

A HISTORY OF WESTERN EDUCATION AMONG THE  
SAMBURU OF NORTH-CENTRAL KENYA, 1933 – 1963

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

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## DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

### Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other University.

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## DEDICATION

To my daughters, Yvonne, Caroline and Faith

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am greatly indebted to those who have contributed to the writing of this dissertation in one way or another. Without their help, support, and encouragement, I would never have been able to complete this work. The help and gentle guidance extended to me by my lecturers, colleagues and friends cannot go unmentioned. Firstly, I want to thank my lecturers at the Department of History who have nurtured my intellectual growth throughout my graduate years. I am obliged to point out my two supervisors, Dr. Peter Waweru and Dr. Isaac Tarus who have been a constant stream of ideas that has given shape to this work. I would want to point out Dr. Waweru whose expertise on the Samburu community has served as a basis onto which this study sprung. Secondly, I would thank all library officials of various institutions I visited in search of data for granting me an opportunity to utilize their resources as well as offering ready assistance when called upon. I must single out Mr. Ambani of the Kenya National Archives for his unpaid assistance in accessing the documentary resources which have formed the bedrock of this study. I must also thank those who availed their precious time with me to discuss this research problem and the generous hospitality they extended to me during my stay in Samburu District. I had the benefit of a grant from the British Institute in Eastern Africa. I am highly indebted to them as this helped much in my fieldwork in Samburu.

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## ABSTRACT

The introduction of western education in colonial Kenya did not take a uniform pattern of development. This variation was due to social, economic, political and environmental factors that prevailed at the time. These differences were distinct between predominantly pastoral and agricultural communities. It is evident from the existing literature that there are no historical studies on the development of education among the pastoralists of northern Kenya in general and the Samburu in particular. The study examined the development of western education among the Samburu during the colonial period by focusing on various players and their roles between 1933 and 1963. Specifically, the study examined how the Samburu perceived western education and how those perceptions influenced their attitudes towards it. Further, it examined and how the colonial officials and other education providers influenced education policies among the Samburu. The study was informed by three theoretical perspectives namely; Articulation of modes of production which demonstrates capitalism's ability to re-shape other modes of production to suit its needs through the process of 'conservation', 'dissolution' and 'transformation' of the pre-capitalist mode of production. The cultural theory was used to explain the behavior of the people under study through culture and how they dealt with change. The third theory was structural functionalism which was employed to explain the reasons behind resistance to change on some elements that a community considers alien and disruptive to its own. The study was premised on the basis that the colonial government attempted to develop western education among the Samburu amid challenges. Methodology for this study involved data collection from secondary sources and mostly archives and field research for primary data were extensively utilized. Data analysis was done along the lines of articulation of modes of production theory. The findings of the study will be useful to scholars in diversifying research in related communities and enabling the policy makers to come up with suitable educational strategies for the pastoral communities.

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Figure 1: Location of Samburu District in Kenya

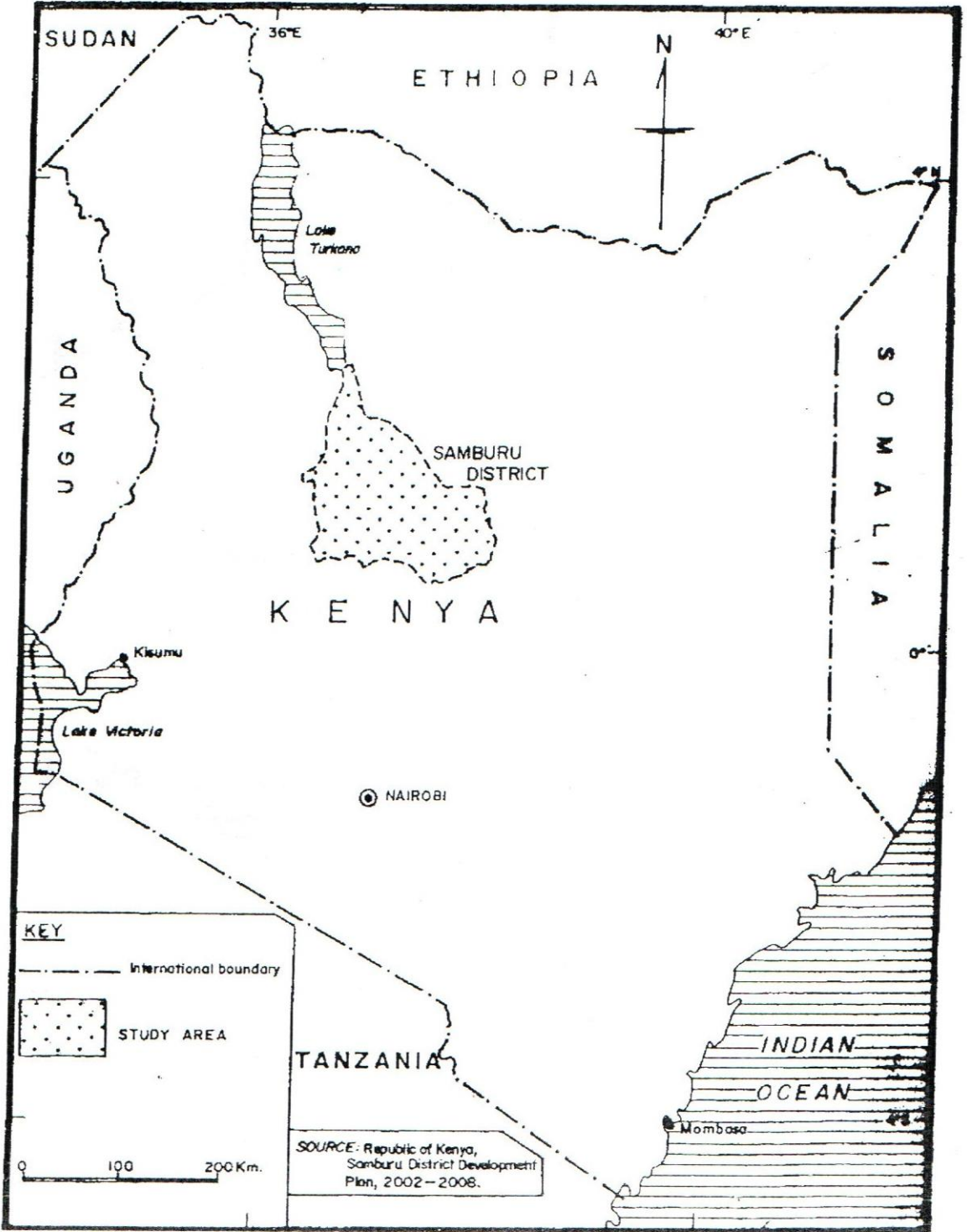
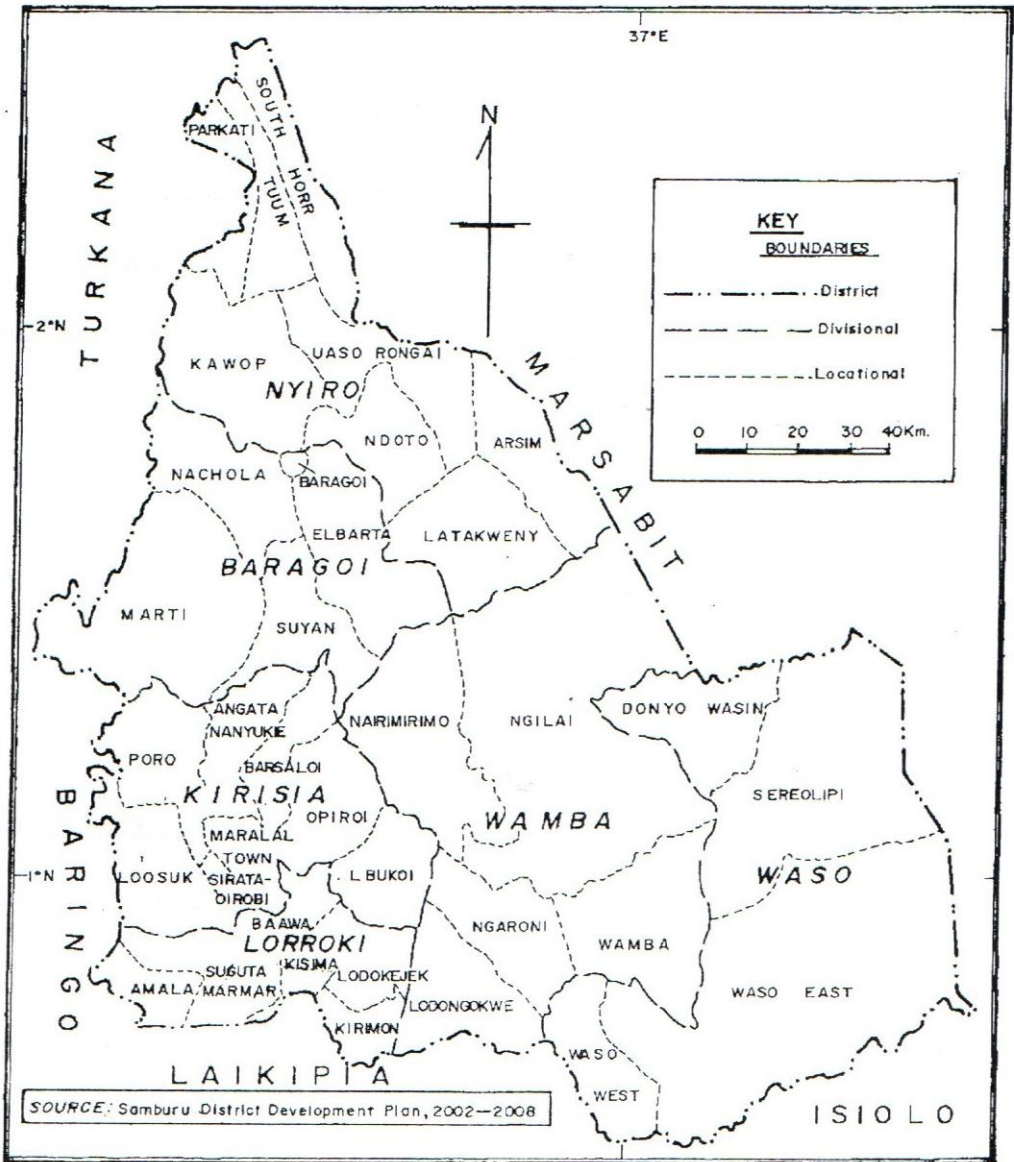


Figure 2: Samburu District Current Administrative Boundaries



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ADC- African District Council
- ASAL- Arid and Semi Arid Lands
- BCMS- Bible Church Men Society
- CEE- Common Entrance Examinations
- CCM- Consolata Catholic Mission
- CMS- Church Missionary Society
- CNC- Chief Native Commissioner
- CSM- Church of Scotland Mission
- DEB- District Education Board
- DoE- Department of Education
- DOE- Director of Education
- GAS- Government African School
- KAPE- Kenya African Preliminary Examination
- KAU- Kenya African Union
- KLC- Kenya Land Commission
- LNC- Local Native Council
- MLC -Member of Legislative Council
- NFD- Northern Frontier District
- PC- Provincial Commissioner
- PDE- Provincial Director of Education
- RTS - Rural Training School
- RVP- Rift Valley Province
- SDA- Seventh Day Adventist

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

1. *Ilmang'at* – Term used by the Samburu to refer to hostile Neighbouring communities.
2. *Imong'o la laiyiok* – Term used by the Samburu to refer to circumcision.
3. Indigenous education – Samburu education in the pre-colonial times.
4. *Kimaniki* – Age set initiated in 1948.
5. *Laioni* – Refers to boys due for circumcision among the Samburu.
6. *Lkileku* – Age-set initiated in 1971.
7. *Lkiroro* – Age-set initiated in 1976.
8. *Lkishili* – Age-set initiated in 1961.
9. *Lkume* – The term used by The Samburu to refer to the Turkana Community.
10. *Lmarei* – Term used to refer to the eight exogamous patrilineal segments into which the Samburu were divided.
11. *Lmolong'o lalaiyiok* – Process of initiation among the Samburu.
12. *Manyatta* – Homestead.
13. *Mekuri* – Age set initiated in 1936.
14. *Moran* – A Samburu warrior.
15. *Mtamaiyo* – A herb.
16. *Murata* – Persons who were circumcised at the same time.
17. Western education – Refers to education as provided by the missionaries and the colonial government.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Context of the Problem

In Kenya, there has been a huge gap in terms of access to education between the predominantly pastoral communities like the Samburu, Somali, Maasai, Rendille and Turkana and agriculturalists for instance the Kikuyu, Luhya and Meru among others in the country. This disparity is reflected in the paucity of historical studies on western education in these pastoral communities. On the contrary, there is plenty of literature on the development of western education in agricultural communities as compared with pastoral ones. Such historiographical works include Monyenye,<sup>1</sup> Micheni<sup>2</sup> and Bogonko.<sup>3</sup> Saverio Kratli has poignantly argued that:

Educationally, pastoralists appear to be a paradox. From the point of view of official education, that of schools and statistics, they are a complete failure: in terms of enrolment, attendance, class room performance, achievement, continuity to higher education, and gender balance they regularly score at the bottom of the ladder. Educational campaigns may raise some interest at the beginning but are soon deserted. Even the rare literacy achievements are often lost within a few years.<sup>4</sup>

Pastoralists constitute an enigmatic population in Africa, the Middle East, and South, South-west and Central Asia. They include some of the poorest and most vulnerable of all populations in Africa South of the Sahara. With the advent of formal education, it became a major challenge to millions of nomadic pastoral children to access it as they remained outside the educational system.<sup>5</sup> The tug of war continued since no more effective ways were found to bridge the gap between the dysfunctional western education system and the Samburu precolonial education that according to them seem to effectively serve their socio-economic and political superstructures.

Commenting on the Samburu response to western education, Paul Spencer observed that, school education could hardly be said to have been a major facet of Samburu life. For

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<sup>1</sup> S. Monyenye, (1977) "The Indigenous Education of the Abagusii People" (M.Ed Thesis, University of Nairobi).

<sup>2</sup> S. Micheni, 1988) "The Contribution of Christian Missionaries to Education in Meru, 1908–1963" (M.A Thesis, Kenyatta University).

<sup>3</sup> Sorobe N. Bogonko, (1992) *A History of Western Education in Kenya*, Nairobi, Evans Brothers.

<sup>4</sup> Saverio Kratli, (2000) *Education Provision to Nomadic Pastoralists*, Washington D.C, Oxford University Press, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



example, the number of children attending school in 1961 only represented about 1.2 % of all those who were eligible for attending school in the district.<sup>6</sup> According to the 1990s statistics, the situation had not shown much improvement since Samburu District had the least enrollment rates of primary school students in the whole of Rift-Valley Province (hereinafter, RVP) as shown in the table below comparing the primary school enrolment in Samburu District with other Districts in RVP during the period 1995-1999.

**Table 1: Primary School Enrolment in the RVP, 1995-1999**

District	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Samburu	15,569	15,981	14,733	16,679	17,200
Turkana	34,190	30,973	30,691	30,604	32,159
Narok	43,078	45,449	50,102	53,143	53,146
Laikipia	63,704	71,361	71,369	70,431	69,016

Source: Statistical Abstract 2001, p. 212

The history behind the poor enrolment between 1933 and 1963 has not been studied. This study intends to investigate and determine the factors underlying the situation. The study went beyond the argument that when the British established colonial rule in Kenya they governed a population that was not used to formal education, and that the pre-colonial Africans were not accustomed to sending their children to schools. It endeavored to ascertain the factors that made it difficult to promote western education among the Samburu and why pastoralists responded differently to education opportunities as compared to other communities. The study argues that pastoralists' low participation in formal schooling should be understood from a broader historical context. The study therefore documents the history of western education among the Samburu during the colonial period, with a view to explore the impact of Samburu culture on the development of western education in the district as well as the role of the government and Christian missions in Samburu land.

The Samburu's pastoralist lifestyle ensured that, at least some members of a Samburu family would move with the main herd from pasture to pasture at different times of the year. Indeed, a typical Samburu settlement consisted of five to ten families. Depending on conditions, such as lack of water and pastures for the herds, it moved on the average every

<sup>6</sup> P. Spencer, (1973) *Nomads in Alliance*, London, Oxford University Press, p.261.

five weeks and it sometimes split into small groups that might be as far as 100 miles from the main camp.<sup>7</sup> In view of this kind of lifestyle and mode of production, this study made a case in understanding how this system of settlement influenced the development of western education among the Samburu.

During the colonial period, education system was largely shaped by colonial capitalist forces. Labour to serve the settler commercial interests had to be reorganised to meet the technical skills required. However, the Samburu mode of production remained communal which was a direct antithesis to the dominant mode of production in the colony. This also explains why the Samburu education did not develop along the mainstream patterns of development since its objectives were different from that of western education. The Samburu indigenous education system mainly focused on such elements as pasture, water for their livestock and themselves. This means that there is a degree of incompatibility between western education and traditional Samburu education. The interesting question is therefore why and how formal education, based on individualism and materialism triumphed over traditional education system which is today acclaimed as the education that did most to prepare people to become useful members of the cohesive society.

Samburu indigenous education system, like that of other African communities, was informal. Children were brought up to become useful members of the family, clan and society. It emphasized economic participation and immediate application of what was learnt to the needs of the entire community. What the children learnt was not only functional to the community but had a strong utilitarian value to the individual. As a result, strong communal cohesion and individualistic tendencies were allowed to grow only within the ambit of society. Education was essentially seen as helping man in exploiting nature for the satisfaction of his needs and those of his society. According to Gideon Were, 'whatever else a Samburu might learn cannot easily compare with his knowledge of livestock. The child and adult alike are told riddles, myths, proverbs and stories pertinent to livestock rearing'.<sup>8</sup>

In general, the introduction of schooling and its influence posed difficulties to the Africans, the greatest challenge being the need for the colonial administration to establish an educational system suited to its own needs. Unfortunately, neither the missionaries nor the

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<sup>7</sup> Irving Kaplan, et al (1976) *Area Handbook for Kenya*, Washington, Foreign Area Studies, p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> Gideon S. Were and J.W. Ssennyonga, (1986) (Eds.) "Samburu District Socio-Cultural Profile", Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Planning and National Development. Nairobi, p.42.

colonial administration made any real attempt to link indigenous education to Africans' needs and to their cultural heritage. The result was resistance to western education in some communities, hence slowing down its development and this was more particularly witnessed among the pastoral communities.

## 1.1 Area of Study

✓The Samburu, who are the subject of this study mainly inhabit a district in the Rift Valley Province in the Republic of Kenya (see figure 2). Samburu District is situated in the Central Northern, RVP and borders five districts in the Rift Valley and Eastern Provinces. To the northwest is Turkana District, while to southwest is Baringo District. Marsabit District is to the northeast, Isiolo District to the east and Laikipia District to the south (See figure 1). The district lies between latitudes 0°40" and 2°50" north of the equator and Longitudes 36°20" and 38°10" east of the prime meridian.<sup>9</sup> Samburu District is basically low-lying with exception of Lorroki Plateau in the southwestern part of the district whose general altitude is 1,500 metres. The plateau constitutes a paltry eight percent of the entire district. There are a few mountains scattered within the lowlands, namely Nyiro (2,709 metres) to the north, Mathew's Range (2,337 metres) and Ndoto (2,637 metres) both in the eastern part of the district. The rest of the district is covered by plains whose altitude ranges between 1,140 and 1,500 metres. ✓It lies within semi arid area of the country where "pastoralism is the most prominent land use in the district occupying more than 90% of the Samburu peoples' economic activity."<sup>10</sup>

The Samburu culture is closely related to the pastoral Maasai.<sup>11</sup> Linguistic sources identify the Samburu as plain Nilotes, who, like the Maasai, speak a dialect called *Ol-Maa*. The linguistic sources have therefore made a knot around the two communities with the Samburu being depicted as speaking a northern dialect of *Ol-Maa* while the Maasai speak a southern one. According to Waweru, the end result of this linguistic connection has been to see the history of the two communities as one. In fact, considering them as a sub-clan of the Maasai, the *Isampur*<sup>12</sup>, they are historically believed to have separated from the Maasai but there are no adequate explanations on when the actual separation took place. Spencer has

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<sup>9</sup> *Samburu District Development Plan, 2002-2008*, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.18.

<sup>11</sup> Were and Ssennyonga, p.42.

<sup>12</sup> P. Waweru. "Ecology Control and the Development of Pastoralism Among the Samburu of the North-Central Kenya, 1750-1909" (M.A Thesis, Kenyatta University, 1992), p. 74.

noted that the Samburu are the most northern group of nomadic pastoralists within the *Maa* speaking cluster. He thus regarded them as distant cousins of the Maasai proper, sharing traditions of a common ancestry.<sup>13</sup>

During the period 1909-1921, the Samburu were administered from Archer's Post and partially from Marsabit. From 1921, they were given a district of their own with its headquarters at Barsaloi and placed directly under military administration. In 1929, the district was combined with Garbatulla to create Isiolo District, but in 1934 it was separated from Isiolo and administered from Maralal. Within one year, it was again combined with Laikipia District and Rumuruti became the new administrative centre, while Maralal acted as a sub-station. It was not until 1947 that Samburu territory was detached from Laikipia and established as a district and its headquarters was ultimately transferred from Rumuruti to Maralal.<sup>14</sup> The district, a colonial creation gets its name from the community, and covers an area of 21,000 square kilometers. Administratively, Samburu district is divided into six divisions: Lorroki, Central, Baragoi, Wamba, Waso and South Horr (see figure 2 on page xi). The population of the district according to the District development Plan, 2002-2008 is 156,126 and is projected to reach 184,686 by 2008.<sup>15</sup>

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

There exist disparities in studies carried out on the development of western education among the agricultural and pastoral communities. In fact, there is none wholly devoted to the pastoral communities of Northern Kenya and this situation has remained historically unexplained. Therefore, this study analyzed the development of western education among the Samburu by focusing on the roles played by various institutions such as the colonial administration and Christian missions. Specifically, the study addressed the following questions: (a) how was western education introduced in Samburu District? (b) how did the Samburu culture influence educational development in the District? (c) how did the European perceptions affect the formulation of policies towards western education among the Samburu?

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<sup>13</sup> P. Spencer, (2004) *The Samburu: A Study of Gerontocracy*, London and New York, Routledge, p.xiii.

<sup>14</sup> Waweru, 'Ecology Control' p.4.

<sup>15</sup> *Samburu District Development Plan, 2002-2008*, p. 7.

### **1.3 Objectives**

The broad objective of this study was to examine the development of western education among the Samburu during the colonial period.

The specific objectives were:

- (i) To outline the development of western education among the Samburu between 1933 and 1963.
- (ii) To assess the impact of Samburu culture on the development of western education in the community during the colonial period.
- (iii) To explore the impact of European attitudes towards Samburu and how it shaped education policy in Samburu District during the colonial period

### **1.4 Research Premises**

This study proceeded from three assumptions:

- (i) That, missionaries and colonial government played a significant role in the development of western education among the Samburu
- (ii) That, culture influenced the development of western education among the Samburu.
- (iii) That, the European attitude on Samburu practices hindered the development of western education among the Samburu.

### **1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study**

Education is a key element in the political, social and economic development of any society. Without understanding its development it will be difficult to plan anything meaningful for that society. Educational development among the pastoralists and specifically the Samburu is poorly understood since there is no substantial documented research that has been carried out on its development. There is need to understand how education has evolved through time and space, particularly how such development has influenced their socio-economic and political development over the years in Kenya. This study analyzed the development of western education among the Samburu with a view to highlighting the factors that influenced the development of western education among them. There was also need to investigate the relationship between the development of education and cultural practices within the context of Samburu society so as to recommend how education can be improved in

the region. The findings of this study will constitute part of the historiography of colonial education in Kenya as well as playing a critical role in understanding the development of western education as well as suggesting favourable educational policies for adoption among the pastoral communities in Kenya. This study therefore, was significant as it attempted to give the patterns and trends in the development of western education among the Samburu. It also paid special attention to relevant lessons building from experiences from other pastoralist groups that provide parallel understanding and fundamental issues to the development of western education.

## 1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study has traced the development of western education among the Samburu community from 1933, when the first group of missionaries expressed interest of establishing a school among the community. However, 1963, was been chosen as the terminal point for this study as this was the time when Kenya gained independence and hence a change in the education policy was inevitable. Secondly, it was aimed at making the thesis manageable. The basic assumption of study was that the government with the cooperation of missionaries unsuccessfully attempted to build an efficient system of education in the backdrop of the Samburu pastoral lifestyle. Therefore, the anticipated limitation for this study was ideally the language problem. This was later overcome through the use of an interpreter and a guide who were well versed with the language and the terrain and topography of the area under study.

## 1.7 Literature Review

Most of the studies carried out on the pastoral and nomadic societies tend to be anthropological in nature. In the event they are historical, they are heavily inclined towards analysing economic, social and ecological transformations that have taken place. Such historical and anthropological works include that of Tarus,<sup>16</sup> Kandagor,<sup>17</sup> Waweru,<sup>18</sup> Jacobs,<sup>19</sup> Spencer,<sup>20</sup> Kituyi<sup>21</sup> and Fumagalli.<sup>22</sup> The studies did not address the field of education adequately among pastoralists of north-central Kenya especially the Samburu, and in case of

<sup>16</sup> I. Tarus, "The Colonial Transformation of the Keiyo, 1901-1939" (M.A Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> Daniel R. Kandagor, "The Economic Transformation of the Tugen of Kenya, 1895-1963" (M.A Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1993).

<sup>18</sup> Waweru, "Ecology Control".

<sup>19</sup> A. Jacobs, (1977) "Maasai Pastoralism in Historical Perspective" in T. Manod, ed. *Pastoralism in Tropical Africa*, London.

<sup>20</sup> P. Spencer, (2004) *The Samburu: A Study of a Gerontocracy*.

<sup>21</sup> M. Kituyi, (1990), *Becoming Kenyans: Socio- Economic Transformation of the Pastoralist Maasai*, Nairobi

<sup>22</sup> Fumagalli "A Diachronic Study".

it, they lacked a detailed analysis. Even the works of Monyenye,<sup>23</sup> Ronoh,<sup>24</sup> Micheni<sup>25</sup> and Bogonko,<sup>26</sup> which are general and specific on education issues of African communities, did not address the issue of education among the pastoralists. One easily concludes that no historical study on colonial education has been carried out on the Samburu community, which forms the subject of this study.

✓ Fumagalli's study, for instance, offers a comprehensive assessment of colonial policies, their impact and the response of the Samburu community. Fumagalli briefly discusses colonial education by giving statistics on the development of education in Samburu District without providing underlying reasons behind his statistics. It reveals that in the late 1930s and 1940s, the school population in Samburu district remained around 50 students; it reached 95 in 1950, 150 in 1955, and 350 in 1960 shortly before independence. Moreover, after two years of independence the number of primary schools had increased from 4 to 11; 19 in 1970 and 28 in 1973, respectively.<sup>27</sup> Recent information reveals that by 1996, the situation had witnessed some improvements considering that there were 111 primary schools and 8 secondary schools in the district. Thus, there were no operational secondary schools in Waso and Nyiro Divisions of Samburu district.<sup>28</sup> The statistics are a clear indicator of how education has developed in Samburu over the years. Therefore, Fumagalli's study will be helpful in assisting to understand how particular educational issues, policies and culture impact on the general enrolment and development of western education among the Samburu.

Apart from the above specific works on the Samburu, there are other related works that touch on the development of western education among African communities. For example, Thomas Ronoh, in dealing with the Kipsigis education during the colonial era, observed that education is a key element in social life of any community.<sup>29</sup> Without knowledge of its educational system, the historical destiny of a community cannot be understood. Likewise, it becomes difficult to formulate meaningful development goals. Ronoh's study forms the basis of formulating new policies of promoting education in the pastoralist Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASAL) regions of the country.

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<sup>23</sup> S. Monyenye, "The Indigenous Education of the Abagusii People" (M.Ed Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977).

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Ronoh, "A History of Colonial Education Among the Kipsigis of Kenya, circa 1895-1963" (M.A Thesis Egerton University, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> S. Micheni, "Christian Missionaries".

<sup>26</sup> Bogonko (1992) *A History of Western Education in Kenya*, p. 287.

<sup>27</sup> Fumagalli, "Diachronic Study of Change", p. 262.

<sup>28</sup> Republic of Kenya, *Samburu District Development Plan, 1997-2001*, Nairobi, p.48.

<sup>29</sup> Ronoh, "A History of Colonial education".

In addition to the above, some general studies have been carried out on education and have outlined major landmarks in the evolution of formal education in Kenya. For example, Sorobeza Bogonko's study is a critical analysis of the history of western education in Kenya since 1895 when the British took over the administration of what would later be called Kenya. The book deals with general issues like the African indigenous education and Muslim education, the establishment and development of western education in Kenya and the roles played by the colonial government and missionaries in the provision of education.<sup>30</sup> The British and the Africans view their contributions to promotion of education are dealt with expansively with little mention of pastoral societies. This particular study is however helpful to the proposed one since it underlines major landmarks of educational development in Kenya in a period of almost one hundred years.

Rosalind Mutua, in her study of education in Kenya has traced the development of western education and how it was administered among the Africans. She argues that the aims and motives of this education were contrary to the aspirations of Africans and could not be allowed to continue to operate in independent Kenya.<sup>31</sup> The study has also dealt with the basic problem of demographic and cultural conflict represented by the three major races that occupied Kenya. Equally, she analyses how colonial policy affected educational administration through the Local Native Councils (hereinafter LNCs) and District Education Boards (hereinafter DEBs) and the struggle between the administration, the missionaries and the indigenous people in the educational field. Mutua concludes that her work should not be read as an authoritative educational document but as a start to a deeper understanding of the complex educational system that was bequeathed to us by the British colonial system. Like many general works on education in Kenya, it pays no attention to the pastoral communities.

Mutua's study compares well with the work of Mambo on the role of LNCs in the development of education in Coast Province.<sup>32</sup> The study argues that the government's urge to control LNCs funds from being used extensively on education was the impetus of the creation of the DEBs. Sifuna and Otiende have also argued that the British colonial system emphasised the notion of cultural adaptation, the adjustment of metropolitan institutions to local social and political organisation and the creation of a group of educated Africans who

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<sup>30</sup> Bogonko, (1992) *A History of Western Education in Kenya*, p. vii.

<sup>31</sup> Rosalind Mutua, (1975) *Development of Education in Kenya*, Nairobi, p. 134.

<sup>32</sup> R. M. Mambo, (1987) "Local Native Councils and Education in Kenya the Case of Coast Province, 1925-1950" in *Transafrican Journal of History*, Vol.10, pp. 61-86.



would at the same time be rooted in their own culture.<sup>33</sup> Part of the objective of this work was to examine the conflicts that arose out of the emphasis of colonial ideals at the expense of the Samburu's social formation.

The development of education in Kenya was a combined effort of both the government and voluntary organisations. Elsa Abreu clarifies that voluntary effort was associated with Christian missionary enterprise, but also various Africans and Asians also contributed.<sup>34</sup> The study tackles the role the indigenous self-help movement played in the development of education in Kenya from 1900 to 1973. Abreu shows how much the movement achieved especially after the breakup with the missionary church over Christian doctrines and western values. The book highlighted the self-help movement in Kenya and the role it played in the development of the country. This study shed some light on the existence of early self-help groups in starting up independent schools. Similarly, the study attempted to establish the groups that existed in Samburu during the period under study and their contributions to the development of education.

Apart from missionaries, the office of African colonial chief also featured prominently because of the role it played in the development of western education in various parts of the country.<sup>35</sup> Bogonko analyses the role of colonial chiefs in the development of secular education in Kenya. His study is based on the fact that African chiefs have perhaps been most misunderstood and their actions are mostly misinterpreted by African historians, especially those of nationalist bent who have viewed them as collaborators. He then concludes that the one area, where chiefs differed with their employers, was where colonialism relegated Africans to receiving religious and technical education. Despite the fact that most chiefs made it possible for missions to build stations and schools, they were still ignored or unappreciated. This study made an inquiry into how the situation was in Samburu District.

According to John Anderson, the various forces generated by the colonial society left their impact on the way formal education systems developed and are treated today in African

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<sup>33</sup> D N. Sifuna and J E. Otiende, (1994) *An Introductory History of Education*, Nairobi, p. 160.

<sup>34</sup> Elsa Abreu, (1982) *The Role of Self Help in the Development of Education in Kenya 1900-1973*, Nairobi, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Sorobe N. Bogonko, (1985) "Colonial Chiefs and African Development in Kenya with Special Reference to Secular Education" in *Transafrican Journal of History Vol.14*, pp. 1-20.

countries.<sup>36</sup> In this 'conflict situation', expatriate groups such as missionaries, settlers and traders, each with its own particular interests in mind, interacted with each other and with the Africans, who, by initially relying on their traditional understanding of education, rapidly learnt to relate with the European type of formal instructions to achieve goals of their own. Within this general framework, and taking Kenya as a case study, Anderson explores the colonial system of education inherited at independence by saying that the system was ill-adapted to the present day needs, not only because it was an imposed model from a different social system, but also because the emphasis on social mobility and political rights that developed in African educational thinking during the latter stages of the colonial period created further inconsistencies. Secondly, he points out that the struggle which took place over the control of schools in Kenya is an exciting and important feature of the history of independent Kenya. This study explored how the situation manifested itself in Samburu District and how the various political forces generated in colonial society impacted on educational development among the Samburu.

Tignor, while analysing the transformation of African communities, observed that economic pressure stimulated a burgeoning interest in education among African communities, and especially among the Kikuyu.<sup>37</sup> In contrast, the Maasai and the Akamba remained aloof to schools and wage labour although high taxes coupled with the impact of depression of the 1930s began to undermine the economic self-sufficiency of these communities, and ultimately drove them to seek alternative ways such as waged labour, which they could only secure with a certain level of education. The demand for education was only natural for most communities, for the rewards of colonial occupation structure were such that clerical and other 'white collar' jobs, which called for the acquisition of western literary skills carried with them higher remuneration and a higher social status. This development was investigated in respect to Samburu District to establish how it manifested itself.

John Hanson's study deals with the capacity of education to assist in the development of nations so as to bring about desirable social change.<sup>38</sup> It examines education as an agent of social, economic and political development. It describes the kind of functional education that

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<sup>36</sup> John Anderson, (1970) *The Struggle for the School*, Nairobi, Longman Kenya Ltd, pp. 1-16.

<sup>37</sup> Robert L. Tignor, (1976) *The Colonial Transformation of Kenya*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> John W. Hanson and Cole S. Bremburck, (1966) (eds) *Education and the Development of Nations*, New York, OUP, p.111.

is required if development and constructive change are to take place. Conversely, it analyses how dysfunctional education impedes westernisation. The gist of the work is that education is one of the universals in the development of individuals and nations. Understanding its developmental role is not an optional matter, and this is particularly true for education in the developing countries today. This further justifies this study by supporting the rationale that western education was ill-suited to the needs of the community due to their economic mode of production. Hanson's work is relevant in the context of trying to understand the value the Samburu attached to their pastoral nomadic lifestyle and how this impacted on their perception of the colonial system of education.

It is noteworthy to mention that most of the anthropological works carried out on the Samburu have recommended a radical approach and, at times, a wholesale replacement of their economic, social, cultural and political practices. Anthropologists like Holsteen, Fumagalli, Spencer and historians among them Waweru in their works on the Samburu, have emphasised on the Samburu's resistance to change. To these scholars, the Samburu problem is considered as that of mal-adaptation to change rather than the change of fortunes among the Samburu due to environment and capitalist mode of production. Holsteen and Fumagalli hold that resistance to European or western ideals is condemned and adoption of the same is encouraged. This is in conflict with the fact that it is social organisations that change continuously, whereas large and bureaucratised institutions are notoriously slow in adopting change. Recent works underline how education apparatuses prove far less responsive than the communities they are meant to provide for, 'all trapped by their own particular history, creaking uncomfortably under the pressure of changing times, and fundamentally resistant to change.'<sup>39</sup>

Holsteen's study in particular has distinguished itself on the anthropological approach it has given the subject of change and education among the Samburu.<sup>40</sup> The study was basically designed to discover the effects of western type of education upon the traditional ways of life of the Samburu. It is in this context that he concludes that, 'the Samburu, in common with other East African pastoralists, have been resistant to change, or to express it positively, have been clinging tenaciously and confidently to their traditional ways of life. One of the clearest

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<sup>39</sup> SCF- Save the Children Fund 2000, "Towards Responsive Schools: supporting better schooling for disadvantaged children. Case studies from Save the Children" DFID Education Paper No. 38, Department for International Development, London.

<sup>40</sup> M E. Holsteen, "Continuity and Change in Samburu Education", (M.A Dissertation, University of Florida, 1982).

and most visible evidence of this is the persistence of the institution of age groups of which warriorhood is an integral part.<sup>41</sup> Apart from concentrating on culture, Holsteen fails to show the efforts of missionaries and the government in bringing the Samburu to adopt western education. In brief, Holsteen's study centres on the impact of western education among the Samburu and the attitude they had towards education. He, however, creates an image that the Samburu way of life is obsolete, and that they are to be "saved" from it. It therefore gives the starting point of how the Samburu were viewed by Europeans.

