THE CONTRIBUTION OF FRIENDS AFRICAN MISSION SCHOOLS TO THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN KENYA 1902-1973: THE CASE OF VIHIGA DISTRICT

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DECLARATION

Declaration by the candidate

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family.

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ABBREVIATIONS

C.M.S. Church Missionary Society

H.G.F. Holy Ghost Fathers

F.A.M. Friends African Mission

S.D.A. Seventh Day Adventist

M.H.M. Mill Hill Missions

P.A.G. Pentecostal Assemblies of God

A.I.M. African Inland Church

F.A.I.M. Friends African Inland Mission

F.I.M. Friends Inland Mission

S.A.C.I.M. South Africa Compound and Interior Mission

L.N.C. Local Native Council

K.N.A. Kenya National Archives

E.A.Y.M.F. East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends

N.I.M. Nilotic Independent Mission

C.G.M. Church of God Mission

S.A. Salvation Army

M.E.B. Maragoli Education Board

G.A.S. Government African School

C.C.K. Christian Counsel of Kenya

K.C.A. Kikuyu Central Association

N.K.C.A. North Kavirondo Central Association

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Abstract

This study examines the contribution of Friends' African Mission schools to the growth and development of education in Vihiga district from 1902 to 1973. The institutions of interest were Kaimosi girls high school, and Chavakali high school. The main communities examined in relation to these schools are the Maragoli and Tiriki—both found in the immediate neighbourhood of the schools under study. Employing the concept of underdevelopment, the study shows how western education laid emphasis on a religious and industrial curriculum for Africans. Thus, though mainly interested in spreading the gospel, the Friends' African Missionaries were also concerned with improving the socio-economic conditions of African communities. Consequently, industrial education supplemented the elementary and religious education that pioneer Africans were exposed to at Kaimosi. The study, moreover, demonstrates that by generating a substantial African elite, the schools under the auspices of the Friends' Africa Mission (Kaimosi girls secondary school and Chavakali boys secondary school) largely account for the socio-economic and political transformation of western Kenya. The study utilized both primary and secondary sources of information. Oral data were collected from informants within Vihiga district whereas archival materials were sourced from the Kenya National Archives. Secondary sources supplemented the primary data.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Background to the Problem

The initial development of western education in Kenya was the responsibility of Christian missionaries that belonged to different church organizations from Europe, USA and Canada. The major Christian groups that operated in Kenya were Protestants and Catholics. In the second half of the eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries, western countries especially North America, England, Scotland and other European countries experienced a religious revival and a social movement. The religious revival involved a transformation in the Christian faith of the church adherents, while the social movement appealed to individuals to be sober, industrious and self-sacrificing (Abreu, 1973). These events were triggered off by the combined effects of the industrial revolution and urbanization process in Europe and North America, and by the subsequent social, economic and political changes which accompanied those modernization developments.

When they came to Africa therefore, western Christian missionaries were now influenced by the growth of the progressive movement whose main principle was based on the need to uplift the poor from their plight. Their initial target population in Africa was the freed slaves. Thus, influenced by the socio-economic changes in their home countries, these Christian missionaries got concerned not only with individual conversions to Christianity, but also with social reform and the development of society as a whole. Education, which was to be provided by these western missionaries was seen as a useful tool to achieving this aim (Ibid).

In Kenya, as in many areas of tropical Africa, Christian missionaries from western European countries preceded the establishment of colonial rule and settlerdom. Long before the advent of colonialism in East Africa, for example, early missionary activities were centered around the care of freed slaves. The Universities Mission in central Africa stationed at Zanzibar from 1864 was the pioneer mission in providing freed slaves with basic religious and industrial education. The Church Missionary Society (C.M.S) was the first to set up a mission and school in Kenya as early as 1844 but their activities were confined at the coastal region. Therefore, even after the

coming of the Portuguese Christian missionaries at the coast of Kenya way back in the fifteenth century. Western Christianity and education never really took root until the arrival of John Krapf and Johan Rebmann of the C.M.S in 1844 and 1846 respectively (Nyachieo, 1992).

Following the establishment of colonial rule in Kenya in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, missionary activities in the country increased in intensity. This was boosted by the pacification and opening up of the interior by the colonial administration, the declaration of a protectorate over Kenya in 1895 and the building of the Kenya-Uganda railway. John Anderson stresses the importance of these developments to missionary activities in Kenya when he writes:

> With the start of the railroad and the declaration of a protectorate in 1895, a new era began. Missionary officials, traders and settlers started to move inland towards the attractive highlands. Missionary activity accelerated rapidly. New protestant missions became active (Anderson, 1970: 52).

Daniel N. Sifuna also underlined the importance of the partition of the continent in providing an umbrella of law and order and the improvement of communications as having led to a remarkable record of missionary work in Africa in general (Sifuna, 1990).

A number of Christian groups began to expand their activities into the interior. Key among the protestant groups was the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S) from England. Arriving in Kenya in 1844, their work was mainly confined at the coast until the construction of the railway. In 1885, they founded a mission station in Taita and later in the central parts of Kenya at such places as Kahuhuruka, Waithaka, Kahuiya, Mahiga and Embu, (Abreu, 1973:24).

The entry of the Church Missionary Society to western Kenya was through Uganda in 1905. Mission stations were opened up among the Luo, Abaluhya and the Kisii. The church of Scotland Mission, later known as the Presbyterians founded missions at Kibwezi, Thogoto, Tumutumu and Chogoria in Meru. At the same time, the African inland missions established stations at Kangundo, Kijabe, Githurai and at Kinyona. The Catholic missions which operated in central Kenya were the Holy Ghost Fathers (H.G.F) and Italian catholic missions between 1903 and 1906.

The extension of the railway in western Kenya generated intense rivalry among the missionaries as they scrambled for spheres of influence. Involved in this rivalry were the C.M.S at Maseno, Butere and Ng'iya in 1906, Friends African Mission (F.A.M) or Quakers at Kaimosi in 1902, the Church of God at Kima in 1905, the Seventh Day Adventist (S.D.A) at Kamagambo in 1906 and Mill Hill Missions (M.H.M) at Yala, Mumias, Mukumu, Nyahururu and Asumbi in 1906. The latest on the scene was Pentecostal Assembly of God (P.A.G) at Nyangyri in 1910. Three missionaries led by Willis Hotchkiss were sent to western Kenya to establish an industrial mission by the American Friends. Hotchkiss had come in 1895 with the African Inland Mission (A.I.M) but left that society because of its policy of concentrating only on evangelization. He now led the missionary team through Kisumu and settled at Kaimosi among the Luhyia people around 1900. They purchased about 900 acres of land with the aim of using it both to evangelize and to help their converts acquire skills in various trades and in farming. Consequently, they established their mission station at Kaimosi in 1902 (Painter, 1966: 24).

The principal motive of these missionary groups especially the Protestants was to reform the social sector of African life. This was to be achieved through bringing the Africans into membership of their churches whereas education was to be used to spread the gospel and to reform the African society. In pursuit of this objective, each mission set up central mission schools with networks of village or "bush schools". The latter category of schools became so instrumental in the opening up of the rural areas to western values and ideas that they were termed by the Phelps-Stokes Commission as the "outposts of civilization". In these schools, African children were given simple education in reading, writing and arithmetic alongside religious instruction. Thus early schools grew out of the desire to win converts, train African catechists and workers so as to create an African middle class who could be used to introduce European civilization to the local population (Phelps-Stokes Commission Report on African Education, 1924-25).

Whatever the argument, Christian missionaries did much by way of contributing to the African educational development. As F.B. Welbourn summarizes, "The greatest known farmer, carpenter, smith, doctor, linguist and story teller (Bogonko, 1992:18) had missionary contact". Missionaries trained the African converts as masons, carpenters, and architects for purposes of building churches, schools and houses. They compiled dictionaries in local languages, made bible translations, wrote books, set up bible colleges, mission presses for publications and other

educational related activities. Their most important contribution was setting up schools based on western models (Bogonko, 1992).

It is therefore against this background of Christian missionary enterprise in Africa generally and Kenya in particular that this study sets out to establish the role played by one of the Christian missions to the development of education in Vihiga district from 1902 to 1973. Though comparatively smaller than the other missionary groups, the Friends Africa Mission is nevertheless important in demonstrating the extent to which diverse missions adopted different approaches in their work. To the Friends for example, the acquisition of industrial skills would give Africans a new way of life in the world as they responded to the gospel. Three missionaries led by Willis Hotchkiss were sent to western Kenya to establish an industrial mission by the American Friends. Hotchkiss had come in 1895 with the African Inland Mission but left that society because of its policy of concentrating only on evangelization. He now led the missionary team through Kisumu and settled at Kaimosi among the Luhya people around 1900. They purchased about 900 acres of land with the aim of using it both to evangelize and to help their converts acquire skills in various trades and in farming. They established their mission station at Kaimosi in 1902 (Painter, 1966: 24). Other stations were opened in the surrounding areas of Maragoli, Lirhanda and Bukusu. These missionary stations became centres of learning while schools became tools of evangelizing the local communities. Hospitals and medical schools were also founded in such stations.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The planning and location of educational institutions in Kenya has always been a very crucial issue worth serious investigation. The role of the F.A.M in the development of secondary education in the country no doubt calls for such a task. The F.A.M, just like other Christian missions in colonial Kenya, contributed to the educational development of Africans through various institutions such as Chavakali boys and Kaimosi girls. Both these schools did a lot in providing opportunities to many people who would otherwise have missed this important level of education. Despite the crucial role played by the Friends' African Mission in education, this has largely escaped scholarly attention. This study, therefore, focuses on the problem of how the advent of the Friends' Africa Mission at Kaimosi impacted the propagation of formal education both at Kaimosi and in the adjacent areas.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

This study set out to achieve the following objectives**:**

a) To trace the origin and determine the factors central to the development of Kaimosi girls and Chavakali boys high schools.

b) To establish the relationship among the educational institutions fronted by the Friends' African Mission.

c) To establish the content and nature of instruction offered at these Friends' African Mission educational institutions.

1.3 Major Research Question

What was the contribution of Friends' African mission schools to the growth and development of education in Vihiga district?

1.4 Justification of the Study

The F.A.M, just like other Christian missions in colonial Kenya, contributed to the educational development of Africans through various educational institutions such as Chavakali boys and Kaimosi girls. Research has been carried out on the contribution of other Christian missions to educational development in Kenya treating schools such as Alliance, Mangъ, Maseno Kamagambo and Nyangyri. Comparatively, the contribution of the F.A.M to educational development in Kenya has not received adequate attention. This study is justified by the need to bridge this gap as it is clear that the specific contribution of the Friends African Mission is thinly treated in the existing literature.

Furthermore, the establishment of the East Africa Protectorate by the British in 1895, and the subsequent inception of colonial rule marked the onset of a new era for traditional African

communities by exposing them to western values and ideas as a way of adjusting to the new social context. In view of the fact that mission schools played a very special role in this process, a study of this nature focusing on the contributions of the Friends Africa Mission on the growth and development of education in Vihiga district is justified. The mission schools prepared Africans to play both formal and informal roles in the colonial setting. Consequently, mission educated Africans became distinct from the local people who remained within the mainstream of the traditional educational system. This study sets out to trace and discuss the historical development of Chavakali boys and Kaimosi girls and their impact on the local community from the colonial period and shortly after independence to 1973. The study therefore, provides background knowledge to the earliest F.A.M. educational activities in Kenya. It therefore constitutes a basis upon which further researches could be carried out concerning the role of mission stations in other parts of the country.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The results of this study contribute to an understanding of how Friends' African Schools contributed to the growth and development of education in Vihiga district. Moreover, its findings are useful to students, parents, schools and the community at large since they contribute to the promotion of education by eradicating factors that make some Friends' African mission schools to perform better than others. Furthermore, the findings of the study are valuable to fellow researchers who may be interested in the same field. These findings provide information about the relationship between Chavakali boys high school and Kaimosi girls high school and also highlight any gap that exists between the two schools. The study of the two schools and the Friends' Africa Mission demonstrates that the response and receptivity of African communities had a major influence on the establishment and development of educational institutions. The lessons of the study can thus be drawn upon by educational planners in the country.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study set out to examine the contributions of Friends African Mission in the growth and development of education in Kaimosi girls high school and Chavakali boys high school. The time span that this study covered was from 1902 to 1973. 1902 is an important beginning point because it marked the arrival of the Friends' African Mission at Kaimosi. However, the study sought its background in the period before 1902 in order to demonstrate the pre-colonial

traditional foundation of the people around Kaimosi. The terminal year of the study, 1973 is about the time when the mission relinquished the management of the school to the local community, hence the period after this was not the concern of the study.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

1. The study sourced information from a large sample of informants who witnessed the coming and activities of European missionaries. Information was also sourced from Friends' Africa Mission fathers, headmasters, teachers and administrators. Analyzing this enormous data in a manner that reconciled conflicting view points was a challenge.
2. Financial constraint constituted another limitation and consequently, the study was only limited to two Friends' African Mission Schools in Vihiga district.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

This study was carried out within the context of the perceived role of the Christian missionaries during the colonial period in Kenya. The objective of all missionaries was to bring Africans into membership of the churches to which they themselves belonged. This would be done through the network of village schools in which children of all ages would be given simple education on elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic The Missionaries wanted to train African catechists and workers. The catechist would spread the gospel since he was a man who spoke the language and was one of the people. The spread of Christianity was to rely on a person's ability to read and understand the bible. The 1890s saw the widespread attempt to put vocational aspects of education in Kenya in practice. Industrial training formed part of the curriculum in most schools.

The role of Christian missionaries in pre-colonial Africa has been viewed as agents of European imperialism in Africa. Christian missionaries led to European colonization in Africa. Many scholars such as Robert Maxon support this view, arguing that the missionary endeavour should not be lightly dismissed as they were the precursors of colonial conquest (Maxon, 1989:124). Indeed in Britain and other parts of Europe, the need to spread Christianity constituted a very important justification for imperial expansion.

The type of education offered by the missionaries to the Africans in the colonial era served the colonialists in the spread of western culture because it was based on religious and technical or industrial curriculum. In the words of Walter Rodney, it was education for subordination, exploitation and the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment (Rodney, 1992:18). This underscores the view that Christian missionary activities and

educational development served to under develop rather than progress and advance the African within the context of colonialism.

However, there are several scholars who lay emphasis on the important role played by missionaries in tropical Africa. As Sorobea Bogonko summarizes, “the greatest known farmer, carpenter, smith, doctor, linguist and story teller had missionary contact” (Bogonko, 1992:18). Missionaries trained the African converts as masons, carpenters and architects. Thus African converts saw Christianity as an integral part of superior culture associated with progress. This study will mainly be guided by the important role played by missionaries in the transformation of Vihiga district.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the study by placing it within the context of missionary activities as they related to the development of education. The need for research has also been underscored through a statement of the research problem and an identification of the relevant research questions that all serve to justify the study. These are further explored through a review of related literature, which is undertaken in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter undertakes a critical review of the literature relating to the study. The literature falls into three categories. First, studies on the development of Western education in Africa with special reference to Kenya are examined. This is followed by studies focusing on the contribution of missionaries to the development of African education in Kenya before finally reviewing works detailing the contribution of Africans to the development of education in Kenya.

2.1 Literature Review

In reviewing literature related to this study, certain themes have been identified which have been highlighted in various studies and which this study also adopts as a guide. The themes vary from general religious and educational interests involving various western missionary groups that

were engaged in the development of African education by way of establishing educational institutions, especially schools. At the same time, these Christian groups were concerned with matters of socio-economic change. Their concern seems to have varied where differences existed in the traditional set up of various African communities. From this point of view, therefore, we have important works which have dealt with missionary activities and their impact, first in other areas of Africa, then subsequently narrowing down to Kenya and finally to the subject of this study. The main sector of missionary activities looked at here is educational development which is our main concern.

2.2 Studies on the Development of Western Education in Africa with Special Reference to Kenya.

The history of Western education in Africa is very much intertwined with the history of Christian missionary activity. In their efforts to introduce Africans to the new faith, Christian missionaries took schools as the most effective avenues towards the said goal. Hence, most if not all of the studies that have addressed this topic have always approached it within the context of missionary activity or vice versa. In his study on the emergence of an African elite in Nigeria during the second half of the 19th century, Ajayi (1965) shows how Christian missionaries used the church and the school to bring about social changes in Africa. Through the school, Africans got introduced to new forms of literacy as a means of civilizing them. Consequently, boarding schools were established on mission stations to isolate the African converts from the rest of the community so that they could be weaned quickly from heathen African traditions. With time, a number of Africans who were in close contact with these missionaries moved and settled within the vicinity of mission stations thereby creating a new community modeled on Christian principles and Western civilization.

In analyzing the impact of missionary activity on modem Nigeria, Ayandele (1966) agrees that missionaries used the school purposely to evangelize Africans and to wean them from their traditions. Ayandele states that missionary education was mainly religious and revolved around character training and the spiritual development of Africans that was aimed at making them mature and responsible persons as per European standards. Secular education was very much disliked by these missionaries who termed it a crime against a people that were only supposed to use their knowledge primarily for serving the society (Ibid, 287-8).

Ayandele does not however see this missionary enterprise as wholly negative and argues that missionaries were not just destroyers of the African society but were builders and preservers as well. This they did by preserving African languages (vernaculars) against the wishes of African converts and administrators who preferred English. At the same time, missionaries also used their churches and schools to develop the moral and social aspects of the Africans based on Christian principles.

Whereas studies like the two above have discussed missionary activities in Africa where education only happened to be a part, other works such as that of Sifuna (1990) have confined themselves to the documentation of the history of education on the continent in which missionaries played a very leading role. Sifuna traces the origins of Western education in Africa, a process which started in the 15th century when Europeans started making their voyages to the continent for trade and other activities. His analysis, however, shows that serious educational activities did not start until the 19th century when a number of European and American missionary groups targeted the African ex- slaves for rehabilitation where education was seen as a very effective tool that could make them adjust quickly to their newly found freedom. Sifuna further notes that these educational activities which started along the coastal regions, were later extended into the interior parts of the continent where the school still proved to be a very valuable asset for winning converts.

In discussing educational developments in Kenya, Sifuna again identifies Christian missionaries not only for their leading role in introducing Africans to Western forms of education but also for their active partnership in establishing schools for Africans as well as shaping the colonial policies in the country up to the time of independence. Other studies which have also addressed the historical development of education in Kenya include, works by Furley and Watson (1978), Anderson (1970), Sheffield (1973), Otiende, Wamahiu and Karugu (1992) and Bogonko (1992). All these works do acknowledge the important role played by Christian missionaries in the education of Africans. They show clearly that missionary efforts were not just confined to primary and elementary levels of education but also did venture into the provision of secondary and other forms of higher learning for the Africans. It was through such efforts that Alliance High School—the first African secondary school in Kenya, got established at Kikuyu in 1926. This process however proved to be very slow and painful in that by 1939, the colony only boasted of four secondary schools for Africans. These were Alliance, Kabaa, Maseno and Yala.

The trend however took a different course altogether during the post-war period when Africans increasingly called for more educational opportunities for their children. This pressure came to bear heavily on the colonial government which decided to set up the Beecher Education Committee in 1949 to look into the education of Africans. This committee which came up with educational policy guidelines for the colony up to the time of independence called for the establishment of sixteen senior secondary schools by 1957. This study has taken one of those schools which was awarded to the F.A..M and documented its history up to 1973.

Studies aimed at documenting the religious activities of some missionary groups have not divorced themselves totally from their educational work. This can be demonstrated by the works of McIntosh (1969) and Strayer (1978) on the evangelizing activities of the C.S.M and C.M.S respectively. These two studies concur that education for the Africans played a very crucial role in laying the foundation for missionary work. In the same vein, Temu (1972, 140) reinforces this point further when he argues that schooling became necessary to the converts to enable them read the Bible and Catechism. It was definitely out of this close relationship between evangelism and elementary schooling that opportunities for higher education developed later on.

A study by Amayo (1973) has documented the educational activities of the S.D.A—one of the missionary groups which shaped their evangelical activities in the Western region of the country. This group that mostly concentrated its initial efforts among the people of Southern Kavirondo (Luo and Kisii) took education as an effective tool for evangelization. Its curriculum was therefore mainly based on reading, writing and arithmetic (3Rs), Bible and practical training in handwork. During the 1920s, this group established a boarding school at Kamagambo which later became its educational centre in the country.

The need to spread the Adventist faith to other parts of the country started in 1933 where its pioneer converts were used to evangelize the Agikuyu, Akamba, Coastal people, the Nandi and the Luhyia. It is Amayo's contention that the S.D.A schools became the main feeders of G.A.S, Kisii, when it became a senior secondary school in 1948. The products of these schools took up senior positions after the country attained its independence in 1963. By this time, Kamagambo had developed into full primary and secondary schools for both boys and girls and a Teacher Training Centre while the mission boasted of 243 schools with a total of 13,976 pupils.

The other missionary group which did a lot in uplifting the lives of the people of Western Kenya is the M.H.M. Although this Mission's initial focus was in Uganda where it started its work in 1895, the M.H.M later extended its activities into Kenya where it founded its first station at Kisumu in 1903. Gale (1959), Ogutu (1981) and Burgman (1990) in examining the history of this missionary group point out that its coming to Uganda was necessitated by the country's religious rivalry which pitied the Catholics against Protestants. It was hoped that the presence of these missionaries would kill the prevailing notion at the time that Protestantism was English while Catholicism was French.

