in use. In 1931, the CCM at Mathari built a new block of three classrooms for workshop and a new dorm for technical apprentices (KNA/VP1/9/8:1931). However, the classrooms of all the Outschools- the Bush schools and Village schools were poorly constructed. John Muraya (O.I., 18/8/2018) remembered vividly that Ihithe Primary School in Tetu was originally built in *magoto*-banana barks and also thatched using the same materials. It is important to note that it was at the Ihithe Primary that the Late Professor Wangari Maathai schooled (ibid; Kiruthu, et.al., 2011). Muthoni (O.I., 16/8/2018) informed this study that the first school in Iriani, Othaya, Gatuya-ini Primary School, was built in *magayu* -banana leaves.

Textbooks were very few and the available ones were used by teachers only (Maigwa, O.I., 7/8/2018). Modern exercise books were very rare and when they started to be used, they would only be found in the Central schools at Tumu Tumu and Mathari. In their absence, therefore, learners used slates (Kibiru, O.I., 9/8/2018). Slates were small kinds of blackboards of about one squared feet (Wangari, O.I., 8/8/2018). Learners wrote on them and erased the writings using a piece of cloth or the bare hands. The slates were written on using a special kind of pen made from stones. Anthony Kiriba (O.I., 13/8/2018) used slates in his studies and he bought one at a cost of 2 shillings at Gekondi. In the early years of formal education in Nyeri, learners would sit on logs split from stems of trees because people had not developed to the level of using chairs (Kibiru, O.I., 9/8/2018).

5.15.2. Teachers

Teaching was in the hands of the whites who used the Africans who had acquired little education to teach the basics. White teachers only taught in the Central Schools at Tumu Tumu and Mathari while in the Village and Bush schools, the whites used the African teachers whom they had taught and trained in the Central Schools (Wanja, O.I., 14/8/2018). In 1925, the number of paid teachers at Tumu Tumu was 18. Agricultural instructors were 2, industrial instructors were 4, teacher apprentices were 65, mason apprentices were 19 while carpentry apprentices were 28 (KNA/VP1/9/6:1925). In May 1926, Ms Stevenson left the country and her absence in terms of personal influence on teachers was felt in all the CSM schools (KNA/VP1/9/6:1926). However, the problem was soon overcome when Ms M.B. Pirie joined as a full trained teacher who fully took charge of the Kindergarten School at the Central Station. In 1927, Tumu Tumu School became well-staffed with 2 technical instructors. In 1929, the Mathari Central School had 12 European teachers handling sewing, brick making, printing and carpentry (KNA/VP1/9/6:1929). During the 1940s, Mr. Dickson was the teacher in charge at the Tumu Tumu Central School and he was a trainer of teachers who would proceed to the Outschools to teach (Maigwa, O.I., 7/8/2018; Wandiga, O.I., 14/8/2018). Mr. Raymond was another white teacher in the same school together with Doctor Brown who was a trainer of medics at Tumu Tumu School (Kirigo, O.I., 14/8/2018). There was another female teacher who used to teach girls at the Tumu Tumu School and who later took the missionary work to Nyeri Town whom the people of Nyeri used to call *Bibi/fifi* Nyamachaki (Wandiga, O.I., 14/8/2018), a word coined from the English word 'cheque' since she used to pay people using cheques (Kibiru, O.I., 13/8/2018). At the Gekondi Outschool, there were teachers like Sister Irene Nyaatha and Intensio (Gachanja, O.I., 13/8/2018).

In addition to white teachers, there were African teachers who taught in the Bush Schools and Village Schools. These teachers had been trained at the Jeanes School in Kiambu and the Tumu Tumu Central School. Benson Maigwa (O.I., 7/8/2018), stated that Francis Kibugu was the African teacher of Carpentry at the Tumu Tumu School in the early 1940s and would be paid by the missionaries. Kibugu had received training at the Jeanes School. Charity Kirigo (O.I., 14/8/2018) was taught by an African teacher called Peter Chiera. These African teachers in Bush schools would be visited by the teachers from the Central schools of Tumu Tumu and Mathari to find out whether they were organizing the schools well and whether they taught well (Kibiru, O.I., 9/8/2018; Thitai, O.I., 10/8/2018). Salome Muthigio, an informant of this study said that she schooled at Kiriti Independent School in Tetu and her teachers were Africans who had been trained at Tumu Tumu CSM Central School. These teachers had only reached Standard 3. African teachers wore pairs of shorts and used to wear shoes, and in addition, they had to wear stockings so as to look smart and set good examples to their learners (Thitai, O.I., 10/8/2018 & Wathiaka, O.I., 7/8/2018). They had been trained by their European trainers that smartness was key to teachers. Some would even put on ties, though it was not a must to wear ties (Ndei, O.I., 9/8/2018).

Teachers were trained at the Tumu Tumu TTC for the CSM teachers and St Cecilia's TTC for the Catholic teachers (Waruthu, O.I., 16/8/2018). KISA teachers were trained at the Githunguri Independent TTC (Wang'ondy, O.I., 16/8/2018). In 1944, as we have already seen, the Kagumo African School also started to train teachers. Teachers used to

go for their salaries from their mission headquarters. The CSM teachers, for instance, would go to Tumu Tumu Mission Station for their salaries (Muteru, O.I., 10/8/2018).

5.15.3. Curriculum and Disciplines

Before 1945, Elementary School in Nyeri reached Standard IV (Kirigo, O.I., 14/8/2018) while Higher Education reached Standard VII (Kiruthu, et.al., 2011). Various disciplines were taught in the mission schools. In 1924, the Central School at Tumu Tumu had a system of apprenticeship with 80 students in teaching, 38 in medical, 33 in carpentry, 30 in masonry and only 2 in sewing. The technical school where these disciplines were taught in a practical manner were under a technical instructor. The CCM Mathari had a boarding school system with technical instruction. Crafts like masonry, carpentry, cookery, laundry, home-nursing and child care, sewing and hygiene were very important in the curriculum of formal education in the CSM schools (Mwiandi, 1993). As already discussed, this was not different in Nyeri in the mission schools before 1945. According to Nabiswa (2012), missionary education emphasized a lot on mass education of Africans, where religion and industrial work featured prominently.

During the period 1920-1945, the major aim of missionary education was to produce African priests (Eshiwani, 1993). As such, religious study was a vital discipline in the mission schools (Wambui, O.I., 11/8/2018). It involved the teaching of church history, the Bible and the catechism of the church sponsoring the school. Missionary education could not be complete without the inclusion of Christian education in the curriculum. The subject was to help make people Christian citizens. In any case, schools were centres of evangelization (Mwiandi, 1993) and the main aim of missionary societies that came to Africa from Europe was to convert Africans to Christianity (Omollo, 2012).

Agriculture was also taught to both girls and boys. Since the Agikuyu were mainly an agricultural society, the missionaries had to train them on various agricultural skills. As we have seen earlier, schools would have small gardens or shambas where learners would practically be taught how to do farming. Most of the African teachers who taught in the Village and Bush schools had a basic training in agriculture and they in turn taught the other Africans.

In 1926, education was still elementary with small gardens being tilled. The CSM employed native instructors in Agriculture who toured its schools (KNA/VP1/9/6:1926). In lower primary, the 3R's – reading, writing and arithmetic were taught. From Form I, learners studied History, Geography, English and a bit of Swahili (Maigwa, O.I., 7/8/2018).

What made the colonial government to insist on technical education for Africans? As we have seen, the colonial government wanted Africans to be taught practical skills of masonry, cooking, agriculture, carpentry and other crafts in order to enable them do the tasks of helping the colonial government and the European settlers without them having to incur a lot of expenses in paying them. They were only required to have semi-educated labour force to help the colonizers achieve their own objectives of colonizing Kenya and exploiting it to the fullest (Kamau, 2018).

Furthermore, formal education in Nyeri and in the whole colony was stratified along racial lines of African education, European education and Indian education (Ominde, 1964). The stratification was based on the belief that the Africans had no mental capability to understand academics well. It was assumed by the colonizers that an African adult had a mental capacity equivalent to that of a seven or eight year old white boy (Gacathi, 1976).

5.15.4. Examinations

Out of the 13 passes in the African School Certificate for the colony during 1926, six of them were obtained by Tumu Tumu scholars (KNA/VP1/9/6:1926). The only native in the colony to obtain the Junior Secondary Education Certificate for the year was from Nyeri and he schooled at Tumu Tumu. He was none other than Alexander Kamwaro (ibid). The exam was done at four centres; Nairobi, Mombasa, Maseno and Tumu Tumu. 55 candidates sat the examination (ibid). The lowest public examination for African school was taken at Standard IV by pupils of 14 years of age and was called the Elementary B (or Vernacular) Examination (ibid). The Junior Secondary Education Certificate was taken at Standard VII.

5.16. Management of Formal Education

Initially, management of education in Nyeri was solely in the hands of the missionaries and the government did not control it. By 1924, education of the natives in Nyeri was entirely in the hands of the missionaries (KNA/VP1/9/6:1924). In 1926, the colonial government increased interest in African education as the representatives of the Education Department of the colony paid visits to schools. The Department of Education had been created in 1911 by the colonial government (Eshiwani, 1999; Sifuna & Otiende, 2006). It acted as the ministry of education. The Director of Education and Mr. River Smith spent a few hours at the central schools at Mathari and Tumu Tumu. The two were accompanied by Mr. Silvestor, Mr. Dougal (from Jeanes School), Mr. Wisdom and Mr. Weller (Supervisor of Technical Education) (KNA/VP1/9/6:1926). The central schools were adequately supervised by the Europeans in 1926 but the Outschools at Karema, Gekondi, Kaheti and Kamakwa were poorly conducted and supervised (ibid). In 1935, the District education Boards (DEB) were formed to manage formal education on behalf of the government. DEBs in colonial Kenya were set up to assist in the management of all local schools (Sifuna & Otiende, 2006). This was after the government took responsibility in offering formal education to Africans in the country. In Nyeri the colonial government did this by establishing the first African school in Nyeri – Kagumo Government African School (KNA/VP1/9/7:1935).

However, it took time for the Nyeri DEB to settle down as it was initially not successful. During 1938 – 1939, the Board's unofficial members were primarily concerned with persuading people to accept their political beliefs while education became a second agenda (KNA/VP1/9/8:1938).

5.17. Challenges of Formal Education

Missionary education was not devoid of challenges. The schools had financial problems and shortage of European staff. Equipment in all the schools except in the Central school was dreadfully insufficient. In very few of the Outschools were their desks to write on. Slates and other writing materials were conspicuous, by their almost complete absence (KNA/VP1/9/6:1924).

Classrooms were poorly constructed and most of them were made of mud and thatched with *magutu* (grass). Jane Wanjiru (O.I., 16/8/2018) said that at the Irende CMS school, classrooms were initially made of mud. Teachers were not themselves sufficiently educated to undertake teaching especially in Bush and Village schools. The Village and Bush schools offered a curriculum that was almost exclusively confined to the 3R'S to the exclusion of four very important subjects helpful in character development. That is, Games, Sports and Physical Drill; Agricultural Instruction; Cleanliness and Hygiene and Development, Instruction and Improvement of Native Industries. This made the DC of Nyeri in 1924 to recommend agricultural education since the Kikuyu were mostly agricultural. He, however, discouraged industrial education arguing that it was unsuitable and ought to be given to those who intended to go for industrial and clerical work (ibid). However, the Central schools at Tumu Tumu had these subjects (ibid). In the schools, elderly men were part of the classes whom the DC, P.R. Filleul, in his annual report of 1924, did not approve of because they were slow to learn and hence kept back the rest of the class and teacher's time was wasted on them when it should have been devoted to those between 6 and 18 years of age and, furthermore, very few of them could read or write. Supervision by the Europeans on the schools was also inadequate.

In 1925, some schools especially the Outschools started closing until they could get able teachers and European supervision. This was in line with the advice of the DC in the previous year (KNA/VP1/9/6:1925). Learners were not able to apply lessons in daily life. For instance, on paying a visit to a few of the schools, the DC was surprised by the fact that no one was able to tell him whose image was impressed on a shilling. Not a single learner was able to name the Senior Commissioner of Nyeri. The DC, Mr. A.M. Champion remarked that education would produce many semi-educated and largely unemployable band which would have grievances against the missionaries and the government for lack of jobs. Such would be criminals and hard to handle (ibid). He said that he agreed with the missionaries that the Kikuyu demanded education but they needed to be given education of the right sort. According to him, the natives needed not the greatest education but education that would enable them to take part in the economic development of the country (ibid).

In 1926, the Outschools experienced a number of challenges. Firstly, teachers were not up to the expected standard. Most of the time, their headmasters were away to do their own businesses; leaving teaching to the apprentice teachers which undermined administration and teaching. Discipline and punctuality were wanting as they were not given sufficient attention. Cleanliness was very low as most students were unclean. Pupils could not apply in their daily lives whatever they were taught and Kiswahili was not being passed or understood by learners. They could not write Kiswahili as it was not insisted. Patriotic Instruction and the Government System of native administration were ignored. Names of administrative officers and tribal history received little attention. Lack of desks led to bad calligraphy of learners (KNA/VP1/9/6:1926).

On 5 June 1935, boys at the Kagumo Government African School staged a walkout with obscure reasons. Chief Wambugu and other Central Native Tribunal members brought them back the same day. As a result of the breach of discipline, 11 boys were expelled from the school (KNA/VP1/9/7:1935). In 1945, there was a walk out at the Roman Catholic Primary School where the pupils alleged the meals were inadequate. There was little truth in the complaint and after the Principal took disciplinary action the ring leaders resumed schooling (KNA/VP1/9/8:1945). Acrimony always existed between the two missions in the district, the CSM and the CCM as to who can get most money from the Local Native Council (KNA/VP1/9/8:1939). They also competed for followers.