The above study can be juxtaposed with the work of Paul Spencer who analyses the Samburu as a gerontocracy, that is, a society in which power is essentially in the hands of the elders supported by appropriate social values and other institutions. However, his works are anthropological and, though illuminating to a historian, have their own limitations in regard to a historical reconstruction. In his first major work, *The Samburu: A Study of gerontocracy*, Spencer provides most significant contribution towards understanding of the Samburu community especially its cultural heritage. He depicts the Samburu as being averse to change. The theme of conservatism is the most prevalent in this work. He notes that, the young men are trapped in a vacuum created by the gerontocratic regime and they have to develop an alternative lifestyle in the social construction of adolescence. Institutions such as age systems and age sets and their restrictions on early initiation and marriage are rigorous among the Samburu. There is also an insistence on clan unity. The institution of the *morán*, its attendant activities and power is a striking aspect of the Samburu culture. He adds that the "Samburu morans are cast into a limbo for up to fourteen years facilitating polygyn among the elders but also slipping too readily out of control. Once out of this limbo, their lifestyle as married elders appears more tranquil and mellow..."<sup>42</sup> The obstinacy of the Samburu to traditional institutions mentioned above mired the general socio-cultural change including embracing western education which was seen as disruptive to the norms. Spencer thus summarized Samburu's attitude towards embracing change in the following words:

When Kenya was on the verge of becoming an emergent nation, the Samburu were very definitely non emergent.... I find it inconceivable that the people I describe in these pages can change substantially in the foreseeable future; while all evidence suggests that the changes taking place elsewhere in Kenya will continue to by pass

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> Spencer, (2004) *The Samburu*, pp. xiii-xxx.

them for many years to come, and may even encourage them to take several more steps in the direction of a return to tradition.<sup>43</sup>

Borrowing from Spencer, this study explored the role culture and its institutions played in the development of education among the Samburu.

A study sponsored by the District Focus for Rural Development strategy in Samburu district provides a hint on how the Samburu perceived education:

For a Samburu completeness of life is equal to adequate possession of livestock. The education received was geared towards making an individual a self confident well adjusted member of the society. Modern education should still be geared to towards the same thing. Most Samburu interviewed felt that the present kind of education produces misfits, dependents and people without self-confidence. They lamented of horrible situation of young adults who fit neither into the village system nor into the city system.<sup>44</sup>

It concludes that development planners and implementers should accept the fact that development and change often interferes with traditional systems and practices in a given community and even disrupt their condition of living. On the other hand, it contributes to the idea that certain traditional technologies and institutions can be adapted as the basis for effective development initiatives as opposed to condemning them in wholesale form.

Chiuri and Kiumi, in their work of planning and economics of education observe that geographical, social and cultural factors are important in planning education development.<sup>45</sup> The sociological factors likely to influence demand for education include, the educational of parents and the prevailing fashion in the society as far as education is concerned. Culturally, the demand for education is likely to decrease if it threatens the stability of popular traditions. The authors assert that some communities in Kenya are averse to education out of the fear that it will undermine their cherished cultural practices such as moranhood and the cattle economy. This study substantiated the above assertion since it was part of its objectives.

Daniel Sifuna's study also explores various issues in the development of colonial education which raises fundamental issues to this study. They include problems such as policy in African education during the colonial period and the role of missionaries in the education sector. Such groups included the Church Missionary Society (hereinafter, CMS),

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, p.xxix.

<sup>44</sup> Were and Ssenyonga (Eds.) p. 43.

<sup>45</sup> L.W. Chiuri and J.K.Kiumi, (2005) *Planning and Economics of Education*, Kijabe Press, Kijabe, p. 157.

Church of Scotland Mission (hereinafter, CSM), Seventh Day Adventist (hereinafter, SDA), and the Holy Ghost Fathers. Sifuna concludes that Christian missionaries used education as a vehicle for religious propaganda. They were generally of the view that African adults were steeped in 'savage' customs, which could not readily be changed through education. For this reason, the missionaries concentrated on the education of children who were put in boarding schools for the purpose of removing them from what was perceived as barbaric surroundings. This study therefore focused on the extent the situation duplicated itself in the area of study.

Kratli Saverio's work is a critical review of the existing literature of education provision among pastoralists.<sup>46</sup> The author presents the current rationale for providing education to nomads and the main objectives at a national level, and articulates them with relevant critical arguments. He points out that policies and programmes concerning the education of nomads can be grouped around two major rationales which may work together or against each other: first, the full accomplishment of the individual as a human being and secondly, the integration of nomadic groups into the wider national context. The ways these rationales are understood, combined and pursued may vary greatly. The first group is centred on a notion of education as a basic need and a fundamental right and puts great emphasis on inclusion and empowerment. The second focuses on the economic and social development of nomads. In this case, the main concern is with sedentarisation, modernisation, poverty alleviation, resource management and state building. In the large majority of cases, this involves the incorporation of nomads into the mainstream society and economy, although there are a few non-formal education projects trying to promote negotiation and articulation rather than incorporation into it. Consequently, this study inquired into whether there was any mechanism of providing alternative education to Samburu community.

From the foregoing literature review, the Samburu have not constituted a substantial subject of study as far as the history of education development is concerned. It is therefore envisaged that this study attempted to reconstruct the history of education and its development among the Samburu from 1933 to 1963. The forces generated in the colonial period such as the two World Wars and the Mau Mau uprising, the state of emergency and other political events had a profound effect on the development of education in Kenya and Samburu District in particular. Similarly, the establishment of LNCs, DEBs, school

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<sup>46</sup> Kratli Saverio, *Education Provision to Nomadic Pastoralists*, p. 45.

committees and their roles at the local level came in handy to discern how they dealt with the attitude and perceptions of the Samburu to education.

## 1.8 Theoretical Framework

Anthropological and Marxist based theoretical constructs have been found useful in the historical analysis of colonialism. These theories are mainly structural functionalism, cultural theory and the historical materialist conception of history, dependency and underdevelopment and the articulation of modes of production paradigms. In attempting to understand the history of western education in Samburu District during the colonial period, no single theory was found adequate to capture all the elements under study in a holistic manner. As a result, this study employed the theory of articulation of modes of production although certain aspects of the other paradigms were also utilized in order to fortify the arguments therein.

Structural-functionalism for instance, takes the view that society consists of parts, each of which have their own functions and work together to promote social stability. Functionalist analysis looks at social systems as having certain needs, and society as a system of social structures (economic, legal, educational, gender structures among others). If the needs are being met, then it is the social structures that meet these needs. The structures are thus functional in the sense that they help society to operate. Interconnections exist within and among these structures, and individuals and groups are constrained by these structures. It views shared norms and values as the basis of society, focuses on social order based on unstated agreements between groups and organizations, and views social change as occurring in a slow and orderly fashion. Functions in this case are a chain of activities directed towards meeting a need or needs of the system. According to functionalists, the society develops institutions and patterns in order to maintain itself and keep it running efficiently. Disorder only occurs because of conflict between the parts that make up society, and therefore balance and peace must be restored. Functionalists acknowledge that change is sometimes necessary to correct social dysfunctions (the opposite of functions), but that it must occur slowly so that people and institutions can adapt without rapid disorder.

✓ The theory can explain the reasons behind resistance to change on some elements that a society considers alien and disruptive to its culture. It is based on the premise that the key to understanding the society lies in its structures. It examines the way the society is organized

and the role played by such institutions as family, clan, social classes (or the case of the Samburu age groups) and the state. Each structure and every part within the larger structure is conceived to have a function in assisting the society to operate and preserve itself.

Structural-functionalism was the dominant perspective of cultural anthropologists and rural sociologists during the colonial period. The theory was also important to European imperialism as it claimed the structures of the African world followed a static pattern of development. It is of little relevance to a historian since it is based on a static vision of society. The theory does not take into account that societies find themselves faced by new ideas which threaten to change their social, economic and political frameworks. For example it falls into the trap of explaining the pastoralists as a society under evolution whereby the next stage is that of sedentary. The myth of sedentarisation has got its problems as a unit of analysis since it can affect educational policies for nomadic societies either directly or indirectly. Directly, when education is made instrumental to sedentarisation, indirectly, when pastoralists' problems in relation to education are more or less instrumentally attributed to nomadism and therefore ignored or given a temporary and inadequate response, on the basis that they will simply disappear when the nomads settle.<sup>47</sup> Despite these limitations, the theory is certainly still relevant to social studies and especially in explaining resistance to aspects of change that societies feel are disruptive to the social system. This is particularly so if it is taken that, there may be disturbances to this normal state of affairs from outside the society, because the different parts are not operating properly, or because of features such as population or technological change. However, these disturbances trigger adjustments in the various parts of society that return the society to a state of equilibrium. This paradigm and its distinctive features and attributes were used to explain the Samburu resistance to espouse colonial education since they viewed it as disruptive to their norms.

✓ Secondly, colonial education among the Samburu was studied along the lines of cultural theory. This theory can be traced to the work of Mary Douglas. It maintains that in every society, several biases exist, some of which have pronounced effect on the success or failure of social change. These biases are learned or acquired through the process of socialization within a cultural context. Culture is both distinct and a process. According to D'Andrade, "culture is a process because it involves the passing of what has been learned

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid. p. 13.



before to succeeding generations purposely to construct reality.”<sup>48</sup> Le Vine observed, “culture is a consensus on a wide variety of meanings [including biases] among members of an interacting community.”<sup>49</sup> Basically it is used to explain the behavior of people under study through culture and how they deal with cultural change. This arises from the fact that each identifiable society has a culture, handed down from the past and organized into a system and within the society, several biases exist, some of which have pronounced effect on the rate of social change. This is based on the premise that, “the factors that determine these motivations and resistance are cultural, social and psychological. They may be rooted in the value system that characterizes our culture; they may be associated with the nature of relationships among the members of our group, with problems of status and role; they may lie in faulty communication within a group or between members of different groups, or they may be found in any vast number of other non technical contexts.”<sup>50</sup>

Mary Douglas noted that within the cultural theory, there exist distinct categories of cultures. The category of egalitarians is the one that was applicable to this study. Douglas stressed that egalitarians have strong groups but few prescriptions. They share a life of voluntary consent without coercion or inequality. They prefer to reduce differences in their midst and they are inherently suspicious of any external system that tries to penetrate them. The egalitarians resist external controls and because they value equality, they will impede a peer’s progress rather than see him get ahead of the rest of the group. In this respect, culture theory is similar to structural functionalism, which advocates the maintenance of the *status quo*. Later, Douglas argued that social structures differ along two principal axis: "grid" and "group." Grid refers to the degree to which individuals' choices are circumscribed by their position in society. Group refers to the degree of solidarity among members of the society.<sup>51</sup>

Thus with reference to the resistance of external controls and impediment of peer progress, this study sought to find the position of the Samburu society as far as informal education was concerned. The study found out that the Samburu people’s resistance against colonial education was a consequence of fear of external control and consequently, the gerontocrats made concerted efforts to maintain their cultural *status quo*.

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<sup>48</sup> R.C. D’Andrade, (1984), “Cultural Meaning System”, in in Schweder, R.A and R.A.Le Vine, (eds.) *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press .

<sup>49</sup> R. A Le Vine, (1984) “Properties of Culture: An Ethnographic View” in Schweder, R. A and R. A. Le Vine (eds.) *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>50</sup> George M. Foster, (1962), *Traditional Culture and the Impact of Technological Change*, London, p. 30.

<sup>51</sup> Retrieved from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural\\_Theory\\_of\\_risk](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_Theory_of_risk).

This theory can be used to explain the slow development of western education among the pastoralists from a cultural perspective. This is by considering colonial education as a threat to Samburu culture. Cultural theory has become very popular in part because of its intuitive appeal. However, much debate surrounds attempts to empirically validate cultural theory. For instance, it is difficult to categorize individuals as adherents to a single bias, and at the same time it leaves a great deal of people's perceptions of embracing change unexplained. This therefore means that there is no single theory that can be used to explain the development of western education among pastoralist societies in a holistic manner by capturing the social, political, economic and ecological factors.

✓ Thirdly, colonial education among the Samburu was studied along the lines of articulation of modes of production theory. This theoretical construct emerged because of the weaknesses inherent in underdevelopment and dependency theories. One such weakness was the failure to capture the impact of colonial capitalism on the existing pre-capitalist modes of production in a wholesome manner. Through the efforts of French Marxist anthropologists (Godelier, Meillassoux, Rey and Copan and historians (Coquery-Vidrovitch and Suret-Canale), this goal was achieved when the concept "articulation of modes of production" came into being. In the view of the French Marxist School (as their collective system of thought came to be known), dialectical materialism is too dogmatic to be of any effective use as a tool of analysis for production relations at the periphery of world capitalism. The proponents of this approach called for a fitting model tailored to the research needs of such peripheral regions.

While conceding that capitalism was a force for the pre-capitalist modes of production to reckon with, theoreticians of this school point out that the "old modes" did not need to be dissolved for capitalism to take root. Rather, the

capitalist system enters into specific relations with the system it encounters in a particular locality; the form which ultimately emerges represents a specific, complex union of the pre-existing systems, both the capitalist and the non-capitalist one.<sup>52</sup>

The capitalist mode of production, therefore, needs to be viewed as "dominant" only because of its capability to impose the requirements of its own reproduction, upon the other modes of

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<sup>52</sup> R. Raatgever, "Analytical Tools, Intellectual Weapons: The Discussion Among French Marxist Anthropologists about the identification of Modes of Production in Africa", in W. van Binsbergen and P. Geschiere, (1985) (eds.), *Old Modes of Production and Capitalist Encroachment*, London, KPI p.292

production present within that social formation.<sup>53</sup> Here, the development of modern education verses the indigenous one suffices. Thus, Tiyambe Zeleza's observation:

The response of various groups and regions to western education was conditioned by the penetration and development of capitalism and its articulation with previous modes of production. On the whole, by 1920 resistance to the introduction of western education was largely over, especially in the Central and Nyanza provinces where western education was now being enthusiastically embraced. The lines of battle were now drawn around the quality, organisation and ideology of this gradually expanding educational system.<sup>54</sup>

This paradigm focuses on two main issues: First, that the securing of cheap labour supplies was the dominant impulse in the expansion of capitalism outwards from the metropolis to the peripheries. Secondly, it addresses the interaction and expression of the capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production in peripheral social formations (colonies). 'The poor development of education among pastoral communities of the Rift Valley, Eastern province and North Eastern province mirrored the peripheral position of these areas in the colonial economy'.<sup>55</sup>

At a different level, the theory demonstrates capitalism's ability to re-shape other modes of production to suit its needs through a process of 'conservation', 'dissolution' and 'transformation' of the pre-capitalist mode of production in the traditional societies. As a result, the traditional modes of production are progressively subordinated to the capitalist modes of production. This is what Mbiti observes differently in his seminal work that, "rapid changes are taking place in Africa, so that traditional ideas are being abandoned, modified or coloured by changing situation. At the same time it would be wrong to imagine that everything traditional has been changed or forgotten so much that traces of it are not found."<sup>56</sup>

According to John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, this combination of dissolution and preservation of forms of production, in the service of the dominant dynamic external capital was not the only complexity of 'articulation'. Articulation has to be seen as a political relationship in which the dominant groups in the mode of production joined to capital had the

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<sup>53</sup> C. Leys, (1986) "Underdevelopment and Dependency: Critical Notes", in *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 7, pp. 92-107

<sup>54</sup> Tiyambe Zeleza, "The Establishment of Colonial Rule, 1905-1920" in W R. Ochieng' *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980*, Nairobi, Evans Brothers, p. 62.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p.62

<sup>56</sup> John Mbiti (1977) *African Religions and Philosophy*, Nairobi, Heinmann Kenya Ltd, p.11.

possibility of allying with capitalist classes to suppress those whom both exploited, whether peasants in the sphere of house hold production or labourers extruded from it.<sup>57</sup> It is from this premise that the authors conclude that 'articulation mode of production' should form the basis for any theoretical analysis of the colonial state.

Therefore, this theory will demonstrate that the colonisers did not introduce education to Africa, but they introduced a new set of formal education institutions, which partly supplemented and partly replaced what was there before. At the same time, western education was similarly transformed as it was carried overseas and developed in Kenya. According to Walter Rodney:

It was not an educational system that grew out of the African environment or one that was designed to promote the most rational use of material and social resources. It was not an educational system designed to give young people confidence and pride as members of African societies, but one which sought to instill a sense of deference towards all that was European and capitalist<sup>58</sup>.

Walter Rodney's view can be used to understand the difficulties Samburu had in embracing western education as a form of articulation in the colonial state. He emphasizes that racism and cultural boastfulness were included in the package of colonial education. Rodney further argues that colonial schooling was "education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment."<sup>59</sup> According to him, colonial education was a series of limitations inside other limitations with higher rates of dropouts, relative absence of secondary and university education, and so on. In his view, the most important principle of colonial education was that of capitalist individualism. The formal school system and the informal value system of colonialism tended to destroy social solidarity.<sup>60</sup> In other words, colonialism imposed an overwhelmingly dysfunctional pattern of education on the colonized.

But viewed dialectically, colonialism sought to destroy the old African educational order so as to introduce a different system of education with its own merits. Rodney observes that the product of this new order, the educated elite or intelligentsia was the smallest of the new social groupings formed under colonialism. But he stresses that:

<sup>57</sup> John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, (1979), "Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895-1914", in *Journal of African History*, No. 20, p. 489.

<sup>58</sup> Walter Rodney, (1972) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Nairobi, EAEP pp.240-241

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p.238

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.254-255.

...the educated played a role in African independence struggles far out of proportion to their numbers. They took it upon themselves and were called upon to articulate the interests of all Africans. They were also required to provide political organization that would combine all the contradictions of colonialism and focus on the contradiction, which was between the colony and the metropole...<sup>61</sup>

It was out of this appreciation of the value of Western education that Africans pushed the colonialists to grant more education and provide more educational facilities than were allowed for within the colonial dispensation. Western education thus came to be, in Rodney's summation, "a powerful force which transformed the situation in post war Africa in such a way as to bring political independence..."<sup>62</sup>

The articulation of modes of production theory is therefore an analytical approach within Marxist political economy. It is explicitly historical, interdisciplinary and mixes the political, economic and social factors of change in on-going historical process. Unlike Marxism, articulation of modes of production emphasizes the colonies' responses to capitalism by explaining the process of penetration, interaction and conflict between the capitalist mode of production and pre-capitalist mode of production. It also examines the role of the state in the process of interaction between the capitalist mode of production and traditional modes of production. Owing to the strengths of this paradigm as already alluded to, it was effectively engaged in examining the pastoral economy of the Samburu, considered traditional, versus the capitalist economy promoted by the colonial administration. Thus, it demonstrated that despite the Samburu's adherence to their traditional cultural lifestyle, the development goals of the colonial administration were instrumental in driving them towards embracing western education. The above theories then informed this study.

## **1.9 Methodology**

### **1.9.1 Methods of Study and Research Design**

This was a historical study focusing on the colonial period. It utilized the historical method of analysis which investigates, analyses and interprets past events in order to understand the present. It evaluates events that have already taken place by re-enacting the past as opposed to other experimental designs. As a result, much of the analysis revolves around primary and secondary sources of data. Being a historical research, the design for this study was *ex post facto*. This is 'after the fact' research that attempts to reconstruct the past using the existing facts. The researcher examined the available facts retrospectively, re-

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p.262.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p.271.

enacting the state of events as they occurred with a view to establishing a link between them<sup>63</sup>.

### 1.9.2 Research Sample

In terms of study population and sampling procedures, the sample size of the study consisted of a population of thirty six informants. The size was through purposive sampling based on two major reasons, namely: the location of the five premier academic institutions extant during the colonial period in Samburu District namely; Maralal Boys Intermediate School, Maralal Boys Primary school, Wamba Primary school, Sirata Oirobi Girls Primary School and Maralal Rural Training School and the individuals who attended these schools.

The informants comprised educators, church representatives, students who went through colonial education under the period of study and members of the society. The target group was drawn from elders whose age-sets were constituted between 1921 and 1976 namely: *Lkileku* (1921–1936), *Lmekuri* (1936–1948), *Lkimaniki* (1948–1960) and *Lkishili* (1960–1976).<sup>64</sup> The author admits there were only two male informants from the *Lkileku* group. Although women have no age-sets, the ones whose age-sets correspond to those of the men in the above age-sets were interviewed to get their view on the forms of education. However, with strict observance of cultural tradition which barred women from going to school during the colonial period [and presently]; the author was only able to get one woman who went through the education in the late nineteen forties amid profound resistance from her paternal uncles. The woman was mentioned by several male informants as having traversed ‘gender barriers’ and the elders viewed her as an outcast, ‘a hater of culture’.

### 1.9.3 Data Collection

Data collection for this study proceeded in three major phases: First, the secondary sources were explored in libraries, including that of Egerton University, the Kenya National Library, Bondeni in Nakuru, The Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library of the University of Nairobi, the Moi Library of Kenyatta University, the Macmillan Library of the City Council of Nairobi and other libraries of such institutions as The British Institute in Eastern Africa

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<sup>63</sup> F.N.Kerlinger, 1970, *Foundations of Behavioural Research*, New York, p. 157.

<sup>64</sup> For more information on age sets see Waweru, “Ecology Control and Development...” appendix, p. 222. See also Spencer, (2004) *The Samburu: A Study of gerontocracy*, Michael Lolwerikoi, (1990) “A Comparative Study of Sacrifice in Samburu Culture and Christian Biblical Witness”, unpublished BA in Divinity Dissertation, St. Paul’s United Theological College, Limuru.

and the French Institute of Research in Africa. In these libraries data was collected from books, journals, thesis and unpublished dissertations, seminar and conference papers.

Secondly, archival documents were collected from the Kenya National Archives and Documentation services, Nairobi to provide primary evidence from the colonial period. Data on Christian missions, Samburu LNC minutes [later African District Council], and DEB reports and minutes were extracted from both provincial and district annual reports and handing over reports. Emphasis here was put on items touching directly on education. Equally, general administrative correspondence from the district to the central government was consulted to unearth individual perception of the administrators that informed the socio-political policy towards the Samburu education.

Thirdly, an exploration into oral sources was carried out in all the six administrative divisions of Samburu District. For purposes of overcoming the limitations of language and geography of the region, the services of an interpreter and a guide were engaged. The criteria for hire being the ability to speak Samburu, English and Kiswahili, exceptional knowledge of the area's geography and culture as well as respectability by the local populace because of their credibility; an attribute greatly valued by the Samburu. To ensure a systematic collection of data, the author used a questionnaire formulated earlier, covering all the areas of the study. The interviews were administered at both group and individual level.

#### **1.9.4 Data Analysis**

Data analysis was done in the form of content analysis along the articulation of modes of production theory. The theory informed this study as a synthesis between the two conflicting cultures of the indigenous and western education. In this way, the risk of data interpretation, a major weakness of *ex post facto* research was minimized. It centred on the conflict of curriculum and administration of education among the Samburu during the colonial period. At the same time it brought onto the surface the issue of attitude by the Samburu and other educational providers to each other in the process of integration. The collected information being descriptive in nature the study largely employed qualitative analysis of the data. Where necessary the study employed the use of tables and charts to illustrate the enrollment of pupils in different years.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.0 ASPECTS OF SAMBURU INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

#### 2.1 Introduction

In the simpler life of earlier times when a son followed closely into the footsteps of his father there was no problem. The boy from his earliest years saw the work he would do as a man being done by his father...<sup>65</sup>

This description of pre-colonial education in Africa serves as a good starting point for a discussion of European education policy in the African colonies. European colonialism paid little attention to pre-existing forms of education in Africa, and this is reflected in the relative lack of writing on the subject. Abdou Moumouni has written in some detail on 'traditional' education. In his book, *Education in Africa*, he divides traditional education in Africa into four stages: first childhood (0-6 years), second childhood (6-10 years), third childhood (10-15 years) and puberty crisis/entry into adolescence (15-16 years). Each stage is characterised by changes in the child's physical and cognitive abilities, his/her role in the community and the figures of authority that guide the traditional education process. He discusses educational institutions which were common to many pre-colonial African societies; these include games and story-telling, apprenticeship and initiation practices.

The most common trait of indigenous education in Africa was the presence of many 'teachers'. Since learning occurs in a community setting, the child can have several teachers at any given stage of development. What the mother teaches is different from the lesson of the grandmother or the uncle, which is in turn different from the reinforcement provided by older siblings or members of the extended family.<sup>66</sup> Another characteristic is such that education given to children by adults takes place without either side realizing it. One is educated more by what one is than by what one does. Thus, indigenous knowledge systems were based upon learnt values and attitudes. Moumouni's discussion however, is too general to address the intricacies of all pre-colonial education in Africa, but his observations are useful in highlighting some of the aspects which distinguish African from European systems of education.

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<sup>65</sup> Nuffield Foundation and the colonial Office (1953) *African Education: "A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa"* Oxford University Press, p. 14 cited in Bob W. White, (1996) *Talk about School: Education and the Colonial Project in French and British Africa, 1860- 1960* Comparative Education, Vol. 32, No. 1 Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

<sup>66</sup> A. Moumoun (1964) *Education in Africa*, Paris, Franwois Maspero. p.34.



Indigenous education can be defined as informal education that was prevalent in many African societies before the Europeans introduced formal schooling system as it is known today. This education was inseparable from segments of life in the community.<sup>67</sup> J.E Otiende et al have defined indigenous education as a process of cultural transmission not only from one generation to another, but also within the same generation. Put differently, indigenous education can be defined as, 'the whole process by which one generation transmitted its culture to the succeeding generation or better still as a process by which people are prepared to live effectively and efficiently in their environment.'<sup>68</sup> It was an education to be acquired as well as to be lived and a life long process of socialisation (a process by which a person learns ways of the society) and enculturation (a process of cultural transmission from one generation to another). This type of education had three major distinctive features: dynamically considered, it was first of all the transmission of a heritage from one generation to another. It aimed at assuring continuity in a society. As such, through education members of given society, who were also the carriers of that culture made sure that the behaviours necessary for the survival of the latter were learnt.

In some ways, the education appeared like culture itself: transmitting, perpetuating, and actualising itself in a new generation. It availed itself of everything, its organisation, its resources; its genius, in order to ensure its perennial character. Children became as they grew up, the carriers, the representatives, then the instruments and mediators of this culture. Thus the education was a collective means through which according to H. Marrou, a society initiates its young generation into values and techniques which characterise the life of its civilisation.<sup>69</sup> This education was therefore a secondary and subordinate phenomenon with respect to the latter and takes the form of a resume or digest of that culture. Secondly, education can be considered statically, as such it appears as the heritage and the equipment that the individual receives in order to be able to integrate himself in the community. Through this education, an individual was provided with a language, a body of knowledge, a scale of values, a general framework of thought and reference, a sensibility, and an 'ethos'. Finally, this education was seen as a factor of social change. The mental universe of a generation was never the same as that of the preceding or future generation. Thus, as the child becomes a carrier of a culture, he also becomes a transforming factor in that culture. It was an education

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<sup>67</sup> Boateng, K. (1985) "African Indigenous education. A Tool for intergenerational Communication" in M.K. Asante and K.W. Asante (eds), *African Culture: Unity of Rhythms*, pp.109-110, London, Greenwood Press.

<sup>68</sup> J.E.Otiende et al (1992) *Education and Development in Kenya: A Historical Perspective*, Nairobi, EAEP.

<sup>69</sup> H. Marrou, 1948 *Historie de l'education dans l'Antique*, Paris: Seuil, p. 17 cited in Pierre Erny, 1981, *The Child and His Environment in Black Africa: An Essay on Traditional Education*, Transl. By G. J. Wanjohi, Oxford, OUP.

that endeavoured to prepare the youth for their responsibilities as adults in the community. It was the sum total of the experience which moulded the attitudes and determined the conduct of both the child and the adult. In this education, the child learnt by participating in the social as well as religious and political activities that ensured effective means of communication between generations. This type of education in the pre-colonial East African societies socialized and educated new generations without schools in the western sense of the word. As such education functioned primarily to sustain knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and aspirations within a given society.<sup>70</sup> This process of socialisation, enculturation and developing in its members the skills needed for the upkeep and continuity of society was not considered by the western educators as one of the goals of the educative process. Consequently, the education introduced by westerners laid great emphasis on the formal aspects of education as opposed to the indigenous one. Ghai opines that schools were media for promoting western education but did not equally encourage the indigenous education.<sup>71</sup> The introduction of western education was a hinderance to the process of cultural transmission. However, irrespective of the western formal education, both co-existed side by side in the African communities. For the Samburu, education was a life long process of being educated by family, lineage, clan, age-sets and elders on such issues as taboos, rituals, child naming and rites of passage among other communal issues.

According to Sifuna<sup>72</sup> and Bogonko<sup>73</sup>, indigenous education was an education for survival and living. Sperling<sup>74</sup> observes that the Samburu of central northern Kenya have a wealth of indigenous knowledge which is geared towards herding, and its attendant activities. In the period before the establishment of western education among the Samburu, there existed a system which could be described as having been sufficient to the needs of the community at the time. During the colonial period in Kenya, education system was largely shaped by capitalist forces whereas the Samburu mode of production remained communal which was a

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<sup>70</sup> P. H. Gulliver, (1969) (ed) *Tradition and Transition in East Africa*, London, Routledge and Kegan, p.148.

<sup>71</sup> Ghai, D. Samhalla, (1972) *Utbildning och Uteveckling*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikaninstitute cited in William R. Ochieng, (2002) (Ed) *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya: Essays in Memory of Professor Gideon S. Were*, Nairobi, EAEP.

<sup>72</sup> Daniel N. Sifuna (1990), *Development of education in Africa: The Kenyan Experience*, Nairobi, Initiative Publishers, p. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Sorobe N. Bogonko, (1992) *Reflections on Education in East Africa*, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, p. 67.

<sup>74</sup> L Sperling (1984) "Labour Organisation in a Nomadic Pastoral Society: The Samburu of Kenya: A Theoretical and Methodological Framework for Research", Working Paper No.400, Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

direct antithesis to the dominant mode of production in the colony. This also explains why the Samburu education did not develop along the mainstream patterns of development since its objectives were different from those of western education. The Samburu indigenous education mainly focused on, *inter alia*, pasture and water management for their livestock and human use. This means that there was a degree of incompatibility between colonial education and Samburu indigenous education. With the colonial government's neglect of the pastoral communities, the Samburu included, in the provision of social "development", the interesting question is therefore why and how western education, based on individualism and materialism triumphed over indigenous education which was acclaimed as the education that did most to prepare people to become useful members of the cohesive society.

Samburu traditional education system, like that of other African communities was deliberate and systematic. Influence was exerted by mature persons upon the young through instruction, discipline, and harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, aesthetic, social and spiritual powers of the latter. Children were brought up to become useful members of the family, clan and society. It emphasized economic participation and the immediate application of what was learnt to the needs of the entire community. What the children learnt was not only functional to the community but had a strong utilitarian value to the individual. As a result, strong communal cohesion and individualistic tendencies were allowed to grow only within the ambit of the society. Education was essentially seen as helping man in exploiting nature for both the satisfaction of his needs and those of his society. According to Gideon Were, 'whatever else a Samburu might learn cannot easily be compare with his knowledge of livestock. The child and adult alike are taught about riddles, myths, proverbs and stories pertinent to livestock rearing'.<sup>75</sup>

In general, the introduction of schooling and its influence posed difficulties to the African societies some of which remain unresolved today. The greatest challenge was the need for the colonial administration to establish an educational system suited to its own needs. Neither the missionaries nor the colonial administration made any real attempt to link African education to African problems and to the African cultural heritage. The political officers of the colonial system saw little substantive value in the African society including indigenous education that was worth preserving and felt that inevitable direction of social evolution was towards western forms. The resultant development programmes were primarily

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<sup>75</sup> Gideon S. Were, (ed) (1986), *Samburu District Socio-Cultural Profile*, Nairobi, p.42.

focused on the larger agricultural groups, particularly the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya and the Kamba, among whom it was believed deterioration was furthest advanced and, significantly, posed the greatest threat to social order and political control.<sup>76</sup> Thus other African groups particularly; the pastoralists were largely neglected in official policy. The result, and especially among pastoral communities, was resistance to western education and inability of such communities to be integrated in the mainstream of colonial development patterns hence marginalization. They 'languished in somnolent apathy' as far as responding to formal education was concerned.<sup>77</sup> It is important to note that pastoral marginalization was first and foremost the result of social, political and economic forces operating within national society. The fewer pastoralists are privileged to participate in national debates the less chances they have to make their issues competitive in national development. It is necessary therefore to follow the process of development through all its phases and to identify the actual routes and barriers to success in educational development among the Samburu.

## 2.2 Socio-Political Organisation

### 2.2.1 Social Organisation

The Samburu have eight ideally exogamous patrilineal segments which Spencer refers to as phratries (*Lmarei*, pl. *Lmareita*). These are further divided into two main groups, each comprising four sections: namely Black cattle moiety *Ngishu Narok* (owners of black cattle): comprising the *Lmasula*, *Lnyaparae*, *Lngwesi*, and *Lpsikishu*. The white cattle moiety *Ngishu Naibor* (owners of white cattle): include *Lorokushu*, *Lukumae*, *Longelli*, *Loimisi*.<sup>78</sup> However, during ceremonies *Lmuget*, a ninth, Dorobo section is recognised. These are further divided into 17 clans. The *morans* of each clan perform certain ceremonies together to the exclusion of outsiders. According to the Samburu community, there are only two phratries that are qualified to officiate in the ceremony of circumcision on behalf of the whole community. These are *Lmasula*, the largest section and the *Lnyaparae*. They are considered the experts in organising and advising the rest of the sections on the function of the ritual. The ritual of *lmong'o la laiyiok* (circumcision) is communal because it involves all the candidates due for circumcision. The actual killing of the bull for the ritual involves boys

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<sup>76</sup> Bruce Berman, (1990) *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya*, Nairobi, EAEP, pp.276-277.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, p.261.

<sup>78</sup> Spencer, (1973) *Nomads in Alliance*, p. 93.

from the above mentioned phratries, who organise the whole ritual on behalf of the other boys.<sup>79</sup>

### 2.2.2 Political Organisation of the Samburu

The elders comprise the traditional political system. These political leaders would be considered headmen, since they had no formalised authority. The elders were the most powerful group in the society. They hold the power of curse over the young men. Spencer observes that it is the senior age-set that is responsible for the moral education of the junior and the inculcation as well as initiating a sense of respect among the youth. This relationship is known as '*fire stick*' relationship, *olporoi* and the elders responsible for a current age-set are known as '*fire stick*' elders. The *firestick* elders played the guardians' role to the *morans* during circumcision and as such this relationship became permanent. They taught the young men to be upright and to maintain higher standards of morality and respect for the elderly members of the society. This relationship was more strongly expressed among the Samburu especially in its negative aspects of inculcating fear among the youth through the power of the curse.

The more positive role of the elders as educators tends to be overshadowed by the power of the curse possessed by the elders. The elders are always in constant competition with the *morans* probably over marriage partners and engaging in sexual activities with the wives of the elders. These are the consequences of long periods of bachelorhood that the *morans* have to endure. Thus, the elders more often than not would seek to exert their pervasive authority over the *morans*.<sup>80</sup> The elders being custodians of the society' rituals, kept on correcting the behaviour of the youth by using rituals as checks and balances for cultural control and mechanisms for exerting their powerful positions. In their political organisation, decisions were taken by consensus although key cultural consultants and ritual experts vested more authority according to the Samburu ontological philosophy as was the case with many other decentralised African societies. Similarly, women, boys and children attended regular meetings but were not allowed to participate in discussions on fundamental issues affecting the society.

The elders as a firm foundation of the society were responsible for settling disputes and arbitrating matters of the clan. This noble responsibility required mature, impartial and incorruptible character. In order to solve issues, the elders used strategies such as discussion

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<sup>79</sup> Oral Information (hereinafter O.I). May 2007 Leteele Lemuya, Leyangwe Lelpokopy and Lucas Lolngojine.

<sup>80</sup> O.I May 2007, Leteele Lemuya.

and the use of the curse alluded to above. They were the most respected and powerful people in the society. According to Holsteen, the traditional political organisation has been decentralised and hence its effect is limited in geographic scope. The elders' reduction in power and authority in the political, economic and educational sectors is now a *fait accompli*.<sup>81</sup> On the other hand, women do not belong to age-sets (although they have age-grades of girl-hood and woman-hood). A girl's education rests with the mother. She is brought up to avoid all elders almost completely, including her father. Generally, the women's tasks are to milk cattle in the morning and in the evening, fetch water, firewood, and sometimes to look after domestic animals. When the family migrates to a new place, they are responsible for constructing new *manyattas*.

### 2.2.3 Induction of Samburu's Indigenous Education through the Age-sets System.

An age –set composed of all the men who were circumcised during a specified period of time and a new one was generally inaugurated after every 12-14 years. After one age-set had 'closed' (i.e. no further recruitment through circumcision), there was a growing number of boys of a suitable age who awaited circumcision into the succeeding age-set.<sup>82</sup> Each age class has its own sense of identity and feeling of togetherness. They identify one another as *murata* (literally, persons who were circumcised at the same season). A man cannot marry the daughter of another man of the same age-set. This was so, because it was strictly regarded as marrying his own daughter. During the period of *moranhoo*d, none of the age mates are allowed to drink or eat meat in isolation but are expected to exercise and cultivate virtues of communalism. It was considered unethical for the morans to eat meat especially at home, in the presence of women. An age-grade on the other hand is a stage through which each male passes at some period in one's life together with the others in his age-set. Thus, each man, although belonging to only one age-set from his youth onwards, passes through a number of age-grades. There were three principal age-grades among men namely: boyhood, (from birth to adolescence) before they became members of an age-set, *Moranhoo*d (beginning from adolescence to early manhood) which corresponds to the period between their initiation into an age-set and their marriage, and *elderhood* (from early manhood until death).<sup>83</sup> Women do not belong to age-sets, but they do have two age-grades namely: *girlhood* and *womanhood*. A

<sup>81</sup> M.E. Holsteen, *Continuity and Change in Samburu Education*, p.245, *fait accompli* refers to something that has already happened or been done and that you cannot change it.

<sup>82</sup> P. Spencer, *Nomads in Alliance*, p. 84.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid* pp.75-77.

girl is circumcised at about the same age as a boy and is married as soon as possible.<sup>84</sup> The age-grades thus formed the foundation of this study into indigenous forms of education among the Samburu.

