

**THE FRIENDS CHURCH AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION
AMONG THE LUHYIA OF WESTERN KENYA, 1902- 1988**

**BY
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**IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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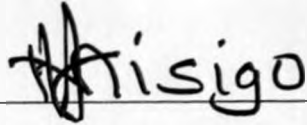


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DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been presented for the award of degree in any other university.



HERBERT MISIGO AMATSIMBI

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors



PROF: GODFREY MURIUKI



PROF: MILCAH AMOLO ACHOLA

DEDICATION

To my children, Shujaa and Salma.

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This is a welcome opportunity to express my gratitude to the various individuals, who made it possible to complete this research work. I am especially grateful to my supervisors, Professor Godfrey Muriuki and Professor Milcah Amolo Achola, for their useful discussions and corrections on several aspects of this dissertation. I deeply appreciate their cooperation, guidance and positive criticism, which had immeasurable impact on the final form of this study.

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Last but not least, I wish to acknowledge the moral support and words of encouragement that I continuously received from my wife, Damaris Ambia and my children, Shujaa and Salma, throughout the period of researching and compiling this work.

ABSTRACT

The focus of this dissertation is the role of the Friends Church in the economic transformation among the Luhyia of western Kenya. With the establishment of the first Friends African Mission (hereafter FAM) station at Kaimosi, in 1902, FAM missionaries quickly realized that in order for Christianity to gain acceptance there was a need for socio-economic transformation among the Luhyia. Their culture had first to be transformed, through imparting western cultural attributes to the converts, in an attempt to undermine their African cultural and religious heritage. Consequently, FAM missionaries employed a secular policy, through the provision of education, medical services, industrial and agricultural development, as an approach for reinforcing evangelization and winning converts. It is thus the Friends Church's secular policy, its formulation, implementation and impact on the economic organization of the Luhyia that is the subject of this study.

Although members of the Friends Church are to be found all over the country today, the vast majority of its adherents live, or have their origin, among the Luhyia of western Kenya. In recognition of this fact, the study was carried out among the Luhyia of western Kenya and more specifically, the Tiriki, Maragoli, Isukha, Idakho, Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras. These are the communities with the highest concentration of Friends Church membership. Indeed, much of the material for the study was derived from oral interviews that were conducted in western Kenya and the major urban centres, where the Friends Church has spread its influence. Interviews were held with 160 respondents, who were knowledgeable about Friends activities in western Kenya. These interviews corroborated and strengthened written sources. The major written source of information on the Friends Church is the East African Yearly Meeting (hereafter EAYM) records preserved at Kaimosi. The Kenya National Archives (hereafter KNA) is also an important source of information on the history of Kenya, in general, and western province, in particular. Finally, most of the secondary information for this study was obtained from various libraries in Kenya.