From its mission station in Kisumu, the M.H.M quickly spread to other parts of the region including North Kavirondo where a good number of the Abaluhyia people were initiated into the faith. And just like other groups, the M.H.M also took education as an asset in spreading its activities. The above studies, however, show that the M.H.M educational activities became very inferior in comparison to that of Protestant groups because of their insistence on catechism. This did not augur well with its adherents, a thing which impacted negatively on its work and sometimes led to the collapse of some of their stations. This assertion is supported by Sifuna (1977b) who argues that the M.H.M's failure to establish themselves at Mumias at first was partly due to their myopic educational goals which emphasized on catechism more than anything else. Sifuna also notes the key role played by African chiefs in facilitating missionary activities by stating that unlike the co- operation which the M.H.M received in Uganda where it was able to open St. Joseph's College Namilyango in 1910, Mumia's negative attitude to this Mission's activities had serious implications to its work at Mumias.

With time, the M.H.M's narrow perception of its education system changed out of fear that insistence on catechism was definitely going to make them lose converts to Protestants. It therefore embarked on a heavy educational investment which led to the establishment of their Central School at Yala in 1929. This school later developed into a junior secondary in 1939.

Closely connected to the above studies is the work of Lohrentz (1977) which among other things sets out to examine the pattern of educational developments in Central Southern and North Nyanza. Lohrentz contends that mission presence per se could not be adequate in showing the patterns of educational growth that were experienced in the said areas. He argues that the African leadership, population pressure as well as the people's dispositions were very instrumental in the

successes or failures registered by those who ventured to evangelize them (Africans). The study points out that those areas that were evangelized by the C.M.S. advanced faster in terms of African education than those of the M.H.M. and C.G.M. due to their differences in theological beliefs, social values and their perceptions of their mission purpose. It is further argued that although evangelism was the primary objective for these three groups, it is the C.M.S. that were right from the beginning keen to .use education to achieve that goal. The M.H.M. and the C.G.M. however, emphasized more on the religious aspects than the 3Rs in their educational programmes. The study points out that these two missionary groups were only able to make a few advances after the government started a definite involvement in their educational programmes from 1924. This enabled them to establish Kima and Yala as their Central schools in 1923 and 1929 respectively.

Studies by Karani (1974) and Odwako (1975) show the role played by the C.M.S. in the development of African education in Western Kenya. They argue that the C.M.S. together with other groups that evangelized this part of the country did a lot in laying the foundations on which the country's education system was later built. Soon after establishing themselves at Maseno and Butere in 1906 and 1912 respectively, these missionaries took education as one of the most important tools in their evangelical activities. Having laid their elementary foundations, the C.M.S. became pioneers of secondary education in the region when they started a junior secondary school at Maseno in 1938. The school later developed into a full secondary in 1948, the only one at the time in the said area.

These studies show that the establishment of a mission school at Maseno was a response by C.M.S. missionaries to African demands for secondary education. Increased demands during the 1950s and 1960s forced the C.M.S. to shift its interest from primary to secondary education programmes at Maseno and Butere. Butere, established in 1957, became the first girls' secondary school in the region. It is this effort by the C.M.S. that accounts for its very immense impact on the socio-economic and political transformation of the Kenyan society as a whole.

Kipkorir (1969) examines the historical development of Alliance High School and its contribution to the emergence of an African elite in Kenya. He argues that this first African secondary school established in 1926 by the Alliance of Protestant Missions was meant to prepare a better educated African Christian leadership to serve both Europeans and Africans. The

study notes that the school became a formative ground for individuals who have ended up serving the country in different capacities.

Smith (1973) just like Kipkorir has documented the history of Alliance High School but in a chronological manner. With this approach, he has been able to highlight some of the major events in the running of the school from 1926 up to 1969. The study shows how Alliance influenced Kenya's destiny through some roles which its old students have played so far. Smith attributes this to the Christian spirit dedicated towards the enhancement of African education especially at secondary level.

Closely connected to the two studies above is the work of Greaves (1969) which documents the activities of Carey Francis, a C.M.S. missionary in Kenya. What emerges clearly from this study is Francis' influence on Alliance High School. His tireless efforts laid the foundation of Alliance as the most admired school in the country thereby becoming a model for other schools.

Strayer (1973) examines the genesis of mission schools in the country by focusing on Freetown and Buxton schools sponsored by the C.M.S. along the Kenyan coast (Mombasa). This study points out that the C.M.S. just like the F.A.M., the subject of this study, took education as a means of not only converting Africans but also as an effective tool for assisting them establish a self-supporting African Church. Of significance to the present study is Strayer's argument that Africans were not passive recipients of European education but participated actively in directing its course. The present study will also try to show, albeit briefly, the place of the Africans in directing the F.A.M's educational policy in the said region.

Osogo (1970) looks at the role of the Holy Ghost Fathers towards the development of secondary education in Kenya by documenting the history of Kabaa-Mangu, the first Catholic Secondary School in the country. The study also assesses the efforts of these missionaries towards the general development of the country. It is pointed out that in all their activities, these missionaries led to the emergence of industrious persons who have served Kenya in different capacities.

Shanguhyia (1996) investigates the role played by the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (P.A.G.) missionaries in influencing the lives of the people of Western Kenya through its educational activities at Nyang'ori—a neighbouring station to that of the F.A.M. at Kaimosi. While Nyang'ori developed over time to higher levels on the same site, the present study in

documenting the history of the Friends Secondary School has tried to examine some of the factors which forced the relocation of this school from Kaimosi to Kamusinga.

2.3 Studies on African Contributions to the Development of Education in Kenya

A number of studies carried out on educational institutions have shown that Christian missionaries were not the only players in this field of African education. Contrary to some of the Euro-centric views which for a very long time have depicted Africans as passive beneficiaries of Western education, recent studies by Mukudi (1989), Kamere (1992) and Ombati (1994) have strongly argued for the case of African efforts towards the development of their own education. Africans actively participated in this venture by providing land, food, construction materials, money, energy, students and teachers among others. These, they concur were proper African roles meant to enhance their academic standing that have been greatly underplayed by most studies on Africa with Euro-centric leanings. These scholars have in turn given historical accounts of Kakamega, Kitui and Kisii schools respectively as cases of African participation in educational developments in the country. These secular schools were established and supported by the government and Africans themselves through their respective L.N.Cs.

Studies by Indire (1962) and Mwanzi (1971) focus on African self-help activities meant to enhance secondary school opportunities for their children. The two studies focus on Chavakali, the first harambee secondary school in Kenya. They show that the initiative to start this school began after the transfer of the Friends Secondary School from Kaimosi to Kamusinga in 1957. Mwanzi, for instance, argues that the F.A.M. assisted in this new project partly to restore its tainted image among the Maragoli after letting the transfer of the initial school. Again, Mwanzi gives some reasons that led to this transfer but does not give details of how the new school developed thereafter since his study was only limited to Chavakali School.

Keino (1980) examines the role of the Harambee movement, a very important force which led to the establishment of very many secondary schools in Kenya after independence. In using the case of Sosiot girls to study this phenomenon, Keino found out that participants in each project always had different objectives that were normally informed by their interests. For instance, while the local people wanted to establish the school to give good quality education to their children, other interested groups wanted to use it to enhance their political interests. In telling the

story of the school, Keino shows how an inter-play of these varied interests led to the establishment and subsequent growth of Sosiot girls school.

2.4 Studies on the Evangelical and Educational Activities of the F.A.M. in Western Kenya, 1902-1990

A number of studies have already been carried out on the F.A.M's activities in Western Kenya and their findings have greatly benefited the present one. This section however tries to show how the present study seeks to contribute to the development of knowledge on the activities of these missionaries, especially those aimed at promoting secondary education in Western Kenya.

A study by Rowe (1958) is possibly one of the earliest researches to be carried out on the F.A.M's activities in Western Kenya. In documenting the history of this mission from the time it established itself in the said region in 1902 up to the time the African Native Church was founded in 1946, Rowe identifies education as one of the major activities that these missionaries involved themselves in as part of their objective to realize a self-reliant church. The early F.A.M schools were therefore conceived in terms of this overall objective where their role became that of training African evangelists who helped these missionaries to spread their faith to the rest of the Abaluhyia communities. This approach made this mission's educational programme subordinate to its evangelical work for a very long time. Rowe, however, notes that increased government and African participation in the mission's educational activities as well as a shift in the F.A.M's policy towards African advancement show a remarkable change in its educational programme from its subordinate position during the 1920s to one of its dominant activities during the 1940s and 1950s. It is Rowe's contention that at the time of establishing the E.A.Y.M. in 1946, the F.A.M's successes could be measured in terms of its sizeable converts and the services it rendered to its faithful such as evangelism, education and medical services among others.

Painter (1966) has carried out a very comprehensive investigation on the F.A.M's activities in Western Kenya from 1902 to 1964. He shows that these missionaries attached a lot of importance to the education of Africans, a process which went hand in hand with their evangelistic work. The purpose was to make Africans self-evangelizing and self-supporting. As pertains to the educational activities of this church, Painter concentrates more on the efforts of these missionaries which aimed more at providing primary/ elementary education than secondary

education. Of significance to this study however, is Painter's account of Kaimosi boys boarding school which was established in 1922 and later on developed into a senior secondary school in 1952 following the recommendations of the Beecher Education Committee Report.

In documenting the history of the Quaker church in Kenya, Smuck (1987) and Rasmussen (1995) point out some of the cultural, political and geographical differences which contributed to the major schisms that rocked this church in the 1970s. These differences became catalysts in polarizing the church into two major camps, that is, "north" and "south" that later on led to the split of the original Yearly Meeting into three separate yearly meetings by 1984 – E.A.Y, M., E.R.S.F. and E.A.Y.M. These two books show that Christians of these two opposite camps harboured intense feelings of hatred towards each other for a very long time partly due to the unequal distribution of some of the 30 important church facilities and services which according to the northerners were mainly concentrated among their southern counterparts.

Wakube (1990) points out that the existence of the Friends church in Kenya today is a good manifestation of one of the most successful mission efforts in the history of world missions. He observes that the F.A.M. established a self-supporting Christian community which is playing a very important role in nation building as evidenced by the fact that it sponsors a number of educational institutions and health facilities especially in Western Kenya. Apart from this, the church still strives to meet the spiritual needs of its people despite the many divisions which it has had to contend with in recent times.

Kay (1973) examines how the southern Abaluhyia—Maragoli, Idakho, Isukha and Tiriki responded to the educational activities of the F.A.M. He argues that these people were not just passive recipients of these missionaries' efforts but also participated actively as partners, critics and catalysts. This was very much noticeable in the way these missionaries established and developed their educational institutions. This study, though very comprehensive, only limits itself to the efforts made by the F.A.M. in providing primary education. With regard to the development of secondary education, Kay only discusses briefly the establishment of the Friends secondary school in 1952 at Kaimosi and the reasons which led to the transfer of this school to Kamusinga in 1957 but does not show its later development. The study also confined itself to the southern Abaluhyia, a small section of the entire Western region which was heavily influenced by the F. A.M's activities.

Gilpin (1976) on his part assesses the impact of the F.A.M. on the African society by showing how these missionaries used both the spiritual and secular methods to create a new society. He states that the F.A.M. started an industrial mission and church schools to speed up community development along Christian principles. This attracted Africans who moved and settled around their churches leading to what came to be called Christian villages (lines) where Africans were taught new skills, attitudes and beliefs. These converts later became economic innovators thus opening the way for their social mobility through better forms of agricultural practices and paid employment. This however, led to inequalities between those who attained education and those who did not, an aspect which became more pronounced during the post-war period when an emerging African middle class monopolized avenues to higher levels of education and the new emerging economic opportunities. As a result of this, a number of educated Friends used their influence in the church to promote more advanced education for their children.

Sifuna (1977a) discusses some of the factors which contributed to different responses accorded to the F.A.M's evangelical activities by the Tiriki and Maragoli peoples. The study concludes that having readily accepted the teachings of these missionaries, the Maragoli, unlike the Tiriki who hated these missionaries, ended up with a lot of benefits in terms of educational facilities. The findings of this study are beneficial to the present study as they point to some possible factors which made the F.A.M. concentrate most of its educational efforts among the southern Friends leading to serious agitations from their northern counterparts with regard to the sitting of the Friends secondary school.

Bradley (1987) is perhaps the only available systematic account on the early history of Kamusinga. In his *One Man's Education: An Autobiographical Scrape Book*, Bradley, the first English headmaster of this school gives the origins of Kamusinga and its early development up to 1964. It is quite evident in this book that Bradley set out to model Kamusinga into an institution that was going to prepare its students purposely to serve the society with a lot of humility and dedication. The present study has greatly benefited from these personal reflections by the person who laid the foundation of this school.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter set out to review the literature pertaining to the contribution of Christian Mission Stations to the growth and development of education. It has brought out details and exposed gaps in existing knowledge concerning the development of Western education in Africa with special reference to Kenya. It has also examined studies on missionary contributions to the development of African education in Kenya and lastly it has looked at studies on the evangelical and educational activities of the F.A.M in its specific area of focus—western Kenya.

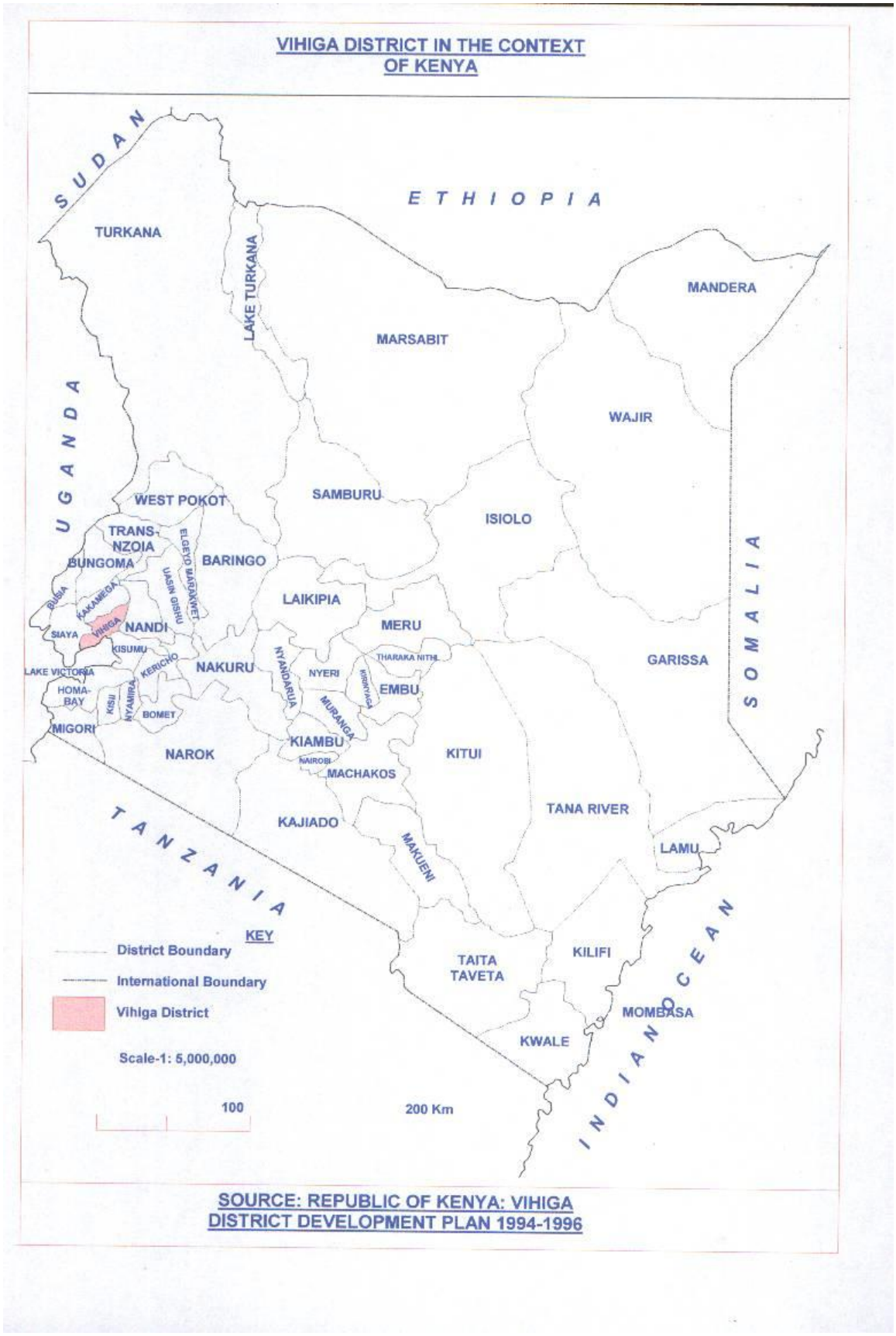
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

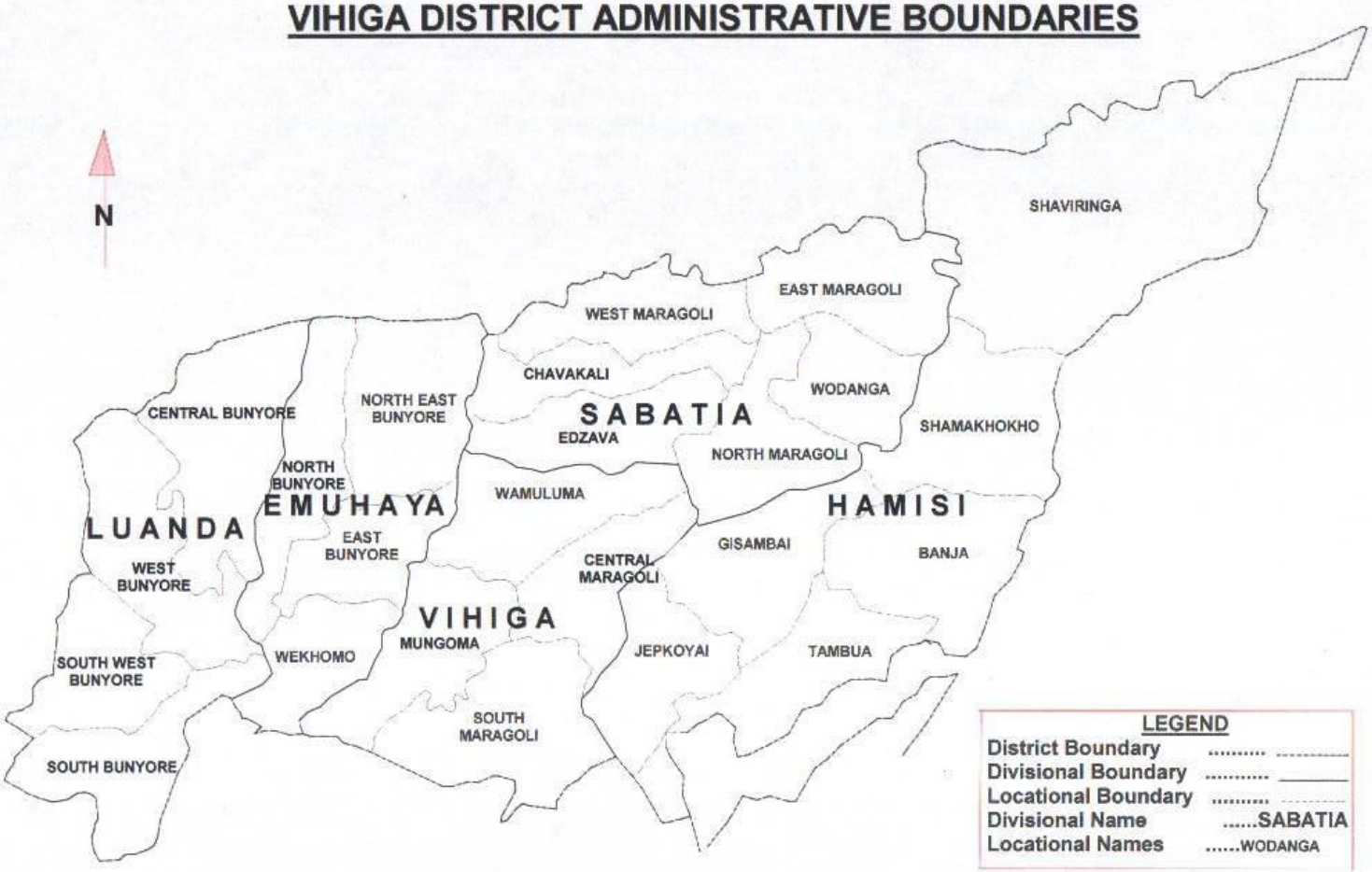
This chapter briefly describes the study area, the methods employed in the research, the sources of data that inform the study, methods and procedures of data collection, interpretation and analysis.

3.1 Description of the Study Area

Vihiga district is one of the five districts of Western province. It borders Kakamega district to the north, Nandi district to the east, Kisumu district to the south and Siaya district to the south west. The district covers 613 square kilometers. It is divided into five administrative divisions namely; Vihiga, Sabatia, Tiriki, Emuhaya and Luanda. Located within the lake basin, the district generally exhibits an altitude that ranges from 1300 meters above sea level in the west to 1500 meters in the east. Vihiga district is traversed by two major rivers namely Esalwa and Yala, both of which drain into Lake Victoria. River Yala dissects the upper sections of Tiriki and Sabatia. The following maps show the study area first, within the wider context of Kenya (page 22) and second, within the specific context of Vihiga district (page 23).