In 1940, the CCM School at Mathari was taken over by neutral Fathers in June and the previous management removed from it. This was due to its obtrusive attitude to the Government and harshness and unfairness to the natives (KNA/VP1/9/8:1942). However, a committee was appointed by the Government to consider the desirability of returning the Italian Fathers to the school management. Despite protests from Europeans and some natives, the Italian Fathers were allowed to have the management back in their hands (KNA/VP1/9/8:1940-1944). Children used to skip school regularly and sometimes even for a whole month (Kang'eri, O.I., 8/8/2018). Furthermore, teachers were not enough especially for the KISA schools. Many pupils had to leave the Gachika Independent School for the nearby Kerichu CSM school due to lack of teachers in the former school.

5.18. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen the beginning of formal education in Nyeri by two main mission societies; the Church of Scotland Mission (P.C.E.A.) and the Catholic Church Mission (CCM). We have seen that the two arrived in Nyeri in 1903 and 1909 respectively and began evangelizing the gospel of Christianity and together with that they set up two Central Schools. The Church of Scotland Mission set up its Central School at Tumu Tumu while the Catholic Church Mission set up its Central School at Mathari. The schools started in the form of churches. It was from the Central Schools that the two missions operated and extended their education services to other areas of Nyeri by establishing some Outschools. The Outschools were either Bush Schools or Village Schools and they received teachers and supervision from the Central Schools. The schools were largely primary schools and Kagumo secondary school was the only secondary school in Nyeri before 1945. Formal education was mainly elementary and the subjects taught were the 3 R's and a few other subjects designed to improve the skills of the hand. Teachers were largely white and the African teachers only worked under close supervision of the white teachers and they were not qualified. The Education Department managed education while the

Local Native Council financed schools. We have also seen that the Independent schools were started by KISA due to the FGM issue. Formal education was provided along racial lines as each race in Nyeri had its own schools with a different curriculum from the curricula of the other races. Initially, Africans opposed formal education but later embraced it. Initially, therefore, it was the children of chiefs and Christians only who benefited from formal education (Ogutu & Kenyanchui, 2007). We have also seen that there were challenges facing formal education in Nyeri during this period, mainly insufficient infrastructure and teaching staff-related challenges.

6. Development of Formal Education in Nyeri County (1946-1963): The Beecher Education, Start of A European School in Nyeri, Closure of Independent Schools and a Little Expansion of Secondary Education

6.1. The Clamour for Higher Education

The period after 1945 witnessed an increased demand for more schools and provision of higher education by Africans not only in Nyeri but in the whole country (Kimani, 2015). According to Kiruthu, et. al (2011), the period had a lot of improvements in education due to a number of factors. First, the experiences of ex-soldiers in World War II convinced them of the advantages of higher education. Therefore, when they came back to Kenya, they demanded for more education provisions for Africans especially the provision of higher education, i.e. secondary and tertiary. According to Gichema, et.al., (2014), African soldiers returning from service in the World War II talked of benefits of advanced education wherever they had gone. So, they demanded for the same in Kenya and as nationalists, they mounted pressure on the government to provide a better education to Africans in Kenya. Second, the struggle for independence ensured that African nationalists pressed for improvement of African education. Third, there was a need to produce better and more skilled manpower for the nation in future when it would be independent. Finally, primary schools were producing qualified children who needed to join higher schools. Miriam Wangari, (O.I.,8/8/2018), asserted that during her early studies in the 1950s, parents in the Ihururu area of Tetu would encourage children to go to school and know more about the white man. Africans began to value western education in order to escape poverty and to gain social advancement (Eshiwani, 1993).

6.2. The Beecher Report of 1949, its Recommendations and Impact on Formal Education in Nyeri District

In the late 1940s, the Beecher Committee was formed by the colonial government to look into the system of education in Kenya. It was headed by Archdeacon Beecher, an Anglican clergy who was serving in Mombasa as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) (Karari, O.I., 11/8/2018; Ndirangu, O.I., 14/8/2018). The Committee presented its recommendation as a ten-year recommendation plan in 1949. The most serious problem identified by the Committee was that expansion of education at the primary level in Kenya had been done without adequate financial provision and without enough control (Sifuna & Otiende, 2006).

The Beecher Report had a number of recommendations. First, it recommended that the government should continue to work with and through the voluntary agencies which have the teaching of Christian principles as part of their intention and that facility for Christian instruction should be provided in all schools. Second, it recommended that inspection and management of African education be made thorough and, therefore; inspectorial and managerial functions be separated, the former remaining with the Director of Education and the latter with bodies responsible for school supervision and management. Sifuna and Otiende (2006), add that the supervision of schools was to be made strict. Third, it recommended that the quality of teacher-training be improved generally and that at the T4 Level, the length of training be two years instead of the existing one-year training. The recommendation further suggested that the T4 training be after 8 years of school life.

Fourth, the Committee recommended that facilities for secondary education be expanded rapidly to give more pupils higher education so that they could take posts of responsibility in the development of economic and social life of the colony. Fifth, that the number of aided schools be increased by stages so as to reduce unaided schools as a way of doing away with dependence on community collections. Sixth, that a system of licensing unqualified teachers should be introduced and scales of pay for them be included. Seventh, the primary school course should be restricted to a four-year course to which age of entry should be not less than seven years. Eighth, that primary school to be from Standard I to IV and Intermediate School to be from Standard V to VIII (Kivuitu & Chenge, 2004). This was a new system of 4:4:4 to replace the earlier 6:2:4 system. It therefore introduced an examination to be done in Standard 8 called the Kenya African Preliminary Examination (K.A.P.E.). (Ndirangu, O.I., 14/8/2018). The Primary School would have a curriculum based on literary in vernacular, simple arithmetic, elementary practical skills and fundamental discipline while the Intermediate School would have a curriculum based on English, Elementary Math and an appropriate combination of practical subjects, Agriculture being for boys and Home Craft for girls, though they would still learn Agriculture.

It further recommended that the building and maintenance of those schools be done by the community. Each Girls' Intermediate Boarding School and all other schools above the Intermediate Level, both Government and Private had to have Boards of Governors to promote effectiveness of education and achievement of desired results. The DEB in Nyeri met to discuss these recommendations and in the end, it agreed that they should be varied in the district and priority to be given to the establishment of additional Standards VI, addition of new schools to the grant-in-aid list with preference being given to areas not having aided schools and addition of teachers to provide a full day session for Standards IV, V and VI (KNA/VP1/9/8:1948). It should be understood that generally in the whole country, the Beecher Report faced resistance (Eshiwani, 1993). Therefore, not all its recommendations were implemented.

Did the Independent Schools welcome the Beecher Education? The KISA schools in Nyeri adopted the Beecher Report. Rev. D.W. Karari (O.I., 11/8/2018), told us that him being a KISA member and a teacher in the KISA schools in Nyeri, he agreed to teach in the KISA (Independent) schools because of the Beecher Education system. Mr. Karari was employed to teach in the Independent schools by the KISA elders in Nyeri. He taught at the Munyange Independent Primary School in Othaya, near the Aberdare Ranges.

6.3. Expansion of Provision of Formal Education Through the 1950s in Nyeri County.

By 1952, the Beecher Report had been much implemented in Nyeri and education had developed rapidly (KNA/VP1/9/11:1952). Many primary schools (having Standards I to IV) had sprung up and Intermediate Schools (having Standards V and VI) started in many areas of the district. They were opened by either the Catholics, the Presbyterians or the DEB. In the 1950s, therefore, education in Nyeri, as in the whole colony, was organized as recommended by the Beecher report in to four 3-year courses, primary, intermediate, secondary and university. New financial system was adopted by which primary and intermediate schools become the financial responsibility of the DEBs through subventions from the Central Government and the ADCs concerned.

According to the Nyeri District Annual Report of 1956 written by G.J. Pedraza, the DC, there were roughly 44,000 school-going age children of between 7 and 15 years in the district and of these, 26,000 were in school. The existing Primary Schools in 1956 could cope with the demand for schools but only one in four children went to the Intermediate School for Standard V. This resulted in 'a terrific demand for more intermediate schools.' (KNA/VP1/9/9:1956). During 1956, Intermediate Schools in the whole district were 21 only while Primary Schools were 115 only (ibid). In addition, there were 2 Girls' Boarding Schools, one at Mathari under CCM and the other one at Tumu Tumu under CSM (KNA/VP1/9/9:1957). One could not stand anywhere in Nyeri without being within two miles of a primary school. Secondary schools were Kagumo Government African School and Nyeri Secondary School (KNA/VP1/9/9:1956). The total number of boys in school in the year was approximately 18,000 boys while that of girls was approximately 8,000 (ibid). During 1957, the number of Primary Schools was 122 and Intermediate Schools were 34 in number. The 1950s saw the opening of quite many schools not only for educational needs but also through mission rivalry (KNA/VP1/9/9:1957). The total number of boys attending school in Nyeri during the year was 20,889 while that of girls stood at 10,228 adding to 31,117 pupils in total (ibid). The tables below show the categories of schools in Nyeri with their populations and number of classes during 1957.

Management	Primary Schools	No. of Classes	No. of Children	No. of Intermediate Schools	No. of Classes	No. of Children
CCM	60	346	10,185	17	50	1,913
CSM	44	241	14,097	12	35	1,383
DEB	18	82	2,696	5	17	659
TOTAL	122	669	26,978	34	103	3,955

Table 2: Categories of Schools in Nyeri and their Populations and Number of
Source: Kenya National Archive

	Girls	Boys	TOTAL
CCM Schools	3,592	8,160	11,752
CSM Schools	5,736	10,274	16,010
DEB Schools	900	2,455	3,355
TOTAL	10,228	20,889	31,117

Table 3: Number of Girls and Boys in the Various Schools in Nyeri in 1957.
Source: Kenya National Archive

6.4. Primary and Intermediate Schools in Nyeri District during 1946-1963

6.4.1. Primary Schools in Nyeri District in the Period 1946-1963

The Primary Schools in Nyeri (with classes from Standard I to IV only) in 1958 were more than the Intermediate Schools. The Primary Schools established by the P.C.E.A. or CSM were Gathuthi, Huhoini, Ihururu, Miagayuini, Wandumbi, Rware, Riamukurwe, Munyange, Othaya, Mahiga, Ragati, Gatondo, Gathaiti, Kanjuri, Kiamwangi, Gikororo and Kaheti. Primary Schools managed by the Catholics were Wamagana, Githakwa, Kamwenja, Tetu, Ithenguri, Karangia, Gitunduti, Giakaibii, Birithia, Kihome, Karema, Thangathi, Gekondi, Gathukimundu and Kaheti. Primary Schools under the management of the DEB were Kiandu, Muthuaini, Ndugamano, Giakanja, Kiriti, Ngangarithi, Ndimaini, Kabiroidi, Hombe and Ragati (KNA/VP1/9/9:1958). It should be remembered that these DEB primary schools were originally owned by the AIPCA but later taken over by the government during the State of Emergency.

Since these schools only reached Standard IV, children would leave them for the neighbouring Intermediate schools for Standard V onwards. However, this would be after passing the Common Entrance Examination of Standard IV. In the Gathuthi area of Tetu, for example, all the children schooling at the Ndugamano Primary School in the 1950s would have to shift to either Ithithe, Wandumbi or Gathuthi Intermediate schools for Standards V-VIII. The ones at Karangia

Primary School used to proceed to Standard V at either Gathuthi Intermediate School or Mahiga Intermediate School in the neighbouring Othaya Constituency across the Gura River (Ndiang'ui, O.I., 18/8/2018).

6.5. Intermediate Schools in Nyeri District During the Period 1946-1963

Some of the above named schools had Standards V, VI, VII and VIII (Ndei, O.I., 9/8/2018; Ndegwa, O.I., 14/8/2018) in addition to Standards I, II, III and IV and were known as Intermediate Schools. The Intermediate Schools in the district in the year 1958 under the P.C.E.A. (CSM) were Tumu Tumu, Magutu, Ngaini, Kiamwangi, Gatondo, Gathuthi, Wandumbi, Ihururu, Kangaita, Riamukurwe, Mahiga, and Ndiaini. Intermediate Schools under the CCM were Ngandu, Ngandu Girls, Wamagana, Tetu, Kamwenja, Karima, Birithia, Kaheti and Gikondi (Kiriba, O.I., 13/8/2018). The DEB Intermediate Schools in 1958 were Kagumo, Muthua-ini, Kirimara, South Tetu and Kiangoma (KNA/VP1/9/9:1958). The CMS (an Anglican Mission) was able to start Irende and Kagongo Intermediate Schools only and which were at Chinga in Othaya near Murang'a (Washington, O.I., ; Wanjiru, O.I., 16/8/2018). It should be noted that during this period, some Intermediate schools majored on Standards V to VIII and did not have Standards I-IV, an example being Karema CCM Intermediate School in Othaya (Waithaka, O.I., 16/8/2018).

6.6. European Primary School-Nyeri

The Europeans who worked in Nyeri and its neighbouring districts used to educate their children at the European Primary School, Nyeri. The school was located in the King'ong'o Estate of Nyeri (Muthigio, O.I., 8/8/2018). A file of the school register in 1953 revealed that its pupils were from Eldama Ravine, Thomsons Falls (today called Nyandarua), Nanyuki, Thika, Mweiga, Nairobi, Isiolo, Murang'a, Meru, Kiambu, Ol Kalou, Athi River, Makuyu and Mombasa, besides Nyeri District itself (KNA/AV/12/361).

It had both boarders and day-scholars. It had Standards 1 up to 7. It was a mixed school of 40 day scholars and 157 boarders. Pupils from the school used to proceed to Kenya High and other European secondary schools but not Kagumo African Secondary School. This was in line with the racial policies in the colony. The 1953 file revealed some names of pupils in the school. Examples were: Kevin Francis Coyle who had been admitted from Kitale Primary School after his father transferred from the area. Diana Jean Talbot had been admitted in November 1953 from a primary school at Brighton, England. Patrick Kevin Donlea had been admitted as a day scholar but changed to a boarder after his parents moved to Nanyuki. Joanna Madeleine Orr was from Kilimani Primary School but had joined the school after her parents transferred to Nyeri. Her father was a member of the Forces (ibid). Unlike African schools, the European school in Nyeri was well and decently built (Mahindu, O.I., 8/8/2018). Mahindu (ibid) said that even today, he sees the pioneer buildings of the school, today called 'The Nyeri Complex', and according to him, the stones used to build the school cannot be compared with those of other schools.