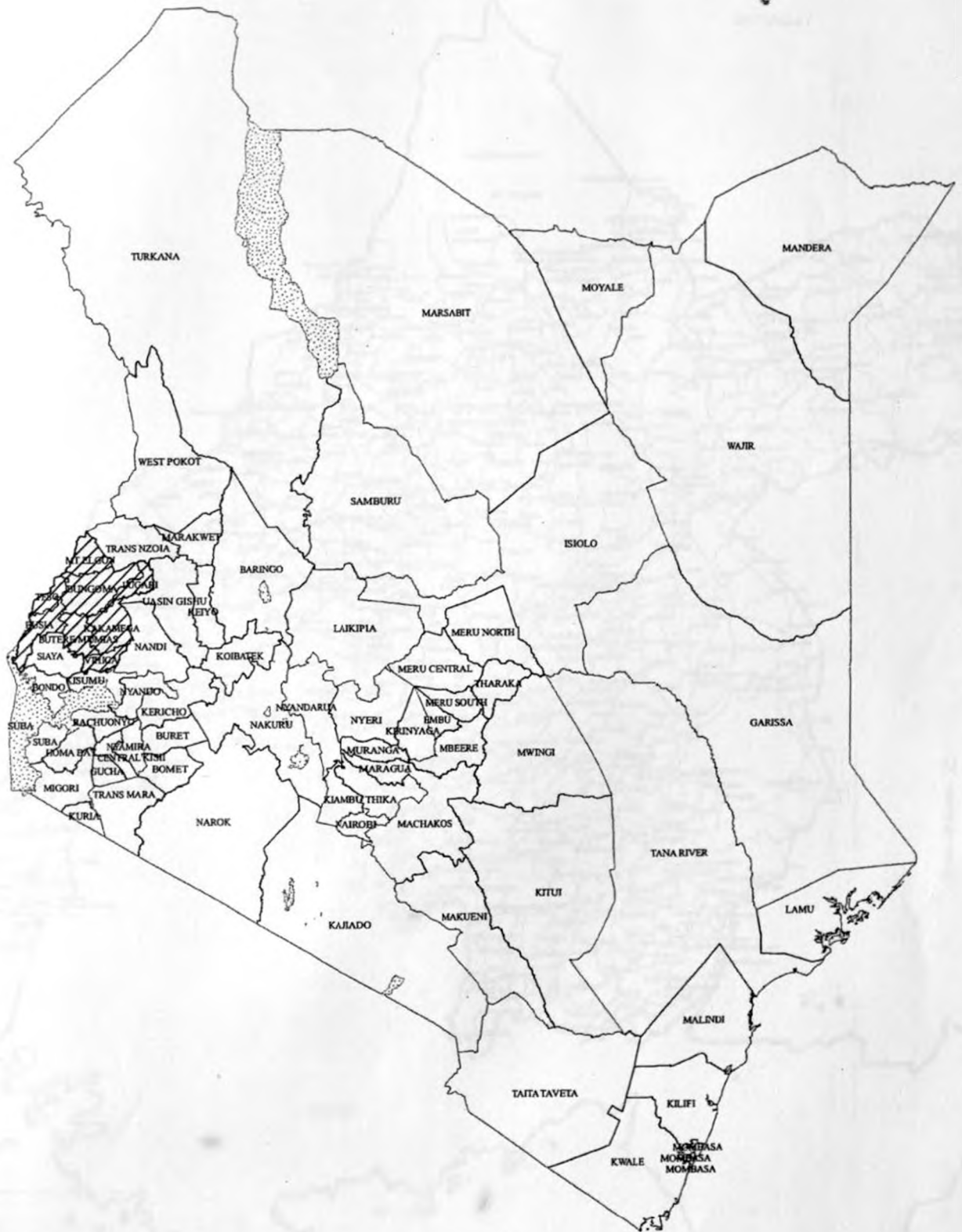
Three theoretical frameworks - namely, modernization, social exchange and social conflict theories - provided the perspective for viewing the economic impact. Modernization theory provided the framework for analyzing the formulation, implementation and impact of FAM secular policy, while social exchange and social conflict theories were used to show how

relationships that developed within the church led to conflict and disintegration of the Yearly Meeting.

The study unearthed several findings when considered in light of its objectives and conceptual frameworks. It has shown that FAM secular policy was one of the most important agencies of economic transformation of the Luhya traditional economic structure and organization. The secular policy led to the emergence of pioneer-teacher evangelists and educated elite. Among these elite, indicators of economic transformation could be seen in the acquisition of well-paid jobs, establishment of business enterprises, provision of higher education for their children and ownership of material possessions. The educated elite thus became the “haves”, who were envied by the “have nots”.

Furthermore, the Friends educated elite became “advocates of modernity”, which initiated economic transformation. Ultimately, the pioneer educated elite and their children consolidated their economic and political power, both in the church and the Kenyan government. In fact, at present, most of the modern economic and political elite of western Kenya are the children of the pioneer FAM educated elite. To them, the Friends Church increasingly became a spring-board for capitalist accumulation and political power. And in their efforts to use the church for personal economic aggrandizement, competition emerged which, in turn, led to the development of social classes, tension, conflict and the eventual disintegration of EAYM. Consequently, 16 Yearly Meetings were established to serve the economic interests of the elite, though these were often masked as clan and/or sub-ethnic group rivalry. But with these developments, the church has ceased to be a leading agency of economic transformation. Instead, it is now a source of conflict, a factor that has contributed to the general underdevelopment of the area.