VIHIGA DISTRICT IN THE CONTEXT OF KENYA
SUDAN
ETHIOPIA
TURKANA
LAKE TURKANA
MANDERA
MARSABIT
WAJIR
UGANDA
WEST POKOT
SAMBURU
ISIOLO
TRANS-NZOIA
ELGEYO MARAKWET
BUNGOMA
BARINGO
BUSIA
KAKAMEGA
UASIN GISHU
LAIKIPIA
SIAYA
VIHIGA
NANDI
MERU
KISUMU
THARAKA NITHI
GARISSA
SOMALIA
LAKE VICTORIA
KERICHO
NAKURU
NYANDARUA
NYERI
KIRINYAGA
EMBU
HOMA-BAY
KISII
NYAMIRA
BOMET
MURANGA
MIGORI
KIAMBU
NAROK
KITUI
NAIROBI
MACHAKOS
TANA RIVER
KAJIADO
MAKUENI
LAMU
TANZANIA
KEY
District Boundary
International Boundary
Vihiga District
Scale-1: 5,000,000
100
200 Km
TAITA TAVETA
KILIFI
MOMBASA
KWALE
INDIAN OCEAN
SOURCE: REPUBLIC OF KENYA: VIHIGA DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1994-1996

VIHIGA DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES



SOURCE: REPUBLIC OF KENYA: VIHIGA DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1994-1996

3.2 Methods of Research

A historical study such as this one necessitates the employment of the historical method of inquiry into the past. Cohen and Manion have defined this method as "an act of reconstruction undertaken in a spirit of critical enquiry designed to achieve a faithful representation of a previous age" (Cohen & Manion, 1994:45). If applied to an educational problem, this procedure can help us to come up with a systematic and coherent account of the event in question. Through this, we can gain a better understanding of our present educational practices and problems (Borg & Gall, 1983:80). It was on this basis that this method was found most appropriate for documenting the educational history of the F.A.M. in relation to the establishment and development of Kaimosi girls high school and Chavakali boys high school.

3.3 Sources of Data

This study heavily depended on historical sources of information because of its inquiry into the past. These sources are both primary, regarded as fundamental to historical research (Sidhu, 1990:97), and secondary sources which have been used to complement and supplement primary sources. Primary sources consulted included oral testimonies of actual participants or witnesses of events in Vihiga district. Apart form oral testimonies, other primary sources used are archival documents. These were either personal or institutional such as correspondences, mission publications, minutes of meetings and colonial government annual reports. These were especially useful in corroborating information yielding from oral testimonies.

The main secondary sources utilized are published and unpublished articles and books. They acted as a useful check on any errors reported orally since some of the respondents were not real players in some historical situations treated by the study. Also some of the respondents suffered from memory loss on the actual year in which an event occurred and secondary sources filled in such gaps.

3.4 Methods and Procedures of Data Collection

Varied methods were used to collect data. The researcher visited the Kenya National Archives, Nairobi, and in the course of three weeks, a wide range of documents were consulted. These included the Friends Africa Mission files, Reports of the Special Delegation to the Friends Africa Mission, Kaimosi Mission Documents of 1857, the Christian Churches Education Mission 1958-60, the East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends Annual Field Reports, the Friends Africa Mission Evangelical Annual Reports, North Kavirondo/Nyanza Annual Reports, and Nyanza Province Annual Reports among others. These documents were read and notes on relevant information taken. A key source of primary data was also the Friends Africa Mission headquarters at Kaimosi.

The researcher also carried out interview sessions with some of the key informants to supplement information extracted from records. Interviews were also used to fill up information gaps created by the inadequacy of the above records. These interviews were facilitated by the interview schedules constructed in line with the objectives of the study. These sessions enabled the researcher to personally interact with the informants thereby allowing flexibility in the framing of questions, clarifying issues under investigation as well as presenting opportunity for further probing. In most cases, information received from these interviews tended to confirm what had already been collected from documents, thereby testifying to its worthiness for the study.

The respondents were chosen mainly by the use purposive sampling method. The researcher first went to the two institutions which are the subject of this study—Chavakali and Kaimosi secondary schools. This visit enabled the researcher to compile a sample of informants consisting of members of the local community, teachers, present and former school administrators, and former students of the two schools. Thereafter, the snowballing technique was employed with good effect as the researcher was led from one informant to another.

Secondary data was collected through visits to the major libraries in the country. These included the university of Nairobi library, the Macmillan Library in Nairobi, Kenyatta university library, and Moi university library.

3.5 Data Analysis

Having collected data from both primary and secondary sources, the researcher subjected the material to a rigorous process of verification. The guiding principle to this process of verification

was to compare and contrast information obtained from various sources. In so doing, the researcher sought to determine the authenticity of the data gathered. Data was then classified according to themes and historical periods under investigation. Such classification enabled the researcher to identify data that was mutually reinforcing and data that appeared to conflict with each other. Analysis and interpretation smoothened out such contradictions. Only then was the data organized into themes and content as reflected in this study.

The researcher was able to measure or gauge the development brought about by the educational institutions established by the Friends' Africa Mission in Vihiga district by physically observing the new housing styles—mostly permanent structures. It was also clear that the students who attended Kaimosi and Chavakali schools experienced an improvement in their socio-economic status through engagement in the cultivation of high value cash crops such as coffee and tea.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the study area has been described. The chapter has also spelt out the methods of research, the sources of data, the methods and procedures of data collection, and the principles guiding the process of data interpretation and analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FRIENDS' AFRICA MISSION: ITS ORIGIN AND EARLY ACTIVITIES IN NORTH NYANZA , 1902-1949

4.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the pre-colonial traditional organization of the people in the study area in terms of religion, and socio-economic organization. The chapter also deals with the nature of early education in the area, the relationship that existed among Friends African mission schools and developments in education at Kaimosi girls and Chavakali high school. Further, the chapter traces the educational activities of the F.A.M. soon after the First World War. It undertakes a critical examination of the various forces which influenced the trend of education in Vihiga during this period. It demonstrates that the 1920s saw for the first time increased political pressure by Africans who wanted to have a say in the education of their children. This came as a result of the insistence by the missionaries on industrial education and the kind of laxity which they displayed towards their educational systems at the time. It is argued that this provided the background against which the government undertook to permit Africans to establish L.N.C. schools in the country in the 1930s—an activity which hitherto had been the preserve of the Christian missionaries.

The chapter also demonstrates that preoccupation by the missionaries with internal feuds at Kaimosi in the 1930s almost crippled the F.A.M's educational programmes. On their part, Africans continued to oppose the missions system of mass education in favour of higher education especially at the secondary level. These agitations, together with the effects of World War Ị made Africans to intensify their campaign for a secondary school at Kaimosi. Nevertheless, the government refused to yield to the said demand until 1950 when the F.A.M. were given responsibility to run a secondary school following the recommendations of the Beecher report in 1949.

4.1 African Indigenous Education Among the Luhyia Community

Prior to the coming of Europeans, the local community had different forms of worship. Prayers took place at shrines, under specific trees, in the forest and in the mountains. This shows that the local community had a religious structure (O.I, Alex Kasenwa). With few exceptions, the overwhelming consensus from the oral interviews was that the local community that lived near Kaimosi was religious. The people had religious leaders whose functions included mediation, offering sacrifices, and leading the community in pre-colonial wars (O.I, Abraham Eboso).

One of the key elements of kinship structure among the Abaluhyia was the family. A family consisted of husband, wife and children. Married sons continued to live with their parents until they set up a family homestead of their own. Each individual family lived in an isolated homestead erected in the middle of the family garden. The round shaped living hut- *enyumba* or *inzu* was shared not only by the husband and his wives but usually also by the livestock (O.I, Miriam Masinza).

The main duties of the husband were to take care of his stool and his beer pipe, sweep his yard, to look after livestock, clear the fields and to identify fertile portions of the land that were suitable for cultivation as dictated by the traditional agricultural cycle.
A wife performed the greater and most strenuous work of garden labour. In addition, she cooked, swept, ground flour, cleaned out the cattle partition, gathered firewood, brought the cooking pots, carried water from the spring, burnt the salt reeds and built the fire (O.I, Rael Odigidi).

Decision making was a shared responsibility of both the mother and father but there were a few communities where it was the prerogative of the father to make important family decisions. Community elders were the people charged with the responsibility of making decisions concerning the community (O.I, Javan Onzere Jumba).

This was a key element of the indigenous education which most African societies practiced before their domination and colonization by the Europeans in the late 19th century. Traditional education was largely informal since in most cases, there were no definite institutions such as schools. Information was mainly disseminated orally from acknowledged traditional authorities to the target audience. Learning was not systematized by adherence to a specific curriculum. Individuals simply learned by experience in the course of their interaction with members of the

community and the physical environment. Every adult played the role of a teacher. Content grew out of the actual physical and social situation of the learner which made it relevant and meaningful. Thus, education was a communal responsibility. A child learned different roles from members of his family, the clan and the tribe as he grew up and was nurtured by the society. The implication was that education was both universal and free and therefore every individual was entitled to it (O.I, Nebert Jumba).

The main objectives of traditional African education were to develop the child's talents and physical skills, to develop character, to inculcate respect for elders and those in position of authority, to develop intellectual skills, to acquire specific vocational training and to develop a healthy attitude towards honest labour, develop a sense of belonging and participate in family and community affairs, to understand, appreciate and promote the cultural heritage of the community at large.

Everything that was done step by step was taken to attain the educational or learning purpose that was desired. Learning was achieved through imitation. One of the chief responsibilities of adults was to provide the learning situation and the guidance necessary while children, on the other hand, were there to acquire the essential knowledge, responsibility, skills, attitudes and values from the learning environment be it physical, social or spiritual. Children imitated what they saw and heard from adults as they grew up. Through the medium of work, children acquired the right type of masculine or feminine roles. They learned by doing and working hand in hand with adults. This kind of learning process prepared children through a number of stages to be proper future husbands and wives.

Through play, a child learned to manipulate material, how to a void danger, and how to develop some skills. Besides, play enabled him to develop social skills in addition to stimulating his alertness in order to become more resistant to diseases. Moreover, play helped in developing certain personality qualities such as perseverance, self reliance, self control, and integration. Play developed the mental capacity of a child and somehow tended to prepare him for adult life since through it, a child loved to imitate those activities which he himself would do in later years.

There was a lot that children learned by listening to myths, legends, folk tales proverbs, riddles, folk songs, rhymes and other aspects of oral literature. In the deep well of folklore, were found

moral messages, histories, pieces of wisdom, and philosophy or the outlook of life relevant to each clan. Besides promoting mental development, oral literature was entertaining and it was a form of pass time. Then there were social ceremonies which gave children opportunities to learn about the social organization of the clan, the general mode of living, some aspects of tribal culture, customs and the laws that governed the way of life including taboos, religious beliefs and superstitions (Occiti, 1997:103-104).

4.2 Economic Organization of the People around Kaimosi

Wood-working was one of the principal crafts. The people never involved themselves in iron smelting to yield other types of tools. Instead, the community had a steady supply of timber which enabled the people to make objects that required little skill such as handles for hoes and knives. The elaborate products of wood-carving were the work of specialists (*avavazi*) who were invariably men. They usually learnt their craft from father or maternal uncle, normally working for a number of years as a wood carver in the neighbourhood before setting up their own shop. Among the principal objects made were hoe handles, threshing paddles, mortars, pestles, milking jugs, stools, drums, spear shafts, bows, wooden arrow points of many shapes and sizes for killing birds, shields, clubs and sticks (O.I, Abraham Eboso and Alex Kesenwa).

The Tiriki and Maragoli potters chose their clay (*orodohi*) from two different deposits; one containing black clay and the other red clay. Tiriki and Logoli pottery was of simple design, without any ornamentation except for some lines and rows of dots imbricated around the neck of the pots. These where conventional patterns, according to the purpose for which the pot was meant to serve. Oral informants distinguished the following main types of pots:

1. A medium sized pot with a curved neck used for storing millet (*Esiongo*).
2. A water pot (*Esiongo yamazi*).
3. Eyannguluga a neck less pot used for storing sorghum and for cooking Roukema[thick millet mush]
4. A pot with a neck of medium width used as a beer pot (*Eyamegela*).
5. A very large storage pot (*Isika*).
6. A pot for cooking meat and for storing vegetables *Oluvidi* (O.I, Abraham Eboso).

Weaving baskets among the people around Kaimosi was exclusively men's work, each expert specializing in a particular technique. They made open-weave quail cages, plaited wicker doors, made ordinary baskets for carrying or measuring out grain. Others made beer strainers. All baskets that were made were rigid in structure, the material used for the kinds woven in a semi-open fashion being the *olulungu* reed which grows near river banks. The finished baskets were usually lined. The following examples of baskets were identified;

1. A standard basket used for carrying grain, flour or meat (*Ekihinda*).
2. A deep basket lined with cow-dung used mainly when carrying grain to the grind stone (*Ekisia*).
3. A flat tray-like basket usually made in the coiled technique (*Ekidelu*).

[O.I, Miriam Masinza].

The principal traditional crops raised were eleusine [ovolo] sorghum [amavere] sesame [edzingano] sweet potatoes [amabwoni] beans [amaganda] bananas [amagomya] maize [amaduma] they traded with the crops they cultivate. They had a harvest enough to feed themselves and trade with other communities [O.I, Miriam Masinza on 10-4-2008]

The principal features of the traditional hut among the communities around Kaimosi was a circular structure with a peaked roof resting as a separate element or rather low walls. Its framework was made of timber, the walls doubled with mud and the roof thatched with grass. A center post gave additional support to the roof. [O.I, Abraham Eboso 10-4-2008].

4.3 The Friend's African Mission, Its Origin and Early Activities around Kaimosi

The early evangelical and educational activities of the F.A.M around Kaimosi started soon after the arrival and settlement of African missionaries in the area in 1902. The F.A.M. developed a fourfold plan in carrying out their activities in western Kenya. Included in the plan were evangelical, medical, educational and industrial departments which were taken to be the most effective means of winning Africans into their faith. It was through this plan that their [F.A.M] vision of a self –propagating, self-supporting, and self governing African church could be realized. For Instance, the realization by F.A.M that the school was an important tool for evangelizing Africans made these missionaries to build schools on their stations and out stations to give basic literary skills to their faithful. This made the two activities to expand and develop

almost at the same rate and to meet the missions' ideal of its future church. Consequently, a lot of emphasis in the Quaker schools was put on religious and industrial work.

The Society of Friends emerged as a religious group in England during the second half of the 17th century. Although George Fox is generally considered to be the founder, it is possible that this religious group came into existence spontaneously when a number of people started to follow the teaching and beliefs of Fox [West 1962:1, Briton 1964:1]. Born in 1924, Fox is said to have received a revelation which totally altered his life in 1947. This came as a result of his serious search for God [West 1962:1]. This revelation made Fox to conclude that people could communicate to God directly without going through intermediaries such as churches or priests. This experience, which later came to be called "the inner light", was a way through which Christ could reveal himself directly to human beings. Accordingly, Fox taught people only to repent their sins and not to waste time on waiting for the second coming of Christ since he was already present among his people [German 1969:9, Rasmussen 1995:3].

Armed with this revelation, Fox embarked on a preaching mission to share what he had learnt publicly with other people. This preaching made him get a number of followers especially in the northern and western part of England. Most of these people also happen to have been "seekers of new ways of living having been fed up with the empty Christian living of the time [Whalen 1982:15]. They quickly formed themselves into groups of what came to be known as "children of the light". With time, they acquired other titles such as "friends in the truth and from 1952, just "friends" [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.151/80].

They distinguished themselves from other Christians by their way of worship. This is in the sense that members just sat in silence waiting upon God to illuminate their inner light, a manifestation of God which informed the people's conscience [West 1962:14, Briton 1964:1,Whalen 1982:16]. The society also never formulated any theological doctrines about God, the church or Christ. Instead, its followers were only called upon to lead Christ–like lives. German brings out this conviction among the friends very well, when states that:

> For friends, being a Christian was not a matter of conformity to doctrine and observance of forms but an overwhelming to them through the indwelling spirit of God [German 1969:9].

Unlike other Christian denominations, the friends did not develop formalized dogmas. With these insights, Fox together with his followers thought primitive Christianity of the apostolic age and therefore saw their mission as that of purifying the church so that they could return it to that primitive age [F.W.C C 1951:2, Kay 1973:46].

Their preaching opposed the observance of Christian sacraments especially those of baptism and those of Holy Communion, the institution of priesthood, paying of tithes, participation in wars and oath taking among others [West 1962:6]. This departure from the established Christian and social norms of the time made them pay heavily through persecution. Many were sent to jail where a good number died. Some of the accusations leveled against them included, revolutionary preaching and behaviour, disturbing the public, lack of respect for those in authority and blasphemy [Rasmussen 1959:6] The persecutions went on unabated till 1959 when, with the passing of the toleration act, Quakers were allowed to worship in peace. This act gave a number of fundamentalist churches the freedom of conscience which in a way allowed them to hold different views from those of the Church of England.

With time the society realized their goal of revolutionizing the entire world as they had thought earlier on. This knowledge, coupled with the death of Fox in 1961, made its members fall into a period of quietism from around 1961 lasting for almost a whole century. During this period, the society members decided to venture into their new life as revealed to them by God (Rasmussen 1995:6).

The late 17th century migrations and settlements in America by Europeans also saw members of the religious Society of Friends settle in the eastern colonies of the continent. From around 1787, friends started moving westwards while running away from the institution of slavery. This practice had for a long time affected their conscience since it went against Fox's teaching about equality among humanity. The friends therefore became very much relieved when the Northwest Territory was opened for settlement with a condition that slavery was not to be introduced .They therefore took this as a solution to the problem leading to many migrations westwards. The movement was also partly in search of good farmland [Rasmussen 1995:8]. This led to the establishment of a number of yearly meetings in different parts of the continent. It did not however take long before peace and unity among the members was brought to test. The society got itself embroiled in religious schisms which were sweeping across the Protestant

denominations in America during the 19th century. With regard to this phenomenon, Conolly has observed that "it was a time when humble farmers became theologians' .obscure village youths formed bible institutes and strange girls became prophets" [1975:22].

The first Quaker schisms occurred in 1827-1829 in the Philadelphia yearly meeting while the second came in 1845-1855 in the New England yearly meeting. The cause in both instances emanated from differences in the Quaker theological stand points orchestrated by the traveling evangelical preachers. The differences were mainly centered on the Quaker beliefs of the inner light, church authority, systematic study and the teaching of the scriptures and some of the friends ancient testimonies among others [K.N.A,E.A,Y.M.F 151/80;Hall 1976;10-12,Briton 1964:189). By the beginning of the second half of the 19th century, these schisms had led to three major strands of Quakerism, that is, Hicksites, Wilberites [conservatives] and Gaurneytes [orthodox].

It is the last group of Quakers [orthodox] who later on participated actively in missionary work which also led to the planting of Quakerism in Africa. The impetus came from the 19th century protestant revivalism. In America these revivals manifested themselves in emotional prayers ,the giving of testimonies, shouting and singing as form of worship—things hitherto unknown among friends [Rasmussen 1995:15] This new wave of evangelism took an inter-denominational approach and emphasized so much on holiness, methodism with its fourfold gospel of conversion, sanctification, faith ,healing and waiting for the second coming of Christ [Kay 1973:58,Rasmussen 1995:16] These beliefs were backed by "a fundamentalist reading of the bible which left little or no room for the traditional Quaker doctrine of the inner light"[Rasmussen 1995:16].The new evangelistic spirit awakened the friends concerned to spread the meaning of their personal fellowship with God to other people. This revival, in a way, rekindled their earlier evangelistic zeal of the 17th century that now fired them onto foreign missionary activity [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 151/80].

It was against this background that the missionary body, A.I.M was founded. The initiative came from a group of students of Cleveland bible institute after they listened to Willis Hotchkiss, himself a former student of the college. Hotchkiss had spent five years among the Akamba people of British East Africa [Kenya] while working for the African Inland Mission [A.I.M.], an American denominational missionary group between 1895-1899. He had come in the company

of twelve other missionaries who were led by his brother-in-law, Peter Scott. By the time he decided to go back to America in 1899, he was the only one remaining in the field. Hotchkiss stirred the friends by appealing to them to establish a missionary field in Africa [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 260/80]. He attributed the failure of the A.I.M partly to lack of proper organization and also its failure to offer relief food to the Akamba during the worst famine of 1898-1899. For the friends to avoid a similar eventuality, Hotchkiss argued that it was necessary for them to establish an industrial mission to allow the teaching of both the gospel and practical skills to the natives. According to him, this was the only sure way through which Africans could be assisted to establish a self-supporting and self-propagating native church [Hotchkiss, 1901].

These ideas were positively received by the students of the college who sought support from a number of yearly meetings for this venture. This culminated in the formation of the friend's African industrial mission board in 1901 by nine yearly meetings [Rasmussen 1995:21]. This paved the way for the first missionary work in Africa by American friends which started in Kenya in 1902.

With regard to the nature of the African church, the F.A.I.M ideal was that of a church which could stand on its own as soon as possible [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 256/80]. For this aim to be realized, the friends missionary put a lot of emphasis on training of Africans in industrial work with an aim of helping them acquire practical skills which could make them become self-reliant and participate actively in the daily life of their church. This was the F.A.I.M. main objective as outlined in the boards' first meeting held on 2 February 1901 where it stated that the primary object of the friends' African industrial mission was the evangelization of the heathen. The industrial feature was introduced into the work for the purpose of exerting a continuous Christian influence over the natives employed, with the hope of obtaining the following results viz; teaching them habits of industry and ultimately establishing a self-supporting native Christian church [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F.260/80].

The main proponent of this type of mission for the African was to explicate his ideas when Hotchkiss decided to publish a book entitled 'Sketches from the Dark Continent' In 1901 in which he gave a very moving story about his experience among the Akamba while working for the A.I.M between 1895-1899. This was purposely done to rally the support of the Quakers in America for the establishment of an industrial mission in Africa. His short stint in Kenya amidst

many problems had convinced Hotchkiss that apart from converting Africans through evangelism, there was need to establish a self-supporting and self-propagating church [Hotchkiss, 1901:148, 1937:95]. Hotchkiss further argued, that the dilapidated condition in which Africans found themselves necessitated that these people get exposed to western civilization which was supposed to go hand in hand with the process of evangelization. According to him, this was the best means through which the African society could be altered for the permanent implantation of Christianity. In arguing out the case for an industrial mission, Hotchkiss said that;

> That to which all else must be subordinated is evangelism preaching the gospel for a witness to all people….. We do not forget that what the world needs first and above all, is not changed environment does not necessarily lead to changed hearts, but there never be a real change of heart that is not followed by a radical cleansing of the social conditions which immediately encompass it [Hotchkiss,1901:147-148].