White children would not mix with African ones because the whites hated Africans and considered them uncivilized and not quick to learn (Ndei, O.I., 9/8/2018). As such, no black child would step into the school. Blacks would only get into the school to provide their labour like sweeping or washing the clothes of the white pupils (Muteru, O.I., 10/8/2018).

6.7. The State of Emergency and its Impact on Formal Education in Nyeri County

On 20th October 1952, the then Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring declared a State of Emergency, following the unprecedented wave of the Mau Mau Uprising as from the late 1940s (Ndirangu, O.I., 11/8/2018). The Mau Mau Uprising was staged in Kikuyuland, Embu and Meru. The uprising was very serious in Nyeri, under the leadership of such men as Dedan Kimathi and Stephen Mathenge. According to Kibiru (O.I., 13/8/2018), Nyeri was the epicenter of the war. Due to the Mau Mau activities, the colonial government moved all the Agikuyu from their homes to villages - 'the concentration camps' (*icagi*) which were surrounded by ditches (Gitahi, O.I., 13/8/2018). In the ditches, sharp-pointed sticks were erected to ensure that any person who would try to jump over the ditches was injured by them. The relocation to *icagi* was to enable the colonial government easily deal with the Mau Mau and capture them without difficulty (Washington, O.I., 16/8/2018).

The State of Emergency had a number of effects on formal education in Nyeri. First, it saw the banning of all the Independent (KISA) schools in the county as they were working closely with the freedom fighters and were agitating for political freedom of the Agikuyu (Kiriba, O.I., 13/8/2018). Additionally, these schools were following Kenyatta (Wanja, O.I., 14/8/2018) and they were believed to be the centres of Mau Mau oath taking. To effect the ban on these schools, the colonial government used the *kamatimu* (African soldiers working for the colonizers) to burn them down, to demolish them and to arrest their teachers. The *kamatimu* comprised the loyal young men who belonged to the mission churches and schools as opposed to the Independent ones. Kibiru (O.I., 9/8/2018) told of how the Gachuiro Independent School in Tetu was burnt down and consequently; it was later moved to a place called Kiriti. The school was burnt by a man called Wachanga who had been sent by Chief Muhoya of the then Muhoya Location. Wachanga, a PCEA faithful like Chief Muhoya, was sent to burn the school at night. There were many other KISA schools which were either burnt or demolished in Nyeri during this period. For instance, Gitero Primary near Muthua-ini (Ndei, O.I., 9/8/2018), Miiricho Primary, Mung'aria Primary, Mitathi-ini Primary, Gacatha Primary (Maina, O.I., 14/8/2018), Kagere Primary (Waithaka, O.I., 16/8/2018), Ihithe Primary, Muthuthi-ini and Karindi (Gachanja, O.I., 13/8/2018). In Mukurwe-ini, the Headmaster of the KISA Nduma Primary School had to quickly change the sponsorship of the school to PCEA as a way of preventing it from being burnt. Eventually, the school survived the ban (Kiriba, O.I., 13/8/2018). Karari (O.I., 11/8/2018), informed the study of how in 1952, they were chased from Munyange Independent School where he was a teacher. Even the children they were teaching

were chased away from the school. Karari remembered vividly how they ran through the windows down the sloppy of lands of Munyange. They fell into the Gura River and finally reached the adjacent side of Tetu. He was later arrested and detained in Nyeri Town and thereafter in Manyani.

Second, the State of Emergency affected the normalcy of school programme. Children had to go to school late and go back home early to ensure that they did not interact with the Mau Mau fighters and therefore, help them in any way (Kiriba, O.I., 13/8/2018; Ndung'u, O.I., 18/8/2018). Another explanation to this change of timing was due to the chaos outside the concentration camps. Teachers who had not taken the *muma* (oath) of Mau Mau would not be allowed to go to and teach in school but would be grabbed by the Mau Mau fighters (Washington, O.I., 16/8/2018).

Third, the Emergency increased the enrolment of mission schools because the children who used to school in the KISA schools prior to the Emergency were absorbed by the mission schools of the CSM and the CCM (Mwai, O.I., 14/8/2018). Joseph Waithaka (O.I., 16/8/2018) remembered that children who used to school at the Kagere Independent School finally joined the Mahiga CSM Primary School after the school was destroyed by the Government. However, some of these children were rejected at the Mahiga School because of their fathers' participation in the Mau Mau activities (ibid). We should not ignore the fact that even some of the KISA teachers shifted to the mission schools to teach there. For example, the Kagere Independent School teachers rushed to the nearby Mahiga CSM School to teach there after their school was banned (ibid). Some of the Agikuyu who lived in Kieni as labourers of the settlers were repatriated to the reserves in *Gikuyu*. Maloba (1994), asserts that in detention too were the Kikuyu repatriated from the Rift Valley Province, Tanganyika, and other parts of Kenya. In effect, the mission schools in *Gikuyu* enrolled their children; leading to increased school populations.

Fourth, school children experienced psychological torture which obviously affected their concentration in class. All pupils had to wait for the whistle to be blown by the *kamatimu* and gather at the gates of Emergency villages in the morning. They would then be escorted to school by the *kamatimu* which would also escort them back home in the evening (Mundia, O.I., 7/8/2018; Kang'eri, O.I., 8/8/2018; Ndumia, O.I., 17/8/2018). From the *icagi*, children were to go directly to school and go back directly to the *icagi* in the evening without diverting (J.B.Mwangi, O.I., 15/8/2018). Children in the reserves would be allowed to go to school as their parents were not in the Mau Mau (Ndegwa, O.I., 14/8/2018). To ensure that no single child ran into the forest to the aid of the freedom fighters, the *kamatimu* would conduct a headcount of the children who left the *icagi* at the morning to be certain that all of them went back in the evening (Kihihia, O.I., 17/8/2018). It is important to note here that the *kamatimu* would only take to school the children going to mission schools but not the KISA ones (Wangechi, O.I., 14/8/2018). Charity Kirigo (O.I., 14/8/2018) asserted that children in her locality would be taken to Ngai-ini and Kiriko schools by the *kamatimu*. This was all the way from the Ruthagati concentration camp, a place a bit far from Ngai-ini. The relocation of the civilian population from one concentration camp to another automatically psychologically affected learners who had to transfer from school to school. Murugi Gacheho (O.I., 13/8/2018) started schooling at Gachuiro CCM Primary School near Kiwarigi but later transferred to Ruthagati Primary. She said that the transfer was made when they were relocated by the Government from Kiwarigi to Itiati Village/concentration camp. This was owing to the insecurity that was rife at Kiwarigi. It was only after the State of Emergency that she went back to her first home at Kiwarigi. The fact that people's homes were burnt down during the Emergency period caused psychological torture on children going to school (Ndegwa, IO., 14/8/2018). The man who had started the Ithit Independent School had to relocate it to the Ndugamano Independent School when the former was banned. This did interfere with the psychological sobriety of the children in the school in schooling (Ndiang'ui, O.I., 18/8/2018). At the St Cecilia Intermediate School, Catherine Waruguru (O.I., 9/8/2018) remembered that it was the Fathers like Father Rose and Father Generi and at the mission who used to protect them during the Emergency.

Fifth, some children were not able to go to school during the Emergency (Njoki, O.I., 13/8/2018). This was especially so because education was offered by European missionaries and therefore taking Gikuyu children to those schools was tantamount to collaborating with the whites and the colonizers. If the Mau Mau got to know that one was taking their children to those schools, then they would say that one was a traitor (Gitahi, O.I., 13/8/2018). Some parents refused their children to go to school for fear of insecurity (Ndumia, O.I., 17/8/2018). Washington (O.I., 16/8/2018) argued that in the Chinga area of Othaya, many children stopped schooling during the Mau Mau Uprising. His argument was supported by Lydia Muthoni and Margaret Muthoni (O.I., 16/8/2018) both of Othaya but in the neighbouring location of Iria-ini. Kiriba (O.I., 13/8/2018) said that he was late to go to school due to the Emergency. Having been born in 1944, he was only able to go to school in 1957 to start Standard I. He was a son of a freedom fighter and as such, it was hard for him to go to school since the children of the Mau Mau fighters were not allowed to go to school (Kibiru, O.I., 13/8/2018). At the Mung'aria concentration camp, children of KISA schools would not be allowed to go to school during this period (Wanja, O.I., 14/8/2018). It should be remembered that there was a very strong influence of KISA schools at Mung'aria and which had seen the existence of the Mung'aria KISA School before the State of Emergency. George Maina (O.I., 14/8/2018) was chased from the Kangaita PCEA Primary School because of his father's involvement in the Mau Mau activities. He finally went to Gathinga CCM Primary school in 1955. Kagurani Matu (O.I., 17/8/2018) was prevented from proceeding with his education beyond Standard II by the war.

Sixth, all the KISA schools were taken over by different managements after the Mau Mau War. Some became D.E.B. schools (Muteru, O.I., 10/8/2018; Ndung'u, O.I., 18/8/2018) while others were taken over by *mubea* (CCM Fathers). Ndugamano Independent School was also taken over by the Nyeri D.E.B. The Kagere Independent school was taken over by CCM after the Mau Mau Uprising (Wang'ondou & Warutho, O.I., 16/8/2018).

Seventh, the Emergency forced some schools to be moved from their original sites to other sites either in the Emergency villages or the government posts for security reasons (KNA/AV/2/53: 1954). In the Nyeri District Handing Over Report of

1954 from O.B. Hughes to J.B. Butler, it is noted that in the interests of security, a number of schools are to be moved on a temporary basis in the December holidays nearer to the Kenya Government posts and villages. Murugi Gacheho (O.I., 13/8/2018) who grew up in Nyeri remembered that originally, the Kirimara Primary School in Mathira was located at Kiamariga but due to the heavy war at Kiamariga, it had to be moved to Kirimara.

Lastly, and on a positive note, the Emergency provided sites for building schools because after it was lifted, the land on which the Emergency villages were created was made public and all the schools built after independence were built on those pieces of land (Washington, O.I., 16/8/2018 ; Kihihia, O.I., 17/8/2018).

6.8. Statistics of Schools in Nyeri County during the Closing Years of the Period 1945-1963

In 1959, Primary Schools in Nyeri were 129 while Intermediate Schools were 55 (KNA/VP1/9/9:1959). In 1960, large schools began to be split to enable all children to go to school. A number of sites were set aside for schools under Land Consolidation. Now, a number of children had a shorter distance than before to travel to school. 6 new Intermediate Schools were opened during the year, enabling about one third of Standard IV pupils to proceed to Standard V by a selective examination. Pupil population increased by 6,635 during the year and 126 additional classes opened to meet the increasing demand for education (KNA/VP1/9/9:1960). Secondary schools during the year were three; Kagumo, Nyeri Secondary and CCM Karema (with Form 1 only).

6.9. Adoption of Universal Primary Education in Nyeri County

In 1960, there was an overwhelming public demand for universal education in Nyeri whereby all pupils would proceed from Standard IV to Standard V without a selective exam (ibid). Therefore, in 1961, the Nyeri DEB introduced the universal education in the district, enabling every child to proceed to Standard V. The Common Entrance Exam was therefore scrapped (Murugi, O.I., 13/8/2018). In effect, Standard V classes in the district rose to 212 during the year from 58 in 1960 (KNA/VP1/9/9:1961). The idea was enthusiastically welcomed by the natives who supported it by constructing 200 new classrooms and a number of teachers' houses using off-cuts and corrugated iron (ibid).

The new programme of universal education brought about increased education costs; making the government to reduce the staffing establishment of schools and therefore; teachers found themselves with little free time. Untrained teachers who used to receive pay were sent home in October 1961 and their places taken by teaching practice teachers who were never paid (ibid). The programme further resulted in increased fees. 20 shillings increase caused a drop in Standard I enrolments to 10,000 compared with 12,000 in 1960. In general, there was little demand for extra classes at the Lower Primary Level due to large increases of fees.

6.10. A Little Expansion of Secondary Education in Nyeri

In 1957, the CCM Mathari Secondary School for girls was opened (KNA/VP1/9/9:1957) but it was later moved to Mugoiri in the year 1959 (KNA/VP19/9:1958). By the end of 1958, the school had managed to enroll a total of 50 girls (ibid). In 1962, the district was blessed with the establishment of two more secondary schools. These were Giakanja Day Secondary School in Tetu and Nyeri Township Day Secondary School. The district now prided itself in having a total of five secondary schools (KNA/VP1/9/9:1961). Unfortunately, no single secondary school admitted girls in Nyeri in the 1950s. Secondary schools admitted boys only; making girls who qualified to join secondary schools in Nyeri to seek secondary education outside the district (ibid). The Late Professor Wangari Maathai, for instance, after completing her Intermediate education at St Cecilia Intermediate School, Mathari, had to proceed to Loreto Convent, Limuru in Kiambu in 1957 where she sat for her 'O' Level examination in 1960 (The Weekly Review, 1982).

6.11. Independence and its Influence on Management of Formal Education in Nyeri

Formal education in Nyeri went through major reorganization in 1963 out of constitutional changes (KNA/VP1/9/9:1963). The changes were in the whole colony and were occasioned by the march to grant independence to the colony. The East Central Regional Education Board wound up its affairs at the end of June 1963 and its functions assumed by the Central Regional Education Committee. The Teachers Training Colleges were transferred to the Ministry of Education. 1963 became the final year of Standard 8 as recommended by the Beecher Report. The year ended with primary schools in the district generally so well distributed that practically every child of school age and able to pay fees could find a place within a reasonable distance of home.