Map 1: Location of Western Province in Kenya



Legend

- Western Province
- Lakes
- Provinces
- Districts



Source : SurvGis Geosystems

Map 2: Western Province



- Legend
- Trading Centre
 - ▭ Province Boundary
 - ▭ District Boundary
 - ▭ Division Boundary
 - Road

0 10 20 40 Kilometers

Map 3: Bungoma District, 1988



Legend

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List of Abbreviations

ABFM	American Board of Foreign Missions
ACC	Advanced Capitalist Countries
ACOHS	African Church of the Holy Spirit
ADC	African District Councils
AFBFM	American Friends Board of Foreign Mission
AFBM	American Friends Board of Mission
AIM	African Inland Mission
BYM	British Yearly Meeting
CCK	Christian Council of Kenya
CCM	Consolata Catholic Mission
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CMS	Gospel Mission Society
COG	Church of God
CSM	Church of Scotland Mission
DC	District Commissioner
DEB	District Education Board
DLF	Development Loan Fund
DO	District Officer
EAA	East African Association
EAYM	East African Yearly Meeting of Friends
ERSF	Elgon Religious Society of Friends
FAIM	Friends African Industrial Mission
FAM	Friends African Mission
FUM	Friends United Meeting
GBS	Girls Boarding School
ICA	International Cooperation Administration
KASU	Kenya African Study Union
KAU	Kenya African Union
KES	Kitosh Education Society

KFA	Kenya Farmers Association
KNA	Kenya National Archives
LNC	Local Native Councils
MEB	Maragoli Education Board
MHM	Mill Hill Mission
MP	Member of Parliament
NIM	Nilotic Independent Mission
NITD	Native Industrial Training Depot
NKCA	North Kavirondo Central Association
PAG	Pentecostal Assemblies of God
PC	Provincial Commissioner
PEAM	Pentecostal East African Mission
PEO	Provincial Education Officer
RSP	Rural Service Programme
SA	Salvation Army
SACIM	South African Compound and Interior Mission
SDA	Seventh Day Adventists
TYP	The Ten Year Plan
UAID	United States Aid
USA	United States of America
YKA	The Young Kavirondo Association

Operational Definitions

Economic development

This term has been used in this study to indicate the increase in the standard of living among the Luhyia. Its scope includes the process and policies by which the Luhyia improved their economic well-being through sustained growth from a simple, low-income economy to a modern, high-income one. Economic development typically involves improvement in a variety of indicators, such, as literacy rates, per capita income, discretionary income, use of technology, life expectancy, housing and leisure time.

Economic Growth

Economic growth has been used in this study to indicate the increase in the quantity of goods and services produced. Economic growth results when the output of an economy grows because more land, labour, capital, and entrepreneurial talent are devoted to the production process and/or because the productivity of these factors of production rises. Growing markets, technological improvements, and additional investment in human beings (human capital) all play a part in increasing productivity.

Economic transformation

Economic transformation has been used in this study to indicate the impact of FAM secular policy on the economic organization of the Luhyia. Economic transformation can be seen in terms of changes in economic growth (output or value - added) and associated changes in income. For the Luhyia Friends, changes in income arose from higher literacy levels and hence better employment and engagement in entrepreneurial activities, like commerce and commercial farming. Income from these businesses was then invested in their children's education, bank savings accounts and material possessions.

Economics

In this study, 'economics' refers to the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services, as well as the theory and management of economies, or economic systems.

Elite

In this study the term 'elite' has been used to indicate a group or class of persons or a member of such a group or class, enjoying superior intellectual, social, or economic status. Among the Friends, these were initially the pioneer teacher – evangelists and the children who had acquired literacy. They had privileged social status arising from their education and were an envied lot.

Entrepreneurship

In this study, the term entrepreneurship has been used to indicate the capacity and/or willingness to undertake the conception, organization and management of productive ventures with all the attendant risks, while seeking profit as a reward

Secular Policy

For the FAM missionaries, secular policy meant the provision of education, medical care, and new industrial and agricultural skills.