#### 2.2.4 Militarization of the Samburu Indigenous Education as a Cultural Control

*Moranhood* and *elderhood* are the heart of the Samburu culture. The *morans* are the guardians of the flock. They are considered the 'youngsters'. The *moran* as a whole constituted a professional and military organisation of the community against external aggression of other ethnic groups. They enter into a class of *moranhood* through traditional circumcision (*muratare*). A sign of cowardice, of flinching of eyes or muscles during circumcision created a life long social ostracism and sometimes, excommunication from the community. Lessons were taught to the youth to be brave when undergoing the ritual so as to avoid being ridiculed by the Samburu society as they had no regard for such individuals.<sup>85</sup> Each warrior was responsible for enlarging his father's herd, looking for green pastures for their flock. To the Samburu community cattle raiding was allowed and seen as virtual returning the cattle from other community who owned the same by mistake. According to G.B. Brown,

The existing moran system is now an anachronism which in these days can only lead to trouble, as it creates an idle class of irresponsible youths.<sup>86</sup>

To him, due to modernity, change was inevitable. The day for defending the ethnic group against the invasion by others was archaic. Spencer avers that it would be anachronous to call them warriors today, for apart from minor affrays and odd murders that occur from time to time, they play no martial role in the society.<sup>87</sup> It is the duty of the administration to provide social justice within and without. In order to implement the social change, the administration of the time advised elders that *moranhood* system should be allowed to exist for at least three years instead of the 10-16 years.<sup>88</sup> But in fact this was never implemented due to the conservativeness of the community. In the period of *moranhood*, every age grade had a mandate of choosing their own *launoni* (hereditary senior *moran* of the clan). Again every section must have its own *Launoni*. His counterpart was known as *Laigwenani* (a leader, who was elected because of his leadership abilities). Traditionally, *launoni* must be respected by

<sup>84</sup> O. I May 2007, Lucas Lolngojine.

<sup>85</sup> V.J. Donovan, (1986) *Christianity Rediscovered: An Epistle from the Maasai*, SCM Press, London, p. 17.

<sup>86</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, 1934, Samburu District Annual Reports 1933-1947.

<sup>87</sup> Spencer, (2004) *The Samburu: A study of Gerontocracy* p.xxix.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid

all *morans* of the clan. He received protection from all the *morans*. Also *Laigwenani* was chosen due to his leadership excellence. He earned a lot of respect from the community.

## 2.3 Male education

### 2.3.1 Boyhood

This refers to the stage from birth to adolescence for the boys before they are members of an age-set. This is the stage that prepares the boy for circumcision. From birth to circumcision, indigenous education for the boys emphasized on self reliance. They were taught how to create and protect wealth. One informant observed that, it was not good for visitors to starve when they came visiting.<sup>89</sup> Boys were also taught not to engage in theft as this would bring disrepute to the family members. Circumcision marked a transition from childhood to adulthood. The initiates became *morans*. These were warriors of the community and were responsible for mounting cattle raids against the neighboring communities and herding the flock. The *morans* occupied a very special position in the society. Other means of educating the boys included narration. The traditional values of the community had to be instilled in the people through narration of events such as droughts, heavy downpours and even cattle raids that kept the boys prepared for any eventuality.<sup>90</sup>

### 2.3.2 Initiation

Indigenous education reached its highest degree of consciousness at initiation. The ritual integration into the world of adults was to be followed and completed by the divulging of a certain type of knowledge, aptitude and behavior. The individual must be proved, that is tested and strengthened in preparation for what awaits him as an adult. It is through the teachings given at initiation that the ideal values of the society appeared more clearly. This process made the initiates live intensely the accession to adult life through the symbolic and ritual situations that the traditional culture hoped to make the initiate weigh the importance of that moment for himself and for the society. The rites of initiation for both sexes signified a distinct period of formal teaching and examining with specially selected and experienced elders giving instructions and sometimes tests. It was deliberately made a highly toned emotional and painful experience, and sometimes covered a period of many months; it consequently would be engraved forever on the personality of the initiates.<sup>91</sup> These rites of

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<sup>89</sup> O.I May 2007, Lucas Lolngojine.

<sup>90</sup> O.I May, 2007 Leteele Lemuya.

<sup>91</sup> V. A Murray, (1929), *The School in the Bush: A Critical study of Native Education in Africa*, London, Longman, p.87.



initiation were indispensable and essential. The will to educate therefore appeared more explicit than the specific content of education given. Initiation provided a formal system of indigenous education. It represented what was most consistent, most fixed, and most solid in a culture, the foundation which carried all the rest. It was tenacious and resistant to change. According to Walter Rodney, African education was both formal and informal. Initiation or 'coming of age' represented the formalization of this education.<sup>92</sup>

### 2.3.3 The Process of Initiation among the Samburu (*Lmolong'o lalaiyiok*)

The process of circumcision was an elaborate one controlled by the gerontocrats. It involved immense teaching of communal values and virtues. The description below provides a preview of what happened at each and every stage of the process. It also gives a view of what was inculcated into the 'boys' until they were circumcised and admitted into an age-set. The first stage of the process was an opening salutation. This was done by the elders of the two mentioned 'phratries'. The process was led by a senior elder, who had previously participated in this ceremony. Before any deliberation commenced, the meeting opened with same senior elder.

The second stage was to suggest the right season for the ceremony. Traditionally, it was usually held in the month of February *Lapa leare* or *Furam*, mid-April *Lapa le sorio*, June *Rankari*, or August *Lapa Kelei* or August *Lapa Kelei*. Most of the communal sacrifices were done in the rainy seasons, *Ltumeren*. The third step in the same meeting was choosing the right place for carrying out the ritual. This was in a big kraal, traditionally known as *Lorora*. It was constructed first to mark the preparation of the ceremony of circumcision. In this period, the age set which to be circumcised was referred to as *Lmeoli*. A few elders were chosen to go and survey the right site for constructing a big kraal. When they were convinced of the suitability of site, they reported back to the rest of the elders. Another meeting of elders was called the main agenda being to decide when to move to the actual site of the ceremony. It was imperative to note that every family head be aware of the whole process. Women were mobilized to go and construct traditional huts for the ceremony.

The fourth step involved every family moving to the traditional place. The elders again had to meet to arrange for the material day of the ritual. At the centre of the kraal, a central sanctuary was constructed also known as *Naapo*. At *Naapo*, every evening and morning prayers were held. After the prayers, elders were then free to decide on the day when the ritual would be performed. The day had to fall within the already indicated months

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<sup>92</sup> Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, p. 261.

of carrying out the ritual besides being the period when the moon was bright in the sky. It also had to be the second, fourth, sixth, or the tenth day of the lunar month but not the odd days like the first, third or the fifth day.

In the fifth stage, the elders meet again to decide on who was to provide for the sacrificial ox. Traditionally, the bull was brought from within the clan. Hence a particular family of the clan was approached to provide it. It had to be a well known and respected family without any blemish. The ox had to be white in colour and very fat. It must be ritually clean, without blemish; ears and hooves should contain no sign of cutting. It must be pure with good eyes and horns. An informant provided that, during the *Lkishili*, the ox bull was provided by the family of Lenyarua. The family that provided the ox was usually rewarded with a token of appreciation in the form of a heifer.

It was in the sixth stage where candidates for circumcision were involved, whereby they organized traditional singing in the mornings and evenings. This type of traditional singing, known as *Leberta* was done only by candidates for circumcision. It stimulated them to be courageous in order to face the pain of the knife. The singing ritual consisted of all the boys of a section. They praised the guardians, *Lpiroi* so that they could be accepted to join *moranhoo*d. According to Lesorongol, during the 1989 event, more than 500 boys came for the preparation of the event.<sup>93</sup>

In the final stage, the following actions were performed: presentation, consecration, invocation and immolation. Before the above action took place, traditional trees such as *Suchai*, *Ltepes* and *Sieki* and green grass were brought by eight morally upright boys. Here, virtues of morality were emphasized so that the process was not lacking in credibility. The branches of these traditional trees were carefully plucked from the trees, which must be four in number. In addition, the boys brought a galloon of honey. Very early in the morning, women were mobilized to draw a lot of water and firewood for roasting the meat of the ox. The water was for domestic use, drinking and cooking, not necessarily for any ritualistic value. The elderly women prepared a special goat skin for the ritual. At five o'clock in the morning, the boys were woken up to sing again. It is also important to mention that due to vigorous stimulation from the elders, sometimes the boys could sing throughout the night. Thus there were a lot of psychological and emotional feelings which accompanied the ritual of *Lmolong'o lalaiyiok*.

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<sup>93</sup> O.I April 2007.

### 2.3.3 Presentation

At six the ox was led to the *Naapo*. This was a crucial moment because only the few boys in the multitude were allowed to uphold the sacrificial ox. The boys came from the families known as *Nkangitie e Para* – (traditionally, families from ritually and morally clan). These families were respected by the whole community and were vested with high esteem. Here, the elders used the power of the curse such that any boy who had polluted himself committing adultery or may have been involved in murder was considered unclean. Hence he was to be excluded in the act of presentation. He was only allowed to stand aside. The boys were thus taught, during this period from birth to initiation not to engage in sex with elderly women during their boyhood. The culprits were under firm instructions to volunteer themselves if they had engaged in illegal and forbidden activities that were considered taboos. They had to ask for forgiveness and if not they were subjected to rigorous process of administration of oath that culminated in them being cursed and pronounced as social misfits and outcasts by the community. In Samburu pre-colonial society, making judgmental references to such terrible misfortunes and phenomena that may befall the said victims; the elders instructed the youth to be very vigilant and not to engage in such social deviance and vices.

### 2.3.4 Consecration

In this process too, only morally upright boys were allowed to hold the sacrificial ox. The unclean boys (murderers, adulterous and those born out of wedlock) were not allowed whatsoever to carry out the ceremony of consecration. At this stage, the ox was fed on cow's milk from a calabash known as "*shokor*". The calabash used was carefully selected from a very well known and respected family lineage.

### 2.3.5 Invocation

After the process of consecration, the elders offered a short invocation in the form of prayer. It was a prayer that sought God's blessings to the youngsters. The prayer was offered while facing Mt. Nyiro. The hill symbolized a sign of strength and durability. Whenever an elder pronounced blessings upon his son he said, '*Tibikoi Ana Idonyo*' (be strong like a mountain). Mt. Nyiro is the highest in the community and it was associated with God's omnipresence. According to community mythology, this was a sacred place where God's manifestation to the Samburu community was witnessed and hence seen as a sanctuary of God.

### 2.3.6 Immolation

After the invocation, the boys were commanded and instructed to get hold of the ox ready to kill it. Due to the emotional attachment of the victim, the boys held the victim above the ground. A goat skin which had already been prepared was used to cover the nose and the mouth of the victim for suffocation. It was believed and anticipated that the animal becomes so “humble” and “innocent” that it even presented itself for the ritual. When it was almost at the point of death, it was laid down on the ground slowly (on its right hand side), and while in the process of dying it was then skinned quickly from the neck to the chest. Again, it was stabbed (with a knife) at the main vein on the neck. The purpose was to get the blood when it was still warm. This type of indigenous education of intestinal dissecting of animals became very handy and the youths were taught by the selected specialists on how to perform such important exercises on their own. Lessons pertaining to animal digestion systems and food intake mechanisms were conveyed to the learners. Moreover, the slaughtered animals also conveyed and taught the youth on the importance of their sacredness. Meanwhile, four calabashes of milk were mixed with *seyiai* (a traditional herb). The milk was mixed with blood. Again one gallon of honey was poured and mixed with milk. It was stirred to the maximum. This process was done by the elders who had requisite expertise in the process.

When it was ready, every candidate to be initiated took a sip. The first sip was spit on his chest, and then he took the second mouthful sips for his use. It was done in sequence and everybody had to sip while kneeling. After every sip, each candidate touched the horn of the ox as a sign of solidarity with it. In this process of sipping all boys were allowed to participate as a symbol of cleansing. The action might take some period of time, but it has to be performed as a religious obligation. What followed was the slaughtering and roasting of the sacrificial meat, which was carried out by the elders and done more diligently to avoid spoiling the skin of the ox. The meat was then roasted on both sides of the victim by elders. It was then cut into small pieces that were partaken by both the elders and the boys. Traditionally, females were not allowed to participate in this ritual.

After the function of roasting and sharing the meat, two groups of elders were formed. One group was tasked to prepare a place under a new growing sacrificial tree like *Itepes* (a kind of a thorny tree). Every boy who attended this ceremony came with a lot of bird's feathers. They had their hair shaved to signify a new beginning. But after this ritual, they were all gathered and kept under the tree which had been prepared by the elders. After, the ceremony, the feathers were left there. The second group of the elders prepared the skin of the ox. It was cut into two pieces. The group of boys who belong to the clan known as *sitat*

sat together and cut the skin into small pieces like strings. A number of pieces equal to the number boys were cut so that each boy tied a piece on his right leg. Boys from the other clan known as *loisilale* did the same with the other part of the skin. If it happened that there were boys who did not attend this main function because of unforeseen circumstances, their relatives who attended the ritual took for them. After the function, which takes the whole day, the boys are now allowed to disperse to their destinations. They are now allowed to wait for the circumcision season. Another *Lorora* will be constructed which will again be decided by the elders of the society. The boys who participated in the *Lmong'o la laiyoik* are considered blessed. The pieces of skin which they tied on their right legs are signs of solidarity of participating in the same 'covenant'. They are to tie it on their legs for four days and in the fifth day it was completely burnt to avoid jealousy from bad neighbours.<sup>94</sup>

#### 2.4 Moranhood

This refers to the stage from adolescence to early manhood which corresponds to the period between their initiation into an age-set and eventual marriage which leads to elderhood of the community, thus creating another position for incoming *morans*. For the Samburu, it is a stage that male initiates enter immediately after conducting the circumcision rites. The course of a man's *moranhood* was marked by a number of ceremonies (*Imugit*) which were accompanied by a lot of communal teachings to the initiates. During this period, male Samburu youth are taught to be patriotic members of the society. They learn to love their society, a disposition that was marked by unwavering loyalty and readiness to defend it at all costs. In addition they were taught to respect their leaders and always take their orders. A few of them were selected to become age-set leaders and were given special training on leadership styles and command. This is how the age-set leader or spokesman, *Laigwenani*, and his assistant *Lotuno* obtained their basic training on leadership and governance. Further, it is argued that through this training, Samburu youth learnt the art of resolving conflicts and skills for effective communication. During *moranhood*, the Samburu youth were also taught about military prowess. This subject was mainly through observation and practice. They were taught the virtues of good warrior hood, military strategy, discipline and chain of command. Through the process of circumcision elaborated above, the boys learnt virtues of corporate

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<sup>94</sup> This account is mainly from oral interviews from male respondents who went through the process among them Edward Lekaada, Lucas Lolngojine, Soipin Lekoolool, the Reverend David Letooya and Lekalja Lolngojine among other respondents.

unity, comradeship, social cohesion and the principles of sharing. They also learnt the art of extra-gender relations, marital responsibilities including family life.<sup>95</sup>

They remained under strict social as well as ritual restrictions until the time they got married and settled down. For instance no *morán* could eat meat seen by married women, drink milk from his mistress' hair sharing group, drink milk when not accompanied by other *morans*, drink alcohol or associate with married women.<sup>96</sup> The latter was a major concern for the elders. As such, *morans* were taught not to engage in sexual activities with elderly women particularly the wives of the elders. A *morán* who committed this offence paid a fine in the form of two bulls. He slaughtered and roasted one for the elders but he was not allowed to consume a single piece of it. The other bull was given to the family/elder, where the *morán* committed the offence. The bulls were a form of repentance on the part of the *morán*.

*Moranhood* takes a distinct period until the elders declare them an age-set. The elders control the period when the *morans* are to get married. By the time the next age-set is initiated, perhaps three or more years later, only a small proportion of *morán* will have obtained wives, although a rather large number will at least have made some effort to build up their herds and negotiate a marriage. Most of the *morans* act under the instructions of their fathers or guardians, who may even take a hand personally in negotiating for the marriage.. The *morans* were felt to be too inexperienced to handle such matters. *Morans* delay marriage on two grounds: some of them are still very young probably in their twenties and would prefer to remain as *morans* rather than face new responsibilities that came with marriage and a less attractive life than that of a *morán*. Secondly, the practice of polygamy among the Samburu means that the *morans* are not only competing with fellow *morans* for their first wives but also with the elders who are striving to get a second and even a third wife. The elders, led by the father of the *morán* go to 'request' for a hand in marriage on behalf of their son and then educate him on how to handle family issues. They are also taught to handle the family of the bridegroom as well as handling his own family. On getting married, the junior elder is taught to stay 'within' the *manyatta* and virtues of faithfulness in marriage are inculcated into them so as not to enter into sexual relations with other women other than their wife (or wives). This is geared towards promoting family harmony between the two.

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<sup>95</sup> O.I April, 2007 Lekalja Lolngojine gave a most telling account of what the *morans* are taught by the elders. He belongs to the *L kimanik* age-set.

<sup>96</sup> Spencer, *Nomads in Alliance*, p.94.

Marriage is a life long process and the junior elders are taught against keeping multiple sexual partners out of marriage.<sup>97</sup>

From an environmental and ecological point of view, the *morans* learn about plants and animals, various land features and their importance, different bovine and human diseases, quality of pasture and browse as well as the significance of salt licks, saline springs among others. Indigenous knowledge on treating diseases among the Samburu is taught through apprenticeship and observation. Only serious diseases and ailments warrant the attention of a trained medical practitioner. Professional assistance is only sought when the indigenous remedies fail to heal. Infact in 1925 a DC observed that, “a number of Samburu come for treatment generally in an advanced state of medication when they find their own remedies have failed. The most common ailments (treated) were chest and lung ailments, ophthalmic, conjunctivitis bronchitis, and accidents due to bites or wounds from animals.”<sup>98</sup> This bears the witness that the indigenous medical systems of the Samburu comprehensively satisfied their health needs. With respect to ‘economics’ the *morans* were taught the importance of becoming rich in livestock and as such skills of obtaining and sustaining the livestock were inculcated into the youths. This included the skills on raiding neighboring communities for livestock which was important especially in the payment of dowry.

## 2.5 Female education

### 2.5.1 Girlhood

Among the Samburu, greater value is placed on the boy child than the girl child. Whereas sons remain with the father, and as he grows old they take over the duties of looking after him and managing his herds, daughters are married away from the homestead immediately after circumcision. In addition, lineage of the man is perpetuated through the sons and not the daughters.<sup>99</sup> As such, education of the girl remains within the realm of her mother with intermittent instruction from the father only when necessary. At anytime, the father is dissatisfied with the progress of the girl in acquiring the necessary sense of respect, he may instruct her mother to take an appropriate action against her. He could even stay away from the *manyatta* to allow her greater freedom in disciplining the girl. However, it was commonly acknowledged that the affection that existed between father and daughter did not allow anyone to beat the girl and in such an event the father will react with fury. He does not

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<sup>97</sup> O.I May 2007, Soipin Lekoolol.

<sup>98</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/1 Samburu District Annual Report 1925, p.5.

<sup>99</sup> Spencer, *The Samburu*, p.211.

however intervene directly in the education of the girl as the expected behavior and attitude of a man does not make it possible for him to educate her. He cannot avoid her and teach her at the same time. By the time she is due for marriage, probably at the age of about 15-17, it is expected by the society that she has acquired a full sense of respect for all elders and that her moral education is complete.

Education for the girls was geared towards keeping her 'pure' i.e., not getting pregnant before wedlock. The girls were taught about their roles in the family which included fetching water, house work, cleaning utensils as well as cleaning the milk calabash with a herb known as *mtamaiyo* among other hygiene and sanitary programs.<sup>100</sup> Other roles taught to the girl include construction of *manyatta*. Among the Samburu, it is the wife who constructs the *manyatta* whenever the family moves into a new settlement, and the girl has to learn this before her circumcision. This is learnt through observation. The girl is taught how to milk. She is woken by her mother early in the morning to learn how to milk cattle.

From the outset, the girl is brought up to avoid all elders including even her own father. She is made to accept this situation almost as soon as she can speak. This avoidance entails certain modesty in the presence of elders: including sitting in a decent posture and not play too freely. From the time she is about six, she is separated from the boys and should not sleep in huts where there are elders including her father. Later by the age of about ten, she should have sufficient respect for the elders to avoid them on all occasions. She should leave the hut when they enter and should keep away from them when outside. She would only speak to them when they address her first. It was oftenly rumored that an elder who did not avoid his daughter had an incestuous relation with her. One explanation of this avoidance is probably the realization by the elders of their sexual attraction to young women: besides referring to them in their gossip, they marry girls who are often younger than their daughters. Secondly, attracting a suitor, a worthy one for that matter, the girl must have qualities that are promising in a wife. She should have a marked sense of respect, so that she will automatically accept the difficulties that might occur within marriage. It is thus a system that perpetuates itself such that men are to bring up girls who will maintain the reputation of a lineage. The daughters thus have to be brought up in the best traditions of the society.<sup>101</sup>

At puberty, the uncircumcised girls engaged in dances with the *morans*. *Moran* jealously guarded 'his' girl from advances of fellow *morans*. They would establish a relationship with the girl and become their lover or protector whose honour was bound by the

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<sup>100</sup> O.I May 2007 Leteele Lemuya.

<sup>101</sup> Spencer, *The Samburu*, pp.211-214.



fidelity of the girl to the *moran*. Paul Spencer observes that, it was this relationship with the *morans* and its attendant taunts and praises that encouraged *morans* to steal stock and commit murder as was the case in the late 1930s. These pubic girls were often the beneficiaries of the incessant cattle raids through gifts of beads by the warriors. The personal honor of a *moran* was implicated in his relationship with his mistress. He was expected to make attacks on other persons who made advances at her, seduced her, raped her, since once she agreed to accept him, he became her master. However, this two being members of the same exogamous clan, they were prohibited from getting married to each other. The consequence of pregnancy in this relationship was such that, the *moran* may would not take any major part in any of the *ilmugit* ceremonies and the girl may not be eagerly sought after as a marriage partner.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, several informants attested to the fact that the girl was viewed as an outcast and would often remain unmarried for the rest of her life. However, such treatment of the girls was termed as being ironical in the sense that they were expected to avoid pregnancy yet they were allowed to engage in sexual activities with the *morans*. Informants intimated that there was strict observance of these controls in the past than is at present.<sup>103</sup>

According to Leyangwe Lelpokokey, if a girl got pregnant before marriage, every effort was made to make sure that she did not give birth. She was given a sheep's urine and pressed on the stomach by her mother's uncle in order to secure an abortion.<sup>104</sup> The child would be aborted or killed at birth as it was mystically dangerous to allow it to live.<sup>105</sup> Here, the emphasis was on ensuring the girl does not get pregnant so that she is easily married. It was observed that no family would want to marry a girl who got pregnant before marriage. On getting married the girl was submissive to her husband. This strict upbringing of the girl contrasts heavily with that of the boy. At the age the girl is circumcised, 15-17, a boy is circumcised and becomes a *moran*, but his social education has barely begun. The respect shown towards the elders was perfunctory. Before he is fully grown, he may giggle, sulk, lie and even run away when he was addressed by elders. It was only later on, as a *moran* that he acquired a sense of respect. In a way the girls' education was almost ten years ahead of the boys'.<sup>106</sup> This is also seen through the long period the *morans* are kept away from starting a family yet a girl starts it immediately after circumcision.

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> O.I April-May 2007, Lucas Lolngojine, Loice Letowon, Lekalja Lolngojine, Lesongorol, Soipin Lekolool.

<sup>104</sup> O.I May 2007.

<sup>105</sup> Spencer, *The Samburu*, p.112.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p.214.

## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed a general review of the systems of education that existed amongst the Samburu prior to the establishment of western education. It has also shown the institutions through which this education was imparted. The chapter has delved into a thorough review of the process of circumcision. The whole process of initiation was very important to the education as it is at this level that indigenous education reached its highest degree of consciousness. The ritual integration into the world of adults was to be followed and completed by the divulging of a certain type of knowledge, aptitude and behavior. Evidence has been adduced to the fact that, though the indigenous forms of education acted as intermediate between the pre-colonial and colonial times, aspects of the indigenous forms of education still exist. These were held so dearly by the community and have impacted negatively on the growth of western education amongst the community. The community's perception has not changed much towards embracing western education especially for girls. It is viewed that, education for girls is a waste of time as they would become 'property' of their fathers and husbands.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.0 COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICIES AMONG THE SAMBURU 1911- 1930

#### 3.1 Introduction

The first formal attempt at European schooling in Africa was made by Portuguese Jesuit missionaries dating back to the middle of the sixteenth century. This was closely followed by the nineteenth century missionaries from Great Britain, France and later America. The missionary tradition in West Africa had a continuous history of 150 years and in some parts of Central and East Africa even predates European colonial rule. Evangelical missions, predominantly from Protestant churches in Europe, taught literacy and manual skills, while the Anglican and Catholic missions generally had a more academic focus.<sup>107</sup> In this respect, John Anderson argued that the Europeans did not bring the idea of formal education to Africa; but in many ways this had been established in African societies long before their arrival. Yet through such practices as grouping children into classrooms for regular daily lessons, emphasizing the importance of reading and writing and showing particular concern over examination results and certificates, Europeans did much to shape Africa's more recent understanding of schools.<sup>108</sup>

Western education was thus brought to Africa by Europeans, though not entirely spread by her agencies alone. It is correct to say that the educational revolution was the work of three interest groups; Christian missions, colonial government and local African initiative in that order of importance. For the Christian missions, the school was a very important institution being the most reliable means for membership recruitment and for creating self-perpetuating congregations whose membership would ensure the survival of Christianity in the event of withdrawal by the Christian missionaries. Education and Christianity were so closely linked that for many parts of Africa, the pitching of the missionaries' tent was synonymous with the establishment of a school.<sup>109</sup> The missionaries mainly viewed Western education as a vehicle for spreading the gospel in particular and western civilization in general. They vehemently opposed African cultural practices. However, the Africans in several areas displayed little interest. According to Tiyambe Zeleza, "this opposition was

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<sup>107</sup> L. G. Cowan, J. O'Connell and D.G. Scanlon, (Eds) (1965) *Education and Nation-building in Africa*, (New York, Frederick A. Praeger Publishers.

<sup>108</sup> Anderson, (1970) *The Struggle for the School*, p.1.

<sup>109</sup> J.C. Caldwell (1985) "The Social Repercussions of the Colonial Rule: The New Social Structures" in A. Adu Boahen (Ed) *UNESCO General History Africa Vol.VII, Africa Under Colonial Domination 1880-1935* Heinmann, p.491.

nowhere better articulated than in the school.”<sup>110</sup> The colonial administration on their part hoped that through the school, they would raise low cadre personnel needed for staffing the bottom echelons of the colonial bureaucracy. They also needed to create such conditions whether political, economic, social or moral as could enable Europe to exploit as full as possible what were regarded the hitherto unexploited resources in Africa. To this end, not only did the administration erect and run essentially lay schools, they also supported the educational efforts of the missionaries by means of subventions. Furthermore, the political settlements they effected enabled the missions penetrate the heart of the continent without fearing for the safety of their agents.<sup>111</sup> The missionaries appealed to their home governments for various degree of political or military protection. This was usually in the face of local political conflicts which threatened the safety of their missions. Nevertheless when the European government responded positively to these appeals, it was usually more due to their own wider strategic or commercial interests that had very little to do with the territories themselves.<sup>112</sup> Key among them was the protection of the Suez route to India. This meant control of Egypt, the Nile Valley, the headwater of the White Nile in Uganda, and as alternative means of communication with Uganda, the intervening territory between L. Victoria and the East African Coast.<sup>113</sup> As such, in the British colonies of East Africa, education was largely a missionaries’ affair, however, the education provided by missionaries in this early period was primarily linked to the spread of Christianity. The missionaries were mainly interested in spreading Christianity as education was secondary in their scheme of things.

Missions have been considered the vehicles of western education.<sup>114</sup> In Kenya, the early development of schooling in the colonial era was inextricably bound with missionary work. As it is generally known, missionary work concentrated largely in the predominantly agricultural districts close to or adjacent to white settlements. These occupied the Central band of the country forming the Kenya highlands and the surrounding districts as well as the Western Lake Victoria region of Uganda. There was little or no missionary activity in the wide expanse of lands constituting the nomadic pastoralists. The opinion as to whether the Samburu as a pastoralist community was ready for the introduction of formal education had

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<sup>110</sup> Tiyambe Zeleza “The Establishment of Colonial Rule, 1905–1920”.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p.491.

<sup>112</sup> Kevin Shillington, (1995) *History of Africa*, London, Macmillan, pp.292-293.

<sup>113</sup> M.P.K Sorrenson, (1977) *Origins of European Settlement in Kenya*, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, p. 10.

<sup>114</sup> Joan Vincent, *Teso in Transformation*, p. 160.

not featured for a long time both in the government circles and the community itself. It took several years into the colonial rule for the community to embrace formal education. This chapter therefore seeks to examine three key issues; the development of colonial African education policy, the attitude that shaped its development and the challenges to the development of western education.

### 3.2 The Development of the Colonial African Education Policy in Kenya up to 1930

Though, missionary-state co-operation in African education in Kenya commenced at the turn of the twentieth century, the first breakthrough in the development of education by the colonial government in Kenya was the arrival in 1909 of J.N. Frazer. He was an educationist who had earlier on served in India. He was commissioned to carry out a survey of education within the British East African Protectorate. Particularly, he was to advise on the organization and type of education to be given to the various racial groups. Later that year, he produced a report which while accepting the principle of different systems of education for the three major racial groups, noted the talent available amongst Africans and stressed the need to use this talent particularly by giving technical education. He pointed out the relatively cheaper costs involved in using African skilled labour as opposed to Asian labour and warned the governments of the need to plan in advance. This was well within the administration scheme of thought as it made both economic and administrative sense to train a skilled class of workmen who would keep up the habit of daily work for a life time. This also fitted well with the views of the settler community who were in dire need of the African labour. Besides this, the basic assumption made by Europeans was that the African was innately less intelligent than the European hence only needed long practical education, before any further consideration for his development was considered.<sup>115</sup> The policy thus ensured that missionaries could not teach a curriculum that was not approved by the settler dominated government.

As a result of this survey by Frazer, the Department of Education was established in 1911 with J. R. Orr as the director. The government then assumed responsibility for the direction of educational policy and its implementation through the establishment of a system of its own elementary and higher schools. It also granted financial aid to the missions, which were left generally responsible for the whole system. It is worth noting that in the period

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<sup>115</sup> J.E.Otiende, et al (1992), *Education and Development in Kenya: A Historical Perspective*, p.11 See also, John Anderson, *The Struggle for the School*, p.37-39. See also, Tignor, *Colonial Transformation*, p.134.

1895-1911, there existed no detailed history of education as the government was entirely concerned with building an initial administration and maintaining law and order as well as pacification of ethnic groups. Its assistance to the missions at this period consisted of grants of land. The mission stations were occupied by Europeans and surrounded by few village schools that laid the foundation for an education system.

Throughout the colonial period, development of education was headed by a Director of Education. With the establishment of Department of Education in 1911, the government increasingly subsidized approved mission schools. It again began to take a direct interest in the work of the missions. This was prompted by the doubts of the value of education that was being given to the Africans in the mission schools whose emphasis was on religious instruction. It started by urging mission schools to embrace technical instruction in their curriculum. Such schools were occasionally visited by a government officer. With its emphasis on industrial and technical education, the government also provided grants for purchase of tools for industrial work.

The government henceforth opened and managed a number of industrial and technical schools in areas that were not effectively served by the missionaries. These included the first government school for Africans at Machakos in 1913, followed by the Narok intermediate school in 1919. At Waa, a school for the Wadigo was opened. These schools gave courses in technical subjects. Once that step was taken, the government was bound to accept an increasing measure of responsibility in those areas where missionary work had not developed.<sup>116</sup>

By 1922, a system of experimental grants for industrial education was established on a payment of results basis. The whole question of government assistance to missions was however resisted by missionaries who saw it as a government's attempt to control their work. This grant in aid system received support from the Phelps Stokes fund in 1924 which put forward attention on the state of African education. The Phelps-Stokes commission, composed mainly of British and American officials was established ostensibly to investigate and report on African education. The commission opted for mission education and appealed for increased cooperation among all interested groups. It was the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1924 that recommended to the government and the missionaries that there was need for co-

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<sup>116</sup> Department of Education Annual Report, 1930 Government Printer, Nairobi p.2-5.

operation especially in financing of education for Africans. They drew the attention of the government to its negligible expenditure on education for the Africans.

One of the consequential results of the report by Frazer was the stratification of education on racial lines. This persisted until the end of colonial rule in Kenya. Europeans, Asians, Africans and Arabs each had their own systems of education as the principle underlying colonial education was to distinguish between the education of the ruled and the rulers. The education for the European and Asian minorities was tailored to cater for their intellectual development, preparing Europeans for leadership and Asians for middle class roles in the emerging Kenyan society. Thus separate schools were set up for the two “ethnic minorities in Kenya, the Europeans and Asians.”<sup>117</sup> The assumption was such that, since each race played a different role as determined by the colonial administration, education had to suit the normal requirements of every race.<sup>118</sup> The economy of the country was designed such that the settler owned most of the land while the Africans provided labour. In this respect, the administration deemed it appropriate to fashion Africans and prepare them for subordinate labour and unskilled occupations. The youth were absorbed into wage employment in unskilled careers and trades straight from a short exposure to the 3Rs of reading, writing and simple arithmetic and religious teaching. They worked as local clerks and junior officials to facilitate the functioning of the colonial administration. The majority, however, had to provide manual labour to reinforce the colonial economy. A bare minimum of skills and knowledge was considered sufficient for this role. Apart from the 3Rs, African education consisted mainly of instruction in handicrafts (agriculture particularly animal husbandry) carpentry, tailoring, masonry, shoemaking, road making among others were meant to reduce Africans into pawns of colonialism as well as restrict them to the reserves.<sup>119</sup>

The segregated curriculum was based on a racist ideology which believed that Africans in their present stage of mental development would not endure a long academic exposure. The Phelps Stokes Commission Report of 1925 and the 1925 Education Policy further emphasized vocationalisation of education for all Africans and for improving rural

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<sup>117</sup> P. Collier, et al (1986) *Labour and Poverty in Kenya 1900-1980*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.4.

<sup>118</sup> S.N. Bogonko, (1992) *Reflections on Education in East Africa*, Oxford, OUP, p.3.

<sup>119</sup> Daniel N. Sifuna (1980) *Short Essays on Education in Kenya*, Nairobi, Kenya Literature Bureau, pp.2-47 See also, M.J. Mbilinyi, (1979) “History of Formal Schooling in Tanzania” in H.Hinzen, and V.H. Hundusdorfer (eds.) *Education for Liberation and Development: The Tanzanian Experience*, London, Evans Brothers, pp.80-82.

life. This meant practical and agriculturally oriented education.<sup>120</sup> In missionary schools, technical training went side by side with evangelization and enculturation of the African converts. But on the issue of technical training, the colonial administration held a divergent view from that practiced by missionaries. The administration preferred Africans being trained on simple home crafts skills only. The government disagreed with missionaries for some time. At the time however, world opinion was in favour of improved quality of education for the colonized. This pressure for improved education for the colonized saw the opening up of a few secondary schools in Kenya both by the missionaries and British administration in the 1920s.<sup>121</sup>

In 1924 the first Education Ordinance that specifically touched on African Education was enacted by Legislative Council. This ordinance proved important to the growth of African education. It provided for the establishment of a central Committee to advise on education, proclamation of "School Areas" and the constitution of School Area committee to which were to be nominated representatives of the Local Native Councils, (hereinafter, LNC). This ordinance led to the direct involvement of LNCs in the education of Africans. The LNCs had been established by an amendment to the Native Authority Act of 1924. They became a thorn in the flesh of the administrative officers who often refused to allow what they regarded as excessive appropriations by the councils for education. This culminated in the adoption of recommendations in the Ten Year development plan of education in 1949 that had been chaired by L.J. Beecher.<sup>122</sup>

A new Education Ordinance was passed in 1931. This however brought little change in the policy of African education or in its organization. Whereas a major concern of the Department of Education had been to cut the expenditure on education among Africans at the expense of other services, it did provide a much stronger link between the school Area Committees and the LNCs while empowering the committees to advise the Director on the provision and use of funds raised by LNCs for educational purposes. The work of the committee had never been effective under the 1924 Ordinance and there was no improvement under the new ordinance, in so far as spending on education was concerned. This again prompted the government in 1934, to promulgate the District Education Boards Ordinance. It provided for the establishment of an education board in all African areas under the jurisdiction of an LNC. The members of the boards included the DC as the chairman, an

<sup>120</sup> Anderson, *The struggle for the School*, p.4.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p.21.

<sup>122</sup> Berman, *Control and Crisis*, p.305.



education officer, representatives of school managers, members of the LNC, a member of the medical department and a member of the Agricultural Department.

The former school area committees established under the Education Ordinance of 1924 had become gradually ineffective mainly for two reasons: They had no control over finance and little influence on the allocation of grants and further, they were not in close contact with the LNCs which were voting subsidies to educational services in an increasing degree. These defects were rectified under a new Ordinance. It's worthy noting that, the six members from the LNCs were Africans. It had powers to allocate grants -in -aid of elementary and sub-elementary schools from funds placed at the disposal of the Board by the Director and by the LNCs concerned, establishment of elementary and sub-elementary schools, supervision of the working and management of such schools, and the general promotion and improvement of the education and development of African in accordance with any directions which the Director issued.<sup>123</sup> But for the government, the first function was the most important as it aimed at controlling the financial resources that were advanced to African education by their respective LNCs. However, the ordinance was of paramount importance to African education and it may be regarded as a turning point in the development of schools in "Native Reserves." It brought into existence a closer relationship between the DEBs and LNCs in so far as investment into African education was concerned. The African members still held sway on the board hence it remained difficult for the DC to advance his agenda through them.

After the WW I Africans who had joined British soldiers in the war did not get land for settlement as did their white counterparts. They began to agitate for more education in order to open up more employment opportunities for themselves and their kin. In the meantime, some of the initial African converts had continued their education overseas through their own initiatives and were radically urging for academic education for Africans. They argued that education for Africans should not only focus on literacy and technical subjects, which was an inferior education system supposed to put Africans in subordinate status, but must also include subjects to "develop intellectual skills."<sup>124</sup> In the wake of this agitation, some rural science, nature study and agricultural instructions were included in the curriculum in the post WW II period. With talk of independence and African majority rule inspired by the ex-soldiers as well as African elites, the colonial government set up the 1949 Beecher Commission to recommend on the ways and means of restructuring African

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<sup>123</sup> Department of Education Annual Report, 1934 Government Printer, pp.8-9.