6.12. Independent Schools- Growth and Eventual Closure by Government

Independent Schools continued to operate in the late 1940s and early 1950s until their closure by the Government in 1952, with the onset of the State of Emergency in October of the same year. In 1946, managers of KISA tried hard and they were worthy of every support and encouragement, as reported by the then Nyeri DC, Sir Osborne (KNA/VP1/9/8:1946). They had demonstrated an outstanding example of African self -help. However, children studying in the Independent schools were viewed as 'funny' learners by the mission children (Wathiaka, O.I., 7/8/2018).

In 1947, the Independent Schools made considerable strides as they were recognized and encouraged by the Government. Some of them were even given grants by the government like the mission schools with the approval of the DEB (KNA/VP1/9/8:1947). Action was taken against the Principal of Kiangema Independent School who had refused to close it after being ordered to do so by the KISA President. He was prosecuted and convicted (KNA/VP1/9/8:1948).

In 1952, KISA made a number of applications to open new schools only to compete with mission schools. However, all the Independent Schools were closed down in November of the same year after the State of Emergency was

declared in the previous month of October. The closure of these schools was accompanied by assault and destruction by the colonial government. In Mukurwe-ini, Muthuthi Primary School for the Independents was burnt and later taken over by the Catholics who revived it (Kiriba, O.I., 13/8/2018).

As earlier discussed, their children were therefore absorbed in the nearby mission schools; making the government to increase the funding of mission schools (KNA/VP1/9/11:1952). In 1953, therefore, major work in the education sector in Nyeri was to absorb the pupils who had previously attended KISA schools (KNA/VP1/9/11:1953).

6.13. *The Government African School- Kagumo during the Period 1946-1963.*

The administration of the school continued to be in the hands of the whites as during 1946, its Principal was Mr. A.F. Bull and in the following year, Reverend Lockhart took over. This archival information is confirmed by Karari (O.I., 11/8/2018) who schooled there and he said that his Headmaster was Mr. Bull. By 1946, the school had a teacher training wing where 21 students out of 27 scored full passes (KNA/VP1/9/8:1946). It had 290 pupils in Standard VI and Forms I and II in 1947 (KNA/VP1/9/8:1947). However, the college section of the school suffered lack of both quantity and quality in its entrants in 1947, with only 22 candidates forthcoming for 50 vacancies in the year. Some additional buildings were erected during the year but considerable further extensions were needed. The school was extremely fortunate in having not only a Principal and staff of extremely high quality but also in having a Principal's wife who gave much of her time and unlimited energy to acting as a voluntary matron and housekeeper. (ibid).

In 1948, Mr. F.W. Johnson was the Principal of the school during the absence of Rev. R.A. Lockhart. A large programme of building extensions was done but not finished by the end of the year. The school continued to shine and to provide trained teachers to the district throughout the 1950s up to 1963. In 1956, for example, the Kagumo College had 250 trainees training as either T3 teachers, Upgrading teachers, T2 Handicraft teachers and KT1 teachers.

In the closing years of the 1950s, the secondary branch of Kagumo African School was moved to the Kerichu area near Kiganjo (Ndumia, O.I., 17/8/2018) through the good offices of Elder Wambugu wa Maigua who requested the government to move it there. He therefore provided land on which the school rests today (Kihihia, O.I., 17/8/2018). Land owners in that site had to be moved to the neighbouring Gachika Village (ibid). The headship of the secondary school remained white until the mid-1960s (Ndumia, O.I., 17/8/2018).

Most of the teachers in the school were European who were all expatriate staff and only a few Africans. In 1962, the Principal of the College Wing was Mr. Stokoe who handed over to Mr. J.M. Popkin in the following year. Other ordinary teachers were for example, Mr. Shanks, Mr. Velzian and Mr. McGowan (AV/12/87). The college had a Board of Governors to manage its affairs and Mr. Mate represented African affairs as the Kikuyu were the community served by the school.

6.14. *Formal Education in Kieni During the Colonial Era – Squatter Education*

From the foregoing discussion, we have not seen any serious provision of formal education in Kieni Constituency. What is the explanation behind this? Were there any schools in Kieni before independence? How were they built? These are the questions that this part of the study wishes to answer.

During the colonial period, Kieni was not part of Nyeri but it was part of Nanyuki District in the Rift Valley Province (Muteru, O.I., 10/8/2018). It was included in Nyeri and by extension the Central Province after independence. However, there were some Kikuyu in Kieni who had gone there to search for employment in the settler farms. Many of them had left *Gikuyu* voluntarily to search for better conditions in the White Highlands while others had been evicted from their land (Throup, n.d.). Therefore, the Kieni being part of Nyeri County today becomes part of scope of study.

Before the country gained independence, the whole of Kieni Division was under the settlers. It was part of what was called the 'White Highlands' or the 'Crown Land'. This area was to be inhabited by the white settlers only while the Africans were to live in the reserves specifically designed for them. Each settler owned vast investments in the various areas (Kedogo, 2016). The Mweiga area in Kieni East, for example, was under a white man called Captain Briggs (Muraya, O.I., 18/8/2018). Therefore, the present day Nyeri County was divided into two. The Kieni area was a 'White Highland' while the rest of the five constituencies i.e. Othaya, Mukurwe-ini, Tetu, Nyeri Town and Mathira were reserves. The missionaries did not penetrate the Kieni area as they did in the reserves. Therefore, provision of formal education in Kieni remained largely unavailable. The little squatter education offered in Kieni, like in other white highlands was offered by the squatters themselves. These were squatters who had been lucky to receive at least minimal elementary education from missionary schools in the reserves (Kanogo, 1987). In the Settled Areas, the squatters were hardly assisted by the government, the settlers nor the missionaries in acquiring formal education. They, therefore, took it upon themselves, ill-equipped and unprepared as they were to initiate an educational programme for their children. The missionaries only came much later to supervise education and to evangelize (ibid).

The settlers carried out extensive farming famously known as 'settler farming'. In their farms, they engaged the Kikuyu and other communities in offering cheap labour though the Kikuyu were the majority (Thitai, O.I., 10/8/2018). The Kikuyu would go to the farms to look for income. Some Kikuyus took their families and children to the white highlands where the white settlers built villages for them. Some settlers built small schools, home based ones, in order to have the squatters and their children get educated and be able to serve as clerks for them. For instance, be able to count sheep and goats.

Were there any schools in Kieni before independence? Samuel Mwai (O.I., 14/8/2018) was in Kieni during the colonial period and he said that he was not able to access formal education because the settlers never allowed him to do it. Furthermore, there was no school around for him to attend. There was only one serious school in Kieni at Mweiga under the CCM (J.B. Mwangi, O.I., 15/8/2018). This was the school where squatter children all the way from Endarasha and

Amboni, about 20 kilometres way, went for education. When the Agikuyu in the settlers' farms learnt that their relatives in *Gikuyu* were getting formal education, they pleaded with their masters to build schools for them in the Crown Lands. Not all whites were unkind to the Africans and as such, some of them constructed the home based schools for the Africans in their farms. The 'schools' were built of mud. It should be noted that even if they built those schools for their African servants, it was not mainly for the benefits of the Africans but for theirs. They wanted the Africans to know basic math and be able to count their goats and sheep and to keep simple farm records as settlers' clerks (Matu, O.I., 17/8/2018). This argument is shared by Kanogo (1987), who says that the question of educating squatter children revolved around the labour needs of the settlers. Where it appeared that the demand for education would in any way jeopardize the supply of child labour to the settler economy, education would have to take a second place (ibid). At harvest time, children provided an abundant and cheap labour. In time, the settlers began to realize that the presence of a school on their farms was in itself an inducement to labourers. As a result, even in the areas where child labour was needed, some settlers struck a compromise by allowing schools to be established on their farms, provided they did not interfere with labour needs. Schools in Kieni during the colonial era were therefore held either in the afternoons after children had worked on the settler farms or in the evenings after the squatters and their children had retired from work and had a rest. On some farms, classes were held in the mornings or at weekends, when labour demands were minimal. But whatever the arrangements, they were never exactly conducive to learning.

Squatters had to have permission from the European settler in charge of a farm. The squatters pooled their resources to build schools often with mud and grass. The classes were badly lit (Kanogo, 1987). They also hired the teachers themselves. These teachers were the Africans educated in elementary education in *Gikuyu* by the missionaries, but who knew very little. But if a settler was sympathetic, he would give financial and other aid to the school project and at times might even go a step further and conduct some of the classes himself. In Kieni West, for example, a settler called Major Iriate provided land for the construction of a squatter school called Labura (J.B. Mwangi, O.I., 15/8/2018). At best, pupils in squatter's schools were given only a bare introduction to the three Rs i.e. reading, writing and arithmetic. The African teachers could not progress any further since they were not very educated. Therefore, the education of settlers remained very basic throughout the colonial period. The CSM was the only group of missionaries that had interest in educating squatter children in the Settled Areas but it encountered a lot of challenges in trying to do this. The government would be against the mission to fund squatter education due the challenges it would cause relating to squatter labour.

J.B. Mwangi has lived in Kieni all his life of 79 years and he informed this study that during the colonial period, there were two squatter schools he saw in Kieni West. One was built at Laburra by a settler called Plate John and it was in one of his stables. Another one was at Wendiga built of sacks by another settler. Only few Africans squatters would attend school at Wendiga. The white man at Wendiga was merciful to the Africans and would even organize for the PCEA and CCM untrained teachers to come and teach the squatters at there.

At Mung'etho in Mugunda Location of Kieni West, the first school was Mugunda Primary built in 1957 after the Mau Mau activities subsided. Muteru Muthoga (O.I., 10/8/2018) informed this study that the school was built after the death of Mr. Tom, the former settler in charge of the area, and who would not allow the Agikuyu to have a school there. His successor, Sir Benrose allowed the building of the school and even gave out two of his stables for the initial classrooms. In Kieni East, there was a squatter school at a place Ruithui built of mud by the squatters in the area (Kariuki, O.I., 17/8/2018). They had built it with the permission of the settler in charge, Mr. David Coll (Matu, O.I., 17/8/2018). However, the school did not have the upper classes and, therefore, parents would send their children to *Gikuyu* for upper primary. According to Ndirangu (O.I., 11/8/2018), in the Gataragwa area of Kieni West, a very small home based school was built in the 1950s in the farm of a settler called Trevos. His assertions were confirmed by Warutumo (O.I., 11/8/2018). His squatters had pleaded with him to build a school for their children. Before the settler could establish a school there, many settlers were taken back to *Gikuyu* due to the Mau Mau activities. As such, very few squatters would attend school there. After the Emergency, many Kikuyus from the reserves went back for employment in the Trevo's farm. Through harambee, the Kikuyus built a bigger school there and called it Ngare Ng'iro Primary School. Later, Mr. Trevo gave the squatters land, two and a half acres each away from his home. They therefore moved away and they also moved the school originally in his home to a new site called Kimunyuro. However, they retained the title of the school as Ngare Ng'iro Primary School. This became the first school in the Gataragwa area in the closing years of colonialism in Kenya.

6.15. Enrolment of Learners

Due to the increasing need for formal education in Nyeri between 1946 and 1963, more and more pupils continued to enroll. The number had reached 26,000 in 1956 in all the primary schools of the district, 31,117 pupils in 1957 and in 1958, there were 35,780 pupils in primary and Intermediate schools (KNA/VP1/9/9:1958). The secondary school population was 473 in 1958. The TTCs had a total of 521 teacher trainees. The number of Intermediate school pupils in 1959 was 5,533 while that of primary schools was 36,356. In the same year, the total number of TTC students in the year was 568. By 1963, the primary school pupil population had exceeded 50,000.

Enrolment had outrun the existing schools in the 1950s especially the Intermediate Schools due to high demand for higher education among the Africans (KNA/VP1/9/9:1956). Large schools had to be split to enable all children go to school (KNA/VP1/9/9:1960). Ndegwa (O.I., 14/8/2018) schooled in the late 1950s at Ngaini Primary School and in their class they would be about 30 pupils.

6.16. African Contribution in Formal Education

Africans during this period continued to apply for the opening of new schools and they did this through the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA). They also trained as teachers and offered their teaching services in the schools in Nyeri. Besides that, they also gave their resources like land and money for the start and upkeep of their schools. In 1961, for example, when the Universal Primary Education (every child given opportunity to proceed to Standard V) was introduced, Africans welcomed it enthusiastically and built 200 new classrooms and a number of teachers' houses using off-cuts and corrugated iron (KNA/VP1/9/9:1961). Money for building new schools was raised by voluntary subscriptions (KNA/VP1/9/9:1957).

Wanjiru (O.I., 16/8/2018) asserted that in Chinga Location of Othaya, a Catholic faithful gave out his own piece of land at Gichiche for the building of a CCM school. She further explained that there were many schools built in the period 1946-63 through Chief Mukira's efforts and mobilization. As we saw earlier a villager elder in Kerichu area of Nyeri Town Constituency called Wambugu wa Maigua set aside land for the relocation of the Kagumo Secondary branch from the original site in Chief Wambugu's area to Kerichu. This was during the demarcation of the late 1950s (Gakuru & Kihihia, O.I., 17/8/2018). He was a darling of the locals due his exemplary leadership. He requested the government to move the school to Kerichu (ibid).

6.16.1. Facilities

Schools in the district continued to erect new buildings. At Kagumo School and College, some additional buildings were elected during 1947(KNA/VP1/9/8:1947). However, considerable further extensions were needed with the Form 4 expected to begin and the college wing permanently established. A large programme of building extensions was done but was not finished by the end of 1948. The government provided money for building and equipping schools (KNA/VP1/9/9:1959). School Committees that comprised parents of schools improved school facilities by mobilizing the parents to contribute resources. The facilities kept improving in form of material used. The DC of Nyeri in 1961 reported that 'it is heartening to see the old mud and wattle style of school building gradually disappearing.'(KNA/VP1/9/9:1961). Statistically, in 1957, the total number of classes in the district stood at 1,338, and the number continued to swell with each passing year. Slates continued to be used by learners alongside the modern exercise books (Wangari, O.I., 8/8/2018; Ndegwa, O.I., 14/8/2018).