Chapter One

Background to the Study

1.0 Introduction

Historical studies in Kenya have gone through three major phases. First, prior to the 1960s, Kenyan colonial history generally meant the study of foreign immigrant communities, particularly the Europeans. Such studies by European scholars paid most attention to the policies of the colonial government and activities of immigrant communities. Consideration of African activities were only linked to the discussion of European decisions, the basic assumption being that Africans did not contribute an important input in the formulation and implementation of colonial policies.

The development of political consciousness and the subsequent formation of African nationalist movements, in the 1940s, raised important questions about such a European-centered approach. From this point onwards, African students of history turned away from studies emphasizing colonial policies to an examination of country-wide actions and the goals espoused by Africans in the colonial period. This wave of scholarship sought to analyze the dynamism of African societies as partners, critics and catalysts in the colonial situation. This orientation primarily emphasized two trends; namely, elaboration of how Africans participated in the formulation and implementation of colonial policies, and/or how they were affected by them.

The third phase comprises of studies that go beyond the country-wide scope and instead, examine the unique local perspective of Kenya's rural communities. Such studies use the locality as the primary focus, in recognition of the fact that most of the Africans live or have their origin, in particular rural areas. This is not to deny that country-wide government policies affect these communities. But for most Africans, particularly the Luhya, whether living in urban areas or even abroad, their rural localities' socio-economic and political developments to a large extent still affected them and they (the people) have an impact on their (rural areas') development. It is within this context that this study examines the impact of the Friends Church in the economic transformation among the Luhya of western Kenya.

The history of the Friends Church in Kenya can also be visualized in five trajectories; 1902-1918 was noted for the establishment of mission stations and the initial formulation of FAM secular policy; 1919-1945, which saw increased African conversion to Christianity, and colonial government and African impact in the formulation and implementation of FAM policies; 1946-1953, which witnessed the establishment of EAYM and formulation and implementation of its policy; 1953-1963, which witnessed the devolution, establishment of the self-governing EAYM and the transfer of power and property from FAM to EAYM; 1964-1988, which was characterized by tension, conflict, divisions, and finally the establishment of a multitude of Yearly Meetings.

The Friends, who trace their roots to George Fox in seventeenth century England, were the first Christian missionaries to establish a station in western Kenya.¹ FAM, which represents the only evangelical Friends' effort in Africa, gave rise to the establishment of EAYM to administer the Friends Church in Kenya. Indeed, the Friends Church in Kenya constitutes the largest Friends national group outside the United States of America (hereafter USA). The study of the role of the Friends Church in western Kenya thus offers a stimulating study in the development of the secular policy of an American religious organization operating in British colonial Kenya. This study spans from 1902, with the arrival of the pioneer FAM missionaries in western Kenya, through the autonomy of EAYM in 1963 and ends in 1988, with the official split of the EAYM into a multitude of Yearly Meetings. Although today the Friends Church in Kenya draws its adherents from all over the country, the vast majority of its members are the Luhya who live, or have their origin, in western Kenya. The Luhya are an amalgamation of about seventeen sub-ethnic groups. These Luhya sub-groups have cultural and linguistic similarities. However, they also exhibit significant differences in their pre-colonial history, their reaction to the coming of colonial rule and FAM missionaries, and their economic environment and development.

Specifically, this study attempts to assess the role of the Friends Church in the economic transformation of the Tiriki, Maragoli, Idakho, Isukha, Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras. These seven out of the seventeen Luhya sub-ethnic groups have the highest concentration of Friends Church followers in western Kenya. This study thus affords an opportunity to examine the

¹ Friends Church Archival Records (known as EAYM), Friends African Industrial Reports, 1902.

differences in the role of the Friends in economic transformation in areas of contrasting historical circumstances, social and physical environments and differential levels of economic development.