<sup>124</sup> Tum, (1996) *Educational Trends in Kenya: A Vocational Approach* p.10.

education to prepare for and accommodate the impending political change. The committee chaired by L.J. Beecher, noted the negative effect of the industrial and agricultural aspects of the curriculum and further underscored the need for effective control and expansion of education at all levels. This particular recommendation was prompted by the haphazard mushrooming of independent schools set up by Africans. Again, the Binns Committee of 1952 recommended that agriculture be made the core subject in the curriculum so that future African leaders would be aware of the paramount importance of agriculture and the dignity of manual tasks.

### **3.2 The Administration's Policy towards Samburu Education**

Whereas the missionaries had established themselves in other areas of the colony as providers of education, it was not until early 1930s that the first elementary school was established in Samburu. As elsewhere in the colony, the government's educational initiatives in Samburu came later than those of the Christian missions. While much of the East Africa Protectorate had by 1905 been brought under effective British control, the communities residing in the arid and semi arid northern Kenya namely, Samburu, Rendille, Gabbra, Boran, Sakuye, Ajuran, Garre, Dagodia, Wata, and El Molo remained largely untouched by this alien rule

Colonial education differed greatly from the learning practices of the Samburu. The community imparted knowledge to the young through such institutions as the age sets, age grades and household arrangements among others as indicated in chapter two. The introduction of western education was bound to elicit mixed reactions. Informants claimed that the community viewed this type of education suspiciously and for a long time they did not enrol their children to school. According to David Lenolkulal education was forced on the Samburu. He observed, "education for us [Samburu] had no purpose. The children from the poor families were easily forced into school by the administration. Those from the rich families were seen, by their parents as capable of herding in the "low country."<sup>125</sup>

Members of the Samburu community exhibited apprehension towards embracing western education for their children. The citation above support this fact. The British on the other hand had a formed opinion about the Samburu. For instance, in the annual report of 1925 the Samburu DC observed that, "the Samburu [and Turkana] I should say are amongst the most ignorant and unsophisticated tribes in Kenya. There are at present no schools in the district, and neither the Samburu nor the Turkana are in a position to derive much benefit

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<sup>125</sup> O.I May, 2005.

from them if there were.”<sup>126</sup> Yet again in 1927, the DC described the Samburu as “conservative, unenterprising and lacking in any kind of initiative”.<sup>127</sup>

These sentiments by the DC should be considered as the official position of the government towards introducing western education among the Samburu. Whereas educational policies elsewhere, especially amongst agricultural communities had attempted to perpetuate the existing hierarchies in the pre-colonial society by providing the sons of chiefs with a superior education so that they may take places as leaders of thought and morals,<sup>128</sup> this did not happen among the Samburu. There is a critique about the type of education offered to these communities [agriculturalists]. Much cannot be said of it as it was geared towards training lower cadre personnel essential for an agrarian and dependent economy. The emphasis was to produce men and women who were fit to take their part, whether on land or offices or professions in communities which were dependent on the soil.<sup>129</sup> This attitude was also expressed in 1938 by the DC that the type of education offered to the Samburu should have a bias towards veterinary tuition so that the children would return to their *manyatta* to improve their sole asset- their stock.<sup>130</sup> Indeed another pointer to the levels of literacy amongst the Samburu can be deduced from the rate of circulation of a news bulletin, *Habari*. This bulletin was produced for general circulation in the district. However, there were a few of them went in circulation since it depended on the individuals who could read. For instance, six copies of the bulletin were received each month during the year 1925, but only 22 copies were sold throughout the year.<sup>131</sup> By 1926 the publication of the bulletin had ceased.<sup>132</sup> The collapse of this publication raised the question as to whether the administration was at last to set in place grounds for offering western education to the community.

The situation was dire since there were no signs of missionary groups setting up schools in Samburu prior to 1925, the education of Africans was conducted mainly through the agency of missionaries. Therefore, lack of them in the district meant that there was not an immediate education takeoff.<sup>133</sup> This was probably due to the prevailing attitude of the administration in the district of discouraging the mission groups from venturing into the Northern Frontier District (hereinafter NFD). The DC in his report had recommended against

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<sup>126</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/1 Samburu District Annual Report 1925.

<sup>127</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/1 Samburu District Annual Report, 1927.

<sup>128</sup> E A Brett, (1973) *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change 1919-1939*, Nairobi, Heinemann, pp.77-78.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9 Samburu District Annual Report 1938.

<sup>131</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/1 Samburu District Annual Report 1925.

<sup>132</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/1 Samburu District Annual Report 1926.

<sup>133</sup> Department of Education Annual Report, 1925, Government Printer, p.1.

their [missions] advent under the conditions that prevailed.<sup>134</sup> The district was under military administration in the period 1921-1925. It had been put here ostensibly to pacify the community's resistance. The attitude of the British towards the Samburu was best captured in the handing over report of 1928 which left little doubt of the future of the Samburu in the hands of the British colonialists. The DC wrote of the community as on the whole a law abiding and inoffensive "tribe." He added, "they were backward and had advanced very little in the last twenty years though of course there was a good deal less crime than twenty years ago when murders were of frequent occurrence." To this extent, he viewed the Samburu as having advanced but their outlook and emotions in life remained almost unchanged. He added that they kept to themselves and had come very little in contact with civilisation. In this regard, he had only seen two Samburu who lived for a long time outside the district and whom he described as really "civilized." They both spoke excellent Kiswahili and both wore European clothes. However, these were a released murderer and a prostitute.<sup>135</sup>

The above statement alludes to the fact that, despite the Samburu having been brought under effective colonial control, there were no deliberate attempts by the administration to encourage development of western education among the Samburu. The situation persisted as records from intelligence and annual reports reiterated the fact that in 1936 the Samburu were still considered a "savage" and "primitive tribe" with their tribal traditions comparatively untouched by contact with British administration. They were viewed as an obedient and loyal "tribe" who could be easily manipulated by the colonial governments to achieve its goals. The administrators viewed the Samburu on Leroghi as being closer to "civilization" compared to those in the extremely arid lower country. However the latter were in many ways more progressive and less riddled with intrigue concerning the colonial policy. This was attributed to the fact that the elders on Leroghi had a comparatively easy life with plenty of water and grass for their livestock. In 1936, the administration introduced Grazing Control Rules that disrupted the easy social and economic life that had existed on the plateau.

In the 1950s, proposals for improvement and extension of schools, hospitals, dams and boreholes among other social concerns emanated from the "low country."<sup>136</sup> Indeed as late as 1952 an administrator observed that elders on Leroghi were susceptible to degeneracy into which uneducated pastoralists in easy circumstances can sink. Chiefs and elders in Wamba often came in for praises especially Chief Lesangurunguri who the administrator

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<sup>134</sup> KNA /DC/SAM/2/1 Samburu District Handing over Report July 1927.

<sup>135</sup> KNA /DC/SAM/2/1 Handing Over Report Lt. Commander Mackay to Mr Bader 1928.

<sup>136</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1951.

observed as “an effective chief.”<sup>137</sup> The effectiveness referred to here was in so far as the explaining to his people the District Policy and inducing the people to act in accordance with regulations such as grazing controls among other colonial measures was concerned. The office of the chief had been a central pillar of colonial administration elsewhere. But to Samburu, the chiefs could not be entrusted with matters pertaining to their pastoral economy.

Samburu chiefs played minimal role in so far as early educational activities were concerned. It is true that the chiefs helped in recruitment of children for the mission schools, this was meant to put them in good books with the administration. They were quick in recruiting pupils from families that lacked livestock while their own herded their numerous herds. The chiefs were generally unable to exert absolute control over their people besides maintaining law and order in their area of jurisdiction. One administrator had noted in 1921 when the district was under Kenya African Rifles (hereinafter KAR) that the “Samburu chiefs and headmen were a collection of the most useless and boneless effete tribal rulers he had come across in fifteen years of dealing with native “tribes”, they could neither govern nor control their villages.”<sup>138</sup>

### 3.3 Challenges to Formal Education among the Samburu

Many commentators have advanced theories towards explaining the low social change among pastoralist communities in the East Africa. Tignor has observed that, the pastoralist peoples in general have not played a leading role in educational change, in the use of money and markets, in wage labour and in nationalist activity.<sup>139</sup> He notes four prepositions that have been propagated to back this argument. One such approach is that, the pastoralists had inordinate wealth, in contrast to the poorer and more heavily populated agriculturalist. This wealth, it is argued not only protected them from the demands of the colonial administration, but also gave them little incentive to change. They could easily meet their tax obligations [through sale of surplus stock] and also regarded wage labour as unattractive. The same economic pressures when brought to bear on the agricultural peoples produced excessive social and economic dislocation which altered the pre-colonial society. A second proposition is that pastoralists were consciously isolated from the disruptive change by a paternalistic or fearful administration. This theory supposes that, the administration feared them because of

<sup>137</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3 Samburu District Annual Report, 1952.

<sup>138</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/1 Samburu District Annual Report, 1921.

<sup>139</sup> Tignor, *Colonial Transformation*, p.89.

their assumed military capabilities [the myth of martial races], or had romantic illusions of them as noble savages. As such, it is alleged that the government did not make demands that it made on other societies.

Third, it has been argued that “the outside world-African farmers and more recently European colonists as well as western educated politicians” has had remarkably little to offer which is of direct and immediate advantage to them. According to this theory, the outsiders were always trying to compel the pastoralists to do things which were anathema to them, such as becoming settled farmers or sending their children to school. As such, the outsiders failed to recognize their framework and to work within it by suggesting changes which people could easily accept without having to renounce their basic way of life. A fourth theory places emphasis on value systems of these communities, especially the sense of superiority and disparagement of other peoples. This theory views such values as arrogance, haughtiness, ethnocentrism having created an impenetrable barrier to the outside world.<sup>140</sup>

Whereas early efforts at western education were resisted tenuously among most African societies, among the Samburu it was not actual resistance, but the cultural activities among them circumcision, both male and female and the subsequent ceremonies, *moranhoo* and the general antipathy displayed towards it that hindered its development. Parents viewed western education as disruptive to their way of life. The European settlement and the implementation of the closed district ordinance that treated it as a closed area and required special passes for entering it did serve as a barrier to opening of the district to the outside world, missionaries included.<sup>141</sup> The controversy over Lorroki and the subsequent implementation of the notorious grazing schemes led to disruption of the community’s way of life. Preoccupation with these twin issues which touched on the economic backbone of the community led to stagnation in social and economic development in the district.

### 3.3.1 Post Circumcision Ceremonies: *Launok* and *Laigwenak*

The whole process of initiation among the Samburu was dealt with in details in Chapter two of this thesis. The author posited that aspects of the indigenous forms of education still existed amongst the Samburu. These were held so dearly by the community and they served as a challenge to the adoption of western education amongst the community.

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., pp.89-91.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p.91.

The community's perception has not changed much towards embracing western education especially for girls. The ceremonies following circumcision were elaborate and pervasive that every initiate had to participate in. After circumcision, the *laioni* still wearing their black robes, make small bows and arrows. They tip the arrows with lumps of the *silali* and wander in bands shooting small birds. The gum tipped arrows kill the birds without injuring the feathers. The birds are skinned, stuffed and hung on the band around their foreheads, amongst the ostrich feathers. They wander around in this way for about month. They then go through a further ceremony known as *aitarangwe*. This means throwing away the feathers. This is celebrated for the fact that they have been circumcised, have healed and are now warriors. Many bullocks are slaughtered and there is much feasting and dancing. The initiates take off their bird skins and their black robes and put on red moran *shuka* and red ochre for the first time. They take out the beads and grass which they have worn in their earlobes and put on circular rings made of wood and ivory. Ivory is most prized.

### 3.3.2 Ill Muget

The next ceremony was the *Il muget lolwatandwa*. This took place one month after the *aitarangwe*. At this ceremony, it was customary for each *moran* to slaughter two bulls symbolizing growth to manhood. In 1952 for instance, when the *Il Kimanik* were celebrating this ceremony, the number of bulls disposed was considerable such that it counted as large contribution towards destocking. Unfortunately, some bulls were obtained by theft. The meaning of this ceremony is that the young men are confirmed as warriors and sent off to live in the forest away from their families. This ceremony was usually the cause of trouble. The colonial government however controlled the ceremonies with punitive actions that were instituted in 1934-1935 hence no trouble was reported. Certainly the behavior of the *morans* during 1952 showed some semblance of maturity and moved towards responsibility. For instance, they easily turned up for rock carrying for Wamba hospital construction, for sports meeting and to a lesser degree for compulsory cattle branding on Leroghi. They engaged in no serious internal fights and in many cases reported cattle thefts and named thieves. The moran *Leigwenak* were in many instances helpful and the administration sought to recruit more headmen and chiefs in the next decade from the group.<sup>142</sup> By this time, there were at least "200 odd moran and *Ill Mekuri* already in KAR, another 22 were recruited during the year. Later in the year over 100 recruits were accepted by the Police Training School at Nyeri

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<sup>142</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, 1952, Samburu District Annual Report.

and arrangements were made for the engagement of another 10.”<sup>143</sup> The administrator averred that, “ the importance of the occupation of up to 500 young Samburu men [morans] in the police and KAR cannot be overestimated. It is adult education, with discipline in its most useful form.”<sup>144</sup> The administration thus sought to capitalize on the recruitment into Kenya police and KAR to impart some sort of education into the Samburu men especially those who had missed on it due to the pervasive circumcision activities. However the engagement of morans on such duties was contrary to the 1920s and early 1930s when *morans* detested any sort of forced work.

### 3.3.3 Moranhood

The attachment to the traditional ways of life remained powerful among the pastoralists. Hence, it has been widely argued that it served as impediment to mission and state education. Moranhood as an age grade began immediately after one was circumcised until the period the initiate was ready to join the ranks of junior elders and eventual marriage. The activities practised by *morans* were pervasive and pleasurable. This was quickly succeeded with an incoming group to take over. On the other hand, the girls shortly after their initiation got married and merged into their husband’s age-sets. This section takes a critical look at the impact of these cultural activities on western education development among the Samburu.

As observed above, moranhood was a stage in which all male initiates entered immediately after circumcision. Among the Samburu, the boys are circumcised every 10-15 year over the previous age-set and when the elders consider the time is ripe for a new age grade to take over the functions of the *moran*. All boys aged about 14 years and above are circumcised and in one course become warriors (*morans*), the preceding age grade retiring and becoming elders. The boys due for circumcision are known as *laiok* or *laioni*. In the past, every male member had to go through the stage to be fully accepted and integrated in the community. Moranhood is an important cultural stage among the Samburu as it bridged the gap between childhood and adulthood. One immediately enters an age-set which he will be identified with for the rest of his life. The importance of the age-set is such that it unites all the initiates across the families and the clans. Moranhood was the first political meaningful

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.



age-grade in the community. The basic duties of the warrior are to defend the community from attack by neighboring communities, to raid for cattle and other forms of wealth, to learn the art of governing which they will have to employ later as elders, and to help with the herding of stock during the dry seasons. This practice often led to a clash between the *morans* and the colonial government as it sought to bring them under control. The elders among the Samburu were the source of political authority. They made decisions that were to be implemented by the *moran*. However, unlike among other pastoralist groups like the Kipsigis, the Samburu *moran* were capable of independent action. There existed a delicate balance of power between the elders and the warriors especially during the colonial era. Warriors were expected to be volatile, violence prone, eager and ready to engage in struggle among age-mates or other "tribes." Moreover, the *morans* culpability to eruptive action could even be turned against the elders, and so helped to limit the control of the latter over the warriors.<sup>145</sup> Informants observed that *morans* were feared since they were capable of organizing raids against an elder or a group of elders whom they viewed as oppressive to them.<sup>146</sup> It was this assertiveness exhibited by *morans* whose roles had been usurped or criminalized by the colonial state that put them on a collision course not only with the British administration, but also with the elders. Spencer succinctly observed that,

the arrival of the British and the establishment of a new order of political stability in the area, the *moran* were deprived of their traditional role and were not offered any substitute. The antagonistic attitudes [between the elders and *morans*] were no longer diverted away from the society in which they lived and they developed into a delinquent function into it. With no institutionalized outlet for their animosity, they had in fact turned from warriors into angry young men.<sup>147</sup>

The warrior class played an instrumental role in inhibiting change among the Samburu. Writing about the Kikuyu, Tignor observes that young men of warrior age were often the first school goers and the first wage labourers. He notes that, the young men were easily recruited into military organization essential for early colonial change.<sup>148</sup> Among the Kipsigis, the links between members of the same age-set were strong and one member could invite others to a beer drinking session at which his bride is presented to them. However the bonds weakened with time and there were no economic obligation placed between members of an age-set as these could be shared by the members of three other groups, the family, the

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<sup>145</sup> Tignor, *Colonial Transformation*, p. 75.

<sup>146</sup> O.I May 2007, Notes by a group of students at Kisima secondary school in Maralal Division.

<sup>147</sup> Spencer, *The Samburu*, p.149.

<sup>148</sup> Tignor, *Colonial Transformation*, p.73.

clan and the village. Though the age-sets were well defined with great military significance, this was shared by all males within a particular territorial area. The defensive armies were also organized on territorial basis.<sup>149</sup> But among some groups of pastoralists, particularly the Maasai and the Samburu, the warrior class sought to maintain their strong sense of identity and “esprit de corps” hence served as a strong element in “blocking colonial change.”<sup>150</sup> The Samburu elders recognised the inevitability of changes wrought by the new colonial order and expected the military wing of the society to also “accept the fact that, as warriors, they were now redundant.”<sup>151</sup> The *morans* detested colonial attempts to interfere with their traditional activities particularly cattle raids through which they raised bride price as well as accumulation of wealth thereof and the status in the society respectively. “Spear bleeding”, which implied killing of presumed Samburu enemies- *Ilmang’at* was an all time honored practice that required the *moran*, in order to show his bravado and demonstrate his readiness to defend the community one needed to “blood” his spear. It was also motivated by the need to win over the girls whose taunts the *moran* could not withstand. The colonial government sought to criminalize this practice.

Moranhood had far reaching impacts on the development of education among the Samburu. The activities involved in the practice were time consuming and could not allow one to settle at school. They almost covered the period which one would have spent at school. Prior to circumcision, the boys are grouped together in preparation for circumcision. This stage takes about four months. After circumcision, they are taken care of by their parents for one month in order to heal therefore, those enrolled in schools were forced to quit while others flatly refused to go back even after healing because the society considered them as adults. They cannot take advice from anyone let alone teachers.

In his report on the 1948 circumcision, the DC, A.D Shirrif observed that the *Il kileko* age grade, who had been circumcised in 1936, had caused a lot of trouble by stock stealing and spear bleeding, necessitating the imposition of a KAR levy force which unleashed terror on the *morans* in a bid to bring the character of the *morans* under control. The elders were severely affected by the confiscation of their stock and the behavior of the *morans* which had precipitated the collective punishment against the community in a bid to contain them.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> J. G. Peristiany, (1964) *The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis*, London, Routledge and Keagan Paul, p.164.

<sup>150</sup> Tignor, *Colonial Transformation*, p.73.

<sup>151</sup> Spencer, *The Samburu*, p.148.

<sup>152</sup> KNA/LKA/1/16 Laikipia-Samburu District Annual Report, 1935.

G.R.B Brown, the DC from 1935, had instituted far reaching measures that were meant to restructure the Samburu traditional political system and especially *moranhoo*d. He earned himself the nickname "Hammer of the Samburu" for his rigorous suppression of the community.<sup>153</sup> His mission was to strictly enforce discipline in his area of jurisdiction as he put it, "the Samburu have a lot to learn with regard to the public order and proper obedience to government."<sup>154</sup> He further dismissed warriorhood as anachronistic and trouble ridden as it created an idle class of irresponsible youths, who deprived of their former work of defending the tribe were bound to get into mischief.<sup>155</sup>

The trouble by the *morans* arose largely through the 'tribal' tradition which demanded that the warriors must prove their manhood by some exploits before winning a wife. The taunts of the girls were behind most of their raids. It was then the government's policy from 1936 onwards to encourage the *Il Mekuri*, the succeeding *moran* grade, to marry during the period of moranhoo

d in order to prevent the chief cause of trouble. The DC wrote that, "the *Il Mekuri* are marrying peaceful and show no signs of emulating the bloody exploits of their predecessors the *Il Kileko*." This drastically reduced the power of "the *moran*." According to Lekaada, the *moran* system was inevitably a potential source of trouble and the period following it the most dangerous with large numbers of young men wandering about with intent to prove their manhood. They walked around with spears and would easily harm anyone without any provocation. The change over period was always a bad one for law and order as the out going *morans* would steal cattle for bride price while the incoming had to show how "tough they were." These were people who despised women and they could not afford to be taught by a "madam."<sup>156</sup> The DC was of the view that the existing staff at Maralal, aided by the cooperation of the elders, should be able to cope with any trouble which may arise. The morans could be employed on useful work in the district including construction of roads, dams and KAR.<sup>157</sup>

It was with this realisation that precautions were taken in 1948 to overcome the trouble that had occurred in 1936. This included the posting of a European police officer, constant and extensive touring of the district by all officers so that the Samburu felt that

<sup>153</sup> G.L. Simpson (1998) "Gerontocrats and Colonial Alliances", in Aguilar, M. (Ed) *The Politics of Age and Gerontocracy in Africa*, Trenton; New Jersey: African Press,

<sup>154</sup> KNA/DC/LKA/1/15 Samburu District Annual Report, 1934.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> O.I June 2007, Edward Lekaada, David Letooya.

<sup>157</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1948.

*sirikali* was close to them, and repeated warnings at all *barazas* that a repetition of the 1936 troubles will bring retribution from the government. However, those who remembered Inspector Slatter and his levy force would not wish his force to be brought back. It was however pointed out in the 1949 annual report that there was “a great increase in political agitation, and the emergence of boys circumcised in 1948 from the chrysalis stage into full fledged *morans* with the resultant truculence and general misbehavior.” The boys engaged in activities accompanying circumcision that were viewed by the government as subversive. These activities included stock theft by the *morans* from the Laikipia, from the Suk, and Boran. Work oxen were also stolen from Maralal and the veterinary station.. Assault and stone throwing were also common. One of the worst incidents was in Wamba where four *morans* beat up an old woman who was an aunt to one of them.<sup>158</sup> In November, the elders were thus instructed to bring in all *morans* for work on dam building and road works in a bid to control their wayward activities. This was under the powers of the Communal Labour Resolution passed by the Samburu LNC. This resolution had far reaching impact on the contact of the *morans* as they had great disdain. Infact this drastically reduced incidences of truculent behavior and very few cases of stock theft were reported. The colonial government also ordered that the *Il Mekuri* do not carry spears without permits from the DC.<sup>159</sup> The DC observed that the *moran* system “is not suited to peaceful administration and will always be a cause of trouble but it will be impossible to eradicate it for many years from a “tribe” so conservative as the Samburu.”<sup>160</sup> The only solution was to increase the enrolment into KAR by the *morans* and they were keen to enlist. The government thus never considered encouraging the *morans* to join schools.

Most of the celebratory events accompanying the circumcision ceremonies that we have dealt with in detail in chapter two, did not allow boys to stay in school. Though the ceremonies played an extremely important role in instilling loyalty to “tribal” traditions among young persons of school-going age, they interfered with receptivity to education. The boys who were due for circumcision derived pleasure that forgoing the events to attend school was unimaginable to most of them. Hulda J. Stumpf of the AIM, writing about Kikuyu education, contended that when young Kikuyu returned from circumcision rituals their interest in education waned. For this reason she was anxious to see the importance of the

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<sup>158</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1949.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

ceremonies diminished.<sup>161</sup> Indeed among the Kikuyu, in 1929 a disagreement arose in the Church of Scotland (hereinafter, CoS) and the AIM over an attempt to abolish female circumcision resulted in the establishment of the Kikuyu Independent Schools' Association (hereinafter, KISA) by some of the dissident adherents of these missions, with the objective of setting up a school system outside the orbit of mission influence and control.<sup>162</sup>

At a different level, circumcision and attainment of warrior status had an even more powerful impact on educational work among the Maasai; a fact commented upon by numerous educators and further proof that the Maasai warrior class with its sense of *esprit de corps* and commitment to traditional values was a principal obstacle to social change. Writing about the Maasai in his education department report for 1930, H.S. Scott claimed that young Maasai students became restless in their studies and began to lose interest in school work as the period when they were to be circumcised approached. To enable students to participate in the ceremonies, those who were to be circumcised were given a two or three month leave. When they returned to school, Scott noted that "a marked change had taken place." There was a "diminution in the willingness to do work, particularly the work of the kind assigned by the Maasai to women or natives of 'inferior' tribes, such as digging, building, etc." The pupils were "duller," lacked concentration and were largely disinterested in the work of the school. Scotts also added that, the presence of other *moran* in the district leading a life of 'ease and pleasure' coupled with the strong and energetic feeling which existed amongst *moran* cannot but have a disturbing effect on *moran* in school.<sup>163</sup>

Moranhood was (and is) viewed as part and parcel of the Samburu culture but it is quietly dying as many people get educated. Informants were quick to point out the experience they went through during their moranhood. According to Leteende Lekaso a member of the *Lkimaniki*, moranhood was a period of pleasure. He aptly put it that,

When I became a *moran*, I gave a girl [he did not mention the name] gifts of beads to show her that she was my lover. Such engagement did not mean she will marry me, but she will be my consort until the elders allowed us to get married. I went to the forest for two years where we ate meat, and drank blood and milk. Meat and blood were the preferred staples for the moran consumption. This could not allow me go to school and anyway a few people were going to school. How could I go to school when I was in the forest?<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Cited in Tignor, *Colonial Transformation*, pp.284-286.

<sup>162</sup> Department of Education, Annual Report, 1953 p.25.

<sup>163</sup> Tignor, *Colonial Transformation*, p.285.

<sup>164</sup> O.I April 2007.

These experiences were told over and over by the informants. Moranhood was viewed as superior to anything else including education and provision of labour to the government. It involved such activities as plaiting the hair beautifully, and maintaining it with red ochre and other natural substances, not intermingling with other people or even eating food prepared by women. It was an abomination for a *moran* to be seen by a woman while eating.<sup>165</sup> As such, *morans* would not go to school as they were bound to meet with women whom they treated with disdain. Moranhood was a highly praised engagement that one would drop out of school to engage in it. For instance, Soipin Lekoolol observed that on being ranked as ‘*moran* number one,’ and songs sung in his praise by pubic girls, he could not comprehend how going to school could help him. He dropped out of school while in the fourth standard to engage in moranhood.<sup>166</sup> Another informant pointed out that he stayed in Marsabit for two years looking after his father’s herd of cattle. He never went to school as he was preoccupied with his father’s herd. At night, other *morans* and him would go singing and dancing with uncircumcised girls. The girls composed songs that they sung for *morans* and as an expression of love, they were showered with beads as gifts.<sup>167</sup>

Most *morans* spent their time going to ceremonies to sing and dance. The night ceremonies were popular with the *morans* as there were usually unmarried young women with whom they engaged in restricted sexual activities. They spent most of their time in the forests and were shy of women and girls. They could not go to school because they were bound to meet women and girls. The marriage came when the next age grade is about to be inaugurated. The *morans* thus resisted any kind of efforts to take them to school.<sup>168</sup> According to Lemwita Lenalpisho, “we saw no reason of going to school when our fathers were rich in livestock. Our every need was met and besides, *moran* were respected in the society then. School was for the poor especially the Turkana.”<sup>169</sup> This attitude played a major role to impede growth of education among the Samburu.

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<sup>165</sup> O.I April 2007.

<sup>166</sup> O.I May 2007.

<sup>167</sup> O.I May 2007, Leyangawe Lelpokopey.

<sup>168</sup> O.I May 2007 Letele Lemuya, Lekuye Leitikitik, Leyangwe Lelpokopey.

<sup>169</sup> O.I May 2007.

### 3.3.4 The Controversy over Female Circumcision

One of the challenges faced by the Christian missions engaged in education in Samburu was female circumcision. Whereas among the Kikuyu it had led to the establishment of independent schools, in which girls who were circumcised would still get an education, the Samburu engaged in the practice to the detriment of the girl child education. The girls were circumcised individually before marriage but she could not be circumcised before her elder brother(s) were circumcised. Thus knowing the importance of circumcision, she would rather get it done and get married. They could not stay long without husbands as the girls were few. For instance, the *Il Mekuri* could not marry despite the government's directive to do so. This was due to the fact the girls had not been circumcised. Immediately after their circumcision, there was a 'scramble' for wives not only by the *Il Mekuri* but also by the *Il Kileko* who were seeking second wives. Indeed an administrator observed that "The scramble for the girls is starting and there is considerable competition between the *Il Kileko* and the *Il Mekuri* age grades, the *Il kileko* looking for second wives before they are all grabbed by the *Il Mekuri*."<sup>170</sup> It was becoming apparent that by 1948, the policy of encouraging the *Il Mekuri* to marry had not succeeded to any great extent and that although large numbers of *Il Mekuri* produced 'temporary wives' in order to obtain spear permits, only a small proportion were married.

The Samburu custom did not allow girls to be married until their elder brother(s) were circumcised.<sup>171</sup> Immediately after circumcision, the girl were due for marriage and hence she could not proceed with schooling. It was extremely hard for an uncircumcised girl to get a suitor. Indeed one administrator observed in 1959 that, "the demand among the Samburu for educated presumably uncircumcised wives is small."<sup>172</sup> The girls received knowledge from the mother on how to conduct themselves during the ceremony. This knowledge was very important because for the girl, after circumcision, she emerged as a marriageable bride.<sup>173</sup>

### 3.3.5 The Tragedy of Female Education: Indigenous Education versus Western Education

The indigenous education offered to girls was aimed at preparing them for marriage. This was however not very different from what western education intended to inculcate.

<sup>170</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/3/4, Samburu District Monthly Intelligence Report, May 1948.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1959.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

Indeed, by choice, missionaries wanted African girls to be good mothers. They were reluctant to teach girls academic subjects, especially English because they believed intellectual work would hinder their proper vocation. Instead girls were taught domestic chores: their unpaid labour was often a major source of mission income. However, women's participation in schooling had been largely accidental, starting through active involvement in prayer meetings and bible classes, where sewing and cooking lessons were usually given. Missionary wives and female missionaries did extensive informal work among village women, as well as conducting formal classes in conjunction with male missionaries. In general missionaries viewed the mobility of black women as socially disruptive. But in other circumstances they actively encouraged young black women to leave their villages.<sup>174</sup> Women therefore suffered double tragedies; culturally, they were to be married immediately after initiation [for the case of the Samburu], and the missionaries were bound not to accept circumcised women in their institutions. This spoke directly to the situation of girl child education among the Samburu.

In the traditional Samburu community, the education of the girl remained within the realm of her mother though under instruction from the father. The man being the head of the family taught his wife how to teach the children. Since the men were not always at home, women bore the sole role of educating the children as they grew up. The boys were separated from the girls, the wife remaining with the daughters and sons with the father. The girls were taught about their roles which included fetching water, house work, cleaning utensils and making as well as cleaning the milk calabash using a certain herb known as *mtamaiyo*. Other roles taught to the girl included construction of the *manyatta*. This was learnt through observation while still at her parents' home. The girl was woken by her mother at 6a.m to milk cattle.<sup>175</sup>

At puberty the girl was not supposed to get into sexual relations that would result into unwanted pregnancies. However, they were allowed to engage in sex with *morans* as a means of protecting them. Emphasis was put on keeping the girl "pure." She was not to 'roam' about to avoid pregnancy. It was a taboo for the girl to get pregnant before she was married hence the mother had to teach her how to handle herself always especially during periods of

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<sup>174</sup> Jock McCulloch, (2000) *Black Peril, white Virtue: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1920-1935*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, pp.134-135 cited in Hannington Ochwada, "Church Missionary Society and the Reconstruction of Gender Roles in Western Kenya 1919-1939" in William R. Ochieng, (2002)(Ed) *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya: Essays in Memory of Professor Gideon S. Were* EAEP, Nairobi.

<sup>175</sup> O.I May 2007, Leteele Lemuya.



menstruation. In Samburu traditions, it was believed that girls were the property of the community and as such they were not enrolled in schools. The community believed that girls had no need for education because all their needs were catered for by their fathers and future husbands. Asked about what happened to girls who wanted to have access to education or who, for whatever reasons, could not conform to past patterns of behavior, an informant, Loice Towon pointed out that in most cases these young women were (and are still) either pressured to conform to the cultural norms or become outcasts.<sup>176</sup> Loice Towon is a founder member of Samburu Girl child Education Support Programme (hereinafter SAGEP) established in 1997 as a women's self help group. She finds herself resented by many Samburu elders who feel threatened by her work, which they claim is aimed at breaking down the very core of the Samburu traditional culture.

The education of girls in Samburu took place much later than that of boys as parents showed reluctance to enroll girls on the basis of some reasons highlighted below. The idea of formal education for women was questioned and treated cautiously by the Samburu elders. Only the determined efforts of Mrs. Scudder saw the establishment a girls' only school at Sirata Oirobi in 1950s. She became the head of the school and steered it to greater heights. Elsewhere as Anderson observes, the hardships of the early years precluded any government recruitment of women; settlers' wives, usually in isolated farm communities only met Africans as servants. The only contact with women was through the missions, where missionary wives and women teachers often operated in remote areas. Amongst the notable women were Marion Stevenson of Tumutumumu and Miss Appeleton of the CMS station, Butere among others.<sup>177</sup>

The missionaries also exacerbated the problem of lack of enrolment of girls by not building girls' schools as soon as they settled in Samburu. The question of girls in the schools highlighted a crucial part of the debate on increasing school enrolments in general. Thus girls' under-enrolment provoked discussion of what educational machinery could be manipulated to hold girls in school; various types of hostels were discussed, boarding as compared to day facilities, and fee relief was considered as a possible incentive. That is to say, the assumption being made was that institutional reorganization within the school

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<sup>176</sup> O.I May 2007, Loice Towon.

<sup>177</sup> Anderson, *Struggle for the School*, p.27.

structure could have had the effect of dramatic social change outside. The girls had to move out of the village and live within the mission stations.

According to Loice Towon who was born in 1940, she was able to join the Sirata Oirobi School 1946 because she grew up within the mission and her parents having been among the earliest Christian converts. On completion of class five, girls were taken to Kijabe for further studies. As one of the first girls to join the school, she was viewed as an outcast. Most girls dropped out of especially after circumcision, since this opened their way into marriage. Missionaries discouraged female circumcision since most girls dropped out of school after undergoing it. Refusing to undergo circumcision was against the Samburu culture.<sup>178</sup> A girl could not get married until she had been circumcised and could not be circumcised if she had elder brothers who were yet to go through the process. This was the main reason why the government's policy of encouraging the *Il Mekuri* to marry did not fully succeed as large numbers of girls only came on the marriage market after the circumcision of the *laioni*.<sup>179</sup> There was then an immediate scramble for the girls not only by *Il Mekuri*, (c.1936-1948) but by *Il Kileko* (c.1921-1936) tribesmen seeking second wives.<sup>180</sup> This among many other factors worked against the development of female education among the Samburu.

According to Lekuye Leitikitik the Samburu society held the view that educating a girl only resulted in her having "loose morals" a consequence of which was unexpected pregnancy.<sup>181</sup> Furthermore, in their socio-cultural setting, many pastoral communities perceived investment in the education of daughters as being uneconomical, as they were married-off early. Thus, to better supervise girls' education and enhance enrolment, it was decided to concentrate all girls at the BCMS Sirata Oirobi School and divide the boys between Wamba and Maralal.<sup>182</sup> According to Loice Towon, from 1950 the school provided boarding facilities for the girls to keep them out of contact with *manyatta* where they could easily be married.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> O.I 2005 May Loice Towon.

<sup>179</sup> *Laioni* were uncircumcised elder brother(s) to a girl. Among the Samburu, if a Moran wanted to marry a girl whose brothers were *laioni* he had to wait until they are circumcised. A girl could not be circumcised until her brothers were and she cannot be married until she herself is.

<sup>180</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/4/1, 29<sup>th</sup> December, 1948, "Circumcision of Girls and Marriage" For more information on age sets, see also P. Waweru, "Continuity and Change in Samburu Pastoralism under Colonial Rule, c.1909-1963", Ph. D Thesis, Egerton University, 2005.

<sup>181</sup> O.I 2005 June, Lekuye Leitikitik.

<sup>182</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3 Samburu District Annual Report, 1952.

<sup>183</sup> O.I 2005 May, Loice Towon.

One measure designed by the administration to mitigate the problem of this most resistant sector of the Samburu District population was the provision of boarding schools. Boarding was suggested partly to overcome the isolation of children in inaccessible schools with poor equipment and indifferent teachers, and partly also to help to remove children from constant contact with the mainstream Samburu culture. Boarding primary schools were of course considerably more costly than their day counterparts, the colonial government maintained the conviction that provision of boarding was one of the few obvious ways in which backward districts could be compensated.

### **3.3.6 The Kenya Land Commission and the Leroghi (Lorroki) Controversy**

The ownership of Leroghi had been under controversy since 1912 after the eviction of the Maasai following the signing of the second Anglo-Masaai agreement. Leroghi had been the mainstay of the community's social and economic life after the annexation of the lands in Laikipia and Marsabit. It had been the view of the colonial administration in the district that the colonial secretariat would grant full rights to the Samburu on this plateau. The Samburu preferred the Lorroki escarpment and the south end of the district near Laikipia and they often refused to occupy the new areas that had been cleared for them. The bulk of them numbering over 80 manyattas continued to live on the escarpment. The good rainfall, abundant grass and water, freedom from all forms of stock diseases, and security from raids all combined to make the escarpment the favourite of the Samburu grazing ground.