6.16.2. Teachers

Most of the senior teachers in the schools in Nyeri were white during 1946-1963. In 1947, the Principal of Kagumo Secondary School and TTC was Reverend Lockhart (KNA/VP1/9/8:1947). Mr. F.W. Johnson was Principal in 1948 during the absence of Mr. Lockhart (KNA/VP1/9/8:1948). African teachers were trained at Kagumo TTC, Mathari TTC and Tumu Tumu TTC (KNA/VP1/9/9:1956; Ndung'u, O.I., 18/8/2018). The Mathari TTC was exclusively for women (KNA/VP1/9/9:1959; Ndiangu, O.I., 18/8/2018). Teachers were variously grouped. A T4 teacher taught up to Standard 4. A T3 teacher taught up to Standard 6. A T2 teacher taught up to Form 2 while a T1 teacher taught up to Form 4 (Sifuna & Otiende, 2006). At the Tumu Tumu Central School, the teacher in charge of the academic school was Mr. Dickson while the doctor who trained other medics was called Doctor Brown (Waruguru, O.I., 9/8/2018). Other teachers and who were African were for example Mr. Kagonda and Mr. Wang'ombe.

By 1959, the district had relatively a good number of trained teachers compared with other districts in Central Province but teachers of a higher grade were not enough (KNA/VP1/9/9:1959). As a matter of fact, all the teachers who left TTCs at the end of 1959 were employed (KNA/VP1/9/9:1960). Trained teachers during 1960 were 1,005 while untrained ones were 233. In 1963, the Ministry of Education was recruiting teachers from overseas to meet the expanding need in the sector of education in Nyeri as well as in the whole country (KNA/VP1/9/9:1963). During this period, teachers would be associated with the churches they belonged to and they would be employed by the same churches (Njoki, O.I., 13/8/2018). The KISA schools would get their teachers trained in the Githunguri Teachers' College which had been started in 1939 in Kiambu by the KISA body (Wambui, O.I., 11/8/2018).

6.16.3. Curriculum and Disciplines

During this period, disciplines like Math, Agriculture, Religious Education (Christian), Geography, Handicraft, Domestic Science and English continued to be taught.

Domestic Science was done by girls (Waruguru, O.I., 9/8/2018). It mainly involved ironing but had other things like sewing, knitting, and cooking. Girls would sew sweaters using *mikuha* (Thitai, O.I., 10/8/2018). Catherine Waruguru, one of the oral informants to this study, asserted that Domestic Science was her most favourite subject. They had to take an examination of the subject and she vividly remembered that during her Intermediate level studies at St Cecilia Mathari, they used to lay on tables the clothes they had made or ironed for their white teachers to check and evaluate them. Handicraft was done by boys only (Wambui, O.I., 11/8/2018; Thitai, O.I., 10/8/2018). It involved wood carving to make wooden knives and plates. Samuel Wathiaka (O.I., 7/8/2018), remembered how they used to make cooking sticks, calabashes, wooden serving spoons (*ciihuri*), uprooting the stems of trees and carving *thiari* and *njuguma*. All these areas would be tested in an official examination.

Religious Education was the most vital (ibid). Schools offered Religious Education which was based on their denomination (Njoki, O.I., 13/8/2018). Therefore, CCM schools taught a CRE mainly based on Catholicism, CSM taught a CRE based on the doctrines of the Church of Scotland while the Independents offered a CRE based on their AIPCA faith.

History involved the study of both Kenyan and world history. For instance, the history of Europeans like the Germans and the Portuguese like Vasco Da Gama (ibid), the history of community heroes like Mugo wa Kibiru of the Agikuyu and Koitalel Arap Samoei of the Nandi (Wambui, O.I., 11/8/2018 ; Karari, O.I., 11/8/2018) , the history of peoples' origins, origin of various churches and so on and so forth. In Geography, learners were taught how to locate various places or countries, how to draw the maps of Kenya and East Africa, and so on. According to the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya Education Department Triennial Survey of 1955, secondary schools in Nyeri offered English, Geography, History, Science and Math.

6.16.4. Examinations

During this period, the district continued to have major examinations and which were done in the whole colony. There was the Common Entrance Examination which was taken at Standard IV to determine pupils who would join Standard V (Kihihia, O.I., 17/8/2018; Ndegwa, O.I., 14/8/2018). The Kenya African Preliminary Examination (K.A.P.E.) was used to issue a certificate to candidates who had successfully completed Standard 8. The certificate was a necessary qualification for entry to training as a T3 teacher. K.A.P.E. was taken at Form 2. There was the Kenya African Secondary Examination (K.A.S.E) which gave candidates certificates to show that they had successfully completed the Senior Secondary School Course up to Form 4. It was a necessary qualification to enter training as a T2 teacher. It was taken at Form 4. The School Certificate Examination was another. It was the Cambridge School Certificate Examination and candidates who satisfied the necessary conditions were exempted from university matriculation. Finally, the Makerere Entrance Examination enabled the Education Department to select from its results, the students who were to join Makerere College. It was taken at the end of the Senior Secondary School. It was designed to select the students likely to profit from further education.

6.16.5. Management of Formal Education

The management of formal education in Nyeri continued to be in the hands of the Europeans during this period. The Department of Education which had been created in 1911 continued to be the overall controller of education in the whole colony, Nyeri being included. The Education Department would appoint education officers to manage education. During 1948, for instance, Mr. V.A. Ottoway was the Education Officer of the Central Province while Mr. E.S. Cooper was the Senior Education Officer of Nyeri District (KNA/VP1/9/8:1948).

Each district in colonial Kenya had a District Education Board to manage education. In 1947, the DEB in Nyeri was reappointed. It agreed, in the same year, that Independent Schools should not receive grants from the government but that some of those schools should be considered for grants just like mission schools (KNA/VP1/9/8:1947). When the Beecher Report recommended the three-tier education system with 8 Standards in the Primary Level, the Nyeri DEB discussed the Report and agreed to vary the Beecher Plan of the 10-year education plan. It agreed to establish more Standards VI's, to add new schools to the grant-in-aid list and to add teachers to provide a fully day session for Standards IV, V and VI (KNA/VP1/9/8:1948). Moreover, the DEB approved the opening of many primary and Intermediate schools and a few secondary schools in the early 1960s. It also opened its own DEB schools like the Nyeri Muslim DEB, Kiandu, Muthuaini, Ragati and Kiriti.

Besides the two managerial bodies, the Education Department and the District Education Board, the missionary bodies; the CCM and the CSM continued to open and manage their schools. The KISA too had its fine aided schools and its managers tried hard to run the schools (KNA/VP1/9/8:1948). The CSM changed its name to the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (P.C.E.A.). During 1958, the P.C.E.A. was recognized as the largest management in the District Annual Report compiled by the then DC, G. J. Pedraza (KNA/VP1/9/9:1958). In 1960, an Education Secretary was appointed for each mission. This was a major change in organization and inspection of Primary and Intermediate schools. The P.C.E.A., CCM and DEB supervisory teams closed down to pave way for the new Education Secretaries (KNA/VP1/9/9:1960). The District Education Officer (DEO) was the supervisor and was assisted by 3 Area Education Officers (AEOs); one at Karatina, another at Ruring'u and another at Mukurwe-ini. In May 1960, a fourth AEO was appointed at Othaya. The AEOs were charged with the roles of inspecting schools, transferring pupils, checking school equipment and ensuring efficient operations of schools (KNA/VP1/9/9:1961). School committees helped to come up with initiatives where they brought parents together to erect buildings. They did this by mobilizing parents to collect funds (KNA/VP1/9/9:1958).

Challenges Facing Formal Education

The period was not devoid of school-related problems. In 1946, the Tumu Tumu Intermediate School encountered a strike of pupils in Standard VI shortly before exams (KNA/VP1/9/8:1946). The CSM suffered two serious losses in the same year in the departure of Dr Brown and Mr. Scott Dickson (ibid). These were teachers whose services were a pillar to the Tumu Tumu School. Competition between the two missions affected the quality of education (KNA/VP1/9/8:1948). Inter-denominational rivalry was still very much alive in a struggle for territorial advantage. The most serious problem was perhaps quality even more than quantity of certificated teachers (ibid). Furthermore, there was shortage of education officers to supervise as closely as possible the working curricula of the schools and to carry out educational surveys (ibid).

The Mau Mau Movement destroyed 14 schools and looted 21 others (KNA/VP1/9/11:1953). This resulted in little or no development in Othaya Division, for example, due to the Emergency (KNA/VP1/9/9:1958). Many mission schools were burnt by the Mau Mau who were determined to win independence (Kibiru, O.I., 9/8/2018 & Ndei, O.I., 9/8/2018). Kiambura/Gitero Primary near Muthua-ini in Tetu was one of the schools burnt down during the State of Emergency

(Ndei, O.I., 9/8/2018). The Emergency put an end of school committees functioning as all schools were carefully watched by the Government.

Lack of enough Intermediate and Secondary schools was a serious problem especially in the 1950s. More than one third of pupils from primary schools lacked places in Intermediate school during 1959 (KNA/VP1/9/9). One boy in ten went to secondary school (KNA/VP1/9/9). School buildings continued to be neglected and the ruling against the use of funds for permanent buildings was regrettable (KNA/VP1/9/9). There existed many schools in Nyeri in the 1950s without windows and doors and banana leaves would be used to protect learners from elements like wind (Murugi, O.I., 13/8/2018). Many classrooms were built of mud and thatched with grass (Ndung'u, O.I., 18/8/2018). Teachers of a higher grade were very few making schools use untrained teachers (KNA/VP1/9/9:1958). The Ministry of Education had to rely on recruiting of teachers from overseas to meet the expanding need in the sector (KNA/VP1/9/9:1963). This problem coupled with inadequate classrooms made some learners to attend school in the morning only while others had to wait and attend school during the afternoons (Mundia, O.I., 7/8/2018).

Because of the Universal Primary Education, we saw earlier, the staffing establishment was reduced in 1961; and teachers found themselves with little free time (1961-4). This had the effect of compromising the quality of teaching. A few cases of mismanagement of school monies were witnessed during 1946-1963. At the PCEA Ragati School in Mathira, the locals were deliberating in 1961 of transferring the Headmaster due to mismanagement of school funds (KNA/VP1/9/9: 1961). CCM Itundu Primary School split from CCM Giakaibii Primary School over a similar mismanagement.

6.17. Conclusion

We have seen that the period between 1946 and 1963 had major changes in formal education in Nyeri County. The Beecher Report of 1949 recommended 4 years of primary education from Standard I to IV and Intermediate School education from Standard V to VIII. This was implemented in Nyeri up to 1963. The period witnessed the establishment of many more primary and intermediate schools in addition to four more secondary schools to add to Kagumo Secondary School which also continued to expand, complete with a teacher college wing. More schools received grants from the LNC of Nyeri in order to ensure that more children afforded education. The two main missions, the KISA and the DEB opened various schools. Universal primary education was started in 1961 enabling all children to proceed to Standard V without doing a selective exam, the Common Entrance Examination. Independent schools were closed in 1952 with the declaration of the State of Emergency. School enrolment increased throughout the period and reached 50,000 children by 1963. Africans supported education by providing land and money. Teachers were largely white but a few Africans would train as teachers at Tumu Tumu, Mathari and Kagumo Colleges. Examinations included the Common Entrance Examination, KAPE and KASE. The Mau Mau Uprising and inadequacy of schools and teachers were some of the main challenges facing formal education in Nyeri during the period.

7. Changes in Formal Education in Nyeri County in the Independence Era (1964-1990): The 7-4-2-3 and the 8-4-4 Systems, Serious Introduction of Formal Education in Kieni and the Construction of Harambee Schools by Wananchi

7.1. Policy Changes in Formal Education

7.1.1. Creation of a Ministry of Education

As from the year 1964, formal education in Nyeri and in the whole country continued to change considerably due to constitutional changes. A Ministry of Education (MoE) was created to manage formal education. Therefore, the Department of Education responsible for formal education in the country left its work to the MoE (KNA/VP1/9/9:1963). In 1983, the two ministries manning education – the Ministry of Basic Education and the Ministry of Higher Education were merged into one ministry of Education, Science and Technology (KNA/VP/9/89). By 1985, the district had three post-secondary institutions or tertiary schools. These were Kagumo Diploma College, Kamwenja Teachers College and Kimathi Institute of Technology (KNA/VP/9/93)

7.2. Introduction of the 7-4-2-3 System of Education

1963 had become the final year of Standard 8 (Warutumo, O.I., 11/8/2018) and, therefore, Universal Standard 7 education started to be implemented in Nyeri as well as in the whole country (KNA/VP1/9/9:1963). This involved the system of 7-4-2-3 which was seven years in primary school, four years in junior secondary, two years in higher secondary, otherwise known as the 'A' Level and finally three years in university. The new system was introduced by the Ominde Education Commission (Ngotho, 2016). The system was implemented in the country up to 1984 since in 1985, the 8-4-4 system was recommended by the Mackay Commission (KNA/VP/9/92) and adopted. The Standard 8 was therefore re-introduced in 1985. This was supported by the Moi government (Nderitu, O.I., 14/8/2018).

7.3. Expansion of Primary and Secondary Schools in Nyeri County after Independence

Primary schools continued to increase in number throughout the independence period. All the primary schools in the district expanded by the help of *harambee* (Kiriba, O.I., 13/8/2018; Gatundu, O.I., 16/8/2018). Distance wise, distribution of these schools was reasonably even in all the divisions except in Kieni due to scanty population. Schools in Kieni were also poorly constructed (KNA/VP/9/28).