It was through such thought provoking arguments that Hotchkiss was able to convince Quakers in America to start an industrial mission in Africa. Such ideas made these missionaries to come to Africa as cultural imperialists (Rose 1958: 59; Kay, 1973: 63-64). Their only hope for success in this venture lay in God as there was little in the effort to make them a responsible people. This attitude was well captured by the early F.A.I.M missionaries while reporting on their experiences in an F.A.I.M document which stated as follows;

> As we become better acquainted with these people and learn more of their customs we realize even more fully that we are in very truth, located in an utterly heathen tribe and land. Nothing will count for much among them except God's Holy Spirit brought to bear upon them through the urgency of clean, open willing human channels. God is able to transform these lives and make them acceptable to him. We are here at our masters call to be used in the gathering as speedy as possible, some precious jewels from this benighted tribe….it is our privilege to stand as his representative in this dark land [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 260/80].

To achieve their goals, the F.A.I.M developed a fourfold plan that combined evangelical, medical, educational and industrial work as an effective tool with which to launch their attack on African heathenism [Hotchkiss, 1901:154]. Through this holistic approach, these missionaries were able to encounter Africans as true witnesses to the abundant life found in Christ [Painter 1966:20, Steeve and Steeve, 1954:33]. All this was done with an ultimate aim of creating a

Quaker community that was to eventually live healthily and happily when conducting it's affairs later on.

This negative attitude adopted by F.A.M. towards Africans and their culture did not change until after two decades of evangelical work in western Kenya. Thanks to the devastating blow inflicted upon European culture by World War 1, the A.T.B.M. had to change its initial fundamental approach to their work in Africa [Rowe, 1958:124-125,145]. This paved the way for some liberal missionary workers to its field. However, the failure of the two camps to cooperate affected the missions' work, which included education from 1930s onwards.

4.4 The Coming of the First Missionaries and the Planting of the Friend's Church in Vihiga District

The F.A.I.M board decided in September 1901 to send the first party of three missionaries to Africa purposely to investigate and possibly locate its mission. These were: Willis R. Hotchkiss, Edgar T. Hole and Arthur B. Chilson, with Hole as the leader of the group [K.N.A, E.AY.M.F 109/80]. They sailed from New York for Africa via England on 25 April for port Florence [Kisumu] in the western part of Kenya where they arrived during the first week of July 1902 [Painter 1966:21; Rasmussen, 1995:39]. These missionaries had been advised by Bishop Taylor of the C.M.S. Kampala, whom they had met in England, about the need for missionary work in the lake Victoria region as there was nothing going on there at the time [Chilson 1943:14].

With assistance from Charles Hobley, the then sub-commissioner in charge of North Kavirondo station at Mumias, these missionaries set out to locate their station to the north of Kisumu. The F.A.M. also partly found Nabongo Mumia of the Wanga very helpful when they called on him on 17 July 1902. After a few days of prospecting among the Abaluhyia ethnic group of North Kavirondo, they finally arrived at Kaimosi, situated on the boarder between the Tiriki and the Nandi on 10 August 1902—the place they later settled for their station. Among the factors making Kaimosi ideal were a large tract of unoccupied land, a lot of heavy timber, a big stream with a good fall and rapids running through the land, and more importantly, the large number of unevangelized Africans who surrounded the site [Chilson 1943:28]. All these factors combined very well to make Kaimosi the best site for their industrial station. This was well expressed in an F.A.I.M. document on the activities of the mission when it stated that "Kaimosi…. combines the

most desirable features necessary for the site of an industrial mission in the region" [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 260/90]. Based on these factors, the F.A.I.M. board decided in January 1903 on a permanent location at Kaimosi and also approved its organization into a permanent mission. This came into effect on the 1 April 1903 [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 109/80].

The F.A.M's settlement at Kaimosi soon led to the beginning of the process of evangelizing Africans who had been attracted to the station out of curiosity to find out what was happening in their midst. Others where induced through gifts but with time, many moved to the station out of their own volition. Soon, the missionaries were reporting that they had established themselves among a very receptive and friendly community that was very much willing to be evangelized [K.N.A, E.A.Y.F.M.F 260/80]. Right from the beginning, Africans gave these missionaries a lot of cooperation thereby enabling them [missionaries] to expand their activities to most parts of North Kavirondo within a very short period. A lot of this good will came from their leaders, chiefs and headman. Chief Mumia of Wanga, who had initially promised to assist these missionaries, sent eleven orphaned children to Kaimosi in November 1902 [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 307/80]. Likewise, his counterpart and half brother in Kitosh [Bukusu], Murunga, permitted these missionaries to set up their fourth station at Lugulu in 1912 [Kay 1973:82-83].The Kabras chief, Shitanda, showed a lot of enthusiasm to have the F.A.M. evangelize his people. In 1912, for example, he appealed personally to Chilson to go and settle in Kabras after realizing that the missionaries had by passed his territory as they sought to evangelize the Bukusu to the north. It was out of this friendly gesture that Chilson decided to camp among the Kabras from 1915-1918 when the government finally allowed him to start a station at Malava [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 49/80, Chilson 1943:93; Painter 1966:36].

Apart from these local leaders, there where other Africans who directly involved themselves in the process of evangelization thereby encouraging these missionaries to move with speed among the Abaluhyia. By 1904, Cherubini Matolas, formerly a teacher with the University Mission at Zanzibar and the Friends Industrial Mission [F.I.M] at Pemba had came into employment of the F.A.M to teach Kiswahili to these missionaries. This Quaker mission at Pemba was the only Friends' station in Africa at the time. Unlike the F.A.M, the F.I.M was established in 1897 by English Quakers under the auspices of the London Yearly Meeting to assist freed slaves to become good artisans and responsible citizens [Groves 1948:28; Jones 1925:226].

Matolas, together with Akhonya and Daudi Lung'aho, all F.A.M's early converts, translated the missionary's message to the people. Cherubini was later joined by his brother Bartholomew in 1907 and the two assisted substantially in preaching and teaching at Kaimosi and Lirhanda [Kay 1973:119, Ratchiff 1991:32,K.N.A,E.A.Y.M.F. 109/80]. Akhonya also assisted Emory Rees who had arrived in 1904, with the study of Lulogoli and reduced it into written form. Later, Lulogoli became the official language of the Friends church [Culpin 1977:32]. Bible translations were also made possible later on through the efforts of Yohana Amugune and Joel Litu [Rasmussen 1995:41]. Other Africans who also played a leading role in the expansion of Quakerism in this region were Maria Maragaa at Kaimosi, Joseph Ngaira at Idakho and later on together with Mango at Malava ,Peter Wanyama at Lugulu, James Mudaki and Andrea Agufana in Vihiga and Yohana Lumwanji at Lirhanda [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 49/80, Rasmussen 1995:45; Ratcliff 1991:31-32]. These were among the early converts who readily accepted Quaker teachings and in turn offered to spread the same to others. This process began around 1910 when missionaries started sending them to some of the villages that surrounded respective missions whose chiefs had granted permission to start schools for evangelizing their people [Chilson, 1943:88-89].

It should be noted that the F.A.M was already at these point practicing one of its major objectives—the creation of an African community ready to evangelize and support itself. Restating this aim in its manual for the organization and governance of the mission in 1910, the F.A.I.M. board maintained;

> The prime object of mission work is as soon as possible to establish in every land a self propagating, self-supporting and self governing church. Converts should be made to feel from the beginning that they are responsible for their evangelization of their own people; all native workers should feel their responsibility for their support [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F, 256/80]

Although this effort faced a few setbacks mainly due to the inadequate preparation which these African evangelizers received, it was nevertheless a good start in making Africans assume the responsibility of spreading the gospel to their lot.

Prior to the establishment of Lugulu and Malava as F.A.M. stations in 1913 and 1918 respectively, these missionaries had already established two stations among the southern Abaluhyia in 1906—in January at Lirhanda and among the Isukha in April. Vihiga, which was

formerly a C.M.S station under J.J. Willis, was transferred to F.A.M. at a cost of J 60 after the C.M.S decided to establish Maseno as their new base on the boarder of the Luo and Luyia [Painter 1966:32; Ratcliff 1991:32]. Negotiations towards their deal had started in 1904 when the Friends missionaries took refuge in the C.M.S stations to allow the administration pacify the Nandi who had been causing a lot of suffering both to their neighbours and the missionaries through their constant raids to steal cattle and other properties. By the end of 1918, the F.A.M had managed to set up five stations among different Abaluhyia communities and it was from these stations that evangelical activities radiated quickly to different parts of North Kavirondo district.

The F.A.M. was not the only missionary group that struggled to gain a foot hold in this region. In fact part of the reasons which forced these missionaries to start a number of stations in the district was the struggle for adherents to ward-off other missionary groups that were competing for the same African soul. Some of these groups were the S.D.A who having set up their first station at Gendia in 1902 decided to concentrate most of their efforts in South Kavirondo among the Luo and the Kisii at Kamagambo, Gendia and Nyanchwa between 1901 and 1912. S.A.C.I.M which later became the church of God mission [C.G.M.] opened their station at Kima in 1906 and later spread their influence to Mwihila and Ingotse. The M.H.M established themselves at Kisumu in 1903 and later spread to Kisumu in 1904, Ojola in 1906 and Nyabururu in 1910 [Burgman, 1990:31-38, 60]. The C.M.S under Wills opened their first station in Vihiga in 1905 before moving to Maseno in 1906 and Butere in 1912. Others were the Nilotic Independence Mission [N.I.M] led by Miss Dorothea Boldt who opened a mission at Ogada in 1906 while Nyang'ori, a Pentecostal Assemblies of God [P.A.G] mission was founded in 1909 by Mr. and Mrs. Cycle Miller. It is this influence of so many missionary groups to evangelize a small area within a short span of time that sparked off a very intense competition as they scrambled for spheres of influence [Ogutu 1981:88].

The realization by the protestant missions that this rivalry was bound to generate negative effects made them to agree on a definite sphere of evangelization among specific groups. It was then decided that the C.M.S and the N.I.M concentrate their evangelical work among the Luo while the F.A.M and S.A.C.I.M move to the Luhyia [Mungeam, 1978:148-203, cited by Ogutu, 1981:89]. In 1910, the government also decided to divide Kisumu and North Kavirondo districts among the Protestants. Resulting from this, the F.A.M were permitted to evangelize the Tiriki,

Maragoli, Isukha, Idakho and Kabras as well as the people of North Kitosh. The M.H.M decided to overlook these spheres but they were still expected to observe the 10 mile rule which stipulated that no denomination was supposed to establish a station within a radius of ten miles from the station of the other [Culpin, 1976:80].

The decision by the Catholic Church not to evangelize according to the defined spheres had a serious bearing on the work of other missionaries in North Kavirondo. Even the 10 mile rule did very little to stop them from antagonizing their counterparts. For instance, the M.H.M set up their Mukumu stations only 4 miles from F.A.M's Lirhanda, thereby eliciting a lot of complains from both the administration and Edger Hole [Rasmussen 1995:50]. In spite of these complaints, Father Brandsma of the M.H.M still insisted that their decision was aimed at enabling them to move at par with the Quakers [Culpin 1976:40]. When these two missions are analyzed from a theological perspective, one realizes that the fears of the Quakers were well founded. Their evangelical theology that highly detested African tradition did not endear them to the African unlike the Catholics who generally accommodated some African cultural values such as traditional dances, smoking pipes, beer drinking, circumcision rituals among others. Rowe has this to say with regard to the F.A.M evangelical beliefs:

> The particular brand of Christianity they taught had no place for western vice of smoking and card playing, and they chastised the Africans for their dancing and beer drinking, calling such practices 'unchristian' [Rowe 1958:50-51]

The Quakers therefore knew that their would be adherents would instead find comfort at the Catholic stations at Mukumu, Eregi and Lirhanda. It was also out of suspicions of the Catholic occupations of the northern part of the district that made Quakers move very fast to apply for a station in Lugulu in 1912 [Culpin, 1976:80]. This can help explain these missionaries eagerness to establish themselves at Lugulu in 1913 after passing over Malava where they were to return in 1915. With their station well set at Lugulu, it was now easy for them to lay a claim on the entire area to the north of Kaimosi between Kakamega and Mount Elgon.

Apart from these initial rivalries, the Friends had to contend with stiffer competition in the later period from various groups both new and old. This was very much felt in the 1930s since the Kavirondo district was at the time saturated with missionary activity. Among these groups were; M.H.M, C.G.M, P.A.G. and the Salvation Army [S.A]. Aptly capturing this development, Rowe writes;

> It was hard for other missionary groups to admit or agree that the friends 'sphere' should be sacrosanct, simply because the friends had been first on the spot. Some of the nearby missions felt that religious truth knew no boundary lines especially when the friend's religious truth did not agree with their own [Rowe, 1958:114].

The winning of Africans into the friends' community was not easy during the initial stage of missionary activities despite the goodwill shown to the F.A.M by the establishment and local African leaders. This is clearly seen from the slow manner in which Africans enrolled themselves as members of this church. For instance, by 1905, there were only 5 converts, 5 more joined in 1906, only 1 in 1907, 15 in 1911 and 35 in 1914 [Painter,1966:35]. This trend however changed tremendously with time such that the churches' full members together with those on probation for membership stood at 1,013 in 1920, 4,100 in 1926 and 7,500 in 1929 [F.U.M reports cited by Rasmussen,1995:50]. This unprecedented increase resulted from a number of factors. Chief among them were the biting effects of colonialism which by this time had destroyed the people's tribal allegiances and the effects of World War 1 [1914-1918] which had exposed participants to new experiences. At the same time, mission stations also became hiding places for able-bodied men who escaped conscription into the Kings African Rifles [K.A.R]. In addition, the emerging friend's school system and the repercussions of forced African labor on the settler farms compelled many Africans to take refuge in the mission [Rasmussen 1995:46-50; O.I, Alfred Mwangale 15-4-2008, Japheth Mugalitsi 15-4-2008].

Over the years, the increase in African participation in the running of the church necessitated the establishment of a structure which would give autonomy to the Africans. This process started in 1911 when annual conferences began to be held. In 1917, the first monthly meeting was started in Maragoli and later on transformed itself into a quarterly meeting in 1921. In 1931, both friends' missionaries and the African Christians were already expressing the need to have a yearly meeting. It was not until 1936 that this dream of a native church was realized when the East Africa yearly meeting was officially inaugurated on 18 November at Lugulu [Ratcliff, 1991:33, Rasmussen 1995:57]. It is also possible that the membership of the church which had increased tremendously at this time strengthened the rationale for the creation of the yearly meeting. Between 1935-1945, the number of friends' increased from 7,000-15,000. This devolution of power by F.A.M to the local church was very much in line with the mission's policy as stated in its manuals for missions:

> One of the primary objects of the missions is to establish as soon as possible, in every land a fellowship of believers unfettered by foreign domination….. [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F, 263/80].

The new yearly meetings terms of operations were however very limited to matters of the local church. Other important tasks of the church such as education continued to be handled by the F.A.M up to 1964 when full devolution was finalized (K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 303/80). From this time onwards, Africans took full responsibility of their own affairs. This had been the aim of the friends missionaries right from the time they set foot in the country in 1902 to establish a self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing church.

To realize the ideal of a self-evangelizing African church, the F.A.M encouraged communal living as soon as they got established at Kaimosi. The Africans who showed interest in what was going on at Kaimosi were allowed to move their homes and settle on the station. By 1903, 83 Africans were already residing at Kaimosi [Chilson 1943:83]. Being in close reach, the missionaries were able to monitor their conduct and at the same time, embarked fully on the process of moulding their lives in line with Quaker beliefs. This mode of living was later extended to the villages by some of the early converts who had been sent out to teach as away of separating the new converts from the world. The village teachers [evangelizers] took upon themselves the responsibility of nurturing these peoples' newly acquired lives based on the belief that a change in one's life also needed a changed environment to enable it grow and mature.

It was out of this conception that the notion of Christian villages [lines] later developed and became very popular during the 1920s.The aim of these villages was to create African Christian communities based on the African concept of social living and support as well as to be able to insulate these Christians from getting contaminated by African "heathenism" [Culpin 1976:1, O.I, Joram Madegwa, 18-4-2008, Gideon Mwachi 16-4-2008.]. This perception became so much internalized by most friends such that;

> As the church expanded and grew in strength, pressure for a new Christian to separate itself from the non-believers became irresistible and eventually, to live in the line became a mark of prestige [Culpin, 1976:97-98].

Those who opted to live in the lines were expected to observe strict moral practices in line with Quaker teachings. They were supposed to abstain from vices such as smoking, dancing, drinking, sexual offences and any other behaviour which tended to carry some traditional trappings. Those

who failed to live to these expectations were subjected to disciplinary measures that mostly barred them from participating in church affairs [Rasmussen, 1995:54]. One's membership and continued participation in church activities thus depended very much on his/her uprightness while living in the lines.

The central place that these lines came to occupy in the lives of the friends started to diminish following the decline in their influence in the 1930s.This was partly due to opposition from the North Nyanza Local Native Council [L.N.C] which prohibited the creation of more villages after getting a lot of pressure from the non-Christian African population. Indiscipline among the faithful also increased with time to the extent that the church did not know how to handle cases of those who backslide but continued to live in those lines. The introduction of individual land tenure system forced many Christians to move back to their communities to reclaim their land thus leading to the break up of those villages. Lastly, increased acceptance of Christianity by Africans diminished the rationale for the establishment and maintenance of villages as it was no longer necessary for people to separate themselves from communities formerly seen as heathen to live in "protected" places [Culpin, 1973:208-211; Rasmussen, 1995:54].

It is important to note that the Abaluhyia response to Christianity in general and Quakerism in particular was not uniform across the board but varied from one community to the other depending on the kind of disposition that a particular community had towards a missionary group. This view is well demonstrated by the attitude of the Tiriki and Maragoli towards the F.A.M station at Kaimosi. The former among whom the station was erected totally refused to associate themselves with the said mission thereby paving way for the Maragoli who took over their place and in turn enjoyed most of the benefits that these missionaries had to offer Africans.

A major reason accounting for the averse behaviour exhibited by the Tiriki to the F.A.M stemmed from the community's rigid traditional practices, especially those that touched on circumcision rites which were very much shrouded in secrecy. Appeals by the F.A.M to have some of those rites modified in line with the Quaker teachings were met with a lot of resistance from the locals. Apart from this, the Tiriki also hated the missionaries and government officials who constantly engaged them in forced labour especially on portage and manual work such as road construction. This came about because of their closeness to the station. The locals were also not pleased with allocation of 1000 acres of land to the mission. This land initially belonged to them and they therefore continued to harbour feelings to the effect that these missionaries had

robbed them of their land. The station was also seen as a place of refuge for the runaway Africans who had violated some of the tribal customs. For example most girls who ran away from forced marriages found their way to the mission and refusal by the missionaries to send them back to their villages became a source of serious hostilities between the two groups. The Tiriki also hated the presence of outsiders on their land [Kaimosi]. The negative attitude accorded to the F.A.M by the locals had forced these missionaries to turn elsewhere for labourers, first to the Baganda and later to the Maragoli. The employment of aliens on the station made the locals feel that the missionaries favoured outsiders to work for them than themselves [Kay, 1973:123-127; Sifuna, 1977].

On the other hand, the Maragoli presented a response to Kaimosi that was diametrically opposed to that elicited by the Tiriki. These people not only accepted the teachings of these missionaries but they also took a very leading role in spreading the same message to the rest of the Abaluhyia communities. The missionaries on their part rewarded them as a sign of their gratitude to the good work done. Sifuna (1977a) confirms that the people of Maragoli readily accepted Christianity and they were to be used by the Friends' African Mission [Quakers] as agents of Christian imperialism among other Abaluhyia communities. So important was their role that the Friends' African Mission concentrated many of the Christian and educational activities among them. The symbiotic relationship which emerged out of these two groups as stated above has thus been a source of constant tensions among the friends and it is taken by many as one of the major causes which have threatened the unity of this church over the years.

Demographic pressure was one of the major factors which forced the Maragoli people to move closer to the F.A.M station at Kaimosi. As early as 1923, north Maragoli alone had a very high population density which stood at 7001 persons per square kilometer [K.N.A, DC/NN1/4].This scenario forced a number of people in Maragoli to move eastwards to the Tiriki soon after the Nandi were beaten into submission. Resulting from this, many Maragoli came into close contact with the F.A.M mission station at Kaimosi and took the evangelical and educational activities of the friends seriously because they saw in them opportunities for their future prosperity.

The Maragoli, unlike the Tiriki, were quick to modify their tradition to conform to Christian teaching as propagated by these missionaries. For example, the Maragoli boys started to abstain from some of the circumcision rituals such as dancing, beer drinking, sacrifices among others as

early as 1910. The decision by the F.A.M to adopt Lulogoli as the official language of evangelization put the Maragoli ahead of other communities since they did not experience the difficulties involved in learning a new dialect [Kay, 1973:127-131; Sifuna, 1977a]. These were some of the salient factors which made the Maragoli more than any other community in western Kenya adjust quickly to the evangelical demands of the F.A.M.