Christianity had already reached East Africa by the 1840s, but it was largely the work of David Livingstone that led to intense missionary efforts. His programme of action was to have the Central and East African interior penetrated along the waterways and lakes by missionaries “as well as upright and godly settlers who would give Africans an insight into a superior commercial and social system and into Christian religion and morality”.² The result of this thinking was that the 1860s and 1870s saw Christian missions intensifying their efforts to penetrate the interior of Africa and establish mission stations near the Great Lakes.³

The pioneer missionary in East Africa was Dr Johann Ludwig Krapf, a representative of the Church Missionary Society (hereafter CMS) of England. He had been sent to work among the Galla of southern Ethiopia in 1837. It was hoped that by doing so, he might effectively spread the gospel across much of north-eastern Africa. It proved a disappointment, however, and so in 1844 Krapf came south to Zanzibar, hoping to obtain permission to cross to the mainland and approach the Galla from the south. A few months later, he crossed to Mombasa and established a mission at Rabai. At Rabai, Krapf was joined by two colleagues, Johann Rebmann in 1846, and Jacob Erhardt in 1849. Krapf saw the Rabai station as the first of a series of mission-chain in East Africa. The chief missionary objective at that time was to achieve the penetration of the interior of East Africa with the Christian message. The account given by European explorers and travellers showed that the routes were accessible and conditions suitable for missionary work. Indeed, the 1880s also saw more missionaries moving inland, due to the ‘scramble for Africa’. It can thus be argued that the scramble for Africa was a religious as well as a political phenomenon for, paralleling the imperial partition of the continent, a variety of European and American missionary groups competed intensely to divide and occupy Africa for their respective churches. The initial result of this religious scramble was the establishment of hundreds of mission stations, which were initially staffed by the Europeans. The late 1890s, therefore, saw a dramatic

² R. Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in Eastern Africa*, London: Longman, 1965, pp. 9 – 12.

³ *Ibid.*

outburst of mission energies as the Uganda Railway and the newly established colonial administration opened up the previously inaccessible interior of Kenya.⁴ FAM was one of the missionary bodies that followed the railway to the interior. Pioneer FAM Missionaries - Willis Hotchkiss, Arthur Chilson and Elisha Blackburn - arrived at Kisumu in 1902. In the same year, the pioneer missionaries moved about forty kilometres northwards and established a mission at Kaimosi.⁵ The missionaries selected Kaimosi as a possible location for their mission station for very practical reasons. Potential water power derived from the falls of Goli Goli River - which would operate a saw and flour mill - was considered an asset in developing both a spiritual and an industrial mission. There was also an adequate supply of timber for the proposed saw mill and ample land for agriculture. Finally, the location was among what the missionaries termed as "friendly and receptive people".⁶ With these practical considerations in mind, the missionaries chose Kaimosi to become the centre of FAM and the future East African Yearly Meeting of Friends (hereafter EAYM).

FAM reports indicated that late in the year 1902 an American missionary,

Stood above the Falls of Goli Goli River at Kaimosi and through his Swahili interpreter, he carefully explained to a group of wondering Africans that he planned to make the swift flowing waters of the river provide power to saw logs into boards. Their limited experience led them to believe that his words were idle boasting. Also, he declared that he would make the water grind grain into meal. Then they were sure he was engaging in foolish talk, for certainly the water would ruin the meal in the process of grinding.⁷

Two years later, a timber saw and a flour mill were constructed on the Goli Goli River. And true to the missionary's statements the water "provided power to drive a saw through logs and rip them into boards, and grind grain into meal".⁸ These events marked the foundation of the FAM among the Luhyia of western Kenya.

⁴ R. W. Strayer, *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa*, London: Heinemann, 1978, p. 30.

⁵ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Reports, 1902.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