Secondary schools too continued to increase in the district after independence. By 1969, the district boasted of 11 aided secondary schools (ibid). The early years of independence in Kenya saw the opening of many secondary schools in Nyeri through the efforts of *harambee*, a national motto or philosophy advanced by the first government led by Mzee Jomo Kenyatta (Gitahi, O.I., 13/8/2018). The *harambee* schools were opened by locals without government aid (KNA/VP/9/23). Where did these schools get land from? They were built in the former Emergency villages which were taken over by the government as council land (Wathiaka, O.I., 7/8/2018; Ndei, O.I., 9/8/2018). The residents of Nyeri had a real education need especially for higher education that was previously difficult to access with the racial discrimination promoted in the provision of social services during the colonial era by the colonialists. Many schools got modernized by school committees and *harambees* (KNA/VP/9/25). In fact, by 1971, expansion of secondary education was faster than primary education in the district (KNA/VP/9/30). There were 68 secondary schools in Nyeri in 1971, of which 18 were aided. By 1979, secondary schools in Nyeri had reached 109, with 27 of them being Maintained, another 27 were Assisted, Unaided were 46 while Private were 9. The Ministry of Education went on aiding various *harambee* secondary schools for instance by posting teachers there and granting them financial aid (Kibiru, O.I., 13/8/2018). In 1971, the government made the Naro Moru Girls' Secondary School an Aided school meaning that it would receive government aid. Chinga Boys' Secondary and Muruguru Secondary started receiving government aid in 1974 (KNA/VP/9/74).

7.4. The Harambee Philosophy and its Impact on Formal Education in Nyeri County

Harambees were encouraged in all the primary schools and a good number of schools raised colossal sums of money to erect permanent classrooms, teachers' houses and administration blocks (KNA/VP/9/75). Parents in Nyeri responded positively to the *harambee* call and gave handsomely whatever they had towards *harambee* since they had the goodwill required (Wangari, O.I., 8/8/2018; Ogot & Ochieng, 1995). They would even take their goats, sheep and chickens to *harambee* for auctioning by President Moi and Vice President Kibaki (Kiriba, O.I., 13/8/2018). People went and provided communal work in school building projects, including going for stones from the valleys (Gatundu, O.I., 16/8/2018). In Mukurwe-ini, the AEO, Mr. Mutadi, initiated a *harambee* which raised over 100,000 shillings to build a Teachers' Advisory Centre. The aim of *harambee* secondary schools was to increase the number of secondary schools to absorb students who do not get places in government schools and to aid the country in the production of qualified manpower needed by the nation (Eshiwani, 1993). They absorbed pupils with low Standard 7 qualification (Anjelica, O.I., 9/8/2018). Anjelica told of *harambeestreams* which would be added in the Government Maintained schools which were designed to serve the same purpose. At Ngandu Girls' Secondary School where she schooled, such a class was introduced but was later rejected by the locals and therefore taken to Kerugoya Girls' Secondary School.

Harambee secondary schools in Nyeri that were established after independence were Gacatha, Kiandu, Aguthi, Kiriti, Gaki, Dr Kamundia Gathuthi (Ndugamano), Muthua-ini, Kabiru-ini, Kenyatta High, Kiangoma, Kiaritha-ini, Gikumbo, Giakaibe, Karatina, Kanjuri, Gatondo, Hiriga, Gathungururu, Ruruguti, Kiamuya, Magutu, Othaya Girls', Kimathi, BIRTHIA, Mweru, Amboni, Huho-ini, Gatugi, Kiaguthu, Gataragwa, Kirichu, Ndathi, Ngunguru, Warazo, Kambura-ini, Mathaithi, Itundu, Tambaya, Kairuthi, Munyange, Ngandu, Icuga, Ndia-ini and Ihururu. They were also called *unaided* schools (KNA/VP/9/75).

Useful cooperation and support from all the government ministries in Nyeri, teachers, local leaders, parents and students in expanding and maintaining good standards of secondary and high school education in the district were witnessed (KNA/VP/9/82). In his Annual Report, the PC of Central Province in 1969, Mr. C.K. Koinange, noted that 'the *harambee* spirit was invigorating people and consequently self-help projects flourished better than any other time before. They mainly involved construction of schools, health centres, and dispensaries, cattle dips, better houses, etc. (KNA/VP/9/28). He also acknowledged that Nyeri District owed gratitude to the many parents who contributed in cash and labour to build teachers houses and classrooms. Wanyiri wa Kang'eri (O.I., 8/8/2018), a kind informant of this study, told of how they conducted a *harambee* in 1969 as members of his local community and built Mathari Primary, Mwenji Primary and Muhoya Secondary.

The *harambee* secondary schools were initially stationed in the already existing primary schools but plans were in hand to either move the primary schools to new sites or to build classrooms to house the secondary schools (KNA/VP/9/23). Teaching staff was a real hurdle for the *harambeese* secondary schools as it was the P1 teachers who handled the students but could not teach beyond Form 2.

President Moi and Vice President Kibaki, in particular, used to preside over school *harambees* as guests of honour (KNA/VP/9/37). In 1981, Moi conducted a *harambee* for all secondary schools in Mathira Division where over 5 million shillings was raised. In June of the same year, Kibaki conducted a funds drive in aid of all of secondary schools in Othaya Division (VP/9/87). In 1986, Moi presided over another *harambee* at Tumu Tumu Girls' High School (VP/9/94). The duo presided over other fundraisers at Gekondi in Mukurwe-ini (Kiriba, O.I., 13/8/2018) *Wananchi* worked hard and flocked in large numbers and large sums of money were collected. The *harambees* saw the birth of many secondary schools in the district. By 1983, for instance, Nyeri had over 80 *harambee* secondary schools across the various divisions. The table below illustrates the distribution of secondary schools in Nyeri County in 1983:

	Government Schools	Harambee/Assisted Schools	Harambee Schools	Private Schools	TOTAL
Tetu	7	6	15	7	35
Mathira	8	11	11	3	33
Othaya	6	7	10	0	23
Mukurwe-ini	4	1	9	0	14
Kieni East	3	1	4	1	9
Kieni West	2	0	6	1	9
Total	29	29	55	12	125

Table 4: Distribution of Secondary Schools in Nyeri County in 1983.

Source: Kenya National Archive

When the 8-4-4 system started in January 1985, the residents of Nyeri built the Standard 8 classrooms through *harambee* (KNA/VP/9/93).

Kimathi Institute of Technology emerged in the 1980s. According to Nderitu (O.I., 14/8/2018), the institute was opened through the *harambee* efforts. Each child in Nyeri contributed a shilling towards its establishment. Children in all schools were told to take the money to school and the money collected was used to build the institute. It was started as a tertiary institution for training students and offering Diplomas in technical courses (Ndei, O.I., 9/8/2018). The institute has today been upgraded to a university.

As Ochieng (1985) argued, education took the lions' share from the *harambee* projects. The KANU government and citizens took expansion of primary and secondary education very seriously immediately after independence. Education was seen by the government as a future source of skilled manpower to replace expatriates in the civil service, professions, commerce and industry.

7.5. Formal Education Begins in Earnest in Kieni

Serious building of schools in Kieni started after independence when the Agikuyu moved in under the Land Buying Companies and Settlement Schemes. The post-colonial era saw the Agikuyu from Nyeri move to Kieni Constituency under the Settlement Schemes by the Kenyatta Government (Matu, O.I., 17/8/2018). The Government established the Settlement Fund Trustees (SFT) to facilitate the purchase and distribution of settler farms to landless Kenyans. By 1977, about 95% of the former White Highlands had been transferred to black African ownership especially Kikuyu (Veit, 2017). This was under the Haraka Schemes in Kieni East and Kieni West in places like Gataragwa, Watuka, Endarasha, Uasonyiro, Mweiga, Waraza, Belleview (Tanyai) and Naromoru (KNA/VP/9/6; Ndirangu, O.I., 11/8/2018). The need for redistribution of classes in Nyeri was therefore paramount in order to have schools in Kieni especially the lower classes (KNA/VP1/9/23).

Before independence, as we saw in Chapter Three, there were very few and home based schools housed in the settlers homes. These cannot be assumed to be proper schools. How were schools built in Kieni after independence and how was land provided for them? We have already seen that the Agikuyu moved to Kieni after independence either through settlement schemes or land buying companies. Each of the land buying companies (societies) would share out land to its shareholders but still ensured that they left enough land for public utility (Thitai, O.I., 10/8/2018). This was for the sake of such buildings as churches, schools and hospitals. Even in areas under settlement schemes, the government would set aside enough land for public utility. Therefore, the schools in Kieni were built on such pieces of land. The Gataragwa Land Buying Company bought land in Kieni in 1979 (Warutumo, O.I., 11/8/2018) and left 40 acres of land for the construction of the St George's Secondary School and 12 acres for the Kabendera Primary School.

Some societies would even build schools ready for future use. St George's Secondary School was built by the Gataragwa Land Buying Company in stones. However, there were no students to school there because of the little population at that time and second, there was only one primary school in the area. It therefore meant that though the school had been provided, catchment was not available for it. The school had to stay idle until the first group of the Standard 8 leavers of the Kabendera Primary School joined it as Form Ones. Mr. Ndirangu became a B.o.G. member of the school representing the Catholic Church at Gataragwa where he also served as a catechist. It is the same company that built the Kabendera and Biricha Primary Schools in the same locality using stones (Warutumo, O.I., 11/8/2018). Gataragwa Girls' Secondary School started in the late 1960s through *harambee* by parents of the area. It started as a mixed day secondary school but it was later made a girls' boarding secondary school. The Catholic Church sponsored it.

Ndirangu further narrated how he influenced the opening of the Kabendera Primary School in January 1980. It was through his negotiation efforts with the Kieni West AEO who had gone to open the Biricha Primary School in 1979. This was in a neighbouring sub-location. He said that he had to exaggerate the number of children who needed to go to school in 1978 when he returned to Kieni from *Gikuyu*. He told the AEO that he had 40 children who needed to start Standard I. The AEO was kind to him and he authorized the opening of Standards I-IV. Therefore, on 7th of January 1980, Mr. Ndirangu together with the Father in Charge of Gataragwa Parish opened the Kabendera Primary School with only two pupils in each of the four classes. The AEO gave them only one TSC teacher who became the Head teacher and later he sent him a Deputy. Mr. Ndirangu's role in promoting education in Kieni was also enhanced in his capacity as the Chairman of the Committee of the same school for 22 years. He therefore deserves credit as one of the founders of formal education in Kieni West. He also influenced the addition of two new classrooms in the school through *harambee*.

The *harambee* philosophy helped to establish most of the schools built in Kieni after independence. We can cite a number of examples. In Kieni East, residents of Thegu Location decided to build the Nyange Primary (O.I., Matu, 17/8/2018) after they saw that their children were walking for long distances to the small school at Ruithui that we earlier discussed in Chapter Three (Kariuki, O.I., 17/8/2018). The school was first built of poor wood. Kagurani Matu (O.I., 17/8/2018), went to the Thegu area of Kieni East in the 1970s in a piece of land given to him by President Kenyatta but a little money was paid through their Kieni East Buying Society. Matu said that upon reaching the place, they only found the Ruithui Primary School which was far away from their home and therefore, they joined efforts and build the Nyange Primary School as the local parents. The land for the school was set aside by the Society.

In Mugunda Location of Kieni West, schools such as Mugunda Secondary, Nairutia Primary and Tanyai Primary owe their development to the spirit of *harambee* (Thitai, O.I., 10/8/2018). Thitai's assertions were confirmed by Muteru Muthoga (O.I., 10/8/2018) who narrated how they built Nairutia Primary School through *harambee*. He said that parents who wished to send their children to the school agreed that each one of them had to contribute 200 Kenya shillings. The same parents provided labour e.g. carrying timber from the forest to the construction site. Mwioko Primary was built by the local parents through fundraising (Mureithi, O.I., 15/8/2018).

7.5. Free Primary Education by the First Independent Government

In 1974, people in Nyeri hailed and welcomed the Presidential decree on 'Free Education' from Standard I up to Standard IV by enrolling their children in existing primary schools in large numbers and in some schools it was in excess. As a result, many schools had to build more classrooms. This busy period of scramble for Free Education took place during the first half of 1974 (KNA/VP/9/74).

7.6. Emergency of Private Schools

There was the emergence of private schools in Nyeri after independence. Most of these private schools were started by religious foundations (KNA/VP/9/37) like the Catholic Societies (Mundia, O.I., 7/8/2018). In 1975, private secondary schools in the district were Federal High School, Kiganjo Secondary, St. Dominic's Secondary, Pan-African High School, Thunguma Secondary and Ruring'u Secondary (KNA/VP/9/75). The Mary Immaculate Secondary School in Kieni West was built in the late 1980s by the late Bishop Gatimu. The land on which it was built belonged to a settler called Derrick but he later handed it over to the Catholic Church (J.B.Mwangi, O.I., 15/8/2018). Most of the private schools (academies) in the county started with the introduction of the 8-4-4 system of education in the country (Gichuki, O.I., 13/8/2018).

7.7. The Nyayo School Milk in Nyeri County

In 1979, the new government of Moi started the school milk programme as an enticement to primary school children to go to school (KNA/VP/9/80). The milk would be given out to learners on two days in each week (Gichuki, O.I., 13/8/2018). The District Commissioner's Office and other Government Departments in the district helped to transport the milk to the various primary schools. By 1985, the milk programme which was gathering momentum year after year had been embraced in 82 schools in the district. This success was attributed to the dedication of the senior education officers who were visiting schools advising Head teachers and school committees to adopt it (KNA/VP/9/93). The end result of the milk programme was the opening of new schools due to more children joining school (KNA/VP/9/37).

The programme experienced transport challenges over time. The lorry used would have regular mechanical problems. Other ministries would be called to offer their vehicles for transport. There would be high amount of milk going bad due to low packing quality by the Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC). The District Health Officer was called upon to condemn all milk that appeared unwholesome (KNA/VP/9/75). Other factors that worked against the programme was propaganda by some Nyeri residents that the milk had ill motives (Gitahi, O.I., 13/8/2018) and sabotage by the farmers who refused to take their milk to the KCC for failure by the government to pay them (Mahindu, O.I., 9/8/2018).