Although the above analysis has shown that African responses towards Quakerism varied from one community to the other, the Abaluhyia attitude towards the evangelical activities of the F.A.M was on the whole positive. These enabled these missionaries accomplish a lot in western Kenya at least in the first three decades. But this process was abruptly put to the test towards the end of the 1920s.This crisis was brought about by a revival which finally spilled over to the church. What had initially started as a spiritual renewal in 1924 at a conference at Lugulu reached its climax in 1927 at another conference at Kaimosi. Arthur Chilson, one of the first three Quaker missionaries to set foot at Kaimosi and a charismatic preacher is said to have started praying for a Christian revival among friends since their meeting at Lugulu [Chilson, 1943:165]. His prayers seem to have been answered for when at the Kaimosi conference, he worked up his faithful by calling on them to confess their sins openly and ask for God's forgiveness so that they could receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit. A good number of those in attendance got seized by the Holy Spirit and started crying as well as speaking in tongues [Rasmussen, 1995:61].

From this time on, those filled with the Holy Spirit considered themselves as a separate group from the rest of the friends. This notion of the elected, coupled with extreme fanaticism, created two distinct camps in the church with the separate group strongly convinced of the fact that the friends needed a second spiritual baptism if they wanted to be counted as Christians [Kay, 1973:165]. Attempts by the elders to have the separatist group recant its position and return to the fold failed terribly. Even efforts by Jefferson Ford, who had taken over evangelical work from Chilson to reconcile the two groups, also came to naught. The separatists even went ahead to accuse the missionaries of engaging in matters outside the spiritual realm which lacked biblical backing (Culpin, 1976:201].

The early 1930s saw the separatists get deregistered while others resigned to join the Pentecostal Mission at Nyang'ori, which gave room to the work of the Holy Spirit. Others went ahead and

founded the Independent African Church of the Holy Spirit. The Pentecostal Mission also later on experienced a revival with some Christians seceding to form the African Israel Church Nineveh (Gilpin 1976:202, Kay 1973:166).These defections greatly affected church membership which dramatically dropped from the initial figure of 9000 to 7000 in 1974 [Rasmussen 1975:62].

This schism is partly explained in terms of increased stratification among the friends which led to the emergence of some marginalized groups. These groups then decided to establish their own church which not only gave them some form of identity but also became avenues through which the said groups could ascend to privileged positions which they had been denied for a very long time. Unlike those who defected from the church, those who remained were economically well-of and exhibited some form of modernity largely acquired through education [Rasmussen, 1995:64, Culpin, 1976:203].

The decline in African membership within the church during the early 1930s also resulted from the general disillusionment among Africans at the time .The inferior treatment which they received from the missionaries and the F.A.M's failure to support African meetings [church structure] due to the prevailing economic depression of the early 1930s created a lot of concern in the African quarters. As if this was not enough, the European gold rush near Kakamega which alienated a good number from their land and the mission's failure to protect them against land expropriation fuelled further African discontent in the church [Rowe, 1958:98-100; Lonsdale, 1964:305-309].

4.5 The Early Educational Activities of the F.A.M, 1903-1918

Less than six months after the arrival of the first F.A.I.M party at Kaimosi, Edgar Hole started his first class of learners which was composed of both youth and adults. The school was in a way meant to attract Africans to the station for evangelism since right from the beginning; these missionaries had identified education as one of the effective means towards that end [Rowe, 1958:45; Rasmussen, 1995:47]. Learning went on under a tree for sometime before a permanent building was erected [Chilson, 1943:39]. At first Kiswahili was used as the medium of instruction till 1907 when it was replaced with Lulogoli—one of the Luhyia dialects—after Emory Rees managed to reduce it into a written form [Painter 1966:50].

The school curriculum in Kenya during the first decade of the 19th century entirely depended on the aims and needs of the individual missionary groups. It was not until 1911, following the recommendation made by Nelson Frazer in 1909 on education in the East Africa protectorate that the government formally decided to participate in the provision of African education. It did this by establishing the department of education in 1911 with James R. Orr as its first Director.

The F.A.M had therefore developed a curriculum purposely aimed at meeting its primary missionary objective in Kenya, that is, the establishment of a self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing church already alluded to in the previous section. Its schools emphasized on the 3Rs, bible and industrial education. Basic skills in some of the manual activities such as building, brick making, cooking and cultivation were informally taught to those who got attracted to the industrial mission at Kaimosi [Kay 1973:80]. Similar activities were later spread to other stations such that for the first two decades of the century, those who worked on the F.A.M stations were instructed in logging, lumber-making, carpentry, brick-making, book-binding, tailoring, cooking, walling, planting, harvesting, milling, smithing, brick laying, masonry, type-setting and printing.

These industrial programmes were developed by Fred Hoyt who joined the F.A.M in 1912 from the Lumbwa Industrial Mission. His efforts were further complemented by Frank Canover, an agricultural specialist who also came to Kaimosi in 1912. He taught Africans better methods of cultivation and carried out practical demonstrations in planting and cultivation of fruits, vegetables and maize among others. Apart from these, the mission workers were also given some rudimentary classes in the 3Rs [Kay,1973:90;Culpin,1976:56;Rasmussen,1995:41].This industrial program greatly assisted the mission in acquiring less expensive materials as well as some trained technicians who assisted in the maintenance of the mission stations. At the same time, these vocational skills helped Africans to improve their ways of living [Kay 1973:96-97].

This type of curriculum fitted in very well with that suggested by the government following Frazer's recommendations which never deviated from the thinking of the government and settlers on the provision of technical and religious education for Africans. Whereas the former meant to make Africans good artisans to take over from the Indians who were very expensive to hire, the latter served to train the natives in their morals [Sifuna and Otiende 1994:168]. There is no doubt that Kaimosi stood a better chance to receive government grants for technical education

introduced by the department of education in 1912. But the fear of losing autonomy over its education programmes in terms of policy forced the F.A.M to reject this offer by the government together with other Protestant missionaries such as A.I.M and S.D.A. [Furley and Watson 1978:156].

Most of the instruction work during these initial stages of the F.A.M education system was mostly done by missionaries. Within a short time the first African converts also started to assist. The hiring of Cherubini Matolas in 1904, who was later joined by his brother Bartholomew in 1907 assisted a lot in the instruction of Africans at Kaimosi [Kay 1973:119]. Later, as many Africans started to take initiative in spreading this new form of learning, it became necessary to coordinate their activities. Hence the coming of Rexie Reeve in 1912 who started a training program for African teachers both in and out of school in order to improve their skills. She also gave these teachers weekly lesson outlines and paid monthly visits to their schools for inspection and advice. The missions' printing press also helped in improving the quality of instruction through the production of instructional materials. By 1918, these efforts had led to the publication in Lulogoli of a series of 12 reading charts, two graded readers, two arithmetic texts, a brief biography, a hymnal, and five books of the bible and series of weekly scripture lessons [Kay 1973:95].

African response to the F.A.M educational initiatives in western Kenya still followed the dimension already taken by various communities towards these evangelical activities as explained in the previous sections. The Tiriki who had rejected the settlement of these missionaries in their midst outright did very little to send their children to Kaimosi mission for education compared to other Abaluhyia communities [Sifuna, 1977a; Kay 1973:123-135; Kenworthy, 1987:326].The Maragoli, for example, saw promises of a good future in education and took upon themselves the responsibility to spread the same to the other Abaluhyia communities who lagged behind.

Individual responses to missionary education in the initial stages were not quite encouraging. Africans viewed the missionaries with a lot of suspicion. Others even thought that these intruders [missionaries] could bewitch them [Oliver, 1965]. Accordingly, those who first ventured on mission stations were mostly the despised and marginalized in the society—orphans and strangers as well as those who ran away after committing serious community offenses and were in essence escaping punishment, the idlers, the lazy etc [Sifuna and Otiende, 1994:168; Kay,

1973:114]. Chiefs also played a very important role in getting pupils for these missionaries. Murunga, who ruled over north Kitosh told his headsmen to send their children to Lugulu after the establishment of schools and also assisted these missionaries to start out stations and schools in his area [Lohrentz, 1977:173; Culpin, 1976:82-83]. A similar trend was seen in Maragoli where through the cooperation of headmen, the out schools increased from 2 in 1911 to 10 in 1915 [Kay 1973:110,112-113]. The African initiatives taken in the spread of Quakerism and education to their respective communities led to the opening of many village schools with most of those admitted being sons and relatives of chiefs [Culpin, 1976:84].

A major factor which boosted the number of learners not only in the F.A.M schools but in other schools in Kenya was the out break of the World War 1 in 1914.The decision by the British to recruit Africans to serve in this war forced quite a number to take refuge on mission stations to avoid conscription [O.I,Tsimungu 20-4-2008,Temu 1972:17].This event increased the pool of learners thereby forcing the missionaries to open more schools to cater for those flocking to their stations in large numbers. This became a blessing in disguise to the missionaries who capitalized on the plight of Africans to evangelize and introduce them to some literally skills. This forced the F.A.M to double their institutions in western Kenya. For example, the Kaimosi station which had only 6 schools in 1914 with an average attendance of 377 saw their schools increase to 13 by 1915 with an average attendance of 1,004.This was also reflected in Maragoli whose 5 schools with an average attendance of 1064 in September 1913 increased to 14 with average attendance of 2050 in March 1915 and to 20 schools by June the same year [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F, 13E6/80]. But as the war continued, the authorities decided to invade some of the mission schools to force the able bodied pupils into the army. Such a case was reported by Andrew Estock at Lirhanda mission in 1917 [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F, 160/80].

It is instructive that a number of factors had made the F.A.M education system to expand tremendously during the first two decades of their work in western Kenya. From its humble beginnings, the system had grown over time such that by 1916 the mission boasted over 42 schools which provided a religious, literary as well as practical education to its adherents who numbered over 4,000 [Kay, 1973:77].Out of this, the Maragoli proved to be the most responsive by the time the war ended in 1918. For instance the Maragoli hosted a total of 20 F.A.M schools by 1919 [Culpin, 1976:86-87].

4.6 The Friends' Educational Developments during the Inter-War Period, 1919-39

The end of the First World War saw a good number of Africans start to demand for increased educational opportunities in Kenya. This came about after the realization by those who took part in the war that the power of the white man resided more in his knowledge than anything else [Kay 1973:118]. Apart from this, interactions among Africans themselves provided a lot of learning opportunities. For instance, the Abaluhyia who traveled to the coast either as soldiers or carrier corps came into contact with advanced culture which became instrumental in changing their perception towards life. According to Miss Chadwick of C.M.S Butere, those people went back to Kavirondo with a lot of thirst for education. She writes;

> ...during the campaign, the Abaluyia had been much laughed at by the more civilized coast boys both because their faces showed the old tribal marks or scars of heathen days and because they could not read [Chadwick papers,1935 cited by Lonsdale 1964:211].

The increasing effect of colonialism that manifested itself in terms of taxes, inflation and forced labour on the settler farms forced Africans to look for alternative ways of survival outside their tribal confines with the school proving to be a major avenue to new experiences [Sifuna and Otiende, 1994:176-177]. This new perception was well reflected among the Friends by the increased number of Africans who started to enroll in schools at the time. For instance, while Kaimosi school had 611 pupils in December 1919, enrollment had risen to 800 by December 1920 and 1450 by December 1921. A similar trend was also recorded in Maragoli where enrollment figures rose from 3123 in December 1920 to 4613 in December 1921 [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 164/80].

The 1920s also ushered in an era where Africans started to demand for quality education that could enable them get good paying jobs. They argued that the technical and religious education which was being offered to them at the time was virtually useless. The Friends' converts for example told F.A.M missionaries frankly in 1921 that;

> …the people of the church are wanting all earning. We are being taught the bible and we want to learn carpentry and English, also work in telegraphy and clerkship. Now the people are asking you that a teacher should come to train leaders in such work together with school teachers [Maragoli mission minutes 17/1/1921 cited by Painter, 1966:39].

In essence, the Friends' wanted an education which could adapt them to a fast changing environment. Hence their insistence on English and trades, subjects which gave them guarantees

for employment both in the government sector as well as on the settler farms [K.N.A,E.A.Y.M.F.135/80; Sifuna and Otiende 1994:177].

The emphasis on technical education and religious education in Kenya as provided by the missionaries was in line with government and settler demands since it aimed at producing competent artisans who were also expected to be morally upright. Just like the Frazer report of 1909, the East Africa Protectorate commission report of 1919 also tied the provision of government grants-in-aid to schools run by the mission for technical training [Furley and Watson,1978:157]. Consequently, Africans demand at this time, which contradicted the official government policy, put the mission in a tight spot as they were supposed to adhere to government stipulations if they expected to get grants. Although the F.A.M's curriculum clearly reflected the thinking of the government of the time, they still did not want to apply for grants. With time, mounting pressure from the government, as well as the advice given by the Phelps Stokes Commission, which visited Africa in 1924, influenced these missionaries to accept the said grants from 1924 [K.N.A,E.A.Y.M.F,122/80; Jones,1925:130-131]. The F.A.M also acceded to government pressure due to economic hardships that faced it soon after the war. The depression of the early 1920s had forced the board to cut down on financial spending, a factor which almost crippled the educational programme [Rowe, 1950:66-67, 69-70].

The flow of the said grants from 1926, together with African contributions, enabled the mission to survive the said hardships and expand its educational work (Rowe,1958:74-75).

The F.A.M's industrial program had started right from the time these missionaries established themselves at Kaimosi. They took the teaching of industrial work to Africans as a very effective means towards the establishment of a self-supporting native church [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F. 260/80]. Consequently, an industrial centre got started at Kaimosi purposely to attract Africans who were taught practical subjects such as carpentry, brick-making and masonry apart from the academic ones [Kenworthy,1987:326]. This instruction was meant to help Africans [K.N.A,E.A.Y.F.M, 122/80; Jones,1925:131].

Although this training was meant to equip Africans with some of the essential skills to make them become self-reliant, these missionaries also emphasized on this program because of the direct benefits which accrued from it because the artisans were expected to assist in the maintenance of the mission stations, thereby cutting down on some of their financial expenses [Hotckiss,1901:152]. It should not be forgotten that the emphasis on this practical program for

Africans was also not totally divorced from the racial prejudices which the western world held towards Africans, generally seeing them as depraved people with inferior intellectual abilities that could not enable them handle a purely academic curriculum which at the time was seen as a preserve of the whites. Unfortunately, the F.A.M in its efforts to uplift the standards of Africans through evangelization and education also fell into this trap. This is clearly seen from the writing of the missions' pioneer workers and the stated objectives of the F.A.I.M which leave no doubt as to the kind of prejudices that these Americans held towards Africans. The latter were portrayed as benighted people that were both mentally and morally retarded and could only be saved from this unfortunate state if exposed to some kind of manual training. For instance, Willis Hotchkiss, the man behind the formation of the F.A.I.M and a leading proponent of the industrial curriculum for the Africans had this to say about them;

> If we were to realize our aim of self-supporting, self-propagating native church from such material, the regenerate units who are to compose that church must from the first be aided in the direction of responsible manhood; cost will power must be retrieved ;and the usually weak, vacillating character re-enforced by means of careful training in habits of industry…..By training him in habits of industry, we create in him the stability of character otherwise impossible and without which he will ever be vacillating and unreliable; a wave driven by the wind and tossed; a prey to every evil passion; a melancholy picture of the house swept and garnished, only to be passed again by seven other devils worse than the first [Hotchkiss,1901:150-151].

Such prejudicial ideas about Africans made American Friends come to Africa totally convinced about a manual based curriculum as the panacea for these people if they were to reap any benefits at all [religious, moral and social] from their missionary work intended mainly to assist Africans reconstruct their society along Christian principles [Hotchkiss, 1901]. Hence those Africans who attended the F.A.M schools ended up benefiting from a double curriculum of both the head and the hand [Kay 1973:90].

Apart from the foregoing, another rationale for the heavy industrial feature in the F.A.M curriculum in Kenya had to do with these missionaries inferior educational backgrounds. Most of those people who came to Kaimosi were rural people who were not necessarily trained theologians but instead carried with them very practical orientations to their daily lives [Gilpin 1976:2]. This deficiency became a very big hindrance when it came to the promotion of African education by these missionaries who therefore settled for a practical curriculum for their schools

out of convenience since it carried with it the experiences, set of values, and beliefs of Quakers as practiced in the Midwest America—their place of origin [Gilpin, 1976:30].

The emphasis by the F.A.M on industrial education made this educational policy fit very well into the proposal made by the Phelps-Stokes Commission. The commission had recommended an education which was meant to adapt Africans to their local conditions and took industrial education as the best alternative towards that end. The commission, which had also asked the government to participate actively in the administration of its education system, led the latter to come up with the education ordinance of 1924. This marked the beginning of a definite commitment by the colonial government to control its education system. African education was no longer a preserve of Christian missions in terms of provision and control. And since the F.A.M had at the time accepted government grants, its school system also came under government control. The mission was therefore required to implement the educational policies of the government and observe the standards as well.

To bring some order into the colony's education system, the government imposed a uniform nomenclature for all schools of all races in line with the educational ordinance of 1924. Elementary grade ran from standard 1 to standard 5 and covered ages 6 to 12. The junior and senior secondary school grades ran from forms 1 to 6 and covered up to the age of 18 [Furley and Watson 1978:160-161]. Prior to this, mission schools had been categorized as village schools which were mostly catechumenates and gave very little secular education, and central schools which completed the primary course where pupils were prepared for training in readiness for secondary education [Sifuna, 1990:130]. By 1927, the Kenya school structure followed the pattern shown below.

Table 1: School Grading System in Kenya, 1927

Normal age	6 7 8 9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16 17 18
Sub-standards, standards and forms	I II III IV V VI VII	1 2 3 4 5 6
Grade of school	A B C	Junior senior
Stages of education	Elementary	secondary

Source: Sifuna, D.N. [1990]. *Development of Education in Africa: The Kenya Experience*, 130.

The 1927 revival which led to the desertion of a number of Christians from the church also led to a corresponding decline in school enrolment in the early 1930s. Pupil population fell from

18,000 in 1930 to about 13,000 in 1933 [A.F.B.M annual reports, 1930-1934, cited by Kay, 1973:213]. These defections also meant that African support to friends' schools decreased during this period.

The global economic depression which started in 1929 greatly affected the operations of the F.A.M including its education system in the early 1930s. Richmond was unable to give more money as well as recruit more staff for its field. To meet this deficit Fred Hoyt, the head of the industrial department converted the plant into an income generating venture for the mission. He started to grind a lot of grain for flour and sawing timber to sell on settler farms and the gold mining companies near Kakamega. Africans were not amused by these commercial activities by the F.A.M which gave them a very stiff competition. At the same time, the convergence of over 400 European gold prospectors on the gold field scared Africans and raised suspicions that their land would be alienated. Thus, under the influence of the Kikuyu Central Association [K.C.A] activities in central Kenya, the Abaluhyia also decided to form the North Kavirondo Central Association [N.K.C.A] in 1932 to articulate these grievances on their behalf. In this way, the Abaluhyia hoped to get assistance from K.C.A to evict the gold miners.

Most of the associations' leadership was drawn from the F.A.M. adherents [Lonsdale, 1964:313,325; Kay, 1973:167-8]. In 1934, the association's secretary, Andrew Jumba, himself a friend, launched a scathing attack on the F.A.M when he wrote directly to Richmond and accused the mission for holding 1000 acres of land at Kaimosi which went unused. According to the Africans, this land belonged to them and yet they benefited little from it. Jumba also accused the mission of involvement in trading activities which gave the Africans a very unfair competition because of the missions' huge capital base [Kay, 1973:200-201].

The mission's involvement in secular activities, especially the above venture, not only eroded its credibility in the eyes of Africans but also exposed the sharp differences between fundamentalist and modernist missionaries at Kaimosi. These groups of missionaries who happened to be uncomfortable with the verbal inspiration of the Bible started coming to the mission field from 1920. This made the evangelical missionaries to show a lot of intolerance towards them. Dr A.A. Bond was now pitied against the fundamentalist camp composed of Everret Kellum, Jafferson Ford, and Fred Hoyt. Whereas the former supported African rights, the latter held a divergent view. Bond was even believed to be an advisor to the N.K.C.A. [Kay, 1973:169; Lonsdale, 1964;

317]. The cracks in the missionary ranks between the two camps became visible when in a correspondence to Howard Cope in September 1934, Bond stated that:

> There is also a feeling that the land which the mission holds here is not being used together for the direct benefit of the native Africans…..I believe that no other single act for which the mission has been responsible ever lost so much prestige as this one did. That brings to mind a criticism that has been made against the mission for indulging in commercial enterprises in the country…… Mr. Hoyt has sawn a great deal of timber which is piled at the mill and he grinds much mill for mining companies. The natives feel that it is a money making enterprise from which they profit little. Personally, I believe that the operation in connection with our mill have, for years, done more harm to the missionary cause than good [Friends African Foreign Mission Archives, Richmond, Indiana cited by King; 1971:151-152].

The infighting among missionaries at Kaimosi almost brought the F.A.M's education system to its knees during the 1930s. The A.F.B.M in Richmond decided not to send more staff to the mission field for fear of escalating the differences between these two camps. At the same time, it started to stay aloof lest it be seen as taking sides in the mission squabbles. It was because of this fear, together with the fundamentalist influence that forced Richmond to shelve a proposal made by J.W.C. Dougall from the protestant education department [Kay 1973:174].