Owing to circumstances surrounding the escarpment, the DC wrote in 1926 that from 1921 to 1926, that there was very little in the way of advancement or progress among the Samburu. There was a preoccupation within the community with boundaries of the district. The vital question was the limits of the south western boundary commonly known as the "Kittermaster line" that demarcated a boundary between Laikipia and Samburu districts. The former being designated a settled area and the latter an unalienated Crown Land, and the continuance or otherwise of the use of grazing grounds on the Lorroki plateau by the community was still under consideration and until finally settled, and permission granted for the removal of a government station site to a position more suitable from the administrative point of view, it remained difficult to pursue any policy likely to improve the situation amongst the community or to improve conditions generally. It is quite significant to note that, while settled areas were largely inviolable by colonial decrees, Crown Lands had no guaranteed permanence, courtesy of the Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 that empowered the Commissioner and later the Governor, to sell any land or lease it for 99 years. This land

legislation has been dismissed by Sorrenson as “ambiguous as it merely described ‘Crown land’ as ‘public’ without attempting to explain what was meant by the last term.”<sup>184</sup> However, the 1915 amendment explicitly defined African land rights thus “all lands occupied by the native tribes of the protectorate and all land reserved for use of any members of the native tribes. While leasehold had been previously set at 99 years, this amendment often extended it 999 years.”<sup>185</sup> The Lorroki plateau was thus not designated a “native” area and hence it could easily be annexed wholly or partially without raising legal hitches whatsoever.<sup>186</sup> The white settlers began to agitate for their rights to Lorroki courtesy of the two ordinances. The controversy that ensued pitting the Samburu against the white settlers went on for a long until the establishment of the Kenya Land Commission (hereinafter KLC) that was to ascertain the ownership of the plateau. Berman has averred that, a ‘final solution’ for the land question emerged from the KLC mainly because, for much of colonial period, the most important party to the conflict, the African had been excluded from the policy process.<sup>187</sup> For the Samburu, the best grazing and water for the whole district were to be found on plateau and naturally, the locality was preferred by the community, being utilized by 1926, with at least 70,000 to 80,000 of their stock.<sup>188</sup>

The Carter Land Commission, also known as KLC was appointed in 1932 by Chief Native Commissioner (hereinafter CNC) to inquire into historical evidence of Samburu occupation and utilization of the Leroghi plateau. In regard to the Lorroki question, it sought to establish the whereabouts of the community on the eve of the 1901 Maasai agreement, when the plateau was alleged to be included in the Northern Reserve among other questions. In its submission, the commission recognised the Samburu as the rightful owners of Lorroki. However, it opened another ground for controversy as it recommended the carrying capacity of the plateau be fixed by law at 40,000 heads of cattle. This indeed opened a frontier of conflict which put the Samburu on a collision course up to the independence period. At a baraza held at Maralal on 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 1934, the Rift Valley PC informed the Samburu that the government had finally agreed to let the Samburu use the plateau but not ruin it by overstocking. He added that in order not to destroy Lorroki, it had been decided that only a

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<sup>184</sup> Sorrenson, *Origins of European*, p.53.

<sup>185</sup> M.P.K. Sorrenson, “Land Policy in Kenya, 1895-1945” as an appendix (1) to V.Harlow et al 1982 (eds.) *History of East Africa*, Oxford p.685. See also Robert A. Manners, “The Kipsigis of Kenya: Culture Change in a “Model” East Africa Tribe” in Julian H. Steward et al (1972) *Three African Tribes in Transition, Volume 1 of Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago p.274.

<sup>186</sup> Waweru, “Continuity and Change” p.74.

<sup>187</sup> Berman, (1990) *Control and crisis in Colonial Kenya*, p.187.

<sup>188</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/1 1926 Samburu District NFD Annual Reports, 1921-1928.

certain number of cattle and sheep would be allowed on Lorroki. This certain number was 40,000.<sup>189</sup> At the *baraza*, the PC made it clear that each section was to identify who among them was to remain on Lorroki, and the concerned section was to decide on the number of animals such stockholders would be allowed to keep out of the stock allotted to the group. Indeed Waweru has noted that, this intent by the government to control the plateaus carrying capacity which was to be enforced by law, turned the "Samburu Land Question" which had lasted for twenty two years (1912-1943) into the "Samburu Grazing Question" which preoccupied the community and its colonizers for the rest of the colonial period.<sup>190</sup> This inadvertently put a halt to any social and economic progress of the community including education. There were neither schools nor missionaries in the district hence their influence was not felt. It was also within this period that the BCMS, who were stationed at Marsabit were trying to make in roads into Samburu district vide Wamba.

Whereas in the period 1912-1936 the indecision on Lorroki plateau had brought about stagnation and heightened anxiety among the Samburu, in the subsequent period, the government's attempt to control the grazing patterns of the pastoralists in the name of conservation preoccupied both parties. There were neither schools nor missionaries in the district hence their influence was not felt. Thus the promulgation and subsequent enforcement of the notorious Lorroki Grazing Rules of 1936 marked the beginning of systematic colonial intrusion into the Samburu pastoral economy in the name of land conservation. Grazing control was enforced throughout the years up to 1961 on Leroghi by means of periodic counts, branding and issuance of grazing permits. The count was enforced to ensure that it did not exceed the carrying capacity of the plateau that was set at 40,000.<sup>191</sup> The grazing permits indicated the name of the herder and the number of cattle she or he was allowed maintain on the plateau. It was also made clear to the community that, the forested area of the plateau was now owned by the government and arrangements were being made to charge fees on all those who wished to utilize the glades.<sup>192</sup> The colonial government enforced these measures with the realization that land could not hold all the community's stock and they were forced to part with their excess, particularly the thousands of uneconomic sheep and goats. As such, there was a large concentration of sheep and goats in the extremely arid low country.

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<sup>189</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/3/3 Political Records, Barazas, 1936-1952.

<sup>190</sup> Waweru "Continuity and Change " p.164.

<sup>191</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9 Samburu District Annual Report, 1942.

<sup>192</sup> Waweru, "Continuity and Control " p.189.

The grazing control by means of branding of livestock commenced on Leroghi in July 1942.<sup>193</sup> An informant noted that, the restriction of the number of cattle one could hold on Leroghi was intensely unpopular with the Samburu and although there was no open opposition encountered, a great number of community members grazed on the plateau illegally with the connivance of a few chiefs and elders who possessed huge stocks. However, he added that, the consequence of this was loss of captured stock, a big blow to the community's social and economic life.<sup>194</sup> Some extra stock would be deposited with relatives in the low country but loss of this was frequent due to lack of owner's care.<sup>195</sup> Tribal police patrols were sent frequently and offenders against grazing controls were prosecuted and their stock confiscated. Some *askaris* in the KAR complained about the punitive measures that were inflicted on the community thus disrupting the social life of the Samburu.<sup>196</sup> The government even considered increasing the severity of the punishment in order to reduce incidences of illicit grazing to reasonable levels.<sup>197</sup> The Samburu as a community were not impressed by this measures and a slight opportunity was taken to vent their anger on the government by burning of controlled areas. This was done in cohorts with the ex-KAR and *morans*.<sup>198</sup>

The grazing controls had been instituted ostensibly to ensure "resting" of grazing areas. One area would be closed for a particular period occasioning the community to move with their herds to other areas that had been opened for grazing. For instance, at the beginning of 1945, the large area bounded on the south by a line from Kisima through Naibergejo to the forest, on the west by Kisima-Maralal road, on the North by Maralal trading centre boundary, east to the forest, on the east by the west forest reserve boundary was closed for resting in February and by the end of the year, it had made excellent recovery. While in the same month, the area in the south east corner of Leroghi, from Kisima to Kirimon was reopened for grazing having made recovery. This system of rotational grazing was also extended to Wamba. This area, in the low country with semi arid lands, had all the undesirable stock driven to it experiencing extensive soil destruction.<sup>199</sup> Though this system had far reaching impact as far as environment conservation and water supply was concerned, it had deleterious effect on espousal of western education and any social development due to

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<sup>193</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9 Samburu District Annual Report, 1942.

<sup>194</sup> O.I May 2007, Ngaato Lesiekono.

<sup>195</sup> O.I April 2007, Soipin Lekolool.

<sup>196</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9 Samburu District Annual Report, 1944.

<sup>197</sup> KNA/PC/RVP.2/9/2 Laikipia Samburu District annual Report, 1943.

<sup>198</sup> KNA/PC/RVP.2/3/2 Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1946.

<sup>199</sup> KNA/ 1945.

frequent forced movements. The constant movements necessitated by the controls often disrupted the education of the boys who had settled on Leroghi which had pioneer schools in the district. The boys were taken to guard excess herds in the decontrolled areas. There was also the practice of splitting herds in order to evade the permit regulations. The young *morans* were to take charge of these stocks. They constructed "*porrs*" or temporary *manyatta* to live in while herding. Again any closure of an area disrupted the family life as they had to move and construct new *manyatta*.

They were often required to move into other areas in search of grass after one area was closed. The DC, H. J. Simpson writing in 1947 annual report noted that the community was realizing the importance of closing areas for the recovery of grass, but they were inclined to agitate for the reopening of areas to much soon, "looking only at their own welfare [of their herds] and not to the future."<sup>200</sup> However, most importantly the closing of areas led to concentration of stock on the open areas and consequently great environmental deterioration of such areas. The carrying capacity of Leroghi, set at 40,000 was often exceeded with the Samburu forging branded cattle and grazing them in closed areas. This process in itself was counterproductive.

The Samburu headmen and chiefs were often ineffective and slow to report matters of importance to the government including trespassing into controlled areas. Some of them formed "rackets" and were offenders of crimes they were to guard against. The DC, writing in 1947 reported one or two "pillars" of the local tribunal and the LNC having been caught and punished for grazing offences.<sup>201</sup> Indeed an Agricultural Soil Conservation Officer (hereinafter, ASCO) was appointed in 1948 albeit stiff resistance from members of LNC some of whom had been brought before the court on grazing offences. The appointment of the ASCO had made checking of Leroghi permits possible and many offenders were brought to court. In addition to this, grazing guards were employed both on Leroghi and in the Low country. Despite these measures, however, cases involving grazing offences kept on rising.

So rapid was the spread of these schemes that by 1960, 26% of the district was under strict control and plans for further schemes were being laid. These schemes were imposed against the general will of the Samburu people. However, Spencer notes that these schemes were only successful because their immediate change on the way of the Samburu was superficial. Apart from a phase of the Leroghi scheme about 1956-1959, the Samburu were

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<sup>200</sup> KNA/RVP.2/3/3 Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1947.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

not unnecessarily restricted in their movements or their way of life. Any scheme which aimed at modifying their habits would have resulted in considerable expense and friction.<sup>202</sup>

### 3.3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the policies adapted during the colonial era in regards to the development of African education in the protectorate from the period 1911 and up to the end of the First World War, the attitude of the colonial administration towards the Samburu as well as the challenges that faced the establishment of western education in the community. It was noted that the colonial government policy towards education was based on racial grounds. This policy was indeed pursued until the end of the colonial rule. That each race had its own educational system that was suited to the “colonial mind” at the time in particular reference to the curriculum as well as the facilities that were extended towards African education.

There were numerous challenges that inhibited establishment of western education among the Samburu. Evidence has been adduced to the multiplicity of factors that led the slow adoption of social change among the Samburu. The community viewed anything alien as disruptive to their way of life hence they exhibited extreme apathy towards its adoption. Cultural activities were a major barrier to western education. Among them was circumcision both male and female, the pervasive *moran* activities as well as the nomadic way of life. Circumcision for the boys ushered them into moranhood and then junior elders. The junior elders then could not start schooling or proceed because it was a widely held view that, they were adults. Besides this, they could not withstand the presence of elderly women and the taunts of uncircumcised girls who incited them to engage in raiding and spear blooding at the expense of schooling. The girls on the other hand, after circumcision were due for marriage. Circumcised girls were highly valued unlike their uncircumcised counterparts. Each girl strove to undergo circumcision than be regarded as an outcast in the community. The colonial government’s lack of a quick resolution on the tenureship of Lorroki, which was resolved to the advantage of the Samburu after the resolution by KLC and the subsequent promulgation of the grazing controls in 1936 up to 1961, preoccupied the community. As such, there was not much social change as the twin issues infringed on the community’s social and economic well being.

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<sup>202</sup> Spencer, *The Samburu*, p. xxvii-xxix.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.0 ESTABLISHMENT OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN SAMBURU 1933-1945

#### 4.1 Introduction

Mission activities have been considered the main channel through which western education found its way to most African communities. The efficacy of Christian missions in detaching Africans from their indigenous societies and reorienting them towards the needs of the newly imposed colonial structure is well established. Margery Perham views mission education as "an acid that eats away at the mortar of ancient structure."<sup>203</sup> Christianity provided the framework for the structuring of a new order which, with imperial rule, was overtaking Africa.<sup>204</sup> It has indeed been argued that missionaries were direct agents of European imperialism. In a number of cases, Christian missionaries played a significant role in shaping the advent of European colonialism.<sup>205</sup> A major factor in the growth of missions was the provision of elementary education and rudimentary health clinics. This chapter therefore explores the role played by missionaries in the development of western education in the community. It also discusses the role played by the LNC, which later on became African District Council (hereinafter ADC) in collaboration with missionaries encouraged growth of western education. More importantly, it seeks to show the degree to which the colonized could manipulate a colonial institution, in this case an organ of local government to serve their own ends of securing education.

In communities or localities where missionary activities found root first, there was a big difference in embracing western education compared to regions into which missionaries arrived at a later period. This case applies to Samburu district where the first missionary activity dates back to 1929. Other communities like the Kikuyu were brought under effective control by 1902, the neighbouring Embu and Meru in the period 1904-1908. The Luo and the Luhya communities of the Lake Basin by 1903, and the Nandi by 1905. However, further campaigns needed to be taken against Elkeyo and the Marakwet to the north, the Samburu were then subject to even less British control. A vague sphere of influence over the area was established with the creation of the NFD in 1909 by the newly appointed Governor for East

<sup>203</sup> Margery Perham, (1962) *Colonial Reckoning*, New York, Knopf Publishers, p.36.

<sup>204</sup> Donald A. Low, (1973) *Lion Rampant: Essays in the Study of British Imperialism*, London, Frank Cass, p.139.

<sup>205</sup> Kevin Shillington, (1995) *History of Africa*, pp.292-293 See also, Joan Vincent, (1982) *Teso in Transformation: The Political Economy of Peasant and Class in Eastern Africa*, London, University of California Press, p.10.

Africa Protectorate, Sir Percy Girouard. But this was designed to prevent the Abyssinian ivory and cattle raiders from crossing the border, Somali expansionist tendencies and the proliferation of small arms and thus “dislocating the protectorate.”<sup>206</sup> It therefore took several years for missionaries to venture into Samburu district. This could be attributed to the situation that prevailed in the region prior to 1921 when effective administration was established here. Other impediments included the nature of the terrain and environment, the pervasive Samburu culture as well as modes of production of the community and the controversy over the tenancy of Leroghi plateau.<sup>207</sup> It is imperative to note that, the early missionary schools in Samburu as elsewhere in the colony were established without the authority or help from the government. Among the Samburu, the establishment of colonial rule preceded the arrival of missionaries. Effective colonial control had taken root here in the period 1921 to 1933. It saw the introduction of taxes, the growth of an ethnically heterogeneous and racially administered population, the creation of hierarchy of civil service with the Samburu occupying the lower echelons specifically chiefs and headmen. Samburu district had been up to September, 1925 under the military administration of the Kings African Rifles (hereinafter, KAR).<sup>208</sup> It was closed to all travelers and traders for a long time courtesy of the *Outlying District Ordinance* of 1902 and later the “*Special District Ordinance*” hence outsiders were not allowed entry.<sup>209</sup> It had restricted outside influence in these areas due to an obsession with law and order which left very little room for undertakings such as educational development. Besides this, the ordinances were instituted ostensibly to control movement of stock on account of the fear by the British that uncontrolled cattle trade would lead to depletion of the stocks on which the colonial government in the district relied on for rations.<sup>210</sup> These control measures repressed the early penetration of western education in the district as had happened elsewhere particularly amongst agricultural communities.

African reaction to missionary education was sometimes indifferent, hostile and pathetic especially among pastoralist communities. On the one hand, parents preferred to see

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<sup>206</sup> Sorenson, *Origins of European Settlement in Kenya*, p.272.

<sup>207</sup> For more details on establishment of colonial rule among the Samburu, See also P. Waweru, (2005) “Continuity and Change in Samburu Pastoralism Under Colonial Rule, c.1909 to 1963”, Ph D Thesis, Egerton University.

<sup>208</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/1 Samburu District Annual report, 1925.

<sup>209</sup> KNA/AG/1/170, “The Outlying District Ordinance, 1902”, Northern Kenya was a “Closed District” under this ordinance. Entry into it required a licence failure to which one was liable to a fine not exceeding 1,000 rupees or imprisonment not exceeding two months or to both.

<sup>210</sup> P.T. Daleo, (1975) “Trade and Pastoralism: Economic Factors in the History of the Somali of Northern Kenya”, Ph.D Thesis, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

their children do family chores rather than go to school especially when the utility of such education was not immediately discernible. Also the missionaries were known to preach against African cultures such as female circumcision which was not welcomed by Africans. On the other hand, manual labour in missionary schools outweighed classroom work, something that was loathed by Africans. Later on, the Africans developed a liking for western education when they saw sons and daughters of those who had sent their children to school begin to enjoy the fruits of their hard work after securing employment. Educated Africans served as clerks and teachers. The settlers too began to pay relatively high salaries for those with ability to read and write. The missions on the other hand encouraged interest in schooling by giving their graduate Africans responsibilities and material benefits.

#### **4.2 Missionary Challenges in Samburu Education**

For the missionaries, the ability to read the bible was fundamental. The Samburu on the other hand were never enthusiastic about this type of education. Missionary education was intended to provide Africans with a Christian dogma and to ensure that pupils observed proper Christian principles. In most cases, the mission representatives and staff decided on the curriculum that was taught in their schools and as such, missionaries earnestly believed that education would impact on the minds of Africans positively when religious instruction was emphasized. As early as 1912, in a public meeting held in Nairobi, the Director of Education then, J.O. Orr had noted that “education without religion leads to materialism.”<sup>211</sup> Accordingly, to him educating the African without a strong connection to religious instruction was most dangerous to society.

Issues of hygiene and animal husbandry formed the core of the curriculum that was taught to the Samburu children. It was not until the beginning of 1950s that technical education was introduced. This was against the Frazer Education Report of 1909 which had recommended that although racial segregation in education should be upheld, Africans were talented enough to benefit from the provision of technical education. This was also so despite the fact that an education department of the colony had been established in 1911 and it later started offering grants-in-aid to mission schools to offer technical education, those in Samburu district included.

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<sup>211</sup> KNA/AG/8/111, “Africa Inland Mission Correspondence to the Chairman of the Education Commission”, Nairobi, 1912.

Christianity was first introduced to Samburu people in 1933 by an Anglican group, the Bible Church Men Society (hereinafter BCMS). It was later followed by the Roman Catholic Missionaries in late 1948, sent by the Consolata Fathers hence commonly referred to as the Consolata Catholic Mission (hereinafter, CCM). They remained the only mission organizations in the region for the whole of the colonial period. Alongside evangelizing, the missionaries established schools within these mission centres. It should be noted from the onset that majority of the Samburu displayed little interest in the missionaries and their work.

Initially, missionaries did not expect the administration to unilaterally take over educational activities in the district as it had become their main source of new converts. By this time the government had taken control of education in other areas of the colony including Kavirondo [Currently, Nyanza and Western provinces] and Central Province through the Department of Education set up in 1911 as noted in a previous chapter. This education was not compulsory or forced. The missionaries, despite resistance against their venture by conservative Samburu elders, worked in collaboration with the colonial administration to get parents enrol their children. According to respondents, the early converts to Christianity saw education as an important step towards bridging the poverty gap. This is attested to by the fact that the children from “poor” families amongst the *Lmasula* and *Long’eli* joined the schools, particularly Sirata Oirobi and Maralal which were within these sections. Families from these two sections are the most educated presently in Samburu.<sup>212</sup> The BCMS and CCM denominations built schools, dispensaries and other physical developments as away of evangelizing the community. However, the prospects of evangelization among the Samburu in this period were remarkably dismal.

The BCMS were a protestant group, primarily concerned with individual conversion, giving greater emphasis on itinerant preaching and hence less on the education of catechists. The mission believed that its purpose was to stand by the principle that all education should have a religious basis. They could therefore, not surrender their interest in education and whatever system that was suggested or evolved took into full account of that interest. However, the Samburu indifference to these tactics forced them to build schools as avenues of attracting more converts. This in part explains the lack of growth of out schools in Samburu district during much of the colonial period since the BCMS had the monopoly of educational activities thereof. Today, it is significant that in some areas where protestant

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<sup>212</sup> O.I May 2007, David Lenolkulal, Soipin Lekoolol, Leteele Lemuya and Leyangwe Lelpokokey.

missions such as AIC, the BCMS and the SDA operated less formal education progress was achieved.<sup>213</sup>

The initial schools in Samburu belonged to the missions who were given grants in form of land and capital, until after independence when government took over the schools. The BCMS started the Sirata Oirobi School and also provided staff for the Wamba LNC School and the Maralal LNC School. The BCMS who were then resident in Marsabit had long anticipated opening of a mission station in Samburu area hence in March 1933, two members of the BCMS established a temporary camp at Wamba with the intention of starting religious activities and work among the Samburu. They had permission from the PC Rift Valley. Their efforts, however, were dealt a blow due to the pastoralists' nature and environmental conditions that dictated the Samburu lifestyle. The Samburu were ultimately compelled to move due to dryness and in search of better grazing grounds. However, while in the neighbourhood of Wamba station, the community evinced no enthusiasm or interest in the work of the missionaries, and the camp was closed in September of the same year. Infact one elder was rather perturbed to discover that government was going to make attendance compulsory for his children.<sup>214</sup> This was the feeling among other Samburu elders. When the DC visited the site, he only found about five Turkana who had brought with them, their cattle down on the strength of becoming possible pupils. However, they were mainly attracted by the grazing grounds at Wamba which were better than Lbarta where they had come from.

Wamba lay outside the well watered regions of Samburu (Leroghi) and was commonly referred to as the "low country." According to informants, the first school in Samburu was Sirata Oirobi which commenced its educational activities in 1936. This station was basically a church.<sup>215</sup> An informant, Jonathan Lenemiria, a former pupil at the school in the period 1936-1942 and a former teacher at the school [presently, he resides within the school neighborhood] pointed out that the missionaries came in 1934 and the school was registered in 1936. According to him, the missionaries first went to Wamba, Kisima, Nomotio, Ngari then to Bawa. At Bawa, they met some elderly Samburu men who told them that at Sirata Oirobi, there were two rivers; Ngare-Narok and Nke ju-Emuny which would supply water, throughout the year and thus they settled at Sirata Oirobi in 1934.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> Anderson, *The Struggle for the School*, p.16.

<sup>214</sup> KNA/ DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1934.

<sup>215</sup> O.I May 2007, Ngaato Lesiekono.

<sup>216</sup> O.I May 2007, David Letooya.

The first problem the missionaries had to overcome was language barrier. They went to Narok to learn the *Maa* language before coming to Samburu. This is the language spoken by the Maasai, Samburu, Njemps, Baraguyu and Arusha<sup>217</sup> albeit variation in dialect. This eased communication between the Samburu and the missionaries. By 1934, the administration in the district was of the view that time was not ready for any educational enterprise.<sup>218</sup> The administration was heavily engaged in pacifying *moran* resistance, besides resolving the long standing controversy over ownership of Leroghi plateau. In August 1934, Mr. and Mrs. Scudder and Mrs. Grindley of the BCMS arrived on to Lorroki, and made a temporary camp near Maralal[ presently, Sirata Oirobi]. They intended to apply for a permanent plot to begin serious missionary work. However, the DC discouraged the missionaries by alleging that they would find the Samburu extremely unresponsive evangelization.<sup>219</sup> These were unsuccessful years for the missionaries with the realization that the Samburu did not show much interest neither in evangelism nor education. The pioneer BCMS missionaries were Charles Scudder, a pastor and his wife Jessie Scudder who taught music to the school's pupils. It is imperative to note that the Christian missions had entered Samburu to spread Christianity, but attracting converts to the schools became a hindrance to such a noble project. The need for education among the community could be summed as being for the benefit of the community but to facilitate the spread of Christianity.

By 1934 the process of establishing a school among the Samburu showed some positive signs when BCMS commenced mission work among the Samburu. It made an application to the government to establish a mission station at Lorroki in order to effectively work amongst the Samburu. Even so, the decision to grant them the same rested with the government. The DC was reluctant to grant the right as the government was never satisfied with the amount of control it had over missions elsewhere in the colony. This was mainly because among other reasons, it feared that attacks on African traditions by the missionaries would result to breakdown of the African traditional authority and that the government intended to use them indirectly in the local governance of the region. Secondly, the Samburu had not so far evinced the slightest desire for a mission, and considering their mode of existence, the then DC could not see how they would derive much benefit from it. He had feared that there was a high probability of attracting the herders to the mission stations who were apt to come for material things rather than spiritual benefit. This dismissive character of

<sup>217</sup> The last two are found in the Republic of Tanzania.

<sup>218</sup> KNA/ DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1934.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.

the colonial administration played a big role in stunting the growth of western education among the Samburu.

By 1935, there were some twenty to thirty Samburu pupils attending a LNC school at Maralal merely with an idea of learning to read and write. On the other hand, the missionaries succeeded in winning a few converts who were later looked down terribly by the rest of the community as outcasts or haters of Samburu culture. They were also branded as servants of the white man, 'bewitched' and other derogative descriptions. Informants observed that, most of the parents withdrew their children from the school by force claiming that the mission schools were associated with European way of life. They felt the missionaries were teaching their children to abandon their traditional beliefs and become Christians. The parents also wanted their children to help in herding and would prefer them to remain at home rather than at school.<sup>220</sup> Those who accepted Christianity were also willing to pay school fees which assisted in meeting the cost of running the school. However, an elderly informant noted that in the past, education was not viewed as significant because the community was self-sufficient. There was enough grass and water for livestock. But in the recent past, he added forests had receded tremendously prompting the community to adopt other means of survival including education for salaried employment.<sup>221</sup>

At the beginning of 1936, BCMS opened a small school near Maralal [Sirata Oirobi]. There was also a LNC school at Maralal which had been running since July of the same year. The view of the DC was such that the school was more successful than the mission school. Missionary activities were concentrated at Maralal spearheaded by BCMS. They were however, handicapped in terms of areas of operation. Whereas they were ready to pursue expansion into other areas of the district, the district administration resisted this venture. This was perhaps in realization that the missionaries were capable of breaking the communal values extant in the Samburu society thus a disruption of the social order as had happened amongst the larger agricultural communities in the colony. The colonial administration was also keen on the type of education that was to be offered to the Samburu. It was suggested that to stop the Samburu from flooding the already "overstocked educated market", the LNC school at Maralal should be taken over by the veterinary department within a year with a view of educating the Samburu children service to their community. With a stock inspector

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<sup>220</sup> O.I May 2007, Jonathan Lenemiria, Timothy Lemargerroi and Rev. David Letooya.

<sup>221</sup> O.I May 2007, Edward Lekaada.

nearby, the DC noted that it was easy to do so as all pupils would be fed and accommodated at Maralal. Infact the DC coined a slogan, "Samburu education for the benefit of Samburu." This was in line with the first DOE, Orr's philosophy of African schools set in the heart of reserves, adapted to the African environment, and catering to African needs.<sup>222</sup> The DC shared the prevailing view that schools in pastoralist areas should have strong practical and pastoral bias at the expense of book learning. The emphasis then was on veterinary education as compared to an education that would offer the Samburu jobs in the government. The DC looked forward to a day when the young *morans* will take interest in inoculating stock with serum than they did on human beings with a spear.<sup>223</sup>

This development also aroused suspicion that existed between the government and the missionaries in the district. It had its own view of education that was fit for the community. Again the regions' remoteness, aridity and the nature of Samburu culture did not allow for quick settlement of missionaries in the region. The mission got interested in farming hence it contemplated bringing the Turkana at Maralal as was not easy to keep the Samburu at the two stations. Indeed, an administrator noted that, "the BCMS attracts the native, he starts off by becoming brighter and interested in life but after a few months the sparkle goes of his eye and a look of disappointment takes its place and he starts to ask for work of some other kind."<sup>224</sup> This was an indication of the disinterest exhibited by the community towards adoption of western education. This stemmed from the curriculum that kept pupils studying the 3Rs. To ensure that the school project in Samburu succeeded, boarding facilities were essential owing to the nomadic habits of the parents. The idea that Christian Africans would only be effectively civilized when away from their pagan environment, contributed to the setting up of boarding schools in mission stations in the late 1950s. In most cases pupils had to fulfil the dual roles of serving the religious aims of the mission and meeting educational needs, something that was often detested by the pupils.

The dismissive character of the DC and his contempt for missionaries came to the fore when he noted in 1937 annual report that the missionary in-charge of the two BCMS centres, Charles Scudder, spent much of his time visiting fellow priests in more social areas, and attending language examinations in Nairobi. He further added that the few Samburu converts were left at their own volition. With no missionary in charge, he was of the view

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<sup>222</sup> Tignor, *The Colonial Transformation*, p.282.

<sup>223</sup> KNA/DC/SAM//1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1936.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.



that they became less interested in “grace than grazing”. During the same year, the BCMS opened an outstation at *El Barta* for work among the Turkana. A temporary structure to serve as a school was erected and a Samburu teacher was put in charge. However, the Turkana who frequented this outpost were more interested in the free *posho* than the vague and intermittent religious instruction that was offered.<sup>225</sup>

In 1938, it was suggested that four pupils from each section be chosen by respective headman and sent to Sirata Oirobi school. Some headmen complied with this agreement but owing to the absence of the PC from Maralal for 5 months, he was unable to supervise the whole process. By 1938, the Turkana were very keen to be allowed to use the school as were the Dorobo. It forced him to assert that if the Samburu remained apathetic, he would allocate the facilities for education to the other two groups.<sup>226</sup>

During the interwar period, the BCMS remained the only religious society in the district that engaged in the provision of education. They concentrated their activities in the vicinities of Maralal. This was the only settled area of the district. Mr. Richmond went to Wamba and lived in a camp there where he intended to start a school but he appears to have made little headway with either Samburu or Dorobo as no converts came easily. At the same period the Mission applied for the lease of a 10 acre plot at their then present station near Maralal. This was recommended by the LNC. The missions had less converts and their buildings were deplorable. The fact that they lacked security of tenure, they were not prepared to spend huge sums on buildings and other facilities. The DC thus commented on the insufficiency of missionaries in the district. He wrote,

If one is to judge by results it is doubtful the mission(s) are really doing any work of great benefit to the Samburu. They have practically no converts and their buildings are in a deplorable state. Even taking into consideration the fact that they have no security of tenure and so are not prepared to spend large sums. The conditions are very much worse than they should be (sic).<sup>227</sup>

In mid 1941, mission work at Maralal by the BCMS was brought to a standstill by the eventual death of the missionary in charge, Mr. Scudder. The mission had to look for a replacement immediately and as such, the mission recommended work under the control of Miss Webster and Miss Grindley assisted by Mr. W.W. Devitt of the AIM. Towards the end of the year, Mr. Devitt was seconded by the AIM to the BCMS to take full charge of the

<sup>225</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1937.

<sup>226</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu district Annual Report, 1938.

<sup>227</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1939.

mission station at Maralal.<sup>228</sup> This enabled the school to work out successful up to the end of the year.

It became necessary to provide for higher education for the most promising pupils of these schools. The DC pointed out that this would probably be provided by the Government African School (hereinafter GAS) in Narok or alternatively by the Veterinary Training Depot at Ngong. The GAS Narok had been established in 1919 "to make the [Maasai] useful to themselves in their own reserves." Indeed, towards the end of 1939 the government elevated it to a primary school with six standards.<sup>229</sup> This school provided much of the primary education for the Samburu who had gone through elementary education for three years and having passed the Common Entrance Examinations (hereinafter CEE) until January 1959 when the first intermediate school was established at Maralal in Samburu District.<sup>230</sup> Nonetheless, the contrast of this leading school in the Maasai reserve, with schools among the Kikuyu and even among the Kamba was great. At a time when the Kikuyu and Kamba had secondary schools in their reserves, the most advanced training available among the Maasai reserve was an institution which did not commence giving standard six schooling until 1937.<sup>231</sup> Amongst the Samburu, it was worse since the first attempt at organized education commenced in the same period and it was not until 1945 that a pupil of Samburu descent was expected to join this school.<sup>232</sup>

There were scattered schools run by African farmhands on settler farms. However, a circular to farmers inviting formal applications for registration of such schools were often met with denial of their existence or referring to them as churches. The lack of inspection of schools in Samburu and investment in education had led to such a situation. It was exacerbated by the fact that, the inspector of schools was also the headmaster of Nakuru school hence comprehensive supervisory role was unforeseeable in far flung areas of the province as Samburu.<sup>233</sup>

The BCMS continued her activities throughout the years under the direction of Miss Grindley. Her influence as a missionary educator was somehow decisive in stimulating the enthusiasm towards education. Twenty to thirty pupils were taught in the school but the number varied according to the urge of the pupils to learn. This could be attributed to herding and circumcision ceremonies which often pushed the pupils out of school. The centre also

<sup>228</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1941.

<sup>229</sup> Tignor, *The Colonial Transformation*, p.284.

<sup>230</sup> KNA/DC/ SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1959.

<sup>231</sup> Tignor, *The Colonial Transformation*, p.284.

<sup>232</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9 Samburu District Annual Report, 1945.

<sup>233</sup> DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1941.

had a small dispensary that provided treatment for small ailments. The informants pointed out that, the government brought *shukas* (*olakesana*) and food particularly *posho* for free. The missionaries also provided khaki shorts, mattresses and blankets.<sup>234</sup> The assistance given to children from poor families helped many parents take their children to school. When those who had refused to enrol their children saw others getting employed as teachers, clerks, and police and in the KAR (*KEA* in Samburu parlance) they began taking their children to schools. This did not however pick up fast.<sup>235</sup>

Missionaries in Samburu initially paid for the upkeep of the children in their schools while parents paid a little amount towards fees remissions. For instance on 16<sup>th</sup> June, 1944 Miss Grindley of BCMS applied for £100 towards the expenses of the mission school at Sirata Oirobi from the LNC. The colonial administration in the district was primarily interested in the LNC school at Maralal and gave little interest to the mission school. The LNC school was eventually handed over to the DEB for better supervision. The number of pupils enrolling in the schools were deplorable, prompting the DC, then J. Douglas McKean to note that the Samburu were still not susceptible to evangelizing mission. Evangelizing was seen as core to embracing western ideals including education.<sup>236</sup> Earlier on the mission had been visited by inspector of schools who gave positive comments. This allowed the mission to be advanced the amount for improvement of facilities as the inspector had raised concerns about the inadequate educational facilities in Samburu district and the whole deplorable condition of schools.<sup>237</sup>

### 4.3 The Role of the Local Native Council

It is justified to suggest that WW I and its aftermath and the growing political awareness among Africans in the early 1920s led to the establishment of LNCs. The Local Authority Ordinance of 1912 had been passed, laying the foundation upon which Africans were going to be administered. In May 1924, the Kenya Legislative Council (hereinafter KLC) passed an amendment to the Native Authority Ordinance which established the LNC. By 1925, they had been created in the progressive districts and in 1938 twenty-two assemblies were functioning.<sup>238</sup> Berman has argued that, they were ostensibly established as

<sup>234</sup> O.I May 2007, Soipin Lekoolool.

<sup>235</sup> O.I May 2005, Jonathan Lenemiria.

<sup>236</sup> KNA/PC/RVP2/9/2 Samburu Laikipia District, Annual Report 1943.

<sup>237</sup> KNA/PC/NKU2/23/3 folio 9 Douglas McKean DC to Hon Director of Education Mr. M. Larby.

<sup>238</sup> D. G. Schilling, (1976) "Local Native Councils and the Politics of Education in Kenya, 1925-1939" in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2 pp. 218- 247, Boston University, African Studies Centre.

instruments “for the local containment of African politics.”<sup>239</sup> Its core functions included encouraging and developing a sense of responsibility and duty towards the state among the chiefs, and elders of the ‘tribes’ and among the more thoughtful of the native population and providing the younger and educated Africans with a definite avenue along which to develop. Through them, the Africans had access to local government institutions through which they could voice their political demands. Political conscious Africans used these councils to voice their dissatisfaction with the colonial regime.<sup>240</sup>

Historians have paid relatively little attention to local, quasi-western governmental assemblies such as the LNCs. Many of the political and administrative histories of the colonial era written in the late 1950s and early 1960s tended to concentrate on the national level, a natural and necessary development reflecting the achievement of independence. It is argued that in the past Africans often had relatively little use for western forms of local government. Traditional leaders saw them as threats to their positions and to the viability of indigenous institutions, while the educated elite suspected them as a diversion from the real strongholds of colonial power. However, the LNCs were the only legitimate organs through which African grievances could be channeled and addressed. They were initially mostly nominated bodies which consisted mainly of the government chiefs and the headmen.

The LNC represented the colonial government’s attempt to provide an administrative agency through which a certain amount of African development could be secured, without the resources for such development having to be derived from the central government revenue. Most of which was expended in settler areas. To secure central government control of their activities, DCs acted as *ex-officio* chairmen of the councils and as such no decisions that did not meet their approval were effected as they had an absolute veto power. Within those constraints, and those imposed by their limited revenues, LNCs proved themselves extremely successful in their allotted task, being an agency through which energies of educated and progressive Africans emerging from the mission schools could be channeled. In particular, they did much to expand the very limited educational facilities to Africans through the provision of grants to Christian missions, for payment of teachers’ salaries, and later through

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<sup>239</sup> Berman, *Control and Crisis*, p.120.

<sup>240</sup> W.R. Ochieng’ (1975) “Tribalism and National Unity: The case of Kenya” in Aloo Ojuka and W.R. Ochieng’ (eds.) *Politics and Leadership in Africa*, Nairobi, EALB p.260.

the amassing of funds from which more schools were constructed.<sup>241</sup> Although, Anderson has not discussed much on the role of LNCs in education, he noted that the establishment marked a more formal channel through which self-help activities could be coordinated. As the councils developed, education became a major concern and by the beginning of 1930s, a number of local councils had established levies specific to education.<sup>242</sup> LNCs expanded considerably in their activities especially after the WW II. This was particularly after the Africans who had participated in the war came back and joined in the process of development in their communities. At a different level, those who had taken missionary education popularly known as 'mission boys' and were considered as progressive forces, joined the councils as African representatives. They became influential in school construction and education in general.