7.8. Other Education Changes

In 1982, Kagumo College was taken over by the Ministry of Higher Education (KNA/VP/9/88). As we said earlier, the system of education in the country was changed to 8-4-4 from the previous 7-4-2-3 system in 1985. Like other districts of the country, Nyeri had to adopt the new system. As Simiyu (2001) argued, the 7-4-2-3 system lacked the capacity and flexibility to respond to the changing aspirations of Kenyans as individuals. He goes on to say that the system failed to respond to the labour market needs in terms of skills, new technologies and people's attitude to work. He argued that it was too academic-oriented and therefore, not suited to direct employment. Its orientation to elitist and individualistic attitudes among school leavers was considered unsuitable (ibid). This 8-4-4 system came with new textbooks in classes and new subjects like Art and Craft, Business Education and Music (Gichuki, O.I., 13/8/2018). New classrooms were built in the various primary schools in Nyeri by parents to accommodate the Standard 8 class added in the primary level of education (KNA/VP/9/93).

7.9. Enrolment of Learners

By the end of 1966, the number of boys in school was 32,729 while that of girls was 27,441 (KNA/VP/9/25). The total was therefore 60,170 pupils in primary schools. Standard 1 had the highest population (12,486) followed by Standard 7 (10,262). In 1967, the total population in primary education was 65,688 and in 1968, the number rose to 70,559. However, there was a decline in the population of Standard 6 and 7 pupils in 1967 and 1968 in some parts of

Nyeri due to the migration to Kieni Dision that we saw under the Haraka Scheme. For the Standard 7, in 1966, the population was 60,670, in 1967, it was 9,516 and in 1968, it was 8,586.

1966	1968	1971	1974	1978	1980	1983	1985
60,170	70,559	91,931	124,517	145,447	156,306	164,053	176,632

Table 5: Enrolment in Primary Schools in Nyeri after Independence
Source: Kenya National Archive

1968	1971	1974	1975	1977	1985
201	223	245	249	262	330

Table 6: Number of Primary Schools in Nyeri after Independence.
Source: Kenya National Archive

Class (Standard)	Boys	Girls	TOTAL
I	6,501	5,985	12,486
II	4,397	4,242	8,639
III	4,140	3,894	8,034
IV	3,261	3,099	6,056
V	3,486	3,099	6,585
VI	4,641	3,467	8,108
VII	6,303	3,959	10,262
	32,729	27,441	60,170

Table 7: Enrolment in Various Classes in Nyeri in the Year 1966
Source: Kenya National Archive

Enrolment in secondary schools improved year after year in the district as *wananchi* took interest in secondary education. The following table illustrates the enrolment in 1971: -

FORM	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
Maintained Schools	922	848	786	697	147	143	3,543
Private Schools	433	358	261	249	-	-	1,301
Harambee Schools	1,022	664	420	460	-	-	2,566
Church Schools	234	198	150	111	-	-	693
Total	2,611	1,968	1,617	1,517	147	143	8,003

Table 8: Enrolment of Secondary School Students in Nyeri in 1971
Source: Kenya National Archive

Enrolment in secondary education reached 29,236 students in 1981, 30,236 in 1982 and 32,151 in 1983 (KNA/VP/9/89).

7.10. African Contribution in Formal Education

The main way in which the contribution of Africans in the development of formal education was given in Nyeri after independence was through mobilization of resources through *harambee*. Parents embraced the national philosophy of *harambee* that was rallied by the first independent government and later furthered by the second government under President Moi. Parents combined funds, ideas and labour which they used to erect classrooms, staff quarters, laboratories, dining halls, administration blocks, libraries, and so forth.

In 1975, for example, *harambees* were organized in all primary schools in Nyeri and a good number of schools raised lots of money to erect permanent classrooms, teachers' houses and administration blocks. It was through the parents' fundraisers that the *harambee* schools we outlined earlier were built (schools like Kimathi Secondary, Kiandu Secondary, Gachatha Secondary, Kanjuri Secondary, and the rest).

Parents supported the government's promotion of formal education by enrolling their children in large numbers. When the Kenyatta Government offered free primary education in 1974, parents in Nyeri enrolled their children in school until the classrooms available were filled excessively. This made schools to build more classrooms (KNA/VP/9/74).

7.10.1. Facilities

The county continued to have more classrooms over the period after independence mostly built of semi-permanent material. Permanent buildings slowly replaced the semi-permanent ones made of mud and iron sheets but as of 1983, permanent buildings were still a dire need in many schools. During 1969, the number of classrooms in Nyeri was 2,109. During 1970, it rose to 2,330 and in 1976, it was 3,280.

In the already existing secondary schools, extra *harambee* streams were added. When the 8-4-4 system was introduced in 1985, more classrooms for Standard 8 were constructed (KNA/VP/9/93) and Home Science blocks and

workshops built in line with the new curriculum. The government provided schools with radios for radio lessons (KNA/VP/9/88).

7.10.2. Teachers

During the period after independence, primary schools were taught by P1, P2, P3 and P4 teachers. Teachers were now African and not white since the country had achieved independence and most jobs taken up by Africans. According to the Teachers' Image, 2018, Mr. James Kamunge was the first African Principal of Kagumo High School. He became the first African Headmaster at Njoro High School, Nakuru, from 1966 to 1967 before proceeding to Kagumo High School to Africanize the headship of the school. The second Chairman of the TSC which had been created in 1967, Mr. Mwangi, presided over the Kenyanization of the teaching service, including headship of secondary and post-secondary institutions. According to Anjelica (O.I., 9/8/2018), school heads were mainly white in the early years of independence, but became less in the 1970s. These white teachers were called expatriate teachers and were from the USA.

However, some of the teachers were untrained teachers (UTs) who had to teach and at the same time attend their private studies (KNA/VP/9/26). Indeed, such teachers amounted to about 40 % of the teachers in Nyeri according to the Central Annual Report of 1966 (KNA/VP/9/25). The UTs were teachers who had completed Form 2 and had done the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (KJSE) while others had only completed Standard 8 or 7 with a Certificate of Primary Education (CPE). Anthony Kiriba (O.I., 13/8/2018) was one such teacher who after completing Standard 7 in 1964 went and started teaching at Gekondi Primary School where he had schooled. He later joined Kamwenja TTC for an in-service course for teachers. This in-service was given to teachers after the President Kenyatta issued a directive that UTs should upgrade themselves. The district had its first graduate teacher in 1983 (KNA/VP/9/89). Anjelica Wangari (O.I., 9/8/2018) was a UT at Chinga Girls Secondary School during the 1970s. In 1969, the district had 1,810 qualified teachers and 484 UTs. In 1970, the number of qualified teachers was 2,503 and that of UTs was 535. In 1981, the number of qualified teachers was 4,427 and that of UTs 170.

In -service courses for both teachers and head teachers were started in the mid-1960s (KNA/VP/9/27). This greatly improved the quality of teaching. In 1979, teachers handling sciences in the district were given an in service course (KNA/VP/9/80). In 1981, one-day in service courses for every subject were offered to Nyeri teachers to emphasize on skills and methodology.

Secondary school teachers were largely UTs especially in the early years of independence. This was especially so in the *harambee* schools (ibid). However, the government - maintained/assisted schools would receive quite a number of trained teachers directly through TSC posting (KNA/VP/9/88). In 1983, Nyeri District had 594 trained secondary teachers (VP/989). In 1985, secondary teachers in the district were 1,133 in total (KNA/VP/9/93). The teachers in Nyeri would receive training at either Kagumo College, Kamwenja College or St Cecilia Women College (KNA/VP/9/28). High school and secondary teachers would get training at Kagumo for a Diploma in Teaching while primary teachers would go to Kamwenja Teachers' College (KNA/VP/9/88). Quite a number of teachers left the district for Nyandarua where they had bought land. Teachers to teach sciences were very minimal. Before 1968, teachers were paid by missions and local councils but after 1968, they started receiving salaries from the Teachers Service Commission (Warutumo, O.I., 11/8/2018).

Some teachers after independence were called *Harambee* teachers. These were teachers employed and paid by teachers through contributions (Mundia, O.I., 7/8/2018). In the early years of independence, *Harambee* teachers were more than the Government teachers. A *Harambee* secondary school would have about 3 Government teachers and about 5 *Harambee* teachers (ibid). This was occasioned by the limitation of the government to raise enough teachers.

7.10.3. Curriculum and Disciplines

After independence, primary schools used to offer subjects like Mathematics, English, History, Geography, Civics and Science. Secondary schools had the same subjects from Form I up to IV but in addition, there was Physics, Biology and Chemistry, Agriculture and Handicraft/Handwork (Nderitu, O.I., 14/8/2018). In 1977, the teaching of Home Science was introduced in secondary schools (KNA/VP/9/78).

A few secondary schools had 'A' level classes or Forms 5 and 6. At the 'A' Level, only three subjects would be done by a student. One would take either two Principal Subjects and one Subsidiary Subject or one Principal Subject and one Subsidiary Subject. The former option would give one a qualification for a Bachelors' Degree course while the latter would qualify one for a Diploma Course (Warutumo, O.I., 11/8/2018). However, Warutumo further clarified that for some courses highly considered during the 7-4-2-3 system, all the three subjects had to be Principal i.e. excellently done. These courses were Law and Medicine. By 1983, Nyeri had 13 schools with such classes. The table below illustrates the distribution of 'A' Level classes in Nyeri in 1983: -

	Boys' Schools	Girls' Schools	Mixed Schools	TOTAL
Government schools	6	5	-	11
Harambee/Assisted Schools	0	0	-	-
Harambee Schools	0	0	-	-
Private Schools	1	-	1	2
Total	7	5	1	13

Table 9: Distribution of 'A' Level Classes in Nyeri in 1983.

Source: Kenya National Archive

Primary teacher colleges were offering P1, P2, P3 and P4 courses. P1 would be done by Form IV graduates, P2 by Form II graduates while P3 was done by Standard 8 graduates (Warutumo, O.I., 11/8/2018). The Kagumo TTC offered Diploma in Teacher Education (DTE) and teachers would be trained in pedagogical skills and specialization in subjects of interest for diploma but all subjects in the Primary Teacher Education (PTE). Up to 1984, learners studied for seven years in primary school, four years in junior secondary, two years in higher secondary and three years in university. As from 1985, it would be eight years in primary school, four years in secondary school and four years in university.

7.10.4. Examinations

The period after independence saw the introduction of new examinations in the district in line with the changes in the whole country. There was the Primary Certificate of Education (CPE), an examination done at the end of Standard 7. In 1981, Nyeri District took the lead in CPE countrywide (KNA/VP/9/87).

The Kenya Junior Secondary Education (KJSE) was a major examination done at the end of Form 2. However, the KJSE was optional and not all secondary schools in Nyeri would offer it (Warutumo, O.I., 11/8/2018). Warutumo added that though optional, the KJSE was a very valuable examination which would fetch one a good job or enable one to join a teacher training college. Warutumo was one of the KJSE holders who joined the Kamwenja Teachers College and trained as a P2 teacher. He had sat the KJSE at Karima Boys' Secondary School in Othaya Division.

The East African Certificate of Education (EACE) was taken at Form 4 (Mahindu, O.I., 8/8/2018). This EACE was a compulsory examination in Nyeri District (County) just like in other parts of Kenya (ibid). The EACE was sometime done in collaboration with the Cambridge University (ibid) The Kenya Advanced Certificate of Education (KACE) was taken at the end of Form 6 ('A' Level). Before the collapse of the East African Community in 1977, this examination was called the East African Advanced Certificate of Education (EAACE) (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education_in_Kenya). The London General Certificate of Education (LGCE) was taken to promote or qualify one for university entry (KNA/VP/9/30). In 1975, for instance, there were 5 High Schools in Nyeri offering EAACE. 49 secondary schools offered EACE. 48 secondary schools offered KJSE while 216 primary schools offered CPE.

As years passed, the KJSE lost its popularity to the EACE due to high exam fees for the former. Furthermore, many private and harambee schools were offering the 4-year course leading to EACE at the end of Form 4 and skipped the KJSE which would be taken at the end of Form 2. In 1979, the KJSE candidates in Nyeri dropped to 113 from the 151 number of 1978. The EACE candidates, on the other hand, increased to 4,382 from 3,734 in the previous year (KNA/VP/9/80). A mock CPE examination was adopted in Nyeri 1979 that would help learners prepare for the actual CPE at the end of Standard 7 (ibid).

When the 8-4-4 system was started in 1985, the Kenya Certificate of Education (KCPE) replaced the CPE at the end of primary school education. It was done in Standard 8 at the end of the year. Another examination was to do with Business Education because of the Kimathi Institute (KNA/VP/9/93). The Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) replaced the East African Certificate of Education in 1985.

7.10.5. Management of Formal Education

After independence, the Kenya Government created the Ministry of Education (M.o.E.) to manage the education affairs of the country. Therefore, the Education Department was replaced (M.o.E). A district was manned by a County Education Officer overseeing the former County Councils. Nyeri, therefore, came under a County Education Officer who controlled all the Aided and County Maintained Schools (KNA/VP/9/25). In 1969, for example, Mr. J.G. Ndegwa was the County Education Officer from January to June. Mr. J.G. Macharia replaced him in July. Higher institutes of education (secondary and TTCs), however, were under the Provincial Education Officer (P.E.O.)

The missions had their own Education Secretaries who did actual supervision and control of their schools but any matter of policy was to be determined in consultation with the County Education Officer. By 1975, the title of County Education Officer had changed to the District Education Officer (DEO). Under the DEO were various Area Education Officers (AEOs) in charge of Education Divisions. In 1973, the district had 8 Education Divisions each with an AEO for efficient and effective management of education. These were: Tetu North, Tetu South, Mathira East, Mathira West, Mukurwe-ini, Othaya, Kieni East and Kieni West. By 1983, they had increased to 10 after the division of Othaya into North and South and creation of a Nyeri Central Division (KNA/VP/9/89). This was towards better management.