In establishing themselves at Kaimosi, the pioneer FAM missionaries were, to a large extent, helped by the colonial government. Charles Hobley, the North Kavirondo District Commissioner (hereafter DC), allowed the FAM missionaries to establish their first station at Kaimosi, which was the no-man's land that lay between the mutually antagonistic Tiriki and Nandi. In permitting the missionaries to settle at Kaimosi, Hobley hoped that their presence would minimize the Nandi cattle raids against the Tiriki and bring peace to the area.⁹ But for three years the Nandi proved a nuisance, by constantly interrupting routine activities at the Kaimosi station. It was only in 1905, when the Nandi were defeated by the colonial government forces, that the FAM mission could truly make headway in its effort to convert the Tiriki to Christianity.¹⁰ On their part, the Tiriki proved initially friendly to the missionaries because they welcomed the barrier afforded them against the Nandi. But after the defeat of the Nandi and the re-establishment of the Kaimosi station, hostility quickly arose between the Tiriki and the missionaries. The Tiriki increasingly developed a dislike of the missionaries, especially for their insistent denunciation of Tiriki culture. The missionaries labelled all Tiriki culture as sinful and Tiriki converts were, therefore, expected to denounce and totally abandon their heritage and adopt the culture of the missionary masters as a pre-condition of conversion.¹¹ But such an act could only lead to a prospective convert being ostracized from the community. FAM missionaries' attacks on the Tiriki culture meant that a powerful inducement - more than the known culture - was needed to entice an individual to convert to Christianity. Consequently by 1905, only one Tiriki, Maria Maraga - who had run from a forced marriage to seek refuge at the Kaimosi station - converted to Christianity.¹²

It was this reluctance shown by the Tiriki, coupled with fear of the other Luhyia locations being encroached by other missions, particularly the Catholic Mill Hill Mission (hereafter MHM), that influenced the pioneer FAM missionaries to think of expanding and establishing more stations. Thus by 1918, FAM had established stations at Vihiga among the Maragoli, Lirhanda among the

⁹ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Reports, 1904.

¹⁰ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Reports, 1905.

¹¹ On this discussion see for example, J.K.N Mugambi, "Some Perspectives of Christianity in the Context of Modern Missionary Enterprise in East Africa with Special Reference to Kenya", Master of Arts Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977, p. 32.

¹² Oral Interview, William Shibadu, Senende, 16/4/2007.

Isukha and Idakho, Lugulu among the Bukusu and Tachoni and Malava, among the Kabras.¹³ It was from these five stations that FAM missionaries hoped to transform Luhyia culture so as to make them convert to Christianity. For FAM missionaries, Christianity was the best method of “civilizing” those people who were considered to be “primitive”, for it was taken for granted that the western Christian world represented the highest form of civilization.¹⁴ Consequently, missionaries considered it their responsibility to extend this high civilization to the people who had none or very low ones. Evangelization and civilization were, therefore, considered inseparable and conversion to Christianity would involve not only an acceptance of the gospel, but also the adoption of western cultures. The converts were thus expected to abandon their traditional ways of life and pattern their new Christian existence in accordance with norms which they would learn from the mission station.¹⁵

However, the pioneer FAM missionaries quickly realized that the entire pattern of African society had to first be altered before Africans would accept Christianity.¹⁶ It was this realization that influenced the pioneer FAM missionaries to think of establishing an industrial mission. The industrial mission, as envisaged by the pioneer FAM missionaries, had two aspects. The first was the recognition that the religious goal of conversion must be accompanied by secular efforts to “improve” African standards of living.¹⁷ In other words, FAM missionaries believed that a secular policy would complement spiritual work.¹⁸ Consequently, FAM missionaries established four secular departments as an enticement to conversion. These departments included the education, medical, industrial and agricultural departments. To the FAM missionaries, religious evangelization represented the fundamental method that the FAM used to transform western Kenya. Education, medical services, industrial and agricultural development were only alternative approaches used by the FAM to reinforce evangelization and win converts. It was thought that Christianity would not take root until people learned new methods of education, industrial skills, trade and agriculture, and medical care. The presupposition underlying this view was that, if Africans were trained in the above attributes, they would find it easier to accept the

¹³ EAYM, Vihiga, Lirhandu, Lugulu and Malava, Stations Reports, 1905-1919.