In 1946, however, a new ordinance seeking to replace LNCs with African District Councils (hereinafter ADC) was proposed. This new bill was aimed at reflecting the emerging influence of Africans on the councils. The new bill, Local Government (African District Council) Ordinance became law in 1950 thus creating ADCs. The ADCs were however not in any sense radically different from the LNCs. The bill enacting them gave the governor the powers to establish an ADC for any area. Majority of the councilors were to be elected but the bill did not make any special reference to the chairman or president of the council.<sup>243</sup> Thus authority still rested with the DC as had been in the LNCs. Generally as discussed extensively in the literature review, the link between education and politics was often non-existent. Under a political system dominated by white settlers and administrators, policy makers were required to create an educational structure for African people in harmony with the political realities of the day. For colonial officials, education if properly regulated provided a useful mechanism for social and political control. As a result, educational development and policy formation were political processes with significant implications for the roles of Europeans and Africans in Kenya. For the latter education was a potential key to

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<sup>241</sup> G. Kitching, (1980) *Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petit Bourgeoisie 1905-1970*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, pp.188-189. See also, Anderson, *The struggle for the School*, pp.136-137.

<sup>242</sup> Anderson, *The Struggle for the School*, pp136-138.

<sup>243</sup> G. Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya*, p.191.

greater opportunity as well as a weapon against the inflated European charge that they were "uncivilized" and therefore unprepared to participate in the "political life of the colony."<sup>244</sup>

#### 4.4 Establishment of the Samburu LNC

The Samburu LNC was inaugurated on the 27<sup>th</sup> November, 1936 and the Chief Native Commissioner, (hereinafter CNC) averred to the residents that "this would be your local parliament and that through it you may express your wishes to the government."<sup>245</sup> Each of the eight Samburu sections had two representatives, one elected and the other nominated in the LNC and so were the Turkana and the Dorobo who resided in the sub-district. It took too long to establish an LNC in Samburu since at this time; the district was still under the Levy Force that was used to crash the resistance from the *morans*. The administration had managed to bring sweeping changes in Samburu *moranism* which it had all along viewed as the very epitome of the community's conservatism. The leaders of the new *moran* age-grade were now an important appendage to the administration structure of the district.<sup>246</sup> The first Samburu to be nominated to the LNC was Kimpat Lenairoshi, a leader of the *moran* age-grade and a proven "faithful supporter of the government." He was nominated to represent the interests of the warrior class.<sup>247</sup>

Although modeled along the lines of the traditional council of elders, the LNC in Samburu territory should be viewed as one of the attempts by the colonial state to restructure the community's political institutions for the service of the colonial interests in the region. With the DC as its President, the LNC represented the consummation of a marriage of convenience between the Samburu elders and the district colonial agents. The then DC G.R.B. Brown noted that "the council served a most useful purpose in obtaining the views of the 'tribe' on matters of interest, within modest limits and the standard of discussion was usually good."<sup>248</sup> As such the administration viewed the councilors as people of low intellect with subsequent administrators continuously observing that, the meetings continued steadily

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<sup>244</sup> See, for example, Anderson, *The Struggle for the School*, pp. 5-7, Michael Crowder, (1968) *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, Evanston,, pp. 468-469; Andrew Roberts, "The Political History of Twentieth-Century Zambia" in TO. Ranger, (ed.) *Aspects of Central African History*, (London, 1968), p.166.

<sup>245</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/3/3, Political Records, "Record of a Baraza Held at Maralal on 27<sup>th</sup> November 1936".

<sup>246</sup> KNA/ DC/LKA/1/16, Laikipia-Samburu District Annual Report, 1937.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>248</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1941.

to improve in “intelligence and debate.”<sup>249</sup> The standard of debate in the view of the district administration was not high, being similar to that of an “ordinary *baraza*.”<sup>250</sup>

#### 4.5 The Local Native Council and Education among the Samburu

The lack of LNC from 1924 to 1936, deprived the district of potential large sums of money which could have been used to improve and develop social services including, *inter alia*, education. Though the district lacked formal education prior to 1930s, the political consciousness that arose with its formation had a positive impact on education. The LNCs had invested heavily in educational projects in other areas of the colony. These included Nyanza, in the three Kikuyu districts of Fort Hall, Nyeri and Kiambu. Other areas included Machakos, Taita, and Kericho, Kerio and Baringo where high amount of money was spent on construction of schools, clinics, godowns, roads and the payment of teachers' salaries in mission schools through payments of grant-in-aids. Gavin Kitching has noted that the educational expenditure represented the biggest single claim on budgets of LNCs in this period both in recurrent support of mission school budgets, and in construction programmes.<sup>251</sup>

Upon its promulgation, the Samburu LNC commenced voting money for education. It indicated to the government its funds were to be used mainly for what were variously called government or LNCs schools. Whereas elsewhere in the colony, the LNC response reflected the rather high degree of frustration with mission education, as well as the real desire to create viable advanced educational opportunities, for the Samburu it was not driven by this aims but rather the need to embrace upon the Samburu to enrol for western education. Stipulations of LNCs reflected the widespread disillusionment among Africans with the poor quality and restrictiveness of mission education.

Samburu LNC took over the underdeveloped school at Maralal. The school lacked both boarding and lodging facilities and as such, its standard and level of enrolment was low owing to the nomadic habits of the community. It was a peculiarity in a district where education was solely in the hands of Christian mission, in this case, the BCMS whose core curriculum at this time, focused on religious instruction. On the other hand, the LNC School focused, from the outset, on veterinary instruction. The DC, who also served as president to

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<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3 Samburu District Annual Report, 1948.

<sup>251</sup> Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya*, p.192.

the LNC, was always bound to impose the imperial ideology. Ideally, any increase in enrolment into the school, in this case, Maralal LNC school was accompanied by mechanisms by the administration to control the curriculum taught to the community and to avoid at all costs the possibility of the Samburu flooding the already “overstocked educated” market. Such statements as “Samburu education for the benefit of the Samburu” were used to justify the content of the curriculum. By end of 1937, it was the wish of everyone [the colonial government] to see the school taken over by the veterinary department with a view to educating the Samburu children so as to render services to their own community. There was a stock inspector within the vicinity whom the administration envisaged would easily offer instruction in veterinary and animal husbandry. The administration also anticipated that all pupils will be fed and accommodated at Maralal.<sup>252</sup> The DC strongly supported the view that the Samburu were accustomed to going to far flung areas and he felt that they should not be encouraged to do so. In his view, “African children should be given veterinary tuition so that they could return to their *manyattas* and help their people to improve their sole assets, being the stock.”<sup>253</sup> This was a deliberate attempt by the administration to give the Samburu an education that would keep them within their reserves.

Towards the end of the 1930s, the LNC School had become increasingly popular as accommodation and food were provided for the pupils who stayed within the school. The LNC provided a vote for rations to parents with children at the school. At the same time, it also funded the construction of a new dormitory at the school.<sup>254</sup> The school had an African teacher, Mr. Paul Lekaurai, a Maasai whose salary was paid by the DOE. In 1939, the LNC granted the BCMS a ten acre plot for expansion of educational facilities.<sup>255</sup> The 1930s decade revealed the inefficiency of the LNC to meet all its expenditure from the meager revenue collected. These impacted negatively on the development of Maralal LNC school despite its increased popularity within the community.<sup>256</sup> To mitigate this, LNC members agreed that, parents with pupils at the school pay a fee of Ksh. 5/- per child per year as from 1941. This fee, it was envisaged, would be raised when revenue collection increased. It was also resolved to provide the pupils with school uniforms beginning in 1941.

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<sup>252</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1937.

<sup>253</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1938.

<sup>254</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1939.

<sup>255</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/2/1 Handing over Report, K.M. Coley, DO to J.L.H. Webster, DO 1939.

<sup>256</sup> KNA/PC/MRL/1/1/1 Handing over Report, Laikipia Samburu District, A. C Mullins to G.R.B. Brown, January 1940.



At the beginning of 1941, the newly appointed inspector of schools, Nakuru visited the school at Maralal and raised concerns about the facilities at the school. The fact that the inspector of schools also served as headmaster for Nakuru school meant that frequent supervision in Samburu and by extension much of the NFD was lacking. During his visit, he proposed to investigate the problem of schools' farms. There were over twenty five places which were variously described as schools or churches, and which provided varying degrees of instruction, none of which, however measured to the standard of elementary level.<sup>257</sup> It is also during this year that pupils at the LNC school paid a fee of Kshs.10/- per year, having been doubled by the LNC since 1940. However, it was soon necessary to provide for higher education for the promising pupils at this school. The administration suggested that this would perhaps be provided by the GAS at Narok or alternatively by the veterinary training depot at Ngong.<sup>258</sup> The centre was mainly for the Masaai. It provided two courses, one emphasizing literary and the other on practical work that focused on cultivating gardens, learning how to prepare hides, inoculations, dipping, and making ghee.<sup>259</sup>

In the same year, the council introduced a fund known as "Leroghi Betterment Fund" which provided for payment of a rate of fifty cents by every holder of a Leroghi grazing permit. It also included proceeds of the sale of confiscated stock for offences against grazing control rules. The fund, it was envisaged would be applied to the improvement of the plateau in terms of water supply, construction of wind breaks, and control of grazing among other concerns.<sup>260</sup> As far as education was concerned, it was anticipated that a number of pupils' fees at the LNC school would be paid from the fund. Informants observed that any stock that wandered into controlled grazing areas were confiscated and sold. They were informed that the money was used to pay fees for children who were forcefully enrolled at school.<sup>261</sup> One informant who was once affected by the laws observed that the fine paid was used in the construction of the schools though he did not enrol any of his children at this school.<sup>262</sup>

By the end of 1944, the LNC School at Maralal had a population of about 15 pupils despite the concerted efforts of the administration through village *barazas* to encourage

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<sup>257</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Reports, 1940.

<sup>258</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Reports, 1941.

<sup>259</sup> Tignor, p.283.

<sup>260</sup> KNA/PC/RVP.2/9/2 Laikipia Samburu District annual report, 1943.

<sup>261</sup> O.I May 2007 Lembangwe Lolpokokey.

<sup>262</sup> O.I May 2007 Leteende Lekaaso.

elders and headmen to bring their children.<sup>263</sup> The administration even sought the services of the “tribal police” to improve enrolment but this did not seem interesting to the community. The enrolment had decreased to a mere dozen in 1945. In the same year, six Samburu LNC members and two *moran Leigwenak* attended the Provincial LNC meeting in Nakuru and later on paid a visit at Kabarnet school. They were so impressed by the development at the school that they resolved to send young boys to school in January 1946 on sectional quota basis totaling 30 pupils. According to the DO who accompanied them, J.B. Carson, “the elders were greatly impressed by what they heard and saw” although they were somewhat skeptical throughout the meeting in which more educated Africans made remarkable and convincing proposals to be implemented within their areas. On return to Maralal, they recounted their experiences to fellow LNC members with great enthusiasm.<sup>264</sup> It would seem that this meeting had far reaching impact on the elders. There was a rapid enrolment at the LNC school. In 1946 the population at Maralal rose to 24 pupils for the first term and 20 for the second term. During the same year, 7 Samburu boys made it to the Narok GAS. Another one went for the Common Entrance Examination (hereinafter CEE) but unfortunately failed. The council contributed towards the repair of the dormitory which was in bad condition and more beds were needed to cater for the increased enrolment.<sup>265</sup> The improvement of facilities at the school seemed to have encouraged more elders to bring their children to the school. However, levels of enrolment kept fluctuating with other pupils disappearing from the school altogether.<sup>266</sup>

By 1947, the LNC school at Maralal saw the number of pupils average between 18 to 20. The community was yet to exhibit great enthusiasm for education availed to them. This character was common among the inhabitants of Lorroki Plateau. It was so despite the fact that elders had promised to bring in more pupils after attending the provincial LNC meeting at Nakuru towards the end of 1945.<sup>267</sup> The LNC School at Maralal had 20 boys. Moving the LNC School to the veterinary station was under consideration as the administration emphasized that the boys should get more veterinary instruction. The school master was a Masaai, Paul Lekaurai who was the first African teacher at Maralal LNC School.<sup>268</sup> He

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<sup>263</sup> KNA/PC/RVP.2/9/2 Samburu Laikipia District Annual Report, 1944.

<sup>264</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9 Samburu District Annual Reports 1945.

<sup>265</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9 Samburu District Annual Report 1946, See also KNA/PC/RVP 2/3/2 Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1946.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> KNA/PC/RVP.2/2/3 Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1947.

<sup>268</sup> KNA/LNC/ST/1/2/ October 1947.

sought to resign as soon as a replacement could be found. The DC tried to get a Samburu from Narok School to take a teacher training course with a view of him coming eventually to Maralal as a teacher. His father refused and he became a learner tax clerk.<sup>269</sup> This was so despite the acute shortage of teachers that was being experienced in Samburu district.

In 1948, two Samburu boys passed the entrance examination into GAS Narok. Another two Samburu pupils were taking the Lower Primary Teacher (hereinafter, LPT) course at the GAS Tambach and one more was starting at the GAS Tambach, so that in 1950, it was expected that, there would be three trained Samburu teachers available for the three schools at Maralal, Wamba, and Sirata Oirobi. The 1949 LNC estimates included a grant to the BCMS to enable them run a boarding school at Sirata Oirobi and recurrent expenses of the Wamba school.<sup>270</sup> The PC visited Maralal from February 17<sup>th</sup> and attended the LNC meeting on February 18<sup>th</sup>. Most of the agenda raised by the elders concerned their own welfare including a LNC beer hall, the sale of European beer, cattle sales, the demarcation of the Mathews forest reserve, and the Wamba School. The Wamba elders in attendance pushed for the improvement of facilities at the school.<sup>271</sup> The Wamba Samburu had high interest in education as a small school was ran there by a teacher lent from the mission and his salary was paid by the elders.<sup>272</sup>

By 1950, there were only two LNC schools in the district, at Wamba and Maralal and both had about 30 boys enrolled. The local Native Council voted £1188 for education in 1951 which was an increase of £89 over the vote of 1950. The boys were clothed, fed and given blankets. The LNC held two meetings at which a number of resolutions for increase of revenue were passed. These included the increase of the cess from Ksh.5 to sh.7, the raising of school fees, and the increase of cess from Ksh. 1 to Ksh. 3 on all cattle bought and sold. There was also the imposition of new cess on sheep and goats sold and on all hides and skins exported out of the district. The council expected an increase in expenditure on hospitals and schools.<sup>273</sup> The school fees was increased from Ksh.24 to Ksh. 50 per annum to cater for the increased expenditure. This increase in fees was necessitated by the increasing price of *posho* which at the time cost Ksh.46 in Wamba. The LNC funded the construction of a new house

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<sup>269</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/2/1 Handing Over Report, November 1947 Mr. H.J. Simpson to Mr. A.D. Shirief, (H) Education.

<sup>270</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Reports, 1948.

<sup>271</sup> KNA DC/SAM/3/4, Samburu Monthly Intelligence Report February, 1948.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3 1950, Samburu District Annual Reports, 1948-1955.

for the mission ladies, Miss Grindley and Miss Parsons who helped much of the Wamba LNC School.<sup>274</sup> The assistance offered by the mission ladies though complimentary, demonstrated the inability of the LNC to effectively handle education matters in the district. It was yet another indicator of the staffing and supervisory problem in the district.

#### 4.6 The Period of Cooperation between the LNC and the DEB, 1950-1963

Despite the fact that Samburu LNC was inaugurated in 1936, it was not until the early 1950s that it got wholly involved in education in the district. This was after the formation of the Samburu DEB in 1951. This period was a milestone in Samburu education as it was marked with increased collaboration between the ADC and DEB in educational activities in the district.<sup>275</sup> In 1951, the ADC held only one meeting in August in which the DC noted the laxity of councilors in holding frequent meetings. He, however, added that the fact that only one meeting was held during the year did not indicate lack of interest on the part of the councilors, but the massive distance the councilors had to travel to attend the meetings and the attendant expenses. It was therefore considered to hold a meeting when it was absolutely necessary. At these meetings, a number of resolutions were passed concerning the betterment of the community. These included those on their stock, land and water. However, the author of the report observed that, the councilors considered their duty done once the meeting was over. There was the "usual lack of public spirit."<sup>276</sup>

The BCMS besides running the school at Sirata Oirobi, also kept a supervisory role on the Maralal ADC school. Miss Webster who was of assistance for so many years departed on leave to England with her work being carried on by Mrs. Scudder. Miss Grindley and Miss Parsons at Wamba continued to supervise the ADC school and dispensary there. The ADC voted a grant of Ksh. 25,120 to the DEB and it was expected that the government will give a subvention of Ksh. 6,800.<sup>277</sup> Education grants to the BCMS totaled £245 while the expenses incurred at Wamba and Maralal School totaled £ 744 teachers were paid £185. These payments were incurred by the Samburu ADC.<sup>278</sup> The expenditure on various schools and the DEB is shown in the next page:

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<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, 1951 Annual Reports 1948-1955.

<sup>276</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1951.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1951.

**Table 2: LNCs Expenditure on Education, 1951-1955**

Year	Grants to DEB	Assistance to Pupils	Maralal school	Wamba school	Grants to BCMS	Teachers 'Pay	Government Subvention
1951	£1,226		£ 744		£ 245	£ 185	£ 340
1952	<b>£1,376</b>						
1953	<b>£1,624</b>				£1,624		£1,090
1954	<b>£1,705</b>			£1,000			
1955	<b>£1,705</b>	£ 96	£3,000			£ 1,849	£1,707

**Source:** Adapted from *KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1951-1955*

In 1952, the ADC met twice and it was observed that it showed signs of developing into an effective body. The discussions were as high as that in many progressive areas. The council increased its revenue steadily during this period. The financial progress of the council in the period is as documented below;

**Table 3: The LNC Expenditure and Revenue, 1948-1952.**

Year	Expenditure (KSH)	Revenue (KSH)
1948	37,982.64	61,225.86
1949	58, 274.07	75,904.59
1950	88,858.20	71,206.75
1951	91,236.23	100,558.61
1952	175, 536.92	188,438.79
1953	571,729.04	687,791.50
1954	548,212.86	414,471.23
1955	1,467,320. 64	1,546,460.96

**Source** *KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1955*

The table indicates that the council in a few years was bound to be wealthy in proportion to the size of the population. The grants to the DEB totaled £1,376. The council voted a grant of £1,624 to the district education board for 1953 against a government

subvention of £1,090.<sup>279</sup> Education grants to BCMS from the ADC totaled £245 while the expenses incurred at Wamba and Maralal School totaled £ 744 out of which teachers were paid £185. These payments were incurred by the Samburu ADC.<sup>280</sup>

In 1953, the Deputy Director of Education for Rift Valley Province, Mr. Norman Larby visited the district and promised to assist each primary school with a government capital grant of £1,600 over a 5-year period, provided that the ADC or local people contributed an equal sum. Thus, each school expected a capital building grant of £3,200. This was ample and further new building would be started in 1954.<sup>281</sup> The Samburu ADC met twice during the year. There was always a tendency of the agenda compiled by the elders in *baraza* before the meeting to be reactionary. In the actual meetings, however, this was not apparent as some useful and sensible discussions were held. The measure of these was exemplified by the expanding scope of the council's interests and its preparedness to invest more in new schemes such as the ranch, salt distribution and honey refining. Grants to the DEB totaled £1624.<sup>282</sup> The ADC voted for a grant of £1,705 to the DEB for the year 1954 against a government subvention of £1,707.

The 1954 annual report observed that the standard of debate [in the ADC] and attitude continued to be good although events were moving rather too fast for most councilors to follow them. There was, nevertheless, a readiness to accept new ideas, marred only by the traditional opposition to compulsory stock sales and the Leroghi permit system. Its evident from the annual reports that the LNC besides providing minimal grants to the education activities in the district, it served as a major source for wages and salaried employment within the district through both directly, the clerical, agricultural, health, and veterinary personnel it employed as well as indirectly through unskilled labor employed on constructions such as roads, schools, dams and bridges among others. For instance, in 1954, attempts were made to invest in the ranch scheme, construction of a beer hall, salt distribution and honey refinery. It was observed that, "the ADC will be expected during the five years to carry out a loan commitment from three Major Schemes, the Samburu (Low Country) Development Scheme, Samburu (Leroghi Development) Scheme and the Samburu Ranch."<sup>283</sup> The CCM at Baragoi continued to expand its school buildings and was paid an additional £1000 from ADC and

<sup>279</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Reports, 1952.

<sup>280</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, 1951 Annual Reports 1948-1955, Missions.

<sup>281</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Reports, 1953.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1954.

education department capital building funds in 1954.<sup>284</sup> The Education Department of the colony further provided £1,600 for Capital Buildings in accordance with the agreement made in 1953 with the ADC that it would assist each primary school with a government capital grant of £1,600 over a 5 year period, provided that the ADC or local people contributed an equal sum.<sup>285</sup>

Towards the end of 1954, the Leroghi, Wamba and Baragoi grazing committees were mandated to act as divisional councils. Their deliberations were of greatest value and their decision was carried out effectively. They readily arranged the collection of money for schools as well as allocating quotas for pupils in the schools, hospitals, dam works, stock theft and border compensation among other duties. However, the divisional grazing committees had been established, ostensibly to ensure effective collection of grazing fee. At the beginning of 1955, the ADC funded the construction of schoolmaster's house at Sirata Oirobi. During his visit to the district, the governor approved an award of £3,000 to the community for its loyalty during the emergency. The ADC on its part decided to devote this sum on the construction of a new primary cum technical school. The Department of Education undertook to pay a further £3,000 towards the project. It was later decided after a visit by Mr. Larby, Deputy Director of Education, that in the 1957-1960 development period, his department would undertake the building of an intermediate school at Maralal which would embrace the teaching of technical related subjects.<sup>286</sup> The urgent need for an intermediate school in the district had risen due to the lack of a quota for Samburu pupils at the GAS, Narok.

The restatement of the District Policy at the end of 1955 observed in part that, there was need to associate the Samburu in the schemes through education, appointment of the native executives in consultation with the ADC and Grazing Committees in order to articulate more appropriately the advantages to be derived from controlled cattle economy.<sup>287</sup> This policy aimed at transforming the Samburu needs for education thus enabling them to utilize the employment opportunities available. However, with the increasing revenues to the ADC, it still faced some shortages as far as funding of education was concerned. For instance, the Samburu ADC required funding of £200 by the end of 1956 to make up the £3,200 to be

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<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1955.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

provided by the Education Department at £1,600 each for 1955 and 1956. This was to make a total £6,400 available for the Maralal primary and a Rural Training School (hereinafter RTS). It was agreed by Mr. Larby that the devotion of the extra £1,600 to the Maralal school would not prejudice the £1,600 earmarked for Barsoloi school in the course of the year as the money devoted to the RTS would be regarded as an advance capital payment towards the intermediate school.<sup>288</sup> The ADC took a great interest in the construction of an Intermediate school in the district.<sup>289</sup> In a meeting of the Samburu DEB, the DC pointed out that in raising local funds for a possible Intermediate school, it was preferable to increase the ADC rate, and so gain extra government subvention, rather than levy a special education rate. In 1956, the Samburu ADC met three times during the year and chief Lepuyapui, a Dorobo, of Wamba El Masula section was elected Vice president in April and he "continued to show the excellent leadership in the council that he had shown as a chief."<sup>290</sup>

One of the challenges facing the building of a new Maralal Primary and RTS was lack of skilled staff. Modifications had to be made to the original plans but it was expected that the work will by June, 1957 and to accept the first pupils at the RTS in July. The CCM agreed to build the house of, the Lay Brother who would assist in the supervision of the School. The ADC funded the construction of new ablutions and lavatories at Sirata Oirobi Girls School during the year.<sup>291</sup> A total of £260 was subscribed from voluntary contributions to complete the local quota for the new Maralal School. The cost of the work at Sirata Oirobi, approximately £100 was funded from the same source as was a further £80 donated towards following year's quota under the five year development plan. The DC noted that it would not be easy to find the £1,600 required in each 1957 and 1958 but it is hoped that the majority of these amounts could be sourced from grants advanced by the ADC.<sup>292</sup>

By 1950s when other areas of the colony had fully fledged secondary education, it was within this period that Samburu district had a marked improvement in terms of education compared with the 1930s and 1940s. Samburu pupils who passed the common entrance examinations were initially admitted at Narok GAS for the intermediate studies. There developed a need for the establishment of such a school within Samburu district especially from 1956 when the headmaster at Narok GAS warned that he was not going to take any

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<sup>288</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Reports 1955.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>290</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/4, Samburu District Annual Report 1956.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.



more Samburu pupils.<sup>293</sup> It came to the realization of the members of the Samburu DEB that this was most unsatisfactory, and that an intermediate school among the Samburu was urgently needed. During the Samburu DEB meeting held at Maralal on 19<sup>th</sup> March, 1958, a number of suggestions were put forward to mitigate this problem. These included the possibility of two separate schools, a DEB intermediate and the RTS (in this case the RTS would have to be financed by the mission). This raised the question of the future of the RTS at Maralal. It implied that the intermediate school would take over the RTS and the latter as whether it would close. However, some members suggested that the two would run parallel using the same buildings but managed by the DEB (for the RTS side). Concerns were also raised over the lack of enough pupils in Samburu district. Hence two schools under different management could not work satisfactorily due to competition for pupils.

The BCMS came to the assistance of the DEB when its representative on the board Mr. Hurd informed the board that the BCMS were willing to manage an intermediate school for boys in Samburu, once the building and equipment had been found. It was unanimously accepted by members who thanked the BCMS for the gesture. After further discussions, the board resolved, that a DEB intermediate school will be opened at Maralal at the commencement of 1959. The chairman convened a sitting committee consisting of Mr. Scudder (BCMS), Fr. Stallone (CCM), Headman Johanna Lolngojine (to represent Samburu interests) and himself, and the secretary was instructed to provide details of the buildings required for a full intermediate school.

The issue of a girls' intermediate school was discussed at length during this meeting. The board was of the view that the BCMS would probably be able to provide suitable accommodation in Maralal for any girl who qualified for standard 5. In regards to the future of the RTS, the secretary was instructed to put all the alternatives before Reverend Fr. Visintin of CCM who would then consult his superiors. In a meeting in July, the secretary to the DEB reported that in 1959 the cost of boarding would increase above the limit imposed by the ADC unless the numbers of boarders was reduced or additional revenue was obtained from boarding fees.<sup>294</sup> It was resolved that the boarding fee for boys and girls be increased by Kshs. 8/- thus making boys boarding fees Kshs. 43/- and girls boarding fees Kshs. 23/-. The board resolved that in 1958 there would be no increase in the number of children boarding as

<sup>293</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/4, Samburu District Annual Report 1956.

<sup>294</sup> KNA/AV/2/56 minutes of the 13<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Samburu DEB held at Maralal on 29<sup>th</sup> July, 1958, minute 13/58 revised estimates 1959, appendix B.

no additional subvention from the ADC would be forthcoming.<sup>295</sup> This measure was bound to affect enrolment and keeping pupils in school since the movement of their parents dictated the time the children could spend in school.

At this meeting, the chairman further outlined the capital development programme. The ADC and Department of Education arranged to contribute £8,000 each over a period of 5 years at the annual rate of £1,600 each towards primary and intermediate capital development. Thus this kitty of £16,000 would be spent on primary and intermediate school development. This was a big step towards the realization of an intermediate school in the district. It was envisaged that each primary school will receive a grant of £3,200 while Maralal primary and intermediate to receive each £6,400. By the end of 1958, ADC and Department of Education had each contributed a total of £5,736.

The board gave priority to the intermediate school that it should be ready to receive its first intake of pupils in January 1959. By end of 1958, there was one classroom, one dormitory, dining room/kitchen, office/store and a teacher's house at the site. The plan for the year 1959/1960 included an additional classroom and a teacher's house. It was also planned that a 10,000 gallon water tank would be constructed. The board, however, noted that Wamba and Sirata Oirobi had received relatively little in capital aid compared with Maralal and Baragoi, the expenditure at the schools being £517 and £3,200 respectively. It thus resolved that any outstanding balance from the fund remaining after the development of the intermediate school would be devoted to these two schools with their building requirements carried out in order of priority.<sup>296</sup> This cordial relationship between the council and the DEB in Samburu district marked a significant step in the development of education facilities which had lagged behind for a long time.

Due to this relationship between the council and the DEB, the intermediate school finally commenced enrolling pupils in January 1959. The council however, formally applied for the registration of Maralal intermediate school in September 1959. In the same year, at a meeting of the Samburu ADC on 16<sup>th</sup> September, 1959, the council approved the decision by the DEB that children whose school fees had not been paid after the second stock sale in one year in their division should be expelled. This was aimed at ensuring that the parents paid

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<sup>295</sup> KNA/AV/2/56 minutes of the 13<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Samburu DEB held at Maralal on 29<sup>th</sup> July, 1958, minute 13/58 revised estimates 1959 appendix B, resolution 7/58.

<sup>296</sup> KNA/AV/2/56 Minutes of the 13<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Samburu district education board held at Maralal on 29<sup>th</sup> July, 1958, minute 15/58 grants aid, African education, and capital development.

fees on time and thus school fees defaulters were drastically reduced. It resolved to pay the full fees of four pupils at the intermediate school whose parents were unable to do so. These were Lewason Londokir, Lokorod Lekireu, Lotitiyo Lekaikum and Turere Learam.<sup>297</sup> In 1960, the council offered financial assistance to Vincent Hamisi and Kameron Lemarker for secondary education that was approved by the council. It became the policy of the council to make every effort to give the deserving youth of the Samburu community higher education through provision of bursaries. This practice was extended into the estimates of 1961.<sup>298</sup> By 1961, the rate levy was increased in order to provide money for education. The Samburu ADC chairman was however concerned about the low fees that was charged in the district and he opined that a better way for raising additional money for education was through increasing the fees charged.<sup>299</sup>

#### 4.7 Challenges of Staffing in Samburu,

The staffing issue was endemic in the period under discussion as it is today in the pastoral regions. This is associated with the rampant insecurity occasioned by such issues as cattle rustling among these communities as well as the rugged terrain of the region. Staffing remained a problem in the establishment of western education among the Samburu as it happened in most parts of the country. The missionaries constituted most of the teaching staff in the district until the late 1950s. However, the problem of teacher shortage was overcome when some converts who had graduated from various institutes took over the task to help missionaries.

The illness of the principal Mr. Scudder, in the late 1930s to early 1940s and frequent absence of the staff seriously hampered work, and little progress could be claimed. The Wamba BCMS mission was closed in July 1940 due to lack of staff to take charge.<sup>300</sup> It was not until 1949 when Miss Grindley and Miss Parsons of the BCMS moved to Wamba during the month to restart the mission station there.<sup>301</sup> The LNC School at Maralal continued to function with an average of 15 pupils. One boy passed the entrance examinations to the GAS at Narok, and the Maasai teacher Paul Lekaurai left at the end of the year. His place was taken by a Samburu teacher who had completed the LPT course at Kapsabet. There were two

<sup>297</sup> KNA/PC/NKU/2/1/157 Minutes of the meeting of ADC of Maralal on 16<sup>th</sup> September, 1959, Min 49/58 Education.

<sup>298</sup> KNA/JA/1/133, Minutes of the Samburu African District Council held on, Min 42/60.

<sup>299</sup> KNA/PC/NKU/2/1/153 Provincial Commissioner's Office, Rift Valley.

<sup>300</sup> DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report 1940.

<sup>301</sup> DC/SAM/3/4, Samburu District Monthly Intelligence Report for January 1949.

other Samburu teachers available, one of whom went to Wamba and the other one to the BCMS school at Sirata Oirobi. The report pointed out that, if one was to judge by results it was doubtful if the missions were doing any work of great benefit to the Samburu. They practically had no converts and their buildings were deplorable. While taking into consideration the fact that they had no security of tenure, they were not prepared to spend large sums of money on their educational projects in the district.<sup>302</sup>

Some missionaries went on holiday and failed to return, for instance, Mr. and Mrs. Hacking did not return to Maralal after their leave. There were no men to represent BCMS in this District and the DC wrote to ask for a replacement for Mr. Hacking. He observed that Samburu District was not always peaceful and transport to remote stations had many challenges which were perhaps better coped with by a man who is normally more accustomed to the hardships taking into consideration the virile and arrogant character of the Samburu 'tribe'. For these reasons then, it was the DC's suggestion that the prime responsibility for the BCMS rested in the hands of a man.<sup>303</sup>

The establishment of an all first girls school was attributed to the good work carried out by Mrs. Scudder and Miss Webster. Miss Grindley and Miss Parsons carried on effectively at Wamba School which though supervised by BCMS missionaries, belonged to the ADC.<sup>304</sup> By 1954, Miss Webster aided by Mrs. Scudder once again took on much general supervisory work in addition to her devoted attention to the Girls' School. Miss Grindley carried on her good work at Wamba assisted by Miss Parsons who was welcomed back from leave in November. Father Andrioni and Stalloni of CCM untiringly worked on the new buildings and emphasized the teaching of languages at Baragoi sub-station. They were joined by sisters Theobalda, Julietta and Agatha who assisted invaluablely in facilitating teaching and supervision of the hospital.<sup>305</sup> In 1956, Miss Webster was in charge of the School at Sirata Oirobi and Miss Parsons continued with her supervisory duties at Wamba. Miss Grindley meanwhile departed on long leave. The CCM maintained its Mission at Baragoi where Fr. Stallone and Sister Theobalda taught in the Primary School throughout the year. Sister Julietta continued her invaluable work in charge of the hospital and Fr. Andrione most generously supervised the building of staff quarters at the hospital. The CCM efficiently

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<sup>302</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9 Samburu District Annual Report 1939.

<sup>303</sup> KNA PC/NKU/2/23/3 Mission, BCMS.

<sup>304</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1952.

<sup>305</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1954.

maintained a primary school and the RTS at Baragoi under the general supervision of Fr. Andrione.

The BCMS had been in the district for a long time without the continuity of male European staff necessary in mission work, ran the Boys primary School at Wamba (Miss Parsons and Miss Grindley), and the Girls primary school at Sirata Oirobi (Mrs Scudder and Miss Webster). Miss Webster went on leave in December, when Miss Grindley was transferred to Sirata Oirobi and a new arrival Miss Sutton, was posted to Wamba.<sup>306</sup> Both the CCM and BCMS operated in the district and relations between them were satisfactory. They even managed to co-operate to run a Children's Christmas Party. The CCM had many staff changes, Fr Facinello replacing Fr. Stallone, who had been, for many years at Baragoi, Fr. Casadei replacing Fr. Andreona at Maralal. Br Troyer remained at the RTS. A male missionary was needed by the BCMS and it was hoped that with his arrival, the mission would exercise more influence in the district than it had in the past. The DC expressed his grateful thanks to the excellent work done by both missions and expressed the hope that their influence would steadily increase.<sup>307</sup>

As late as 1960 the bottleneck in Samburu district was teaching staff because Samburu teachers were very few and hardly qualified and yet other communities did not like serving here. This was due to the harshness of the environment and the nomadic nature of the Samburu. Maralal intermediate school was expected to expand to standard seven in 1961 under a Samburu headmaster who had passed a course at Tambach, Baragoi primary was expected to expand and take in standard five as a first step towards intermediate status in 1961 and Wamba primary similarly, anticipated to attain the same status by 1962.<sup>308</sup> The ADC was to pay all the capital cost of expansion and of replacing hovels in which most teachers lived.<sup>309</sup>

#### 4.8 Curriculum Development

The first missionaries who worked among the Samburu did not introduce the advanced type of western education due to lack of a trained teaching staff. the teaching staff consisted mainly of the missionaries whose sole purpose of education was spread of Christianity. Those who espoused Christianity at an early stage were trained as catechists and

<sup>306</sup> KNA DC/SAM/1/4 Samburu District annual Report 1957.

<sup>307</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/4 Samburu District Annual Report 1958.

<sup>308</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3 , Samburu District Annual Report,1960.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

evangelists to teach the Samburu how to write and read, particularly the bible. The content of what was taught in these schools varied from the primary to the intermediate level. Initially, the boys who passed Common Entrance Examinations were taken to Narok intermediate for Kenya African Preliminary Examinations (hereinafter, KAPE) while the girls were taken to Kijabe. Religion, as a subject was given great emphasis in the primary section. This was aimed at winning more converts to Christianity. They were taught the 10 commandments and took examinations on religion. They were sometimes forced to memorize a hundred verses in the Bible. Generally, the education offered was geared towards enabling the converts to read the Bible.<sup>310</sup>

The colonial educators and administrators often thought that the Samburu should be taught more agricultural and technical education. But genuine technical education was ruled out because the fundamental objective of the colonial economy did not permit the development of industry and skills within Africa. Infact this sort of education was taken up by immigrant communities in Samburu such as the Turkana and Dorobo who thought this could improve their wellbeing. Paterson, A.R in a paper 'Education of the Backward Peoples' observed that, up to the present the systematic education of the African even where subsidized by government was largely in the hands of the Christian Missions and, for a long time such education as was provided was limited for the most part to the inculcation of the rudimentary knowledge of the three R's. The result as was well known was not satisfactory. A superficial knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic was acquired but the varied uses to which these accomplishments were to be put were not always duly emphasized and the African was inclined to presume that, the work of a clerical nature must now be his ambition.<sup>311</sup>

The DC observed in 1938 that, in the future the government would consider changing the school into a veterinary institute. The Samburu, he added did not like going further a field. He suggested that the curriculum should mainly focus on veterinary tuition so that they could return to the *manyatta* and help their people to improve their sole asset, the stock.<sup>312</sup> As early as this period, the inclination of the colonial administration towards veterinary education is clearly shown by the reports of DCs. Thus, the long term intention of this type of

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<sup>310</sup> O.I May, 2007 Loice Towon, Edward Lekaada, Lemwata Lenalepisho and Jonathan Lenemiria.