The DEB continued to approve the opening of new schools (KNA/VP/9/37). In 1980, it recommended the establishment of 6 new schools and it happened. Inspection of schools would be done by every field officer in charge of a division and group inspections were carried out as well. Reports would finally be given to the DEO. The DEO would attend *harambees* in the various schools to act as a mobilizer. In 1983, for instance, the DEO attended *harambees* at Othaya Girls' Secondary, South Tetu Secondary, Gakuyu Secondary, Charity Girls' Secondary, Kanjuri Boys' Secondary and Othaya Boys' Secondary.

7.10.6. Challenges of Formal Education

Formal education in Nyeri County experienced several challenges during the post-colonial /independence period. The *harambee* schools had to do without enough facilities like buildings and textbooks. Some would be housed in the primary schools (KNA/VP/9/23). Science textbooks and equipment was a real hurdle. Schools lacked proper day sanitations, libraries, dormitories and staff houses (KNA/VP/9/89). The physical facilities built to accommodate 25 children were in 1983 accommodating 50 children; causing overcrowding. Lack of adequate furniture made children overcrowded and not to write well. Lack of doors, windows and soft boards made the display of teaching aids almost

impossible (KNA/VP/9/89). In 1964, no more than 5% of the KPE candidates gained admission into secondary schools since chances were limited. Many young children applied to repeat in Standard VII but few were absorbed due to inadequate room (KNA/VP/9/23).

Teaching staff remained a real problem for the secondary schools in Nyeri especially during the early years of independence. The schools would be staffed by P1 teachers who were not able to teach classes beyond Form 2 (ibid). The then PC of Central Province remarked that at the end of 1965, unless these schools were able to recruit higher grade teachers, they won't be able to develop beyond properly into full secondary schools. If these schools are to develop beyond Form 2, funds were either to be found by the local community or fees had to be raised to provide finances for salaries of higher grade teachers (ibid). The problem persisted throughout the 1970s and 1980s. During 1979, for instance, extra *harambee* streams were added on the already existing Maintained streams without provision of qualified teacher; affecting the academic performance of schools (KNA/VP/9/80). School leavers helped to teach in Forms V and VI in the *harambee* schools. Even Headmasters in the schools were mostly untrained teachers (UTs) (KNA/VP/9/37). In 1983, for instance, secondary schools in Nyeri had 594 trained teachers only and 680 'A' Level UTs (KNA/VP/9/89).

There were students' unrests in a number of schools. In 1966, the Kagumo High School students staged a walkout (KNA/VP/9/25). In 1980, Kaheti Secondary and Ruthagati Secondary students went on strike with complaints such as lack of teachers of sciences, inadequacy of food, soap and water and failure of school administrations to attend to the welfare of students. In 1983, there was mass indiscipline at Kagumo High School where students went on strike as they wanted home clothes returned to them before breaking for mid-term. Ndiaini Secondary students boycotted classes due to inadequate food at lunch time. At Nyeri High, students went on strike due to lack of a teacher of P.E. Ringleaders at Nyeri High and Kagumo High were expelled (KNA/VP/9/89).

Understaffing continued to be a problem in Nyeri schools during this period (KNA/VP/9/80). Quite a number of teachers left Nyeri schools after migrating to Nyandarua where they had bought new lands through the Settlement Schemes (KNA/VP/9/25). Some parents refused to support the *harambee* drive and they wrote letters to the authorities accusing the parent associations of illegal or forced contributions (KNA/VP/9/37). Standard of teaching and learning would be adversely affected as the untrained teachers who engaged in teaching often concentrated more on their private studies than on teaching. This was well illustrated in the KPE results of 1967 which were poorer than those of 1966 (KNA/LG/5/1346).

The ratio of secondary schools to primary schools was very small (ibid). This made people to clamour for more secondary schools (KNA/VP/9/25). Performance in the 1975 CPE was fairly good and some successful candidates were admitted in Form 1 in 1976 but due to limited places, very little could be done to accommodate more pupils. Many who had scored between 20 and 25 points and who deserved Form 1 places had to be left out (KNA/VP/9/77). In 1980, very many Standard 7 qualifiers lacked places in Form 1 due to inadequate secondary places (KNA/VP/9/37). Religious squabbles were experienced in the early 1970s between the AIPCA church and the other mainstream churches in Nyeri as the former tried to regain their schools (the Independent Schools) which they had established but had been taken over by the P.C.E.A. and the Roman Catholic churches during the Emergency (KNA/VP/9/80). We saw in Chapter that all the Independent schools were taken over by the Government and the missions after the State of Emergency.

Late payment of teachers caused absences of teachers from work; leading to poor academic performance (KNA/VP/9/28). In particular, before the formation of the Teachers' Service Commission (TSC) in 1967, teachers would be paid by the different employers who employed them. These were the missionaries, local authorities and the Central Government. The pay depended on the ability of the various entities. Further, salary delays were a trend in most of the months.

Transport was a challenge. The education officers faced a big challenge of transport facilities. During 1975, for instance, only one vehicle was available. Therefore, it was very difficult to carry out administrative and supervisory duties. The DEO depended on perpetual borrowing of GK vehicles from other Departments in Nyeri (KNA/VP/9/75). Even for learners and teachers, movement to school was usually strenuous and tiring because of going on foot. Anjelica (O.I., 9/8/2018) had to move from her village, about 20 kilometres, all the way to Nyeri Town to board vehicles to Ngandu Girls' Secondary.

In Kieni area, teachers experienced the challenges of inadequate staff quarters and therefore, they had to travel for long distances in order to reach school. Warutumo (O.I., 11/8/2018) a retired teacher had to move from Gatragwa to Karemeno, a distance of about 30 kilometres. He therefore said that teachers' workmanship would be affected by fatigue resulting from such walks for long distances. Teaching would therefore be automatically affected.

Pregnancy of girls in girl' school was a main issue (Wathiaka, O.I., 7/8/2018). Others were rudeness of students, insubordination, thefts, smoking and one incident of forced homosexuality (KNA/VP/9/86). Lack of fees among parents caused low enrolment in class I (KNA/VP/9/28).

7.11. Conclusion

We have seen that after the country gained independence, the Ministry of Education (M.o.E.) replaced the colonial Department of Education. Formal education in Nyeri was, therefore, manned by the M.o.E. Standard 8 was abolished in 1964 when the Universal Standard 7 Education was introduced, which would later be abolished and Standard 8 re-introduced in 1985. The system of education henceforth was changed to 8-4-4 from the 7-4-2-3 system implemented from 1964 to 1984. The district saw a tremendous increase in both primary and secondary schools, enrolment, teaching personnel and other resources. The *harambee* drive, as we have seen, became the major promoting factor of education expansion in the district after independence. The teaching personnel was also Kenyanised after independence and

teachers were adequately trained to enable them handle teaching effectively. Schools were built in Kieni after the Nyeri Agikuyu started moving from *Gikuyu* into the division for settlement after independence. In 1974, free education was offered by President Kenyatta which saw many children in the district go to school. Another incentive to school-going children was the school milk programme started by President Moi which was gladly embraced in Nyeri. The teachers' colleges in the district continued to train teachers while the Kimathi Institute also emerged. There was also the rise of private schools, both primary and secondary. Examinations changed from CPE to KCPE and EACE to KCSE. As regards the management of formal education, the district changed from the County Education Officer to the District Education Officer while the missionaries lost their great influence in schools and required to appoint their Education Secretaries to represent them in school managements. Challenges were common during the independence era, some of the major ones being insufficient facilities, inadequate teaching force and students' indiscipline.

8. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1. Summary and Conclusion of the Research

In Chapter One, we gave a background of the study. In the same chapter, the objectives of the study were clearly outlined. A review of related literature and research methodology were also given in detail in the same chapter.

In Chapter Two, the study discussed the emergency of formal education in Nyeri County between 1920 and 1945. The chapter examined the initial attitude of the Agikuyu of Nyeri towards formal education. It showed how the Agikuyu initially hated formal education and would not allow their children to go to school. However, as time passed, Africans gradually embraced formal education and in the 1930s, they were yearning for a better education. This chapter showed that there were two major Christian missions, the CSM and the CCM responsible for the emergency of formal education in the county. The CMS, as the chapter argued, was only able to start a few schools in Othaya but in the other constituencies of Nyeri, the mission society failed due to competition and rivalry from the other two societies. The chapter established that there were two Central Schools in Nyeri County during the period 1920-1945. These were Tumu Tumu for the CSM and Mathari for the CCM. The two missions opened Outschools in form of Village schools and Bush schools in the other parts of Nyeri and sent their teachers there. These Outschools were poorly constructed and lacked enough resources, teachers and supervision. Absentism was a daily phenomenon in the schools. It is from the two Central Schools that the missions operated. The chapter also established that the provision of formal education to Africans in Nyeri County remained chiefly a missionary role up to 1933 when the government opened the first African government school, Kagumo. The chapter also examined the rise of Independent Schools. It established that the issue of FGM was the main and immediate cause of the rise of these schools. The existence of these schools expanded the provision of formal education in Nyeri but also elicited animosity from the colonial government and the missionaries and mission schools towards the Independent schools in Nyeri County. Indian formal education was also discussed in the chapter and which the chapter found out to have been different from African formal education.

In chapter three, the study discovered that the Agikuyu of Nyeri, like other Africans elsewhere in Kenya, and all over Africa, had developed a positive attitude towards formal education and were even yearning for higher education. The chapter examined the recommendations of the Beecher Report of 1949 and found out that the Report changed the formal education system in Nyeri to the 4-4-4 system for a period of ten years. This system was last implemented in 1963. More schools especially the Intermediate ones were established in the county and more learners joined school. DEB schools like the Nyeri Muslim DEB were opened during this period. It's also in this chapter that we saw and discussed the European Primary School, Nyeri, opened for the sake of white children whose parents lived and worked around Nyeri County. The State of Emergency was discussed in the same chapter and found to have had great impact on formal education in Nyeri County, notably negative. The Emergency led to the closure of all KISA schools by the government on the excuse that they were political and supporting the Mau Mau activities. The chapter also found that during the Emergency, children were not able to go to school owing to fear of attack by the Mau Mau.

In chapter four, we saw that the country adopted new policies of formal education as the country became independent. The 4-4-4 system was replaced by the 7-4-2-3 system and later by the 8-4-4 system. The chapter found out that the Kieni area adopted formal education to the fullest during the independence period since during colonialism, the settlers in Kieni would not allow any progressive formal education for the Africans. Many schools were built through the *harmbee* philosophy championed by Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and people responded positively to this philosophy. We also saw the rise of private schools by religious organisations and individuals. Management of education changed completely in Nyeri with the adoption of the Ministry of Education and church influence on formal education was greatly reduced. The Nyayo Milk served to promote formal education in Nyeri during the era of independence as the chapter discussed.

Going back to the purpose and objectives of this study, it is correct to say that they have both been achieved. The purpose of the study was to reconstruct the history of formal education in Nyeri County from 1920 to 1990 which has been described in detail from Chapter Two to Chapter Five. The objectives of the study were adequately achieved. The study found out that formal education continued to emerge in the different parts of Nyeri throughout the period 1920 - 1945 mainly through the efforts of the European missionaries and minimally by the government. The emergence of formal education was also a role played by Africans themselves through their self-sponsored schools, the Independent or KISA schools. Indian education also emerged during this period under the first objective of the study. The second objective was to find out the developments in formal education in Nyeri County from 1946-1963. The study achieved the objective by discovering that the Beecher Report brought about the 4-4-4 system of education in Nyeri County during this period which brought with it new examinations. It also discovered that Independent Schools underwent a turbulent period during the

State of Emergency and thereafter their managements taken over by the missionaries or the Nyeri DEB. The third objective was to examine the changes of formal education in Nyeri County after independence up to 1990. The objective was achieved in Chapter Four which found out that during this period, the County embraced several changes related to formal education like the adoption of the 7-4-2-3 and the 8-4-4 systems of education with their different examinations, the rise of *harambee* schools and *harambee* teachers, serious development of formal education in the Kieni Constituency, the Free Primary Education of Kenyatta and the Nyayo Milk Programme in primary schools.

8.2. Recommendations of this Study

The research found out that formal education emerged in Nyeri County through the efforts of the Christian missionaries. Therefore, the study recommends that the Government of the day should enhance the involvement of the church in formal education and always seek its opinion in matters of formal education.

The research also found out that there were quite many schools started in Nyeri by the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association and the African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa, but these schools were taken over by other churches like the Roman Catholic Church and the Nyeri District Education Board during the State of Emergency. We therefore recommend that the ownership of these schools be given back to the AIPCA church which has recently claimed back the sponsorship of the schools.

The study found out that the system of formal education in Nyeri kept changing and this brought about many challenges. We therefore recommend that the government should try to avoid constant changes in the education system and the curriculum for the sake of continuity and avoidance of unnecessary problems in the education sector.

8.3. Areas of Further Research

This study has identified the following areas of further study: First, the history of the Independent schools and the role they played in the development of formal education in Nyeri County should be studied. This can help explain the role played by Africans in the development of formal education in detail. Second, we propose a study on the history of squatters' education during the colonial period. This can help inform on the extent to which the squatters got educated during their stay in the white highlands as labourers of the settlers. Third, a study on the history of CCM and formal education in Nyeri should be studied to show how the CCM promoted formal education in Nyeri County. Fourth, the history of formal education in Kagumo school can help to show the role played by the government in promoting formal education in Nyeri County. Fifth, a study should be carried out on the history of education in Kieni Constituency in particular. This can help show why Kieni Constituency has been slow in embracing formal education in Nyeri County, unlike in the other five constituencies of the county. Lastly, we propose a study of formal education at Tumu Tumu in specific. This can help to show the country the great educational work at Tumu Tumu as the operational base of the CSM in Nyeri and as the mother of all PCEA schools in Nyeri.

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