The differences in theological views divided the mission staff, a thing which affected their work including education. The mission board was forced to send a delegation to Kaimosi in 1937 to resolve these differences and restore harmony in its staff. But the damage had already been done. African agitations with support from the modernists for a secondary school at Kaimosi were also opposed by Kellum, who saw them as premature. Instead, stress was placed upon the development of mass education which embraced a lot of manual work as the most ideal for Africans [Kay, 1973:173-217]. The failure to employ more staff to run the education work at Kaimosi made the government in 1937 to cancel the elementary teacher training program started in 1936. It was not until 1939 that the department of education allowed the program to be re-started due to an increasing number of schools which were being opened at the time. In an ecumenical spirit, the F.A.M agreed to train elementary school teachers for the two neighbouring missions—Nyango'ri P.A.G and Kima C.G.M [K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F. 131/80].

The kind of problems which the F.A.M educational programmes went through especially during the 1930s, made Africans very unhappy, more so when they saw other schools like Maseno and Yala progress steadily into junior secondary schools in 1938 and 1939 respectively. The other

source of unhappiness emanated from the poor performance of Kaimosi in examination which led to very few of their children joining secondary schools. For example, out of the 120 students enrolled at Alliance in 1936, only 4 were from Kaimosi. When Maseno Junior secondary school started in 1938, only 3 boys from Kaimosi joined the form one class there [Kay, 1973; 175]. This encouraged Africans to exert more pressure on the mission to improve its education system by calling for teacher training, the teaching of English, more advanced schooling as well as an academic education [Kay, 1973:220].

4.7 The Demands for Advanced Education at Kaimosi during the Post War Period, 1940-1949

The F.A.M's educational system during and after World War Π was to a very large extent influenced by the emerging African elite as well as government policies. Most of these elite friends took upon themselves the responsibility of championing the educational needs of their people. At the same time, the war provided a booming market for African agricultural products which earned a lot of money for the people who later on decided to invest in the education of their children [Kay, 1973:230-231]. All these factors served to increase the friends' interest in education as reflected by the building of more schools during the war period. Before the war started, the mission had a total of 302 schools out of which 16 were aided by the government. By the time the war ended in 1945, the schools had increased to 361 with 20 being aided by the government. During the same period, the number of pupils increased from 20,400 in 1938 to 32,900 in 1945 [Painter, 1966:61]. The friends' educational program had definitely moved from its former subordinate role in 1920 to a very prominent position by the 1940s [Rowe, 1988:107].

The new cadre of educated leaders at the grass root greatly changed the people's perspective towards matters of development in general and education in particular. The appointment of people like Paul Agoi, Jeremiah Segero, William Shivachi, and Hezron Mushenye, who were all friends as chiefs, in the southern part of the district in the 1940s, helped to sensitize the people about the importance of educating their children. The vision of these young and energetic administrators was further reinforced by the coming onto the scene of another educated elite, the likes of Solomon Adagala, Fred Kamidi, Benjamin Ngaira, Simeon Sabura and Hezekiah Ngoya among others who took up important positions in education, the church and politics [Kay,1973:231-234; Culpin,1976:250]. As Culpin unequivocally observes:

> As the most articulate in community with the mission and the government, these new men were able to represent the views of the church, support for mission, and for their particular priorities (Culpin, 1976:250).

To a large extent, this new impetus finally forced the mission to abandon its long held policy of mass education and started focusing on the provision of higher education for its adherents (Culpin, 1976:251). This shift was also made possible after the closure of the technical schools in 1945 following the retirement of Hoyt who had been in charge of industrial work since 1912. The closure was also necessitated by the termination of government support to these schools (Culpin, 1976: 254). From mid 1940s, there emerged increasing calls for the establishment of a senior secondary school at Kaimosi although the missionaries still insisted on a technical school (K.N.A., E.A.Y.M.F., 131/80). The poor standards of education exhibited by the Kaimosi school especially during the 1930s had become a great source of disillusionment among the friends. However, because of the steady improvement in its standards during the early 1940s, African hopes were rejuvenated.

The school's performance in the primary school examinations on the whole showed a marked improvement between 1942 and 1945. The number of passes consistently rose from 4, 9, and 20 for 1943, 1944 and 1945 respectively. At the same time, the number of pupils who qualified for admission to junior secondary schools was also on the increase. For instance, whereas only 3 pupils out of 39 that sat for the examinations in 1941, that is 0.7% qualified for junior secondary education, this figure had more than doubled by 1946 when 16 out of 66 that sat for the examination or 18% qualified for the next level of education (Fort Hall District annual reports 1942, 1944 – 1946 K.N.A, DC/FH/6/4, K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 135/80). These results in a way provided the African friends with more impetus to fight for the establishment of a school at Kaimosi.

The government approval to the F.A.M to start two more junior secondary schools in 1945 at Musingu and Lugulu meant an increased number of school leavers who needed opportunities for further education, a scenario for which the F.A.M was ill equipped. By late 1948, the number of schools offering junior secondary education in North Nyanza district increased by eleven (8 for boys and 3 for girls). Out of the eight boys' schools, five were run by Protestant missions in Kaimosi, Musingu, Lugulu, Kolonya and Nyang'ori (K.N.A, DC/NN/1/30). Pupils from these

schools were likely to enroll at Kaimosi for apart from Kakamega, this was the most developed school.

African pressure for advanced education in North Nyanza district during the 1940s was also mounted by organizations, clubs and political associations. The Maragoli, who all along had been pace setters in educational matters especially among the friends, formed the Maragoli Education Board (MEB) in 1945 to articulate their educational needs before the F.A.M as well as the government (Culpin, 1976: 254–255). In 1948, this body renewed Maragoli demands for a school of their own at Mudete—a demand first made in 1926. This plan for such a school had been shelved ever since because as the administration put it, "they have to wait for the right time". The shelving of the Maragoli plan also come as a result of pressure from L.N.C members who saw it as a possible interference with their demands for the establishment of Government African School at Kakamega. But by 1948, the M.E.B could now state as follows:

> Our people have ever since been waiting patiently for a period of twenty years to 1948. They are not satisfied now by being told that the right time has not yet come. When will it come? The right time for things never really comes until the people themselves begin doing those things with their own hands and not only sit and wait for the right time….. We do not ask the education department for money now but for two things …….. PERMISSION to start building and ENCOURAGEMENT (M.E.B to S.E.O. Nyanza, June 18, 1948, KNA, PC/NZA/ 2/733).

Although the government and the missionaries came out strongly to oppose this move on the grounds that it was likely to interfere with plans to start Chavakali as a junior school and the general plans for the educational development in the district, its resolve was telling in itself—that Africans were now ready to promote their own education outside the confines of the government and the missionaries. The Maragoli were also contemplating taking this move because none of the three F.A.M junior schools at the time had been established in their area.

All this pressure exerted by Africans both to the government and the F.A.M convinced quite a number of people about the possibility of upgrading Kaimosi from junior secondary status to a senior secondary school towards the end of the 1940s. Nevertheless, these hopes were dashed when the ten year plan failed to make provisions for technical schools in 1948 as expected by the missionaries. The plan instead called for the establishment of 14 secondary schools for boys in the colony out of which five were allocated to Nyanza province. But the authorities did not see the need for a senior secondary school at Kaimosi because of its proximity to the three big

schools (Maseno, Yala and Kakamega) in the province at the time (K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 81/80). Another reason for this refusal was the continued staffing problem which had been haunting Kaimosi for along time because of the mission's refusal to hire qualified white teachers as demanded by the government (K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 131 /80).

Thus for a long time, the Quaker educational system faced a lot of problems which left many of the church's adherents deeply disappointed. Yet it is important to note that these American missionaries, more than other groups which evangelized the people of western Kenya, distinguished themselves very much when it came to the education of women/girls. This initiative was started by Deborah Rees and Adelaide Hole who worked at Vihiga and Lirhanda stations respectively. These two women did a lot in introducing African women to literacy, child care and sewing (Painter, 1966:51). The inspiration towards gender parity in educational matters in Africa during this time most likely emanated from the teaching of George Fox which emphasized the equality of sexes before God (Rasmussen, 1995:5). Hence regarding education, Fox called for the instruction of both boys and girls "in whatever things were civil and useful in creation." This was one of the tenets strongly emphasized by a document on the faith and practice of the five years meeting (K.N.A, F.A.Y.M.F, 15/80). Imbued with the sense of faithfulness to their master, these two women missionaries struggled against all odds to ensure that the Abaluhyia women acquired useful skills for a good living. For instance, thanks to their zeal, the difference between girls and boys, who attended F.A.M schools in 1910 was not as big as that which existed in the other mission schools in Nyanza province. The following table clarifies.

Table 2: A comparison of Boys' and Girls' in Attendance at Four Mission Schools in Nyanza Province, 1910

Mission	Boys attending	Girls attending
Friends African Mission	64	55
Seventh Day Adventist	95	31
Ogada (N.I.M)	65	20
Mill Hill	345	58

Source: *Kenya Blue Book*, 1910 cited by Furley, O.W. and Watson T. (1978). *A History of Education in East Africa*; New York: N.O.K Publishers, 78.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the pre-colonial traditional socio-economic setting of the area of study in order to set the background for a description of the history of the F.A.M and its early evangelical and educational activities in Kenya. As a prelude to this, a brief outline of the religious Society of Friends has been made. It has been shown that the 19th century protestant revival in North America impacted heavily on the original Quaker traditions that made its adherents acquire an evangelical position which forced them into missionary work. It was through this new initiative that the F.A.I.M, one of the friends' missionary societies was born.

The F.A.M's process of evangelization took a very unique method from any other missionary group in western Kenya through the creation of Christian villages. These villages which became very popular in the 1920s were not only used for imparting the evangelical traditions of the American Quakers, but also the knuckle of modern living for the Africans. Consequently, these villages did a lot in the expansion of the friends' church in western Kenya.

It has emerged that in order to realize their vision of a self-propagating and self-supporting church, the F.A.M paid a lot of attention to the education of Africans. Schools were therefore set up on their stations and out-stations to provide some basic skills to the friends' converts. These schools, however, stressed the 3Rs and the bible for effective integration of Africans into the church.

Furthermore, the chapter has examined the educational work of the F.A.M in western Kenya from 1919–1949. It has been shown that a number of factors affected the manner in which the F.A.M and other missionaries carried out their activities from the 1920s. One such important factor that gave new direction to the process of education was the increased interest by the Africans in their own education. This altered the grip by the missionaries on African education and led to the establishment of the L.N.C schools in the country in the early 1930s. It has been demonstrated that this was partly in reaction to the emphasis placed on manual work in the Friends' school system—a curriculum which these American missionaries saw as the best for the Africans because of what they perceived as the latter's inferior intellectual capacities.

The poor showing by the F.A.M in their educational matters, especially in the 1930s, did a lot to demoralize Africans. Consequently, increased pressure was brought to bear on the F.A.M by Africans to change their attitude towards African development through the school. This, together with increased need for advanced education, saw F.A.M mount a lot of pressure onto the Government to upgrade Kaimosi junior secondary to senior secondary status. The next chapter addresses this issue.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BEGINNING OF KAIMOSI GIRLS AND CHAVAKALI HIGH SCHOOL AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE LOCAL COMMUNITY, 1950-1973

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the development of formal education at Kaimosi mission station. It then treats the beginning and development of the two institutions which are the subject of this study—Kaimosi girls and Chavakali High School. Eventually, it highlights whatever socio-economic and political impact these two institutions have had on the local community and society at large.

5.1 The Post Second World War Context

The end of the Second World War ushered into Kenya an era of increased demands by Africans for educational opportunities. Those Kenyans who participated in the war especially those who traveled to other countries such as Ethiopia, Palestine, Madagascar, India and Burma came back with broadened minds. Those travels had enabled them to interact with other people who were also under colonial rule and who therefore shared their own experience with Africans. This served to enrich the perception of Kenyans back at home towards the British colonial system (Furley and Watson, 1978: 242). It was very easy for those soldiers to appreciate the development of the time because most, unlike those who fought in the First World War, had attained secondary education.

The war also boosted the economic standing of Africans in many ways. A good number of them sold their agricultural commodities to the military camps mounted in the country. The returning African soldiers also came with some earnings in terms of salaries and gratuity after the end of the war—monies which were invested in the education of their children. This was deemed to be the most viable investment of their resources at the time. As Furley and Watson confirm:

> Not only did they (Africans) wish their children to acquire Western learning and thus have access to political power, they also wanted them to compete on equal terms with European and Asian pupils in the same external examination and to be first class citizens of their country (1978:243).

This determination by the Africans towards their own advancement through education meant that the colonial government had to provide more education opportunities by expanding the school system especially at high levels.

Most African ex-soldiers ended up settling in towns since land alienation meant that they could not participate in agricultural activities. Furthermore the war experience had rendered them more attuned to an urban lifestyle. This not only enabled them to share varied views about the poor living conditions in those urban centers but also forced Africans to use political channels towards the attainment of their social goals. This was made possible by the emergence of Trade Unions and other welfare organizations which became handy in articulating their grievances (Roseberg and Nottingham, 1966:207-211). A key African demand at the time was improved educational opportunities especially at the secondary level.

The coming to power of the Labour Party in England after the General Election in 1945 did a lot to alter the colonial set up in Kenya immediately after the war. The party's policies which envisioned the eventual self rule by the colonial people now meant that the British colonies had to provide the affected people with an education geared towards the said goal (Otiende, et al, 1992:53). This was the background to the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945 which called for a shift in the colonial policies from self-sufficiency to that of increased production and development within the colonies. The new policy made the government come up with the Ten Year Development Plan in 1948 to address the problems that afflicted the country's education system whose rapid expansion, coupled with lack of proper control and supervision had done a lot to erode its quality (Sifuna and Otiende, 1994: 193). Among other things, the plan recommended the establishment of an additional 14 secondary schools to add to the only two 'O' level schools at the time, that is, Alliance High School and Holy Ghost College, Mang'u (Bogonko. 1992:62).

The recommendations by the Ten Year Plan were however not implemented because of the financial burden placed on the L.N.Cs which were supposed to bear the cost of primary education. Those proposals were therefore overtaken by those made by the Beecher Education committee chaired by Archdeacon L.J. Beecher. Constituted on 18 March 1949, this committee was supposed to look into ways of correcting an education system which had led to a very massive and uncontrolled expansion at the lower levels without giving due attention to its quality. This scenario had resulted from the unsuitable demands placed by the Africans on their respective LN.Cs to increase the educational opportunities for their children. The resultant pressure had made those LN.Cs to circumvent the 1945 grant in aid rules which had been put in

place to check the rapid expansion of primary schools in the country. Instead, local authorities continued to double stream their schools which led a number of them into bankruptcy (Beecher, 1949; Furley and Watson, 1978: 246-7).

The massive expansion of the colony's educational system at the lower level did not have a corresponding expansion at its secondary level. Consequently, the latter level was unable to absorb all those who qualified for secondary education. The Beecher committee expressed its strong concerns about this when it noted that;

> The expansion at the bottom had been allowed to exceed the limits imposed by educational planning, the all important provision of secondary education which has remained within the limits imposed by the plan is consequently of such a dimension as to be wholly inadequate in relation to the expansion of the primary system (Beecher, 1949:12).

Africans who presented their views to the committee had insisted on the need to widen the 'apex' of the system (senior secondary schools) that is, Forms 3-6 which they felt was too small (Beecher, 1949: 41). The committee, therefore, proposed to increase the number of secondary schools which prepared their students up to school certificate level from 2 to 16 by 1957.

Thirteen of the affected boys' schools were Alliance, Maseno, Yala, Kagumo, Machakos, Kakamega, Kaimosi, Shimo-la-tewa, Mang'u, Nyeri, Embu, Kisii and Fort Hall. Only four out of the thirteen schools were to offer a full circle of this education, that is, from Form 3-6 starting in 1951 while the other remaining schools were expected to attain full development by 1957.

The Beecher Report was debated in the Legislative Council in August 1950 and was finally adopted with some modifications for implementation. With regard to secondary education, 16 schools, 14 for boys and 2 for girls were to develop into senior secondary schools (Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1951: 39; 1953: 4)

5.2 The Initial Problem of Kaimosi and the Coming of the English Quakers

The acceptance of the Beecher report by the colonial government for implementation in August 1950 marked the beginning of yet another important era in the development of education in Kenya. The report became the basis on which the education system in the country operated up to the time of independence in 1963. The report also became a landmark in the history of Quaker

education in Kenya. The F. A. M was awarded a full secondary school at Kaimosi and a T3 teacher training center also at Kaimosi and 4 junior secondary schools namely, Musingu, Lugulu, Chavakali and Kaimosi girls boarding school (Kay, 1973: 249). That these awards became a source of great joy was reflected in the following assertion;

> The year 1950 will be a year remembered in the history of reports. It is marked by the acceptance by the government of the Beecher report. The report has become the basis of the educational policy in Kenya. The work of missions in connection with the educational work of the past has been approved by the continuation of the system of grant in-aid by voluntary agencies. The friends have been offered a prominent part in the work in this part of the colony (K.N.A;E.A.Y.F.M.131/80).

More than other missions in the region, the F.A.M benefited a lot from the Beecher report. Going by the nature of its allocation, only one Church of God girls and two Roman Catholic boarding schools were allowed to become junior secondary schools. The report also called for full secondary school status to Government African School, Kakamega.

There was every reason for Kaimosi to rejoice over this report going by the previous frustrations which both the missionaries and the Africans had encountered in their attempt to lobby for this school especially in the 1940s. The frustrations had reached their peak following the publication of the ten-year plan in February 1948. Prior to this, Mr. T.G. Benson, senior education officer in Nyanza province, had not only recommended Kaimosi for a technical and full secondary school, but had also assured them of these opportunities. His recommendations were however shelved in Nairobi after he was transferred from the country (K.N.A E.A.Y.M.F. 131/80). Matters became more complex when the plan failed to make provision for technical schools but instead proposed the establishment of secondary schools to offer academic education with Nyanza province being allocated 5 schools (K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F. 131/80). This came as a very big shock to Kaimosi prompting the N.T.S principal, Howard Yow, to state that “we at Kaimosi had dreamed of a full secondary school and a technical school. We suddenly realized that neither would come here. It was rather hard to tell our African brethren this news (K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F.131/80). Following the allocation of Government African School at Kakamega, Kisii became the fourth secondary school in the province as there were no such schools in South Nyanza. But the allocation of a fifth school where Kaimosi was the leading contender was suspended to allow the government to assess the real needs of the province at the time. This came as a result of two main reasons. First Kaimosi was close to the three big secondary schools in the province –Maseno, Yala and

Kakamega and second, the people of central Nyanza had at the time also stepped up demands for a government school in the district (K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F. 131/80).

Yet apart from the above reasons, a major factor which contributed to the government's refusal to grant Kaimosi a full secondary school was related to the staffing problems which had plagued the F.A.M school system for a long time. By 1948, there were provisions for 3 European male and 2 female teachers but the mission had been unable to fill these positions. Accordingly, the director of education advised the mission to employ the required staff before any negotiations could be entered into over the school (K.N.A, E.A Y.M.F 131/80).

The F.A.M had all along been unwilling to recruit qualified teachers for their institutions at Kaimosi from England. The situation was made worse in 1949, when Howard Yow, the principal of both the junior secondary schools which were at the time being run as one institution resigned. This resignation was prompted by theological differences among the missionaries that could be traced back to the 1930s. And since the mission lacked somebody to replace him, a committee of three people was formed to oversee the running of the said institutions. These were Leonard Wines, Hellel Kindel and Mabel Hathorna (K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F 135/180). At this point, the Africans also stepped up their demands for a senior secondary school at Kaimosi. They told the F.A.M to solve the staffing problem by inviting English Quakers to assist them in their education work (Board of the E.A.Y.M March 1949, K.N.A, E.A.Y.M.F, 150/80). By 1950, the missionaries had also come to realize that the staffing problems at Kaimosi had contributed immensely to the government's failure to grant them the right to run a full secondary school. It became necessary for them to have a qualified principal and staff for the school on a part time basis (K.N.A, E.A Y.M.F 135/80). Part of this problem arose from the fact that most of the missionaries who came to Kaimosi possessed inferior academic credentials. Accordingly, these missionaries were more interested in evangelical than professional work.

It was thus in the midst of this confused educational program at Kaimosi that the Beecher committee granted secondary status to Kaimosi junior school. This award gave new hope to the F.A.M's educational activities in western Kenya. It seemed quite probable that since the Beecher commission generally favoured the continued role of missions in education, it overlooked the F.A.M's past difficulties and granted it a generous award (Kay, 1973: 249). With this award, the

government also committed itself to the provision of 80,000 shillings towards the construction of the new school (Bradley 1987: 41).

This offer, however, did little to solve problems of Kaimosi. If anything, the Beecher recommendations just marked the beginning of yet another unprecedented period of confusion in the history of the F.A.M's educational activities in western Kenya. This mainly revolved around the mission's financial problems and the indecision on how the hiring of English Quakers was likely to affect its educational and evangelical agenda in Kenya. Although the colonial government had all along expressed its fears about the caliber of teachers at Kaimosi, these concerns persisted through the early 1950s, thereby raising a lot of doubts about the F.A.M's educational program. Financial problems facing the mission's parent body (A.F.B.M) in Richmond rendered it unable to hire the required teachers to staff the school so that it could start in 1951 as expected. Indeed, it was partly in order to make up for the failure of Kaimosi that the government decided to establish a second Form three stream at Kakamega (K.N.A PC/NZA/ 3/6/148).