<sup>311</sup> KNA/MSS115/9/29 "The Education of the Backward Peoples" a Paper presented at the Centenary meeting of the British Association of the Advancement of Science, held in London, September, 1931, pp.2-3.

<sup>312</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report, 1938.

education was to produce a society whose economy remained stepped in pastoralism but espoused western methods of raising stock. Infact, efforts were being made to start a school herd for the Wamba school in order to teach the boys proper methods of animal husbandry and also to provide them with milk.<sup>313</sup> The veterinary Department had always been eager to create veterinary schools where Africans could be educated and sent back into the reserves as veterinary assistants. Justifying the policy in the Legislative Council, the chief veterinary Officer A.G. Doherty, said that the goal was to provide better and healthier stock which would give more meat and milk, and release the African from the fear of stock disease and enable stock keepers to sell their animals more readily and easily. It was within this policy that all administrators sought to encourage the mission schools to put more emphasize on animal husbandry.<sup>314</sup>

By 1948, the missionaries made little headway with religion but they taught their adherents hygiene and cleanliness. The mission settlement at Sirata Oirobi was a great contrast to the filth of the average Manyatta and pupils were taught to emulate this.<sup>315</sup> Education had yet no great place in the life of the Samburu and there was little to be said about the years of work in this department. A chance for the removal of the L.N.C School to the veterinary station to facilitate the instruction in animal husbandry was postponed owing to current building restriction. It was felt that the project, which would permit the pupils to receive instruction in animal husbandry from the instructor in stock, was thoroughly sound in principle, and should not be lost but should promote advancement of knowledge in this field of study.

By 1951, animal husbandry had been included in the syllabus at the Wamba School where there was an experimental herd, a ranch and a livestock officer in charge.<sup>316</sup> The LNC School was moved to the veterinary station so that the pupils would get much more veterinary instruction.<sup>317</sup> The policy on education of the Northern Frontier District of 1942-1945 observed that "as elsewhere in Africa, the aim of education was to avoid producing a large number of semi-educated detribalized young men for whom there was no employment... for some years to come the boys who are taught at the school at Wajir will be easily absorbed into the local civil service, for at present there was a great demand for literate men in the

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<sup>313</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/ Political records, Samburu District Monthly Intelligence Report, December, 1950.

<sup>314</sup> Tignor, *Colonial Transformation*, p.318.

<sup>315</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1948.

<sup>316</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1951.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*

administration and the police forces, and for every other departmental activity in this territory. When the demands of the Civil Service have been satisfied, the Wajir School should no doubt be changed a little so that it will have a veterinary bias, and so that its teaching will be of a nature which will enable young tribesmen to be more useful to perform community service when they return to their homes. However, on whether most of the boys went back to live with their own people, or stayed in the towns, remained a mythological understanding as invariably reported by many respondents thereof. The kind of education which was to be given depended on the tendency shown in this respect, and the general educational policy was indeed reconsidered and readapted as explained within the materialist conceptual framework as clearly articulated by Marx. In this context, Samburu was part of the NFD but the pupils being referred in the policy might not have been from Samburu community.<sup>318</sup> The colonial government thought that by offering animal husbandry as the main subject would endear them to the Samburu and encourage more of them to enroll. However, the introduction of this subject as well as herds for dietary purposes never changed the apathetic character of the Samburu towards embracing western education.<sup>319</sup>

Yet again in 1950, the education department produced a circular to the members of the Advisory Council on African Education restating the importance of spiritual education. The report held that,

education [for the Africans] must have a spiritual basis. There are signs that western culture is breaking down tribal authority and social structure built upon indigenous beliefs: education must encourage a strong sense of responsibility to the community and inspire in the individuals a devotion to a spiritual ideal. Western culture is infused with spiritual ideals and if our education is to be the living force we all desire it is essential that it should be infused with the same ideals.<sup>320</sup>

Whereas in the past, the emphasis had been on practical and technical education rather than religious instruction. This is attested by the fact that even the then DC in Samburu questioned the relevance of technical education. He observed, “the value of the RTS is in the writer’s view (the DC), doubtful. It may produce only half trained *fundis* [artisans] for whom there are not enough jobs in this district, and who cannot compete with properly trained men elsewhere.”<sup>321</sup> He offered a suggestion for conversion of the Rural Training school at Maralal

<sup>318</sup> KNA/MAA/7/464, Policy General Native Administration, Northern Frontier District, 25/3/42-5/2/48.

<sup>319</sup> O.I May 2007, Leyangawe Lolpokopey, Soipin Lekolool and Leteende Lekaso.

<sup>320</sup> KNA/PC/NKU/2/10/140 Circular from the Education Department to the Advisory Council on African Education 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1950.

<sup>321</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/4, Samburu District Annual Report, 1956.



into an Intermediate School. This was necessary because the Narok Intermediate School had stopped enrolling pupils from Samburu in 1956. Though, the government considered inspection and management as distinct and separate functions, amongst the Samburu these roles were performed by missionaries who were not well trained for the tasks. It was the duty of the government inspectors to ensure that schools and training centres maintained a high standard of efficiency and set up an adequate staff of inspectors.<sup>322</sup> Basing our understanding on this foregoing analysis, it was crystal clear that Samburu lacked these services in the whole of the colonial era as missionaries played a dual role, serving as teachers and inspectors, respectively.

In 1958, the RTS was established, though the training offered there could not offer a job opportunity to the Samburu outside the district. One Samburu qualified during the year at Kabete as a carpenter. He was employed first for two years as ADC fundi, doing part-time teaching in the Intermediate School, in order to gain practical experience; and would then, if satisfactory, be appointed as handicrafts instructor to the Intermediate School. By 1959, though technical education was being offered at the RTS, to most of the pupils, unfortunately, those who benefited from such schooling were not Samburu. The technical institute in essence produced fairly useful cadre of semi-trained *artisans*.<sup>323</sup>

#### 4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the policies adapted during the colonial era in regards to the development of African education in the protectorate from the period 1911 and up to the end of the WWII, the attitude of the colonial administration towards the Samburu as well as the role of different players in this case missionary and the LNCs in the development of western education among the Samburu. It has noted that, the policy adopted by the colonial period towards education was based on racial grounds. This policy was indeed pursued until the collapse of the colonial domination. That each race had its own educational system that was suited to the “colonial mind” at the time in particular reference to the curriculum as well as the facilities that were extended towards African education. The chapter has discussed the role played by the LNC in Samburu district in the development of education. In the 1950s, there emerged a collaborative relationship between the LNC and DEB that further spurred

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<sup>322</sup> KNA/PC/NKU/2/10/140 Circular from the Education Department to the Advisory Council on African Education 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1950.

<sup>323</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, 1959, Annual report, Technical Education.

educational development in the district. Indeed it was within this period up to independence that tangible educational funding could be adduced in the district. Samburu LNC specifically gave concrete form to the African demand for greater opportunity and their achievements here, though limited were the product of several factors. First, individual members were aware of the inadequacies of the LNC as an instrument for change, yet they had the courage and the ability to forward programs to ultimately, if indirectly, alter the colonial system substantially. Second, their belief in the efficacy of education sustained the force of their demands in the face of considerable opposition and continual disappointment. This perseverance finally bore fruit. Third, the LNCs' leverage was bolstered by the need of the colonial authorities to allow for their creation in order to prove its viability to the African public. In addition, officials were anxious not to damage the prestige of those chiefs and headmen who served on the councils and in the native authority system. Fourth and most importantly, LNCs, operating in the self-help tradition that has played such a notable part in Kenya's educational growth, backed their demands with funds raised through special local levies such as cess on sheep and goats in the district as well as Leroghi Betterment Fund. In this context, it led to the emergence of colonial officials who were more sensitive and taking into cognizance the views of the council at the expenses of the Africans interests. This principle characterized the colonial periods' philosophy of engagement between the colonialists and the local population generally throughout Kenya.

## CHAPTER 5

### 5.0 CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN SAMBURU EDUCATION 1945-1963

#### 5.1 Introduction

At the end of Second World War, African ex-servicemen in Kenya and elsewhere in Africa sought to maintain the socio-economic gains they had acquired through service in the KAR. Looking for white collar employment and social privileges, they challenged existing relationships within the colonial state. For the most part, veterans did not participate in national politics believing that their goals could be achieved within the confines of colonial society. The postwar actions of KAR veterans are best explained by an examination of their initial perceptions of colonial military service. Indeed, the social and economic connotations of KAR service, combined with the massive wartime expansion of Kenyan defense forces, created a new class of Africans with distinctive characteristics and interests. These socio-economic perceptions proved powerful after the war, often informing ex-KAR action whether socio-political or economic.

This chapter seeks to highlight how the Second World War and the return of ex-servicemen were crucial in galvanizing Samburu struggles and continuity for education amidst inherent neglect by the colonial government. Having served in the colonial army, a vast majority of Samburu returnees came back to bitter disappointment; instead of a hero's welcome, things remained exactly as they had been before the war. The Samburu were still hemmed in the reserves, destocking was still on the agenda and grazing rules were still operational. With many of the returnees serving in the LNC as members, they took it upon themselves to improve the education situation.

#### 5.2 Colonial Government Education Policy, 1945-1963

At the national level, the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 found the Department of Education (hereinafter DOE) unprepared. Lack of funds during the years 1932 to 1939 occasioned by the economic recession, had made it impossible to proceed with any large building programme designed to meet the expanding educational needs of a growing colony. Almost all the buildings erected during that period had been mere replacement of old unsatisfactory accommodation. In no branch of education was the department in a position to admit any appreciable number of additional pupils without

extending its buildings. The situation in Samburu at this particular time was not any better.<sup>324</sup> The government had neglected the district in the provision of education even though missionaries, in this case, BCMS, made efforts to get government assistance in vain.

In 1948 a Ten Year Development Plan for education was produced. Among its highlights was the continuance of the policy of placing the responsibility of primary education almost entirely on the ADCs. In the same year, the Report of a salaries Commission gave such large increases in salaries to teachers paid by Government that ADCs could not afford to pay them, and the danger arose that in each district there would be different scales of salaries for teachers well below those of Government. By 1949, it was clear that the proposals of the Ten Year Development Plan were not tenable without a revision of the whole system of financing education, but as it was impossible to separate finance from general policy, hence the difficulty faced by the government. Hence, a committee was appointed with powers to examine and report on the "scope" counter and methods of the African educational system". The committee's recommendations commonly referred to as Beecher Report in recognition of its chair the Venerable Archdeacon L. J. Beecher, were published in September 1949 (with implementation beginning in January 1952). According to the recommendations, it was resolved that a unified teachers' service be established with salary scales linked to those of Government servants and that a superannuation scheme was started; that the education department should have an adequate staff to control and supervise education effectively; that as a temporary measure supervisory terms be formed to allow the voluntary agencies to supervise effectively the primary and intermediate schools. in addition, it was resolved that the DEBs should be responsible for primary and intermediate education in their areas and that the costs be met from fees and grants from central and local government; and that regional educational boards be established for primary and day intermediate schools not covered by DEBs, for boarding institution and secondary school and teacher training. The core purpose of forming this committee was in effect to seek possible ways of limiting what the government considered excessive expenditure on African education.<sup>325</sup>

Meanwhile, in order to cope with the great interest then being shown in the education of technicians and artisans, the colonial government, in 1951, reformed the Advisory Council on trades training and constituted in its place an advisory Council on Technical Education and Vocational Training whose terms of reference were "the framing of an integrated policy for the development of technical education in all educational institutions and the relating of all

<sup>324</sup> Department of Education, Annual Report, 1945 Government Printer, Nairobi.

<sup>325</sup> Department of Education, Triennial survey, 1958-1960 Government Printer, Nairobi.

schemes to the needs of industry and commerce".<sup>326</sup> This marked an introduction of technical classes in various schools in the colony. In Samburu, such schools came into being in 1957 with the efforts of CCM.<sup>327</sup>

The effects of Emergency period on education began to lessen in 1954 allowing enrolments to return to normalcy. There was still no compulsory education for African children. Efforts were however, being made to provide schooling for all African children of school age living in urban areas, especially in Nairobi. In remote areas of the colony with scattered population, such as the NFD, children attended primary schools as day pupils. There were few boarding intermediate schools for boys in the sparsely populated areas. Boarding intermediate schools for girls were also available in order to encourage the education of girls at this level.<sup>328</sup>

### 5.3 Samburu Struggles for Education

Since 1929, when first attempt at schooling was made in Samburu district, education initiative had remained solely a missionary venture. The BCMS, a dominant mission in the district at the time attempted to reopen a sub-elementary school at Wamba which had early in 1928 closed down due to lack of pupils in the area occasioned by dry weather in the region. The changing weather pattern in turn necessitated movement by the community in search of grazing grounds elsewhere. Thus, the process of learning was disrupted and it's reopening was tied to a request for the government to avail funding through grants-in-aid programme to assist in re-establishing the school. No decision had been reached as far as funding for the school was concerned by the end of 1945.<sup>329</sup>

Whereas the district did not benefit from any government funding, the unrelenting effort from BCMS missionaries saw both schools at Sirata Oirobi and Wamba pick up in terms of number of pupils admitted.<sup>330</sup> Education funding through the grant-in-aid had not been advanced to the Samburu for a long time since the promulgation of the grant in aid rules to missions and aided schools in 1925. Sirata school had about 70 pupils, male and female,

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<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

<sup>327</sup> Paul Tablino, (2004) *Christianity Among the Nomads: The Catholic Church in Kenya*, Paulines Publications Africa, Nairobi, p. 164.

<sup>328</sup> Department of Education, Triennial survey, 1958-1960, Government Printer, Nairobi.

<sup>329</sup> Department of Education, Triennial Survey, 1955-1957, Government Printer, Nairobi.

<sup>329</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report 1945.

<sup>330</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/9, Samburu District Annual Report 1946.

juvenile and adult, and received a very good report from a visiting inspector from Nakuru who came only once in a long time. The problem of supervision persisted in the district prompting the mission to appoint her own Christian supervisors to ensure the maintenance of high moral standards and efficiency of teachers. These supervisors also oversaw all operations at the Maralal LNC school.

By the beginning of 1947, however, the number of pupils at the Sirata school had decreased to 32. This was so despite the elders' promise to bring in more pupils after attending an LNC meeting in Nakuru in 1945. Some enthusiasm was however evinced by the elders at Wamba towards the end of the year. Miss Webster, who had moved from Sirata, and Mrs. Scudder, were in charge of the mission station throughout the year.<sup>331</sup> The DC observed in the 1947 annual report that the Samburu were not at all keen in embracing school based education. However, this did not discourage the missionaries. In his handing over report, the DC, H.J. Simpson observed that the mission was contemplating starting another school elsewhere, but he was not keen on allowing them to proceed. He was dismissive of this endeavor. He suggested that it was much better to have a few schools with enough pupils to teach than many that had no pupils at all. He further added that the Samburu were not good at education and religion and a proper medical mission would have been of more relevance to the community.<sup>332</sup>

In 1948, two Samburu boys at Sirata Oirobi passed the Common Entrance Examination (hereinafter CEE) to join GAS Narok. Another two Samburu pupils were taking the LPT course at the GAS Tambach and one more started the same course at GAS Tambach in 1949. It was then anticipated that by 1950, there would be three trained Samburu teachers available for the three schools at Maralal, Wamba, and Sirata Oirobi.<sup>333</sup> The BCMS was granted a 33 year lease of their 10 acre plot at Sirata Oirobi and they applied for a further lease of a 5 acre plot at Wamba. The ADC had no objection to it. The CCM had also earlier in the year applied for a plot at Baragoi as it intended to start an educational institution there. The arrival of CCM in the district was bound to bring competition between the two missions. It was imperative that the two be confined to different areas. In fact when a request for building a school or two in the district was made to the district administration, the latter said that he had no objection but he reminded the CCM missionaries that the area was a difficult one to live in, particularly because of lack of water. He added that permission for the same

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<sup>331</sup> PC /RVP.2/2/3 Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1947.

<sup>332</sup> KNA DC/SAM/21, Handing Over Report, November 1947, H.J. Simpson to Mr. A.D. Sheriff.

<sup>333</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1948.

was required from the PC at Nakuru. He warned them not to interfere with the Protestants who were already at Maralal and Wamba. Bishop Cavallerra from Nyeri who made two major forays into NFD with the intention of establishing a school told the DC that the missionaries "had not come to create problems but to help."<sup>334</sup> Baragoi was then identified as place where CCM could begin missionary work. The CCM eventually moved to Baragoi so as not to antagonize the Protestants. The BCMS struggled to make headway with evangelizing besides teaching their fewer converts lessons in hygiene and cleanliness. The mission settlement at Sirata Oirobi was a great contrast to the unhygienic conditions of an average *manyatta*. Later, in 1948, the Reverend Hacking took charge of the mission station which had been abandoned during the war years, under Miss Webster and Mrs. Scudder. Miss Grindley and Miss Parsons arrived towards the end of the year to boost staffing at the Wamba station. The station had closed earlier on due to consistent lack of pupils that was occasioned by the nomadic lifestyle of their parents. The DC felt that the mission staff was a definite asset to the district and had done nothing to deserve unfavorable comments.<sup>335</sup>

There was great enthusiasm among the Samburu of Wamba for education. A small day school was run throughout the year under the direction of a teacher loaned from the mission whose salary was paid by the local elders. The elders further raised funds voluntarily for the building of an LNC school at Wamba in 1949 which was to be supervised by Miss Grindley of the BCMS which would later serve as her residence. This rapid development of western education at Wamba was largely due to the influence of the local chief Lesangurunguri who meticulously urged the local Samburu community to adopt westernization and its related superstructural development thereof at Wamba.<sup>336</sup> In turn, through such impetus the community collected over Kshs 4,000/= voluntarily for the building of the Wamba School which was to commence by the end of the year.<sup>337</sup> However, by December of the same year, the Wamba elders had collected Ksh. 8000 towards the building of the school. This facilitated the arrival of the David Brothers of Njoro who constructed classrooms at the school. This school, though belonging to the Samburu LNC was supervised by Miss Grindley of the BCMS. Besides it also relied on staffing from the BCMS.<sup>338</sup> This period was marked with increased cooperation between the government and

<sup>334</sup> Tablino, *Christianity*, p.158.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid.

<sup>337</sup> DC/SAM/3/4, Samburu District Monthly Intelligence Report for January 1949.

<sup>338</sup> DC/SAM/1/3 Samburu District Annual Report, 1949 See also, KNA/DC/3/4 Samburu District Monthly Intelligence Report, February, 1949.

the only mission in the district, the BCMS in so far as education staffing was concerned. The district, however, still suffered from lack of supervision for schools since the government was yet to appoint education supervisors. Despite this problem, it was within this period that sections of the community became enthusiastic about embracing western education especially after the material benefits it had brought to those who enrolled their children in the earlier period. By the 1950s, the children from poor backgrounds, whose parents lacked livestock, were being employed by the government as clerks, police officers and teachers.<sup>339</sup>

As earlier observed, the Wamba elders were more interested in embracing education at this period compared to their counterparts on Leroghi. Indeed the long held view by colonial administrators that the Samburu on Leroghi were averse to social change due to the easiness of life experienced on the plateau was a factor in their disinterest in education. Meanwhile, the LNC school at Maralal continued to function with an average of 15 pupils. One boy from the school passed the entrance examinations to the GAS at Narok. A staffing problem which arose with the departure of the Maasai school teacher Paul Lekaurai, at the end of the year was remedied with the arrival of Paul Rurumban, a local Samburu who had completed a teacher training course at Kapsabet. By this time, the district had three Samburu trained teachers. These were, in addition to Paul Rurumban, David Nginiya and Jonathan Lenemiria, who were posted to Wamba and the BCMS school at Sirata Oirobi in January 1950 respectively.

The Wamba school admitted her first pupils in 1950. By the end of the year, the government brought to the school a herd of cows in order to teach the boys at the school proper methods of animal husbandry besides providing them with milk. It had been the policy of the administration in the district to ensure that the curriculum taught to the pupils focused more on stock-rearing. The administrators had in mind the environment in which the graduates will return to. It was an education that was aimed at taking back the Samburu graduates to the reserves to deal with their livestock. The insistence was in line with the education that the government had, from the onset, approved for the Samburu community and indeed other pastoral groups; an education which was earlier on described as "Samburu education for the benefit of Samburu".

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<sup>339</sup> O.I May 2007, David Lenolkulal.



There was an outcry by the elders particularly from Wamba and Baragoi for more schools but then as late as this period there were still rampant problems in staffing as well as getting suitable schoolmasters who were well versed in *maa* language.<sup>340</sup> These two areas had been neglected by both the government and the BCMS in provision of education. Both the government and the mission established themselves on Leroghi where climatic conditions were favourable compared to Wamba and Baragoi. In 1950 the Samburu people launched a petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies Creech-Jones on the low level development of social services including education. Education progress had been slow with no demand of it in several sections of Samburu district. Consecutive reports by the successive DCs had noted the lack of enthusiasm exhibited by the Samburu in accepting western education. However, in this memorandum written on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 1949, addressed to the Secretary of State for Colonies, through Kenya African Union (hereinafter KAU) and Chief Native Commissioner, (hereinafter CNC) the Samburu decried the government's attitude towards the community. It decried the Crop Production and Livestock Ordinance of 1926 under which the grazing rules of 1936 were promulgated as oppressive, embarrassing, and a complete barrier to [their] economic development. It lamented the fact that the community had offered generous support to the war effort in the way of livestock and manpower during the last two World Wars, yet it had not gained from the British. The community completely failed to understand whether they were in any way considered as British subjects like other African communities in Kenya, who included the progressive Kikuyu, Kamba, Luhya and Luo.

The memorandum further noted that the community had always demanded for schools, hospitals and other social services in the district but the government had simply refused to listen to them. The Samburu informed the government that they had not been treated justly as other African peoples in other parts of Kenya, despite their young men having been at various places during the two wars. They equally failed to understand why the government had completely debarred them from the benefits which they were entitled to including education and other social amenities. They resented the governments' effort to curtail their rights to freedom of speech, association and movement. In fact, the district was ultimately declared a closed area and other African people were not allowed entry to the same region. While registering their dissatisfaction, they pointed out that: "We would like at all times to invite and welcome our advanced brothers to encourage us to follow their example,

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<sup>340</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/3/4 Political Records, Monthly Intelligent Report December 1950.

but we have been completely cut off from them by the local authorities.”<sup>341</sup> This petition was quite significant considering the apathy that had been exhibited by the community towards social change from the 1920s to the end of the WWII. The signatories to this petition included a Mr. Gideon Gaitwa, a Kikuyu who was resident in the nearby Mukogodo region in Laikipia district. Him being neither Samburu nor resident in the district, led the Samburu DC to easily dismiss this petition. The CNC dismissed Mr. Gaitwa as a rouble rouser and stated that he was bound not to take seriously any document that bore his signature. Others were Larayan ole Tale, Liyande ole Bwache, Tararin ole Ekekett, Ilindikir ole Kanario and Tarain ole Malonse.

The petition was submitted through KAU to the CNC then to the secretary of state for colonies. However, the KAU secretariat noted that, the problem discussed in the petition was local and hence saw no need to send it to the Secretary for Colonies but noted that the complains sounded rather genuine and needed to be investigated by the colonial secretary. It appealed for immediate action on the issues raised in the petition.<sup>342</sup> The CNC on the other hand, in a letter to KAU<sup>343</sup> dismissed the petition suggesting that the petition should not be forwarded as the six signatories could not purport to speak on behalf of the two communities in the district. He made it clear that the government had no intention of changing its position in regard to grazing control on Leroghi. He dismissed allegations made against government as too general to warrant any action. He took issue with Mr. Gaitwa appending his signature on the petition as KAU chairman Gaitwa, knew of the discontent among the community in regards to grazing regulations. This petition was aptly corroborated by informants who pointed out that, the district was a closed area and they were not aware of what happened in the other areas of the colony. It is significant to note that, whereas this memorandum focused mainly on the Leroghi grazing control rules and the attitude of the administration towards the community, there was a major attempt at pleading for improvement of social services in the district. It expressed a sudden change of attitude by the community towards western education. The development of western education in the district had been neglected. The community had viewed the whole process with suspicion and by then the community's interest was geared towards “grazing than grace”. At this point, the politics of decolonization had infiltrated the district. The memorandum raised political awareness among the

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<sup>341</sup> KNA/MAA/7/731, Petition to the Secretary of State for Colonies, Rt. Honourable Mr. Creech-Jones M.P, Nairobi 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1949.p.2.

<sup>342</sup> KAU to CNC, 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1949, in KNA/MAA/7/731/ folio 65.

<sup>343</sup> CNC to KAU, 12<sup>th</sup> May 1949 in KNA/MAA/7/731 folio 66.

community. Outsiders, among them Gaitwa who had found themselves in the district simply exploited the obnoxious grazing regulations, a point that made the Samburu trust them.

The whole process of educational development in the district had been slow until the end of WWII. The spread of Christianity had picked up in the far ends of the district including Wamba and Baragoi as well as Barsoloi with the BCMS seeking to establish more centres in the district. Another factor that contributed to this upsurge in demand of education was the coming back of the ex-servicemen who had served in the WWII. For once, they had discovered the dispensability of the white man and they were ready to agitate for educational and other services for the community. They immediately embarked on a process of demanding for the services which were inadequate in the district such as education. This is how their sons such as David Letooya, Jonathan Lenemiria, David Nginiya, Edward Lekaada, Paul Rurumbani and Lucas Lolngojine to mention a few ended up being educated through the western school formal system.

As the decade drew to a close, the community's adaptation towards western education was evident. Facilities at Sirata Oirobi were improved by the mission to encourage enrolment. BCMS was able to boost development at the school through the increasingly cooperative spirit of the Samburu through the ADC. This was with the help of a grant from the ADC. For the first time in the district, both Wamba and Maralal schools were under two Samburu teachers who had completed an LPT course at Tambach. These were David Nginiya and Paul Rurumban respectively. At both ADC schools and the BCMS mission school, the number of pupils had risen to approximately a total of 100 Samburu and Dorobo boys. However, the number of girls who had enrolled was abysmal. There were only two girls attending school in the whole district. Within the same year, the Wamba elders rendered subscriptions amounting to over £ 5000 for additional buildings at Wamba School, which was completed at the beginning of the year. This response was so impressive that the administrators' perception of the Samburu as "conservative, unenterprising and lacking in any kind of initiative" was called to question. The initiative by the elders prompted the DC, J. Butler, to inform the PC Rift Valley province, D.L. Morgan that he had formed a school area committee; the first of its kind in the district, for Wamba. This was possible because the elders had shown great enthusiasm and support for educational development and they had subscribed the above figure towards the building of the school.<sup>344</sup> The formation of school

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<sup>344</sup> KNA/PC/NKU/2/10/25 Memo from Office of the DC Maralal to the Rift Valley Province PC.

area committee was in line with the Education Ordinance of 1924 that was enacted by the Legislative Council specifically for African Education. This ordinance was significant to the growth of African education since it provided for the establishment of a central committee that basically spelt out the implementation of government educational policies at the local level. The committee was also bestowed with the responsibility for the promulgation of "School Areas" and the constitution of School Area Committee into which they were nominated as representatives from the LNCs hence reinforcing the co-ordination of the relevant stakeholders.<sup>345</sup>

In a nutshell, the School Area Committees were tasked with advising the Director in regard to provision of schools, make recommendations to the Director in regard to establishing opening, management and closing of public schools for Africans, to make recommendations on assistance that could be advanced to the LNCs for carrying out educational project for the benefit of Africans and to advise the Director generally on any educational matters.<sup>346</sup> The establishment of LNCs had been authorized in 1924 by an amendment to the Native Authority Ordinance, and by 1925 they had been established in the more progressive districts. By 1938 twenty-two assemblies were functioning.<sup>347</sup> They became forceful in promoting education among various African communities in the colony particularly after the end of the WWII. Under the said Education Ordinance of 1924 rates were levied by some LNCs. Of these, some council levied a special education rate and others directed a larger part of their general revenue to educational expenditure. Grants were paid to both mission and village schools by the councils, but some devoted much of their resources to building of their schools. This forced the government to ban any addition to the grant-in-aid list unless the educational expenditure of any particular council did not exceed the amount permitted by the Fazan Formula. The Fazan Formula, named after the chairman appointed to inquire into the expenses of the LNCs on education, had empowered the DC to disallow any vote whose allocation on education exceeded 25% of the total LNC expenditure.<sup>348</sup> This however did not prevent the educational expenditure from rising steadily as the cost of living

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<sup>345</sup> Department of Education, Annual Report 1924, Nairobi, Government Printer .

<sup>346</sup> A Report of a Committee appointed to Inquire into the Scope, Content and Methods of African Education, its Administration and Finance and to make Recommendations, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1949 pp.20-21.

<sup>347</sup> Donald G. Schilling, (1976) *Local Native Councils and the Politics of Education in Kenya, 1925-1939* in The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. 9, No. 2 pp. 218- 247, Boston University African Studies Centre.

<sup>348</sup> R.M. Mambo, (1981) "Local Native Councils and Education in Kenya: The Case of the Coast Province, 1925 to 1950" in *Transafrican Journal of History*, Vol. 10, pp.61-62.

rose rapidly and grants were increased by increasing the staff at existing aided schools. Indeed some schools had double streams in order to circumvent the ban.

With the increasing of expenditure on African education, the government appointed the Beecher Committee in 1949 to inquire into diverse aspects of African education. The main objective of the committee was the priority of making recommendations on how the expenditure on education could be reduced so as to ensure that other social services for which the councils were responsible for, were not impaired.<sup>349</sup> The implementation of the Fazan Report which had failed to check the excessive expenditure on education, to the commissioning of the Beecher Committee, the government was determined to limit the expenditure on education.

The Samburu community had become more and more interested in schooling and were willing to contribute funds for the building of new schools to supplement the old ones as well as sending their young ones to the schools. Any such scheme was however held up by lack of teachers. It had become desirable that the teachers be of Samburu descent who were well versed with the local dialect for easy instruction. However, a few Samburu had passed through the teachers training course and some had preferred being clerks rather than teachers.<sup>350</sup>

In 1950, the Department of Education in a circular to the members of the Advisory Council on African education acknowledged the role played by the Christian missions in the development of education in the colony. The circular observed that in view of the fact that, Christian missions were offering education in Africa, it was the policy of the government to work at all educational levels through the Christian missions, demanding from the missions the highest possible standards of staff and efficiency in their educational work as a condition for financial assistance from public funds. It was also the policy of the government to treat in the same way all other religious bodies which had the same devotion to a spiritual ideal and the habits of self-discipline and loyalty essential to the well being of the community.<sup>351</sup> This was another attempt by the colonial government to ensure that missionaries could not teach a curriculum that was not approved by the settler dominated government. However, educational management as well as supervision of schools in Samburu district were roles

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<sup>349</sup> A Report of a Committee appointed to Inquire into the Scope, Content and Methods of African Education, its Administration and Finance and to make Recommendations, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1949 (hereinafter Beecher Report).

<sup>350</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/3/4, Samburu District Monthly Intelligence Report, February 1950.

<sup>351</sup> KNA/PC/NKU/2/10/140, African Education: A Statement of Policy. Issued with the Authority of the Member for Education, Health and Local Government, 1951, Nairobi, Government Printer.

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<sup>351</sup> KNA/PC/NKU/2/10/140, African Education: A Statement of Policy. Issued with the Authority of the Member for Education, Health and Local Government, 1951, Nairobi, Government Printer.

played by missionaries who owned the schools in the district. The efficiency of mission schools in Samburu district then depended on the resources and initiative of a particular mission. In this way, each mission formulated its own policy, trained, employed and dismissed its own teachers. In most cases, missionaries served as teachers too. The missionaries themselves had varied background; some were graduates while others had little education beyond missionary training. Each mission similarly set her own curriculum and determined what was examined. This ran contrary to the provisions of the policy as the government did not intervene.

In the course of 1951, the girls were transferred to Sirata School which was the only boarding school for them. There were several factors that militated against girls' education among the community. This was occasioned by lack of separate schools for girls making parents and elders adversely disposed to girls' education. There was need for establishment of more girls' schools both elementary and intermediate in Samburu so as to address the problem. However the Beecher Report had recommended in 1949 to limit the number of intermediate schools for girls to 30 in the country.<sup>352</sup> This was ironically considering that, the same report had unanimously underscored the importance of girls' education. It averred that, no general improvement of the lower level of education in particular, or social and economic conditions in general was possible until there was an increase in the number of girls being educated and trained at all levels of the educational system.<sup>353</sup> The situation in Samburu had not necessitated a rapid expansion of girl child education during this particular period.

In the same year the Wamba Samburu subscribed a further Ksh10, 000 for the extension of the Wamba school and those on Leroghi voluntarily raised Kshs. 8, 000 for the improvement of facilities at the Maralal LNC School.<sup>354</sup> All sections of the district were keen on improving standards of education in their areas. This ambitious building program was occasioned by the need for education by the community. The missions' converts had risen drastically and this changed the general outlook of the community on western education. The Christians missions were allowed to use school facilities at the various schools where the virtues of western education were inculcated into the converts. They were in turn willing to enrol their sons and to a lesser extent their daughters for western education. Some were ready to pay school fees for their children.

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<sup>352</sup> KNA/NKU/2/10/40, The Catholic Bishops of East Africa Response to the Beecher Report, 1949.

<sup>353</sup> Beecher Report.

<sup>354</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1951.

As the year drew to a close, the subject of animal husbandry was introduced in the syllabus at Wamba School. There was already an experimental herd and ranch officer in charge of the livestock who would easily offer instruction to the boys.<sup>355</sup> The philosophy of the colonial education particularly for the Samburu was guided by the emphasis on the "Samburu education for the benefit of Samburu." With this type of curriculum, the anticipation was that, it would remain appropriate to the community in their own reserves rather than creating "professors and students of higher grades who might not deign to help themselves or their community any efforts connected with hard work."<sup>356</sup> The curriculum was readily accepted by the community as after the completion of the course, they would become vital points through which modern methods of animal husbandry would be introduced within the community.

Another development in education in the district during the year was the formation of Samburu DEB. Its first meeting was held in September 1951 with core of the discussion on improving education facilities in the whole district.<sup>357</sup> Its formation was in respect to the approval of the Beecher Report as amended by *Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1950*. The government had considered the ADCs as not yet having reached that level of development where they could be given responsibility.<sup>358</sup> However, it has been argued elsewhere that the government's urge to control the LNC funds from being used extensively on education gave impetus to the creation of the DEB.<sup>359</sup> Yet again the DC was the chairman with representatives of missionary organisations and non controversial Africans being nominated to the boards. The colony was divided into five "Regions" each with a Regional Education Board. These Boards were concerned only with African education. A Provincial Education officer was posted to each area for which a Regional Education Board had been constituted and efficiency of administration. Each Provincial Education Officer (hereinafter PEO) was to be responsible for all education for all races in his area. The *Sessional paper* provided that all correspondence had to be addressed to the provincial education officer concerned unless specific instructions authorizing direct communication with Head Office had been issued to any particular school or institution. The areas under the control of each PEO were given and

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<sup>355</sup> Ibid.

<sup>356</sup> Tignor, *The Colonial Transformation*, p.282.

<sup>357</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1951.

<sup>358</sup> PC/NKU/2/10/40, Education/ Ref.5/723/93 H.O Circular No. 31/1951 of 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1951.

<sup>359</sup> Mambo, *Local Native Councils and Education in Kenya*, p.62.



it should be noted that all education in any part of those areas under the jurisdiction of an urban local government body fell under the authority of the PEO.<sup>360</sup>

In Samburu, the board initially had two Samburu members in it. These were headman Paul Lekaram [Legumai section], Loroghi and chief Lapuipui [Dorobo section], Wamba who were nominated to represent the interests of the community. A third Samburu was recruited in late 1952 when the new CCM school at Baragoi began to admit pupils.<sup>361</sup> The ADC worked with the DEB to support education endeavours in the district.<sup>362</sup> Among the Samburu, the DEB was viewed as a direct channel through which the community would participate in the development of education. The board was generally instrumental in controlling and financing elementary education, and quite often, it was not necessary for the DOE to question their suggestions and decisions. The board further handled the allocation of grants, fees and assistantships for bright yet poor pupils. It also determined salary scales, managed the leasing of plots for school development and maintained a register of schools.

Meanwhile, the missionaries at BCMS Sirata Oirobi kept a supervisory role on the Maralal and Wamba ADC schools. A problem in staffing arose when Miss Webster departed on leave to England and was replaced by Mrs. Scudder. The work at Wamba was carried on by Miss Grindley and Miss Parsons who also supervised the ADC schools. The Baragoi school was finally opened by the CCM. This area had been neglected by the BCMS despite the fact that Samburu district had remained her sphere of influence since the mission's arrival in 1929.<sup>363</sup> This was the first school in this area, mainly occupied by the Turkana community who had been in the Baragoi region since 1922. The government expected it to give some Turkana boys a chance to be educated. The community members, having seen the successes among other sections of the district due to education, voluntarily subscribed Kshs. 12, 000 towards building of the school. The elders in Baragoi thus took it upon themselves and contributed generously towards the construction of the school.<sup>364</sup> It can be argued that the community was taking the initiative of improving education in the district by itself. However, with the coming of CCM in the district, and her provision of education, the relationship between the two missions operating in the district and became frosty. The DC developed

<sup>360</sup> PC/NKU/2/10/40, Education/ Ref.5/723/93 H.O Circular No. 31/1951 Of 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1951.

<sup>361</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report 1951, See also, KNA/JA/1/133 Minutes of the Samburu ADC held at Maralal on 28<sup>th</sup> August 1951 Min 6/51.

<sup>362</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1951.