5.3 Kaimosi Girls High School

The school was started in 1917 with 27 orphan girls. The original site of the school was in Shungali division in Isukha location. The school was moved to Kaimosi in 1927 and was referred to as G.B.P.S (Girls Boarding Primary School). In 1925, the school was under Miss Reeve. She carried the entire burden of the girls both in school and outside the school. During this year, a meeting of the committee was called in November to determine if a plan could be devised to increase the efficiency of the school. This followed increased pressure from Africans for a bigger girls' school in Vihiga district. Some of the African leaders were beginning to recognize the value of educating female children. By 1942, fathers were being encouraged to send their daughters to school and the girls fees in the elementary schools were being slightly lowered (Friends Africa Mission Kisumu, Kenya Colony Report of Education Department, 1941). This served to increase the profile of the school at Kaimosi, which by 1957 was serving a population of 339,000 people. Thus it can be asserted that by 1956, the Girls Boarding School at Kaimosi had assumed its place in the pioneership of girls' education. The school was opened in January 1956 with 145 girls who enrolled in the four classes. The headmistress during this time was Miss Pearl Spoon. Notable teachers in the school were Claver Weaver, Inez Reeve, Mary Bradley, and

Clara Weaver. 29 out of 34 girls passed the government examination, some of the girls proceeding to high school while others joined teacher training and nursing college (MSS/55/8).

In 1959, the school's program started on 13 January. Salome Nolega, a member of staff who had taught in the school for five years was transferred to the women's training college. Robert Allen, another teacher left for America in December. Consequently, Inez Reeve agreed to take a teaching load in addition to her other numerous duties. The enrolment during this year was the largest as the school had 152 students in four classes as follows:

: Standard v-38
: Standard vi -39
: Standard vii-38
: Standard viii-37

The school received government grants for 120 boarders and 20 day students. The results of the1958 government examination for standard viii were disappointing. Out of the 36 girls who sat for the examination, 22 passed. The first 5 were accepted into high school, 7 joined teacher training and 2 were accepted into nursing college. Preparations were made for church membership classes. Consequently, 28 girls studied for the second book (full membership) and 36 for the first book (associate membership) (MSS/54/23, Kaimosi Mission 1962).

The following are the former headmistresses of Kaimosi Girls High School.

1956-1963-Miss Pearl Spoon
1963-1964-MissClara Weaver
1965-1966-Miss CatherineA.Cole
1966-1967- Miss Mande Hunter
1967-1972-Miss Mary Hooper
1973-1974-Mrs Zipporah Lijembe
1975-1981-Mrs Mary Kadenyi
1983-1994-Mrs Ruth Otieno
1994-2004-Mrs Sella Liko
2005- -Mrs. Jenipher Ayodi

The government grants and the mission efforts led to the opening of Kaimosi girls under the leadership of Pearl Spoon. The school was an intermediate day school mainly admitting girls

who had been turned away in Kaimosi girls boarding school due to inadequate boarding facilities available in the latter institution. As previously indicated, the government intended to develop three schools in the area to secondary status. Kaimosi girls was chosen and in January 1960, the school started with standards vi, vii, viii and Form one classes. In light of this new development, the name of the school was changed to Kaimosi high school.

When the school's doors were opened, it was managed by the Friends' mission backed by a strong school committee chaired by Fred Kamadi. The school adopted the Friends' approach to life and education which aimed at achieving academic excellence and moral uprightness to enable the girls to take up their places in society and more so in the Friends' church.

Prior to the setting up of the Beecher commission, there were very few secondary schools available for Africans and as a result, many Africans dropped out of school. After careful deliberations with the local communities, the Beecher committee recommended an increase in the number of secondary schools. This was to be achieved through mission stations that were granted permission to establish secondary schools. One such mission was the Friends' mission which was given the responsibility of establishing 4 junior secondary schools. Although this objective was not achieved within the stipulated time, it was however realized later when the Friends' were granted a senior secondary school (staff minutes 7.1.51; 21.11.51; K.N.A, EAYMF. 01/80).

During the Friends' yearly meetings of 1955, a consensus was reached among other things that they should champion for the development of the present Kaimosi girls boarding school to secondary school status. The meeting also agreed about the need for another intermediate school in the Friends' field immediately. This was because the number of intermediate schools in areas where the Friends' had influence was stretched by the number of students who were enrolling for them. This factor compelled the Friends' mission to put more effort into the establishment of an intermediate school that developed into a secondary school (MSS/54/81, Kaimosi Mission 1955; O.I, Munyerere 1/4/2008). During this time, there was much contribution coming in, for example the F.W.C.C provided hot water showers for the school. The same organization later provided a new bell and a projector for the school. These were to mitigate the challenges the school was facing (O.I, Aura 26/3/2008; Abucheli 13/11/2007).

Moreover, the Friends' mission also contributed to the development of Kaimosi high school through their initiative to establish another girls school to complement Kaimosi girls boarding school. In order to alleviate the problem of crowding, Kaimosi high School was established in 1960. The Friends' mission played a prominent role by providing the staff, managing and coordinating all the activities of the school (O.I, Masinza 4/4/2008, Angote 4/4/2008, MSS/54 /122, Kaimosi Girls 1961). Government approved syllabus was followed at the school. In order to effectively deliver the content of the syllabus, the teachers at Kaimosi high school employed unique methods, which entailed daily practical example blended with actual class teaching. The method chosen to teach a certain discipline was determined by the content of the discipline. The school confronted immense financial constraints in its first years. The poor condition of classes reflected this. Although not to the extent that the Friends' would have wanted, the emphasis on academic education did not imply a neglect of religious education (MSS/54/25, Kaimosi Girls 1963).

The establishment of Kaimosi high school opened up more opportunity for the girl child from the surrounding communities to further their education. Consequently, more girls joined secondary school and this gradually begun to alter objectives of traditional education in the community. Traditional education had aimed at making the girl child a perfect wife and member of society but western education was mainly geared towards the expansion of career choices by the girl child (O.I, Masinza 6/4/2008, Aura 26/3/2008, MSS/54/22, Kaimosi Girls 1961).

Thus the establishment of Kaimosi girls influenced the social cultural practices of the community as a result of the education that students were receiving. The students gradually abandoned some of the cultural practices which went against Christianity. This change in the socio-cultural attitudes of the community was evident in the increasing number of Christian marriages and a corresponding decrease in the number of traditional weddings (O.I, Abucheli 13/11/2007; Munyerere 1/4/2008). Indeed, among the greatest influence Kaimosi high school had on the local community was its religious practices. The school provided a perfect platform to spread Christianity to the children of the community who in the near future would take up positions of leadership. Many of the students who attended the school were converted to Christianity and more precisely to the Friends' faith. Some of the students later joined the same Friends' mission to spread Christianity (O.I, Amunga 30/3/2008; Barasa 19/3/2008).

5.4 The Establishment of Chavakali High School 1959-1973

Chavakali high school was officially opened in January 1959 to become the first day secondary school among the Maragoli and the neighbouring locations. The idea of Chavakali high school, then written as Kyavakali high school, actually begun much earlier in 1949. This is captured in a letter dated 12 February 1949 addressed to the concerned education authorities and written by members of the Maragoli Education Board who claimed to have given Kyavakali school the permission to start secondary status. This idea was however quickly shut down by the government which saw no reason for establishing a secondary school at that time (F.A.M/ NK/2/44). Thus, the government was able to stop the development of Kyavakali primary into a secondary school. The 1949 Beecher Commission was the first step in making Kyavakali primary school attain secondary status. Among other things, the Beecher report recommended the establishment of junior secondary schools by the Friends'. The outcome was 4 junior secondary schools, namely Musingu, Chavakali, Lugulu and Kaimosi girls boarding school (Kay, 1973;249, O.I, Amugune, 23/5/2008).

The relocating of Kaimosi high school to Kamusinga, which was quite a distance from the Maragoli people, was another factor that necessitated the setting up of a secondary school in Maragoli. The other factor that led to the establishment of Chavakali high school was the high cost of getting further education that presented itself to students who failed to be admitted to schools in North Nyanza district. After careful considerations by the members of the various communities, a committee consisting of all the chiefs and council members of various communities was formed (Mss/54/81 Kaimosi Mission 1955, O.I, Luseno 3/4/2008; Endovo, 27/9/2007).

On realization that the communities themselves had to put up the school, majority of the communities backed-off and abandoned the idea. But the Maragoli people remained committed to the idea and decided to bear the burden. Each tax payer from the community was to contribute sh.12.50 (special tax) towards the development of the school. The willingness of the local community to pay the unique tax is further highlighted by Mr. .Anderson. In the daily nation of 3

March 1965, he pointed out that even though the Chavakali area was not so prosperous, the willingness of the community to pay the special taxes to aid the development of the school made it prosperous (O.I, Onzere 24-5-08; Momanyi 12-3-08). This was the background to the transformation of Kyavakali primary school into Chavakali secondary school—both run by the Friends' mission. Due to the numerous difficulties the Friends' mission was experiencing at the time, including lack of teaching staff and funds, negotiations were entered into for a partnership with the I.C.A in order to manage the school effectively (MSS/54/19 Kaimosi mission 1958; O.I, Okioma 12-3-2008.)

The secondary school was to be managed by an approved manager of the African schools being helped by an advisory committee (Ed 3/19/1). The committee was to comprise of representatives of the community, government and the schools management. This was in accordance with earlier laid down guidelines by the education ordinance (No. 58 of 1952). When the school was started Mr. Mukulu was made the acting head teacher as he awaited a headmaster from the U.S.A to arrive before the end of 1960 (Ed/3/19/1). Because of the first amendment in the American constitution the government could not fund religious organizations in Kenya (Ed//2/126/91, Chavakali Secondary School Board of Governors, 1963).

Chavakali secondary school was unique in several aspects other than being the first day secondary school. Its curriculum included training schemes for agricultural and industrial arts sponsored by the A.I.D, formerly I.C.A. Consequently, A.I.D provided teachers to Chavakali high school to offer training (MSS/54/22 Kaimosi mission 1961).The uniqueness of Chavakali secondary school is further captured in a report to the Friends' African mission from Mr. Morris, the school's head teacher, when he reckons that;

> Our efforts have been directed towards helping our students develop some respect for the dignity of labour. Students here always get the notion that labour is only for the uneducated…….(MSS/54/22,Kaimosi mission 1961).

In 1963, Dr.John of the education division, U.S.A.I.D/Nairobi Kenya visited Chavakali secondary school to establish the progress the Eartham college had made in fulfilling the goals it had earlier set by its contract with A.I.D. During this visit, students voiced their preference for a boarding school. They cited the long distances they covered and consequently the time they wasted as a factor that was undermining their academic excellence. The teachers also advanced

the view that Chavakali be made a boarding school citing the harsh weather conditions they had to bear when coming to school (Report of evaluation conducted in February 18-24-1963 by the U.S.A.I.D/Kenya on the work of the Eartham college contract team at Chavakali in Nyanza province Kenya).

Chavakali secondary school presented students for the first common examination in 1962 and performed poorly. These poor results were thought to be as a result of the initial problems the school faced when it started. The local community was therefore optimistic about the school's performance in the coming year. However Chavakali secondary school again failed to perform well—prompting a threat from the education authority in the province. In a letter addressed to the school, the education officers threatened to remove the school from the 'A' to the 'B' list. Furthermore the 'B' certificate was not to be offered indefinitely as it could also be revoked if the school continued performing poorly. This poor performance was blamed on the fact that Chavakali was a day secondary school and consequently appeals were sent out to help the school build hostels. It was revealed at a parents association meeting held in the school on 30 April 1964 that the only students who had managed to get an 'A' certificate lived within the school vicinity. In the following year (1965) His Excellency Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, while on a visit to the school, promised to make beds available (Ed/2/126/91, Chavakali secondary school board of governors, 1963).

An additional fact that was central in the development of Chavakali secondary school was the increased educational demands by Africans after the Second World War. This came as a result of Africans realizing that the white man's power came from the education he possessed. Moreover, during the war, the African community was able to cash in on the prevailing economic and commercial opportunities and so by the time the war was coming to an end, majority of Africans could afford to send their children to school (Kay,1973:230-231).

As already mentioned, the development of Chavakali owed to the initiative of the Maragoli community to pay special tax in order to provide for the finances needed to establish the school. This was after the government gave the community the green light to build the school as long as they could finance the project (K.N.A, DC/KMG/2/8/20). On its part, the Friends' mission was responsible for coordinating and managing all the efforts that were made regarding the

development of Chavakali secondary school. The Friends' mission was charged with the responsibility of staffing the school once it was established (Ibid.). All these factors were integral in the development of Chavakali secondary school.

Established in 1959, Chavakali secondary school emerged at a time when the education system had taken form and it was now mandatory to follow the government approved syllabus in the delivery of education. Two approaches were used. The first was the practical aspect that was associated with technical subjects like agriculture while the other approach was the theoretical courses in which the students attended class. In some disciplines these two approaches were employed hand in hand (O.I, Onzere Javan 29-9-2007; Onzere John 24-5-2008).

The influence of Chavakali secondary school on the local community was immense. The school was able to influence the traditional education system and as a result many African parents preferred that their children be exposed to western education which was being offered at Chavakali secondary school. This was the case because the parents realized that it was only through western education that their children could be in a position to survive within the context of a changing society (O.I, Luseno 29-9-2007;Edoro 27-9-2007). Although Chavakali secondary school followed the government approved curriculum, this did not stop the Friends' mission from running the school in accordance with the mission's objectives. This saw the majority of the community accepting Christianity as their faith while denouncing their traditional religion .The effect of Chavakali secondary school was also realized in the social structure of the community surrounding the school. The community came to value the education of both boys and girls.

Chavakali secondary school was the second boys secondary school to be run by the Friends' mission in western Kenya. The other secondary school was Friends' School Kamusinga near Kimilili township. There was thus much similarity between these two schools owing to the fact that both schools were managed by the Friends' mission.

5.5 The Relationship that Existed Among Schools Founded by the Friends' Mission (Kaimosi Girls and Chavakali High School)

Schools that were founded by the Friends' mission interacted with one another through sports and music. Both Kaimosi and Chavakali secondary schools were actively involved in sports and music festival activities as is well illustrated in the 1961 Chavakali report to the Friends' mission (MSS/54/22 Kaimosi girls, 1961). These schools also experienced the same type of under-staffing problem. This fact stemmed from the Friends' mission board that had a hard time posting teaching staff to its respective schools, forcing the government to allocate some teachers to these schools (MSS /54/22 Kaimosi girls 1961). In Kaimosi girls school for example, this situation was clearly captured by the school head teacher's report to the Friends' mission in 1961 which stated "…….since we do not have matrons, dieticians, maintenance personnel….librarian, counselors, the staff of six does the work of all the above…." (MSS/54/22 Kaimosi girls 1961, 36). In the same vein, the headmaster Mr. Morris, reported to the Friends' mission in 1961 that all along they have had staff problems, noting that that year was the best staffed year since the school was established (MSS/54/22 Kaimosi girls 1961).

The schools that were run by the Friends' mission had related subject combination and training courses that made the students most marketable. This is evidenced in the Chavakali inspection report of 1963 in which the inspector indicated that there was increased time allocation to mathematics and English (Ed 2/12737 Chavakali secondary school inspection 1963). This was with a view to making the students more marketable.

This aspect was again echoed in Kaimosi girls school when the head teacher, P. Spoon, indicated that 24 girls had enrolled in primary teacher training instead of home craft training (MSS/55/82Kaimosi Mission 1956). Moreover, the Friends' schools followed the Christian ideologies of the Friends' church (MSS/54/22 Kaimosi Mission 1961).

There was also a relationship in the procedure of appointing Friends' school staff. Like in all other schools, staff in Friends' schools were appointed by the government but uniquely, they were subject to approval by the African Friends' mission board in Richmond . Also, schools established by the Friends' mission were structured in a way that allowed the community to be involved indirectly in the development and running of the school. Those who acted like head teachers for Friends' African mission were appointed and paid by the mother mission in Richmond. For example, Allan Bradley arrived in Kenya in 1955 having been sent by the Friends' African industrial mission to head the new Kaimosi secondary school (Bradley, 1987:37). In case of the village schools, the study established that it was the local congregation

that paid the African teacher (Painter, 1995: 51). The idea behind the local congregation paying the village teacher was to uphold the Friends' principle of establishing a self sustaining church. Moreover, the study found out that prior to the Phelps-Stokes committee of 1924, Friends' schools shared the same education that emphasized technical training accompanied by practical training. All this was geared towards permanently implanting Christianity to the local community (Kay, 1973:80).

5.6 The Impact of Kaimosi and Chavakali Secondary Schools on the Local Community

This section attempts to bring out the main social, economic and political impact which the two schools have had on the local community. Roles and activities of former students of the schools varied according to different periods in time. This was because certain groups of students attained lower level of education at the schools than others. The former students, therefore, played lowly roles at the local level while the latter group, because of their higher academic achievement, transcended the local confines by attaining national occupations in the country. Former students of the two schools have played roles both as professionals and non–professionals. The professions include; administration, teaching, medicine, law, banking, engineering, and clerical related activities, among others. The non –professionals include those which were not tied to any educational qualifications such as sports, commercial activities and leadership of various community associations and unions. Although the time span of this study terminates in 1973, this restriction has not been applied to the careers and activities of old boys and old girls of Chavakali and Kaimosi respectively. Some continue to play important roles in the society at present. Therefore, consideration has been given not only to the activities of the students in the period before 1973, but also after that year.

The early period of 1900 saw limited or no missionary activities at Kaimosi while the surrounding regions were witnessing the foundation of various Christian missions such as the C.M.S, S.D.A and Roman Catholic Church. The pioneer students of the 1910s and 1920s were acting in communities that were still traditionally conservative. As the church and school infiltrated into these areas, so did the people there also slowly adapt to the changing times. It was the African pioneers of the mission and the students of the school before 1940, who, with their limited basic education initiated main social, economic and political changes in the local community. This is because they were the first to come into contact with a very raw traditional

community as compared to the later groups of students who succeeded them after 1950 (O.I, Kesenwa 2004-2008).

One sure way through which new western missionary stations in Kenya aimed at entrenching themselves into the local communities was by wooing a small number of the local people and sending them back to convert more of their kinsmen in the local community. This process led to the local creation of mission communities consisting of the converted Africans and their missionary mentors, who at first stayed on the mission stations but later spread into the local community. This was the case at Kaimosi where the pioneer students who made up the mission community before 1924 were detached from their own traditional communities with the aim of making a complete break from native customs and traditions (O.I, Eboso 16-4-2008 ; Jumba 16-4-2008). The result of this arrangement was that the Africans at the station abandoned their ancestral believes as their attachment to the African traditional system weakened. For instance, whereas traditional community housing units were arranged to correspond with factors such as gender and age, such provisions were not catered for at the mission station. The new housing arrangements at the mission station considered no blood relations of the converts.

The mission community was bound together by the essential principle of Christian living which emphasized that "all are equal before God". Broken away from the traditional community, these Africans were exposed to western religious and educational propaganda which urged them to shun their former African ways of living. In their new found way of life, they owed their allegiance not to the traditional elders and other traditional authorities, but to the missionary masters at the station (O.I, Masinza 10-4-2008; Odigidi 10-4-2008). Although old men and women at the mission were given special teaching roles during this time, they served not traditional ends but inculcated into the young students western cultural values through Christianity and basic education. Examples of old men and women teachers include such people as David Akahonya, Zakayo Cherubini, Daudi Lung'aho, Yohana Amugune, Joel Litu, and Maria Maraga to name but a few (K.N.A,E.A.Y.M.F 49/80).

Mission marriages were sometimes inter-tribal, namely between Luhyias , Luo and Kalenjin. This contrasted sharply with pre-Christian times when marriages were mostly practiced within the same community. Furthermore, parents and relatives got deeply involved in traditional marriages by gathering information and knowledge relating to the boy's and girl's background.

Such involvement rapidly declined as no proper background of those involved in marriage at the station was ever established.

The institution of circumcision, as was practiced in the pre-colonial Luhyia community was also affected by the educational institution that emerged at Kaimosi. In the pre-Christian days, the initiates were isolated into secluded bush camps where tribal customs and traditions were imparted to them. In contrast, the mission station organized for the circumcision of boys who came to learn there. This was done according to Christian teachings, thereby disregarding most of the traditional processes that were involved in this important rite of passage. These processes were regarded by the missionaries as savage, primitive and not compatible with the teachings given to the new Christian converts. The initiates at the mission were housed and treated there and were separated completely from their counterparts outside the mission who were still entangled in traditional customs. They were opposed to some ceremonies that were included in the circumcision process among the Logoli and Tiriki. Whereas the consumption of traditional beer and naked public dances was condoned by traditional customs, those initiated at the mission were prohibited from engaging in such practices (O.I, Ngaira 10-4-2008; Onzere 10-4-2008). In a nutshell, the creation of a mission community at Kaimosi, and the basic religious and educational instructions that were given to its members was just the beginning of a social transformation that was to spread to the neighbouring and wider community in the area. The spread of this transformation was facilitated by the extension of the church and school frontiers into the Luhyia community. Robert W. Strayer acknowledges this role of the mission in social transformation when he writes;

> The transformation of mission stations into mission communities represents a significant social as well as religious change in modern African history…… isolated outposts of European religious propaganda become focal points for new associations of Africans and Europeans (Strayer, 1978; 51).

The out–churches and schools had far reaching social consequences for members of the local community. A mission community such as that which emerged at Kaimosi was also created in the out stations. Initially, families and individuals became attached to these churches as their own homes. Residential houses were constructed closer to these churches and schools in order to house the families of the converts thus disrupting the traditional housing patterns of the communities. Here, different families of varying tribal backgrounds resided side by side, not considering their blood ties (O.I, Eboso 20-4-2008). The emerging Christian communities in the

village cultivated Christian virtues by which they lived. They separated themselves from the more pagan lifestyles of those who had not come into contact with any western churches in the community. New social demands also emerged as a result of the village churches. The church leaders acted as elders to the Christian communities in the settlement of marriages and other social problems.