<sup>363</sup> Tablino, *Christianity*, p. 152.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*

reservations about the two missions. In a meeting with stakeholders in education suggested that each be confined to specific spheres of influence. He was of the view that whereas the BCMS did not like competition, the CCM on the other hand espoused expansionist tendencies. This was the case in Nyeri where CCM had moved from. The move appeared to anger the BCMS who had initially considered Samburu their sole sphere of influence. CCM was not only a threat to BCMS but also to the administration. The administration did not only view their expansion as dangerous, but noted that the CCM should not be allowed to build schools everywhere until they had proved their worth in Baragoi.<sup>365</sup>

At the beginning of 1952, Sirata Oirobi was transformed into a girls' only boarding school. It was the first major attempt towards improving the enrolment of girls. The co-educational institution had become troublesome as most girls were easily influenced into marriage by morans and elders in need of second and more wives. In addition, the change of the school from day to boarding enabled the missionaries to have a closer supervision of the girls. Many of my informants noted that the establishment of the first girls' school in the district was due to the influence of Mrs. Scudder and Miss Webster. They developed a keen interest in girls and could be seen roaming in *manyattas* in search of girls.<sup>366</sup> By the end of the year, six boys and for the first time in many years, one girl passed entrance examination that saw them join the Narok GAS for intermediate studies.<sup>367</sup>

The development of education in the district was up to the end 1951, largely depended on the initiative of the BCMS and to a lesser extent the LNC. However, from 1952, the CCM Baragoi picked up and by the end of the year it comprised two large school rooms, a dormitory, a dining hall, a priest's house, and a house for the catholic sister. The priest, Father Stallone, made more requests of land grants to build churches in several areas including El Barta, Tum, Elaut, Nguronoti, Latakweny, Barsaloi, South Horr, Kawap and South Merti. The colonial administration was not in favour of missions in the north hence CCM easily overcome this obstacle by applying for schools. But the PC knew that the passage from school to mission would be a matter of time.<sup>368</sup> The council approved this request against the DC's earlier recommendation that this could only be approved once the

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<sup>365</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/2/1 Handing Over report, A.D. Sherrif to J.M.B Butler, 13/1/1950.

<sup>366</sup> O.1 May, 2007 Ngaato Lesiekono, Lekuye Leitikitik and Soipin Lekoolool.

<sup>367</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1952.

<sup>368</sup> P. Tablino, *Christianity*, p. 161.

CCM had proved itself capable through its first school at Baragoi.<sup>369</sup> At the same meeting, the president of the ADC, the DC approved a funding totaling to £600 to be devoted to building of more facilities at the schools by mission authorities. Additionally, the CCM was awarded a land grant to expand her educational facilities. But it was agreed that, the allocation of a larger area to CCM should await the results of the first four months of her education work there.<sup>370</sup>

The CCM applied for more land for a variety of reasons. It was not only interested in the expansion of her educational facilities in the district, but also wished to have the communities stay within the vicinities of the mission. It also intended to develop the agricultural potential of their land holding in order to finance their activities and to inculcate new agricultural techniques and the virtues of work among her converts.<sup>371</sup> Through this occupation, CCM had envisaged that it would make it possible for several Samburu to relocate to the mission hence it would possess full control over them and provide an environment where they will enroll their children in the school besides providing labour on the annexed farms. This would also ensure spread of the gospel. Further, the funds that had been raised by the community on Leroghi in 1951 for the reconstruction of a new dormitory and repairs on the headmaster's house at the Maralal LNC school.<sup>372</sup>

With increasing number of pupils at Wamba school, there was a need to improve facilities at the school; particularly dormitories and dining facilities in order to accommodate more pupils.<sup>373</sup> However, the government expected the ADC to fund all these projects. Upto to this point in time, the government was yet to send any education inspectors to the district. The onus remained on the BCMS to supervise the ADC schools. Thus education in the district depended largely on the existence of this mission.<sup>374</sup> The situation of apathy to education came to the fore when the Member of Legislative Council (hereinafter MLC) for the Rift Valley and Maasai regions visited the district later that year. While addressing the members of the Samburu ADC and missionaries in the district in September 1952, Mr. Ole Tameno, who had visited the district to inspect the development projects, decried the low

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<sup>369</sup> KNA/JA/1/133, Minutes of Meeting of Samburu ADC held at Maralal on 7<sup>th</sup> March 1952 Min 7/61 Application for Mission plots.

<sup>370</sup> KNA/JA/1/133, Minutes of Meeting of Samburu A.D.C. held at Maralal on 28<sup>th</sup> March 1952 Min 6/52 Roman Catholic Mission – Baragoi.

<sup>371</sup> Tignor, *The Colonial Transformation*, p.129.

<sup>372</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1952.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid.

levels of education in the whole district. He urged the community to embrace education positively in realization that they had to keep in the race with the rest of the country and not allow themselves to remain behind during this time when struggle for independence was at its peak. He was appalled by the reluctance of the parents to register their children in the four schools.<sup>375</sup> In essence, the MLC was blaming the Samburu for being averse to change.

The decade of 1950s was one of marked improvement in education. The Samburu now had no reason not to send their children for western education. Apparently, the levels of enrolment had risen steadily during this period but not as impressive as it was expected especially at this time. For further education, the district continued to rely on Narok GAS and for LPT teacher training course at Tambach. Though having commenced operations in 1952, Baragoi CCM School was officially opened on 10<sup>th</sup> April 1953 by the DC, T. Gavaghan in the presence of a large *Baraza* of all chiefs and elders from the whole district and all colonial officers. Baragoi being a CCM sponsored school, the Bishop of Nyeri was represented by the Reverend Father Commissassi. The DC made it clear that the purpose of inviting all the chiefs was to ensure that, they recruited more pupils to the schools, particularly within their areas of jurisdiction.<sup>376</sup> However, in performing this duty, the chiefs preferred children from poor families who lacked livestock and not their own children or those of their 'rich' colleagues. At this opening, the Samburu and Turkana leaders had the opportunity of seeing the new mission of the Consolata which had developed within a short time. Quite significantly, whereas the Turkana had filled the quota that had been allocated for them, the Samburu left the school and the DC did not permit the Turkana to take their place.<sup>377</sup> This was attributed to the fact that the area was largely occupied by the Turkana and it went back to the controversy between the Samburu and Turkana over the contested occupation of the region by the Turkana. The *Lkume*-Turkana in Samburu parlance had encroached on this land which the Samburu considered their territory. The relationship between the two communities was highly volatile considering the fact the colonial government had used *morans* in both 1914 and 1921 expeditions to rid the region of Turkana.<sup>378</sup>

In 1953, five boys passed the entrance examination and were admitted at Narok GAS for CEE. Two trained pupil teachers graduated from Tambach training school and were

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<sup>375</sup> KNA /JA/1/133, Minutes of meeting of Samburu ADC held at Maralal on 28<sup>th</sup> -29<sup>th</sup> September 1952, Min 24/52, address by the Hon. Mr. Ole Tameno MLC, Rift Valley and Masai regions.

<sup>376</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1953.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid. see also Tablino, *Christianity*, p.162.

<sup>378</sup> See Waweru, "Continuity and Change", p. 83.

posted to the district. This greatly improved the teacher-pupil ratio in the district.<sup>379</sup> The BCMS took over the initiative of managing the girls' school. Miss C. F. Webster's enthusiasm and interest saw the number of girls' at the school rise steadily. She also aided in the placing of pupils and pupil teachers upon return to the district, as well as with invigilation of examinations. The early education of girls at the school has been attributed to her tireless efforts. An informant, Ms. Towon, who studied under her guidance, noted she demonstrated great interest in the education of girls as she went deep into the *manyatta* to pick girls to enroll besides encouraging parents to bring with them their daughters when they visited the missions.<sup>380</sup>

By 1954, Samburu district had no secondary school hence candidates for secondary education were received at the GAS at Narok through a competitive examination. This year was successful since pupils attended schools in the district throughout. Six boys passed the entrance examination that saw them join GAS, Narok making a total of 20 boys at the school. It was this year that the school had such a high number of Samburu entrants. The CCM at Baragoi continued to expand its school buildings and it was able to get an additional £1000 from ADC.<sup>381</sup> The district still faced the challenge of educational supervisors with the task laying squarely on the respective missions who were oftenly overwhelmed due to absenteeism and lack of adequate staff. However, they managed to inspect and supervise their schools with the BCMS having an extra role at the Wamba ADC school.<sup>382</sup>

At the beginning of 1955, the Governor approved an award of £3,000 to the community for its loyalty during the emergency period. A meeting of the ADC decided to devote this sum to a new primary and technical school. The education department undertook to pay a further £3,000 towards the two projects. The proposal to build a technical school at Maralal had been made to Father Andrione of CCM in November 1954, and this was confirmed by the governor of the colony when he paid a visit to Maralal on 13<sup>th</sup> March 1955 and advanced the above sum for construction of new primary schools and a technical one.<sup>383</sup> In a visit to the district, deputy DEO Mr. Larby promised that the department of education

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<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

<sup>380</sup> O.I June, 2006.

<sup>381</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1954.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid.

<sup>383</sup> Tablino, *Christianity*, p. 163.

would undertake the building of an Intermediate School at Maralal which would embrace the technical classes to be provided.<sup>384</sup>

The Consolata Fathers' general superior Father Dominic Fiorina visited Baragoi on 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1955 also promised to contribute towards the technical school. However, there was still the controversy between the Protestants and Catholics, in this case, the BCMS and CCM over zoning of the district. In a meeting of Father Dominic and a Protestant minister, it was agreed that coexistence be allowed to prevail provided that one denomination would not build an institution similar to one the other had already started in the same place. For this, the Catholics could build a technical school of which there was none at Maralal, while the BCMS continue to have the monopoly of the primary schools which they had a long time ago. The CCM consequently undertook to build the technical wing, rural training school, (hereinafter RTS) and to control it until it was taken over by the DEB intermediate school. Work was due to start in 1956, and some £600 was spent on a stone crusher, concrete mixer and block maker. Besides, this a new dormitory and classroom were added to Baragoi CCM school.<sup>385</sup>

The restatement of the District Policy at the end of 1955 observed in part that, there was need to associate the Samburu in the grazing schemes created by the DC, Butler through education and appointment of locals as executives in consultation with the ADC and Grazing Committees and demonstration of the advantages to be derived from controlled cattle economy.<sup>386</sup> These grazing committees were created by the DC Butler ostensibly to get elders themselves to work out all-important problem of grazing and stock control hence conservation initiative.<sup>387</sup> He had divided the district into three distinct regions, namely Lorroki, Wamba and Baragoi each with a specific boundary. In the creation of these grazing zones, Butler had envisaged that they will eventually evolve into proper administrative locations under chiefs and locational councils. They did evolve along his expectations and by 1955, they were acting as divisional councils and they performed duties far greater and varied than the regulation of grazing. These included raising money for construction of schools, hospitals, dams, and encouraging the community to trade and educate their children.<sup>388</sup> Though the DC still chaired the ADC and Grazing Committee meetings, the involvement of

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<sup>384</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1955.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid.

<sup>387</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District annual Report, 1950.

<sup>388</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1955.

the Samburu in the affairs of the district to some extent marked an important milestone in the development of their own social affairs. This policy aimed at transforming the Samburu needs for education thus being able to utilize the employment opportunities available. It was a far cry from what had existed in the district up to the early 1950s when much emphasis had been laid on education geared towards keeping the Samburu within the cattle economy.

Another development during the year was the introduction by the BCMS of elderly classes for women at Maralal under the leadership of Mrs. Scudder. These classes were touted by the colonial administration as having been successful although they were haphazardly organized. The women were offered training in cleanliness and hygiene that was geared towards keeping the *manyatta* clean. They were also taught how to establish their own kitchen gardens. They were also taught good milking techniques to avoid milk infection. Meanwhile, at Wamba Miss Grindley and Miss Parsons continued their helpful work at the DEB boys' school.<sup>389</sup>

By 1956, additional staff quarters had been built at Baragoi school and ancillary buildings had been provided for Sirata Oirobi School. Work was in progress on the building of the new Maralal Primary and the RTS.<sup>390</sup> The council agreed unanimously to the setting aside of the following land; Maralal 4 acres for the DEB school and Baragoi 10 acres for CCM.<sup>391</sup> This was a great step towards provision of services in the schools to spur educational growth. But it was only with the greatest of difficulty that new entrants could be found from the Samburu. At Baragoi for instance, over three quarters of the pupils were Turkana, Somali or Kikuyu. The DC, P. H. Jones however, attributed this to lack of interest on the part of the community bearing in mind that fees had risen to Kshs. 50/-. Unlike in the earlier period, the children were fed besides being clothed funds from the ADC. The table on the next page giving figures of pupils in the schools in the district indicates the receptivity of the community towards western education in the years under review. The number of pupils increased significantly from 1950 up to 1955. There were, however no figures for the years 1948-49. This was a circumcision period and most pupils deserted school to take part in the ceremonies accompanying circumcision.

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<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> KNA JA/1/133, Minutes of meeting of Samburu A.D.C. at Maralal on 27<sup>th</sup> -28<sup>th</sup> November 1956, Min 23/56 Address by the President.

<sup>391</sup> KNA JA/1/133, Minutes of meeting of Samburu A.D.C. at Maralal on 27<sup>th</sup> -28<sup>th</sup> November 1956, Min 27/56 Setting aside of land.

**Table 4: School Enrolment in Samburu District, 1946-1956**

Year	Boys	Girls	Total
1946	32	-	32
1947	62	8	70
1948	-	-	-
1949	-	-	-
1950	94	13	107
1951	90	10	100
1952	90	17	107
1953	110	23	133
1954	120	30	150
1955	130	30	160

The district had lacked an intermediate school since the first school was established in district. By 1956 plans were underway to launch one. During the year, a number of pupils from the new CCM school at Baragoi took the CEE. However, CCM insisted that their candidates could not go to Narok GAS for intermediate studies.<sup>392</sup> This was a show of the often frosty relation between the missions in the district. In a meeting of the Samburu DEB, the secretary drew attention to the issue. The DOE accepted the contention of the CCM that children from catholic primary schools would only proceed to catholic intermediate schools. This instruction was offered by the educational Secretary General of the Catholic Missions. It was the considered opinion of CCM that, all boys from the catholic schools attend an unaided intermediate school in Thomson's Falls which would have hostel accommodation for boys from Samburu District.<sup>393</sup> A compromise was eventually reached where six boys were accepted at Narok GAS and eight at Thomson Falls. However, the headmaster of GAS, Narok indicated that he would not have any further room for Samburu pupils. This prompted the DEB to give serious consideration to the provision of an intermediate school at Maralal.<sup>394</sup>

The building of the new Maralal primary and RTS had been held up owing to the skilled staff being occupied. Due to lack of funds, modifications were made to the original

<sup>392</sup> Ibid.

<sup>393</sup> KNA/AV/256, Minutes of the eighth meeting of the Samburu DEB held on 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1956, Min 13/56, Matters arising from the minutes of the previous meeting, minute 10/56, CEE.

<sup>394</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/4, Samburu District Annual Report 1956.



plans but it was expected to finish the work by the middle of 1957 and to accept the first pupils in the RTS in July. The CCM built the house of the Lay Brother, Charles Troyer who was to assist in the supervision of the School.<sup>395</sup> He arrived at Maralal in August 1957 to install a laboratory and enrol the first students for carpentry and masonry classes.<sup>396</sup>

Funding of facilities at both missions largely depended on grants from the ADC. Sometimes the community members contributed voluntarily. For instance by end of 1956, £260 was subscribed from voluntary contributions to complete the local quota for the new Maralal primary school. For the cost of work at Sirata Oirobi, approximately £100 was found from the same source as was a further £80 donated towards the following years' quota under the Five Year Development plan. It was not easy to find the £1,600 required for 1957 and 1958 but it was hoped that the majority of this amount would be found by grants from the ADC.<sup>397</sup> The CCM maintained its mission at Baragoi where Father Michael Stallone and Sister Theobalda taught in the Primary School throughout the year. Sister Giuletta of the Consolata order continued her invaluable work at the hospital as a nurse and midwife while Father Andrione supervised the building of staff quarters at the hospital.<sup>398</sup>

In 1957, a further 6 pupils from Samburu district were admitted to the Narok GAS school and 7 others to the Catholic intermediate school at Thomson Falls. However, the DC made a bleak analysis of the education status in the district. He opined that there was no demand in the district for education; pupils had to be driven by force to school. He added that, only constant administrative pressure kept up the numbers in Baragoi as elsewhere in the district, but "no doubt in a few years the Samburu would suddenly realize that education was a good thing and blame the Government for not providing enough of it."<sup>399</sup> An informant held that "our fathers would not want us to stop herding and join school. But they came to regret it later."<sup>400</sup>

Among the Samburu, ownership of cattle was equated to being 'rich'. This phenomenon has been referred to as "cattle complex." It was the chiefs and the wealthy people who owned cattle. One informant held that if there were any poor families that did not have cattle, it was hard to identify them for they were lent cattle to herd for their daily

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<sup>395</sup> Ibid.

<sup>396</sup> Tablino, *Christianity*, p. 164.

<sup>397</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/4, Samburu District Annual Report 1956.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>399</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/4, Samburu District Annual Report 1957.

<sup>400</sup> O.I May 2007, Jonathan Lenemiria.

upkeep. This attests to the stratification that existed in the Samburu society. The poor had some sheep, goats and chicken, which seem to have been extremely important to their sustenance. The chief used the tribal police to capture boys in the *manyatta* and take them to school. A respondent observed that;

I remember my father was angry with the chief for a long time until I finished school. He only got to talk to him when I got a job and started giving him money. When I got employed, people in my area started appreciating the importance of education.<sup>401</sup>

At the beginning of 1958, a major demand in the district was for local intermediate school. The DEB worked tirelessly and the school was expected to admit its first pupils in the school at the beginning of January 1959. Despite all these efforts, it was only constant administrative pressure that kept the schools full. An indication of these was an observation by the DC in 1959 that, a threat by the schools' management to expel boys who did not pay their fees was oftenly received with a sigh of relief by the pupils and parents alike. To the parents, this was an opportunity for them to engage the boys in herding activities and for some of the boys' it was an opportunity to engage in activities accompanying *moranism* among others. Although as late as 1959, western education had not elicited massive interest among the Samburu, there were efforts in espousing school-based education. Nevertheless, the demand for education was slowly but perceptibly increasing, especially among the Turkana who dimly saw that there was room for improvement in their way of life. The Samburu on the whole, were completely self-satisfied.<sup>402</sup>

In another meeting of the DEB, the chairman informed the members that the British legion had proposed opening a club in Maralal for ex-members of the KAR. He thought such a project should have some definite of an annual get together, and suggested that the new DEB intermediate school should run what amounted to a cadet force. The KAR intended to open its own cadet school in the near future, which would take boys from standard six and above, so long as they had a good understanding of English, and give them such training as would lead to accelerated promotion to non commissioned ranks. This school would welcome sons of Samburu ex-KAR members, and the aim of the proposed cadet force in the intermediate school would be to encourage such boys to enter the cadet school. The British legion would probably be willing to give financial help to the cadet force. The African members were concerned that the proposed cadet force might interfere with the normal work

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<sup>401</sup> O.I May 2007 Timothy Lemargeroi.

<sup>402</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/4, Samburu District Annual Report, 1958.

of school, but it was pointed out that the prime project of the Maralal DEB intermediate school, as of all intermediate schools, was to prepare pupils for the Kenya African Preliminary Examination, (hereinafter KAPE) and that entry to the school must be on results of the CEE. If these entrants included relatives of ex-KAR members, they would be encouraged to join the cadet force whose main training would take place outside school hours. The cadets would, however, be expected to complete the intermediate course from standard five to standard eight, and to attempt KAPE. Bearing this in mind, the board was enthusiastic about the proposed cadet force, and the secretary was instructed to convene a meeting of representatives of the Samburu community, and the education officer. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the administration and financing of the cadet force.<sup>403</sup>

Up to 1959, girls' enrolment had not improved much. There was only one girls' school, and the demand among the Samburu for educated, presumably uncircumcised wives was small.<sup>404</sup> This was more the reason that girls never enrolled in large numbers. This report was corroborated by the views of Loice Towon who pointed out that uncircumcised and educated women would not get married. This served as an impediment to the development of female education in the district. The enrolment kept on dwindling every year. In a meeting of the Samburu ADC attended by Honorable Daniel arap Moi on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1959, the issue of education was discussed at length. Moi, the MLC for Rift Valley implored the Samburu to pay more attention to education.<sup>405</sup>

It became a confrontational meetings of the DEB, since the DC wanted to limit the revenue spent on education in the district. Besides this, the BCMS and CCM officials often displayed notable differences in their approaches in issues concerning education in the district. However, towards the 1960s, the relation between the two began to blossom. It was this improving relation that saw BCMS on one occasion advance funds to assist the CCM out of a difficulty into which they had got themselves by ambitiously building at Baragoi without counting the cost thereof.<sup>406</sup> At a different level, a rural tannery was added to the RTS which already produced well qualified carpenters and builders. The tannery looked like being a

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<sup>403</sup> KNA/AV/2/56, Minutes of the Ninth meeting of the Samburu DEB held at Maralal on 19<sup>th</sup> march, 1958, minute. 7/58, British Legion Project.

<sup>404</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report 1959.

<sup>405</sup> KNA/JA/1/133, Minutes of the ADC meeting held at Maralal on the 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1959, Min 23/59.

<sup>406</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1960.

valuable new development which fitted in with and at the same time improved the Samburu way of life.<sup>407</sup>

The bottlenecks in the growth of education was basically due to staffing since Samburu teachers were few and most of them were not well qualified. As a result, teachers from other communities did not like serving there. Maralal Intermediate school expanded to standard 7 in 1961 under a Samburu headmaster who had just passed a course at Tambach while Baragoi school rose to standard 5. This was a first step towards intermediate status in 1961. Wamba on the other hand was expected to attain this status in early 1962.<sup>408</sup> Indeed the levels of education had improved in the district but it was still a long way to go compared to other progressive areas of the colony. Even at this time, when many communities in the country had secondary schools, Samburu still lagged behind. The Samburu *morans* were still deeply hemmed in their cultural practices. For instance, with both missions making visible progress in proselytizing, at any church service, spears could be seen parked outside the church and *morans*, in their usual semi-nudity with paint and red ochred hair, sitting in the pews. The missions had adapted to these cultural impediments and did accept them as they were. Infact it was the view of the DC, C. P. Chevenix Trench that, "it is to the credit of the missions that they do not require their converts to wear trousers, and sun glasses." If there were strict rules in this regard, the Samburu would not have easily embraced this alien religion. Unlike other communities in the larger NFD, who had embraced Islam, the Samburu showed no sign whatsoever of turning to it.<sup>409</sup>

Again the DC reported of the interest of the community in western education in the 1961 annual report that, "[the] Samburu tribesmen are now beginning to appreciate the benefits of education for his children and has woken up rather late in the day to the fact that he might be left behind in this new world of independence if he cannot find educated leaders to speak on his behalf." This was in recognition of the fact that, other communities in the colony had espoused western education and had amongst them, eloquent representatives who would represent them in the new political dispensation.

All schools were 80 per cent boarding which meant that expansion involved very much greater costs than in other areas. In February 1961, Paul Rurumbani headmaster of the

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<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

<sup>408</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report, 1960.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid.

DEB intermediate school at Maralal was nominated as the Samburu, Kenya African Democratic Union, (hereinafter KADU) member of the Legislative Council denying the education sector in the district another formidable teacher. From the beginning of 1962, an increase in demand for education was expressed by a tendency of the community to demand for spread of small nursery and primary schools in the *manyatta* centres. However, this was opposed by the DEB owing to the difficult of staffing of such schools and the uncertain of long term development. The policy of the board had been directed more to the strengthening of the existing townships schools with the possibility of double streams in future. An extraordinary meeting was held on 21<sup>st</sup> April to consider estimates for 1962 and a special meeting of the ADC on 3<sup>rd</sup> July to discuss the implications of the Seven Year Plan with the community elders. The DC called for a determined expansion of educational facilities in 1962 by double streaming three of the four primary schools. The extent of the financial burden of all these development projects was however borne by the ADC. It was felt that an annual intake of only 150 per annum did not represent a satisfactory solution to solving the backwardness of the Samburu community educationally and a suggestion was broached by the DC to increase the intake.<sup>410</sup> As Kenya attained her independence in 1963, Samburu district was one of many pastoralist areas that had lagged behind educationally despite the fact that significant change had been realized in the intervening period, 1955-1960.

#### 5.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the struggles of Samburu community in adopting western education. It has clearly shown that the policies that were adopted by the colonial government were not easily implemented in the district. The discussion has demonstrated that, the period under discussion was one of enthusiasm in education characterized by increased enrolment, improvement of facilities in schools as well as funding of the education by both the government and the LNC, later on the ADC. Even, during this period, the government insisted on agricultural instruction that was aimed at returning graduates to reserves or providing manual labour on settler farms in the colony. As late as 1958, when pupils elsewhere in the colony were moving towards literary instruction, emphasize in Samburu was towards training artisans mostly carpenters and masonries at the RTS who, it was envisaged would replace the Asians, who were regarded as being in competition with Europeans in

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<sup>410</sup> KNA/DC/SAM/1/3, Samburu District Annual Report 1961.

Kenya. All these were dreams that were shared with the first DOE in the colony, J.O. Orr as early as 1911.

The period witnessed controversies that often acted as impediments to the development of education in the district. These include the competition between the Protestants and Catholics. This was characterized by the need for each mission zone particular areas as spheres of influence. The BCMS, for instance having pioneered evangelization activities in the district, particularly in Wamba and Maralal, the CCM on arrival in late 1940s was limited to operate in Baragoi. It only moved to Maralal in 1951 after being allowed by the DC to establish RTS at Maralal.

## CHAPTER SIX

### 6.0 CONCLUSION

This study has examined the development of western education among the Samburu during the colonial period. It has been argued that missionaries and colonial government played a significant role in the development of western education among the Samburu. Secondly, cultural institutions influenced the development of education among the Samburu. Thirdly, European policy on the Samburu practices particularly their mode of production, in this case pastoral economy hindered the development of western education among them. Fourthly, evidence has been adduced to show that educationally, nomadic people tend to be marginalized primarily because of the harsh and precarious conditions and high mobility rate of their way of life. Finally, their low participation rates in the few and often ill-adapted formal and non-formal education programmes contributed to denying them a chance to effectively participate in economic and development activities. Consequently, the community tended to adhere to their traditional lifestyles; without necessarily having sufficient control over the social and economic factors that determined their situation. This too often led to a higher incidence of poverty among the community in comparison to sedentary populations.

The major impediments to the adoption of western education according to colonial administration were the age-set system and mobility. However, they were only partial explanations. First, children could move up the warrior class when they were adolescents, which meant that they would have completed primary school especially elementary schooling. If they were initiated, this frequently took place during long holidays so that they could return to school after the ceremonies. Secondly, only a fraction of the group move with the herds and those were mostly 'warriors' who were no longer of school age. Perhaps more important was the dispersed nature of their residential settlements which meant that children often had to travel long distances to school.

Pastoral activities themselves often conflicted with complete schooling as the family units depended on children for the day to day task of looking after the herd. Looking after the family stock usually required a minimum of four herders as there were different animals involved with different needs in terms of pasture among other needs. There was need not only to choose the appropriate pasture for each animal but also to recognize each animal in order to account for the herd.

To the colonial government, the general implication for educational provision was that the nomadic groups themselves had to perceive what they were being offered as an

improvement to what they already had. Indeed, this propagated the policy of “Samburu education for the benefit of Samburu”, that was heavily tilted towards the provision of a curriculum with a bias on animal husbandry. As early as 1925, the Phelps Stokes commission Report of 1925 and the Education Policy of the same year emphasized vocationalisation of education for all Africans and for improving rural life. This meant practical and agriculture oriented education. Evidence adduced in this work established that, the colonial education differed greatly from the learning practices of the Samburu.

Whereas the community imparted knowledge through institutions such as age-sets, age-grades and household arrangement, western type of education did pull the children from the parents. It has been shown that western education denied the Samburu an important section of the community that is herders. Besides this, education among the pastoralists and particularly among the Samburu was seen by both parents and elders as a tool that would eventually erase traditional values and lifestyles. With the venturing in of missionaries into Samburu from 1929 for the BCMS, and 1952 CCM, the community was still reluctant to adopt western education. It has been shown that, the relationship between the missionaries and the community was sporadic and weak. It is argued that, the missionaries tended to concentrate among densely populated areas.

The whole process of establishing education among the Samburu suffered from multiplicity of challenges. This included the cultural activities the community engaged in such as age-set systems, moranhood, circumcision, both and female. On the whole, the community viewed western education as socially disruptive to their way of life. Whereas the above challenges were in effect from the Samburu, this study has shown that, colonial government played a major role in inhibiting adoption of western education. From the outset, the closed district ordinance served as an impenetrable barrier to the outside world. This ordinance affected both missionaries and Africans from other areas of the colony.

Another challenge to any social development in the district including education was the Samburu Land Question issue which revolved around the tenurial rights of the Lorroki Plateau. More precisely, emphasized on the mainstay of the community’s social and economic life and its aftermath, when their lands had been annexed by both Laikipia and Marsabit respectively. This conflict that begun as early as 1912 generated a lot of concerns and more so became an obstacle to any meaningful social development including education. It is imperative to note that it was not until 1933 that the KLC finally recognized the Samburu as the rightful owners of Lorroki. Despite such a proclamation, their recommendation that the carrying capacity of the plateau be fixed by the law at 40,000 heads of cattle with



inadvertently opened another frontier of conflict between the two extreme groups which have all alone being diametrically opposed to each other based on their differences in theoretical approaches to education as exemplified within the theoretical imperatives of Karl Marx and Adarn Kuper(for detailed synthesis see,1.8,pp.17-24).

The promulgation and enforcement of the Lorroki Grazing Control Rules of 1936 marked the beginning of the systematic colonial intrusion in to the Samburu pastoral economy, in the name of land rehabilitation. Grazing schemes and boundaries were created to ensure the ever-growing Samburu herds did not destroy the environment. These rules had the consequences of the community having to divide their herds into two, some were driven into the "low country" while others remained within the colonial created enclaves. Young men of school going age were then sent in the "low country" to take charge of the herds denying them an opportunity to join school. Those on the plateau devised mechanisms to undermine these measures; including forging brands, grazing in closed areas at night and bribing of the notorious grazing guards. The Samburu finally decided to take their plight to the national political arena through a memorandum via KAU. This memorandum addressed both social and economic issues, laying much emphasis on the grazing control rules. It also noted that the community had demanded for schools, hospitals and other social services to which the government had not responded. However, this memorandum was easily dismissed by the CNC as the signatories would not purport to speak on behalf of the two communities. The memorandum raised political awareness in the district and outsiders, among them Gaitwa simply exploited the obnoxious grazing regulations to their benefit, a point that made the Samburu trust them.

Towards the beginning of 1950s, the spread of Christianity picked up in the far flung areas of the district including Wamba, Baragoi and Barsoloi, a fact that made education possible. This study established that missionary activity was closely linked to education; that 'pitching of a tent' meant establishment of a school. As Kenya struggled towards independence, there was the obvious realization by the community's elite their precarious position. This was in so far as lack of their own people who could adequately address their needs in an independent state was concerned. As such, there was a marked improvement in terms of enrolment. Consequently, there was concerted cooperation among all stakeholders including the ADC, Samburu DEB, Missionary groups and the government that aroused enthusiasm in western education. This was further strengthened by the obvious awareness that education was the key to a central participation in the country's socio-economic and political development.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: SCHEDULED ORAL INTERVIEW

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_

Place \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

#### (a) Establishment of Modern Education in Samburu

1. What form of education existed before the coming of the whites?
2. How was this type of education organised?
3. Were there some aspects of indigenous education, which continued to colonial education? If yes, which ones?
4. When was the first school established?
5. What was the name of the school?
6. Who were the founders of the school?
7. How did the community view the school?
8. How many schools were in existence during the colonial period?
9. How were the schools financed?
10. In the absence of schools in the district where did the Samburu go for their education needs?
11. Who were the earliest missionaries in Samburu?
12. How did they recruit students to the missionary schools?
13. Who were the first personalities who passed through these schools?
14. What impacts did these schools have in the community?
15. Where were the students drawn from?
16. Why that particular area?
17. Who taught in these schools?
18. Did the emergence of independent schools elsewhere influence the development of education in the district?
19. What was the content of the educational syllabus that was in offer?
20. Were there any committees called up to deliberate on educational issues?
21. Which were some of the issues discussed in these committees?
22. Was education viewed as a tool of development?

23. In what ways was tax collected and for what?
24. What employment opportunities did the Samburu have after pursuing education?
25. How did you view those who went to school?

(b) Development of Modern Education in Samburu

1. Which group was the first to start up an educational institution in Samburu?
2. How did the community view them?
3. How did they view the community?
4. What was the reaction of the community to their activities?
5. Which were some of the specific things they were doing?
6. How did inspection of schools facilitate the development of schools in Samburu?
7. What role did the Local Native Council play in the development of education?
8. How were they getting funds for educational development?
9. Did Africans build any school in the colonial time?
10. What was the role of local administration in the development of education?
11. To what extent were the chiefs involved in the development of education?
12. Were there any fines for those who did not take students to school?
13. Was there any incentive for those who went to school? If yes, which ones?
14. Did the community take any initiative in the development of schools?
15. What role did the Samburu elite play in the development of education?
16. What kind of initiative was it?
17. What hindered the development of education among the Samburu during the colonial period?
18. Was education of benefit in relation to your economic practices?
19. How was traditional education different from that introduced by missionaries?
20. How did the cultural practices affect the development of education?
21. What was the contribution of elders to the development of education?
22. What are some of the government policies that affected education development in Samburu?

23. How did First World War affect the Samburu in the field of education?
24. How did World War Two affect Samburu in educational development?
26. How did the Mau Mau revolt affect the development of education in Samburu?
27. What role did the ex -serviceman play in the development of education?
28. Was the provision of education distracted by any economic, social and political activities?

## Appendix 2: List of Informants for Oral Interviews

May 2005- May 2007

	NAME	AGE-SET	RESIDENCE	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1	Musa Lenemiria	Lkileku	Sirata Oirobi	02/05/2007
2	Jonathan Lenemiria	Lkileku	Sirata Oirobi	02/05/2007
3	Isaiah Lolngojine	Lkimanik	Sirata Oirobi	03/05/2007
4	Seuri Lentoimanga	Lkimanik	Sirata Oirobi	04/05/2007
5	Timothy Lemargeroi	Lkishili	Maralal	05/05/2007
6	Soipin Lekoolool	Lkimanik	Maralal	08/05/2007
7	David Letooiya	Lkimanik	Lpartuk	11/05/2007
8	David Lenolkulal	Lkimanik	Lpartuk	15/05/2005- 12/05/2007
9	Lekuye Leitikitik	Lkimanik	Lpartuk	16/05/2007
10	Loice Towon	Lkimanik	Sirata Oirobi	25/05/2005- 12/5/2007
11	Leteele Lemuya	Lkimanik	Sirata Oirobi	1605/2007
12	Leyangwe Lelpokopey	Lkimanik	Sirata Oirobi	17/05/2007
13	Simon Lenolkulal	Lkimanik	Lorrok	18/5/2007
14	Lolwerikoi Marisa	Lkishili	Lorrok	18/5/2007
	Leparmarai			
15	Lesewa Isaya	Lkimanik	Maralal	18/5/2007
16	Matthew Lesuuda	Lkimanik	Maralal	19/5/2007
17	Leuyasimwa Michael	Lkimanik	Maralal	19/5/2007
18	Samuel Lonyokopiro	Lkimanik	Maralal	19/5/2007
19	Lenyokopiro Lesiera	Lkishili	Ngare Narok	20/5/2007
20	Lemparas	Lkimanik	Ngare Narok	20/5/2007
21	Esther Lenyokopiro	Lkishili	Maralal	20/5/2007
22	Lenyokopiro Nkarano	Lkimanik	Suguta Marmar	21/5/2007
23	Samuel Lentaya	Lkimanik	Baragoi	22/5/2007
24	Leitoro Loingema	Lkimanik	Baragoi	22/5/2007
25	Lolwerikoi Leteele	Lkimanik	Lodokejek	23/5/2007
26	Thomas Lengiso	Lkimanik	Lodokejek	23/5/2007
27	Lesorogol Jacob	Lkimanik	Nontoto	24/5/2007
28	Lucas Lolngojine	Lkimanik	Sirata Oirobi	25/5/2007
29	Leteele Lemuuya	Lkimanik	Sirata Oirobi	25/5/2007
30	Leyangwe Lolpokoey	Lkimanik	Maralal	25/5/2007
31	Lekuye Leitikitik	Lkimanik	Ng'ari	26/5/2007
32	Lemwata Lenalpisho	Lkimanik	Losuk	26/5/2007
33	Ngaato Lesiekono	Lkileku	Ng'ari	26/5/2007
34	Nairucho Lolochum	Lkishili	Ng'ari	27/5/2007
35	Peter Leajore	Lkimanik	Maralal	27/5/2007
36	Edward Lekaada	Lkileku	Poror	28/5/2007

**Appendix 3: Samburu Age-Sets**

	<b>Age-set</b>	<b>Initiation Date</b>
<b>1</b>	Salkanya	c. 1739-c. 1753
<b>2</b>	Uandero	c. 1753-c. 1767
<b>3</b>	Kipslat	c. 1767-c. 1781
<b>4</b>	Meishopo	c. 1781-c. 1795
<b>5</b>	Kurige	c.1895-c. 1809
<b>6</b>	Lpetaa	c. 1809-c. 1823
<b>7</b>	Kipayangi	c. 1823-c. 1837
<b>8</b>	Kipeku	c. 1823-c. 1851
<b>9</b>	Kiteko	c. 1851-c. 1865
<b>10</b>	Tarigik	c. 1865-c. 1879
<b>11</b>	Marikon	c. 1879-c. 1893
<b>12</b>	Terito	c. 1893-c. 1912
<b>13</b>	Merisho	c.1912-c.1921
<b>14</b>	Lkileku	1921-1936
<b>15</b>	Lmekuri	1936-1948
<b>16</b>	Lkimanik	1948-1960
<b>17</b>	Lkishili	1960-1976
<b>18</b>	Lkiroto	1976-1990
<b>19</b>	Mowoli	1990-2004

Sources: i). Paul Spencer (1973)  
 ii). P. Waweru (2005)