Apart from the village churches, the basic schools also generated some social changes in the local community. By extending the formal school into the villages, the pioneer students of Kaimosi introduced more members of the local community to the rudiments of western education. In these schools, elements of western culture were introduced to Africans mainly through religious education, reading, writing and arithmetic (3RS). Elementary hygiene, discipline and agriculture were also taught (O.I, Endoro 27-9- 2007; Momanyi 12-3-2008). The traditional society was thus introduced to a new system of education where children were no longer under the tutelage of their grand parents and other senior members of the society. The children instead spent most of their time in the churches and schools and were available in their homes only for a few hours. Gradually, traditional education began to recede to the background.

Through the village schools, the young generation was provided with a stepping stone to more higher education which the pioneering generation never received. After attending these schools at the intermediate and primary levels, the younger generation could proceed to the high schools at Kaimosi and Chavakali or other secondary schools elsewhere in Kenya. This later generation came to serve their communities at the national level because of their higher academic qualifications.

Although acting under the F.A.M umbrella in establishing the village schools, the pioneers of Kaimosi did that partly out of their own initiative. They wanted their communities to catch up with the rest of the society in the region where western education was gaining ground. They therefore contributed to the development of African education in Kenya. Their schools were given mission and government assistance and were upgraded over the years as primary, intermediate and secondary schools.

This process of social evolution which was evident in the local community was also noticed through the evolution of new housing styles. The houses of the pioneers in the local community resembled the rectangular units which they saw the missionaries put up at the station initially. These houses were either built by stone, cemented or roofed with iron sheets. However, with an increase in the number of intellectual and economic elite who succeeded the pioneers, the houses that emerged were now either semi-permanent or permanent. They were characterized by rectangular stone walls, cemented floors and iron–sheet or tile roofs. Their owners had a broad economic base that enabled them to afford such houses modeled on those constructed by the missionaries and other British colonial officials. Those who owned such houses were considered civilized and progressive in the local community (O.I, Mwangale 12-3-2007; Mugalitsi 12-3-2007). The intermediate houses that had no cemented floors were regularly swept and had their inside walls smoothened with cow dug. On the outside, they were smeared with coloured clay obtained from river valleys. Such decorations were especially noticed during Christmas and new year anniversaries. Cleaning the homes was meant to keep away rats, mosquitoes and other harmful animals. Overall community health was improved through such efforts.

Homestead compounds were kept clean by cleaning the bushes and cutting grass short. Flower beds were patterned around the house with matching tree-sheds scattered all over the compound. A sense of hygiene was observed by this enlightened group of Africans. The F.A.M stressed cleanliness and the social well–being of an individual as important Christian virtues hence the motto, “Cleanliness is next to Godliness” which was deeply ingrained into the students (O.I, Onzere Edith 26-5-2008).

Educational developments at Kaimosi had their effects also spilling into economic changes in the traditional set up of the community as well as in the creation of a class of enlightened Africans who were economically progressive. The economic activities of ex-students of Kaimosi contributed significantly to economic transformation in Tiriki and Maragoli communities from which the students were drawn (O.I, Barasa 19-3-2008). Pioneer converts and later the succeeding generation of students who attained their education at Kaimosi and Chavakali improved their economic and social status by cultivating new crops introduced to them while at Kaimosi and Chavakali secondary schools. This led to the establishment of small scale cash crop economies in the local community. The crops grown were attended to as taught at school. These small scale farmers were also helped and supervised by government agricultural officers. The

farms were well tended, crops pruned and modern methods of cultivation employed. Examples of ex-students of Chavakali who established modern homes and well-tended farms include Charles Mbecha , Herbert Asava, Daniel Choka, Fred Kamide and Abraham Eboso.

The growing of crops such as tea, coffee and a variety of food crops were common on these people's farms. Apart from establishing cash crops, zero–grazing units were also set up (O.I, Amugune 23-5-08; Luseno 29-9-20007). In short, there was notable economic transformation in Tiriki and Maragoli communities as a result of Friends' African missions' educational development at Kaimosi and in surrounding villages. These changes were a direct result of the education received from these schools and on the land on which they were built. As elements of economic transformation, agricultural progress and related social advancement were most developed among the Maragoli and to an extent among the Tiriki peoples in the localities around Kaimosi. The following observation, attributed to a government officer who wrote in the 1940s verifies;

> In Maragoli, one of the most "progressively" minded locations----- a considerable percentage of the natives…… have taken to living in more solidly constructed houses , lasting several times as long as the traditional native huts and often involving the investment of comparatively large sums of money. Besides, many natives are now raising cash crops in addition to traditional ones……. which likewise mean an investment of money and require long term economic planning (K.N.A, DC / EN/3/2/3 Elgon Nyanza District annual report, 1963: 119)

Such economic progress through agriculture helped the community members to offset the rising costs of education. In 1959 , the DC of North Nyanza district urged the communities of Maragoli and Tiriki locations to grow cash crops of the highest yield per acre which would help them slowly grow richer and be able to afford the greater costs of education (K.N.A, DC /NN /2/21, Vihiga District handling over report , 1958:7).

The establishment of Kaimosi and Chavakali secondary schools played an additional role in bringing about political changes in the region. With the creation of a mission community at Kaimosi, the convert's political allegiance shifted from the traditional elders and chiefs to mission authorities. In cases where traditional and colonial authorities passed verdicts on cases concerning activities of the F.A.M mission in the villages, missionaries at Kaimosi usually sent

representatives to defend their faithful. Occasional complaints arose from local chiefs about the "bad behaviour" which F.A.M faithful showed in Maragoli and Tiriki communities (O.I, Luseno 29-9-2007; Angote 29-9-2007).

Following the foundation of academic education at Kaimosi and the extension of the school into the villages, local chiefs sent their subjects to these schools partly as a way of demonstrating their loyalty to the colonial government and the mission. By making their communities have access to schools, authorities such as the chiefs ensured that they cultivated popular support for themselves in their areas of jurisdiction. Examples of such chiefs include Meshak Agoi, Mathew Mwenesi, Hezron Mukenye and Gershon Khatete. Some traditional councils of elders, in collaboration with colonial chiefs in their areas, became popular with their subjects by calling upon the F.A.M to build schools for them. Such areas were lagging behind in education due to the absence of any kind of schools for the people. Notable chiefs who facilitated the educational development of their people through the support of local elders included Meshack Agoi of South Maragoli and Mathew Mwenesi of North Maragoli. They helped to satisfy their subject's call that schools be established in the respective areas. Education became central because Africans who were to be considered for any judicial or political positions had to be literate, having acquired some form of education in a missionary or government school. Kaimosi and Chavakali secondary schools produced some students who took over positions as chiefs and sub chiefs from their illiterate predecessors in their respective areas (O.I, Masinza 26-4-2007; O.I, Barasa 26-4-2008). Moreover, the alumni of these two schools continue to play important community and national socio-economic and political roles (see appendices 1 and 2).

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the development of formal education at Kaimosi and the beginning of Kaimosi girls and Chavakali High schools within the context of the post Second World War demand for expanded educational opportunities from Africans. It is evident that communities in Vihiga were not an exception to this trend. Such demand for education converged with the goals of the Friends' mission in the area and thus facilitated the establishment and subsequent development of Kaimosi girls and Chavakali High schools. The chapter has also demonstrated

that these two institutions that were supported by the Friends' mission have had a lasting local and national socio-economic and political impact.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.0 Summary and Conclusions

The findings of this study bring to the fore a number of conclusions. The Friends' African Missionaries who founded the Kaimosi Mission had been influenced by a religious sect in England during the second half of the 17th century. They chose to establish their mission station at Kaimosi mainly because it had a large tract of unoccupied land, a lot of heavy timber, a big stream with a good fall and rapids running through the land. Though mainly interested in spreading the gospel, the Friends' African missionaries were also concerned with improving the socio-economic conditions of African communities. Industrial education, therefore, supplemented the elementary and religious education which pioneer Africans were given at Kaimosi.

It also emerges from the study that Kaimosi girls and Chavakali boys were founded because the religious education offered in pioneer years had outlived its purposes. Added to this was the colonial government's pressure from 1910 that missions offer meaningful education to Africans. Pressure from the local Africans at Kaimosi and Maragoli that the mission start offering them a more academic education beyond religious instruction, together with the need to forestall other rival missions from drawing Friends' African faithfuls for example M.H.M at Yala and C.M.S at Maseno were additional factors.

On the other hand, the growth and development of Chavakali boys secondary school and Kaimosi girls secondary school were accounted for by the management role of the Friends' Africa Mission through its education secretariat which the mission still maintains. Furthermore, the local community also played an influential role. It realized this through labour supply, material support, and turning for enrolment at the school. The local community also influenced the educational policies of the Friends' Africa Mission at Kaimosi. Widespread nationalism in Kenya especially after World War II (1945) gave impetus to the rapid growth of secondary education at Kaimosi and among the Maragoli. The colonial government also assisted through grants–in aid, inspection and advice by education inspectors who ensured that the Friends' African Mission subscribed to policies and recommendations of the education task committee.

The study has demonstrated that Kaimosi girls secondary school and Chavakali boys secondary school as developed under the auspices of the Friends' African Mission were, amongst other factors, responsible for the socio–economic and political transformation of the Luhyia community in the region. The schools have generated a substantial elite, some of whom continue to play important roles at the national level in Kenya. Thus, this study has contributed to the history of colonial education in Kenya specifically and Africa generally. It is a useful study for those interested in missionary activities and their relationship to education in colonial Africa.

6.1 Suggestions for Further Research

This study has only examined the contribution of the F.A.M towards the development of secondary education in Vihiga district. This has only been done based on the history of two schools in the district. It would be important to undertake studies on other schools like Vihiga secondary school, Mbale secondary school and Lirhanda girls secondary school in order to build a richer historiography about F.A.M's contribution to their development.

It should also be pointed out that apart from the F.A.M, Vihiga district was also evangelized by other missionary groups. These other missionaries also took the education of Africans as an important aspect of the overall process of evangelization. It therefore becomes imperative to document the contribution of missions such as M.H.M and P.A.G for they also established elaborate educational programmes in Vihiga district.

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Simon Wanyama	Chavakali	20 April 2008
Herman Tsimungu	Kaimosi	20 April 2008
Japheth Mungalitsi	Chavakali	06 April 2008
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APPENDIX I: Positions of Responsibility Held by Former Students of Kaimosi Girls High School.

1. Miriam Masinza : Joined the school in 1956, and is now a retired headmistress and a representative of KNUT, Kakamega district.
2. Miriam Khanati is a professor of medicine in Nairobi Hospital also dealing with AIDS Programmes.
3. Mary Odunga: Has been an ambassador to Japan, Israel and Egypt.
4. Winnie Masinza: A banker- Standard Bank in Nairobi.
5. Lorna Mbele: She is the principal of Lirembe girls in Vihiga district.
6. Mrs. Nasimba she is the principal of Eregi Girls Kakamega district.
7. Hon Kamar: She is a former deputy vice chancellor of Moi University and now a member of parliament for Eldoret East.
8. Janet Khaoya- She is a lawyer in Nairobi.
9. Mary Maloya- A doctor at Nairobi Hospital.
10. Rosemary Angote :Cateress at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.
11. Catherine Aura- A lecturer at Masinde Muliro University, Department of Science and Mathematics.
12. Beatrice Barasa – Examination officer at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.
13. Phanice Lugalia –Teacher, Mukumu girls secondary school.
14. Beatrice Abucheli –Teacher, Kaimosi girls secondary school.
15. Alice Seleta—Teacher, St. Bridgits High School, Kiminini.
16. Josephine Sivavilwa—Teacher, Buyangu Secondary School, Hamisi.
17. Ethal Mang'ara—Teacher, Evole Primary School, Vihiga.
18. Mary Grace Ayiela—Teacher, Highway Primary School, Kisumu.
19. Petronila Lumbasio—Teacher, Viyola High School, Vihiga.
20. Dorothy Lumadede—Teacher, Keveye Primary School, Vihiga.
21. Margaret Simiyu—Teacher, Kitale academy.
22. Beatrice Gimide—Teacher, Mitoto Primary School.
23. Asmin Barasa—Teacher, Masaba primary school.
24. Jacklyne Khadambi—Banker, Cooperative bank, Nairobi.
25. Judy Khamandia—Librarian, Kenya National Library, Nairobi.

26. Jane Agatha—Clinical Officer, Masinde Muliro University, Kakamega.
27. Sarah Andeyo—Lawyer in Nairobi.
28. Gladys Kagonya—Ministry of Works, Vihiga.
29. Munyerere Mulanda—Teacher, Kaimosi Girls High School.
30. Lucy Makindu—Christian NGO, Narok.
31. Jane Amunga—Lecturer at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.

APPENDIX II: Positions of Responsibility Held by Former Students of Chavakali Boys High School

1. Egara Kabaji- Lecturer Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.
2. Moses Makonjio Okello- Lecturer Boston university.
3. Benard Misigo – Lecturer Moi university.
4. Edward Musungu- Lecturer Maseno University.
5. Bob Wishitemi –Professor Moi University.
6. L. Momanyi-Lecturer Moi University.
7. Kahi Indimuli- Principal Vihiga High School.
8. Philip Lumwamu- Lecturer Maseno University.
9. Musalia Edebe Lecturer Moi University.
10. George Kegode–Lecturer Moi University.
11. Nicholas Makana Lecturer Moi University.
12. Aggrey Mujivane - Retired Principal Booker Academy.
13. Francis Kavagali Doctor Mbale Hospital.
14. Fredrick Obiayo –Business man Chavakali town.
15. John Rihema -District officer Vihiga district.
16. Seth Ambale -Retired former Head teacher Mbale Secondary school.
17. John Onzere –Registrar at Kakamega law courts.
18. Stanence Jumba –District officer Vihiga district.
19. Mr. Oroti—Kenya Commercial Bank, Eldoret.
20. Mr. Sirma-ICT Manager, National Bank of Kenya, Nairobi.
21. Mr. Wamwana-Teacher, Vihiga District.
22. Joseph Sambwa-Teacher, Vihiga District.
23. Dr. Aluor-Doctor, Kapsabet.

24. Joseph Endoro-Teacher, Vihiga District.
25. Edward Ombajo-Teacher, Chavakali High School.
26. Mr. Weswa-Teacher, Chavakali High School.
27. Mr. Musungu-Teacher, Chavakali High School.
28. Mr. Otitwa-Teacher, Chavakali High School.
29. Mr. Lokega-Bursar, Chavakali High School.
30. Mr. Nanziba-Teachers Service Commission, Nairobi.
31. Mr. Asaba-Kenya Revenue Authority, Nairobi.
32. Dr. Indachiba-Medical Officer of Health, Busia District.
33. Mr. Asaba Ndegwa-Principal Sigama Secondary School.
34. Levi Malenya-Teacher, Chavakali High School.

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

FOR MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY AROUND KAIMOSI

Date of birth----------

For how long have you been staying here?----------

Before the coming of the first Europeans in this area, how were you worshipping?----------
---

If you had a god, by what name did you refer to Him?----------

Did you have any religious leader in the community? YES ( ) NO ( )

If NO who usually led the community during times of mediating----------

If YES, what were the main religious functions of those leaders in the larger community?---------
---

Mediating between people and gods----------

Offering sacrifice----------
Led the community in pre-colonial wars----------

Any other functions?----------

Which were the main worshipping places by members of your community?----------
---
Under a tree---------- In the forest----------At the mountain hill----------At the river side---
----------Any other----------

Who were the main decision makers at the following levels?

a) Community ------Elders--------Religious leaders---------Specific elders----------
Political leaders----------Any other----------

b) Family Level-----Father---------Mother---------Both----------Any other----------

What were the aims of traditional education in your community for boys and girls?----------
---

What was the content of that education i.e. what specifically were they taught?----------
---

Through what means (methods) was this teaching effected?----------
---

Who were the teachers?----------

Did you have specific areas (institutions or structures) where this education took place?----------
---

What kind of materials were used in construction?----------

How did the people ensure general cleanliness?----------

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Before the coming and settlement of the first white men at Kaimosi, what tools were used for farming?----------

---

What kind of materials were used in construction?----------

What kind of crops were mainly grown?----------

Did you produce any crops for sale/exchange?----------

THE ADVENT OF MISSIONARIES

When did the first missionary arrive at Kaimosi?----------

What were the names of these missionaries at Kaimosi?----------

---

What was the reaction of the local people here towards these missionaries?----------

---

What could have been the reasons for those who opposed and those who welcomed the white men?----------

---

What kind of education was offered to the first converts at Kaimosi?----------

Bible study----------Reading ----------Writing and Arithmetic----

Industrial Training----------Any Other----------

What was the nature of the classrooms at that time?----------

---

Who were the teachers to the first converts?----------

When was the present Kaimosi Secondary School founded by the mission at Kaimosi?-

Were you one of the students of Kaimosi school in its earliest years? YES ( ) NO ( )

If yes when was that?----------

Give the names of some of the first early students of Kaimosi school?----------

---

Were the students boarders----------day scholars----------

Both----------

In what ways did the local community contribute to the beginning and subsequent growth of Kaimosi?----------

---

In what ways did the mission station itself contribute to the growth of the school?----------

---

What were some of the activities which the early students of the school engaged themselves in after school? (Give the names of the student and his/her activities)----------

---

How did the local community relate to those educated at the local schools?

Regarding them as aliens to the community----------

Disowned them----------

Feared them hence passively left them alone----------

Welcomed them because they had much to offer to the community hence they were highly regarded?----------

---

Any other responses----------

What changes were introduced by the mission and the education offered to the local people at Kaimosi in the following activities of the community?

a) Agriculture----------

---

b) Construction of village houses----------

---

c) Traditional customs and practices----------

---

d) Hygiene and cleanliness----------

---

e) Traditional Education----------

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE MISSIONARIES AT KAIMOSI

When did the Friends African Missionaries arrive in Kenya?----------

---

Give the names of the pioneer missionaries at the Kaimosi mission station----------

---

In which year did they arrive at Kaimosi?----------

Give some of the reasons which led them to establish the mission at Kaimosi and not any other place----------

---

Apart from the need to spread the gospel, what were the other concerns of these early missionaries at Kaimosi in terms of

a) Education

b) Social and Economic considerations

What methods could have been adopted to win the first African converts at Kaimosi?

What kind of education was offered to the first converts at Kaimosi?----------

---

What was the role of the early converts at Kaimosi in the larger community (i.e. in what ways did they serve the mission in the local community)----------

---

When was Kaimosi Mission school founded by these early missionaries?----------

---

What prompted them to establish the school?----------

Who were some of the main white missionary educationists at Kaimosi mission?----------

---

What initial and later problems were encountered by the first Christian white missionaries at Kaimosi?----------

---

How were these problems overcome?----------

What could have been the contribution of each of the following to the growth and development of Kaimosi school by 1973

a) The mission station at Kaimosi

b) The colonial government

c) The local community

d) Individual personalities

What have been the contributions of some of the former students at Kaimosi Mission School you know who have been instrumental in matters of

a) Religious activities

b) Educational activities

c) Other activities in the local community

Generally, what do you think has been the major impact of Kaimosi Mission School on the community?

A SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE FORMER STUDENTS OF FRIENDS' AFRICAN MISSION SCHOOLS

Date----------

Place of birth----------

The name of the school----------

To which church did your parents belong by the time you joined this school?----------
---

Did your father belong to any of the pioneer students of this school? YES ( ) NO ( )

If yes, give his names and explain the activities he engaged himself in within the local community----------
---

When did you join this school?----------

For how long were you there?

At what level was the school at that time? Tick as appropriate.

A catechist centre---------

Elementary school----------

Intermediate school----------

A teacher training college----------

A secondary school----------

Who sponsored your education? Tick as appropriate.

Family----------

The local community----------

The mission at Kaimosi----------

The government----------

Specify any other sponsor----------

Who served as the headmaster(s) at the school during your time?----------
---

Explain the main contribution(s) which that headmaster made to the school.----------
---

---------- as a student (Give the names of the teachers and their contributions)----------
---

Which subjects were most emphasized I the school?----------

Why do you think they were given emphasis?----------

During the school's daily routine, what sort of activities did the students engage themselves in (tick where appropriate)

Personal clean-up----------

Prayer activity----------

Agricultural activity----------

Academic Programmes----------

Sports----------

Name any others----------

Name some of the main mistakes for which students were punished----------
---

What was the nature of the punishment meted out to students?----------
---

After school what was your immediate occupation----------

Name any other occupation you have engaged yourself in including the present one----------
---

What initiatives or activities have you engaged in which have helped to transform the local community anywhere in Kenya?----------
---

In what ways did the missionaries influence the students towards the following activities in the traditional community?

a) Agriculture
b) Methods of house construction

c) General hygiene and cleanliness in homes

d) Marriage customs

e) Circumcision and other initiation activities as removal of teeth and piecing of ears

f) Traditional education as offered by elders and parents back at home. Did this education disappear or it persisted----------

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FORMER HEADMASTERS/ TEACHERS IN FRIENDS' AFRICAN MISSION SCHOOLS

Year of birth----------

Place of birth----------

Name(s) of schools attended----------

Where did you train as a teacher/----------

During your time as a teacher in this school, which church did you belong to?----------

---

When were you a teacher in this school?----------

Give the names of the head teachers who served in this school during your time as a teacher------

---

What were the specific contributions of the head teachers to the school?

List the names of those whom you taught with in this school----------

---

What were the specific contribution of some of the teachers in this school?----------

---

In the school's daily routine, which activities were most emphasized for the students?

What was the school's motto (if any).

What were the main emphases in character development of the students?----------

---

What were some of the mistakes for which students were punished?----------

---

What was the nature of the punishment?----------

State some of the ways in which the mission station at Kaimosi was assisting the school?----------

---

In what ways was the government assisting the school?----------

---

In what ways did the local community assist in the growth and development of the school?--------

---

Please name some of the former students of this school and the role they play in the local community outside the school----------

---