¹⁴ On this discussion, see for example, Mugambi, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Reports, 1904.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

gospel, having “experienced the alleviation of some of their major material handicaps”.¹⁹ The acceptance or rejection of the Gospel was, therefore, considered to be dependent on the possibilities of new ways of life to improve the material welfare of prospective converts.²⁰

The second aspect that influenced the industrial mission strategy was the emphasis on self-sufficiency and hence, self-sustenance of the FAM mission. FAM missionaries believed that they should teach Luhyia Christian converts to assume the major responsibilities for evangelizing their own people. They also believed that provision must be made to ensure that the mission itself was self-supporting and were convinced that an industrial mission was best placed to accomplish this end through providing a strong type of mission station. By teaching Africans practical skills in trade and agriculture, the industrial mission would “equip African Christians with the tools to transform their own society”.²¹ At the same time, the mission could earn funds from the sale of goods it produced and have a trained labour force to help at the station.²²

FAM missionaries’ ideas of a self-sustaining church and a self-sustaining mission were tailored to the economic realities of African mission work. They realized that the Friends could not expect to find enough financial support to sustain a large American force in Africa. The plan they formulated therefore held out the promise of uplifting a large population economically and with a great prospect for its permanency. The secular goals, however, were not to overshadow the primary religious motives for sending missionaries to Africa. FAM missionaries believed in the unquestioned superiority of western Christian civilization, which was meant to lift up the “children” of Africa, until such a time as they had abandoned “heathenism” and superstition for Christian morality and beliefs. In this way, FAM encouraged the development of a church concerned with the secular needs of its members, a policy that would ultimately lead to an economic transformation of the society.²³

The provision of education, medical care, industrial and agriculture skills, as approaches to evangelization, and their effects, therefore, constitutes the theme of this study. The study argues

¹⁹ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Reports, 1904.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

that it was FAM education that would have a long lasting impact on the Luhya society. For FAM missionaries, education was a deliberate, systematic and sustained effort to transmit new ideas which would ultimately lead to the transformation of the Luhya society. Before the coming of the FAM missionaries, the Luhya had their traditional culture. It was this culture that the missionaries hoped to transform, through education. Consequently, for the FAM missionaries the provision of education was important in four main aspects; namely, the emergence of advocates of modernity, the consolidation of modern leadership, economic and social transformation and the integration of the society.²⁴ It was thus education that produced the pioneer teacher-evangelists who, in turn, worked hard to transform their societies. But in the period before 1918, the strength of the tradition-directed society meant that only a small minority among the Luhya had converted to Christianity.

In the period after 1918, the enlightenment given to Africans by their participation in the First World War and the evangelical efforts of pioneer-converts or teacher-evangelists - as they became known - resulted in increased rates of conversion and school enrolment. After 1918, the effects of the First World War began to undermine some of the traditional Luhya structures and values that had so far resisted the coming of Christianity. The conscription of many Africans for military service outside their locations meant that the geographical isolation of the clan structure was disrupted, as its young men were sent hundreds of miles away. In these foreign lands, the veterans became increasingly influenced by the western way of life. On their return home, the former soldiers joined schools in order to understand what they witnessed, thus leading the way to the increased school enrolment. Apart from the effects of the war, the effort of pioneer teacher-evangelists in the propagation of the value of Christianity is also noteworthy. These pioneer Christians established Christian villages, which they used not only to house the increasing number of converts, but also as centres of new innovations, particularly the development of education. Consequently, the effects of the First World War, the efforts of teacher-evangelists and the colonial situation like labour requirements all meant that an increasing minority among the Luhya began to enrol in schools. Since education was then only provided by Christian missions, an increasing number among the Luhya converted to Christianity so as to acquire education and the attendant leverages that it would provide. The

²⁴ See for example, C.E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization*, New York: Harper & Row, 1966, p.167.

Luhya thus increasingly began to view missionary education as a method of adapting to the new colonial situation. And as education increasingly became acceptable among the Luhya, professional teachers, clerks, commercial and agricultural elite emerged. It was this elite class, together with the pioneer teacher-evangelists, who became advocates of modernity.²⁵

The increased number of converts and increased demand for education meant that, in the period after 1945, FAM Meetings - Village (Weekly), Monthly and Quarterly Meetings – began to multiply. Their increased number necessitated the establishment of an EAYM, to take charge of Friends Church in Kenya. Leaders of the Yearly Meeting were mainly the pioneer Friends or their children. Hence, the leadership of the church was now in the hands of an African educated elite that had been a product of FAM education. These leaders increasingly began to use the church to consolidate both economic and political leadership and as an agent of economic and social transformation of the society.²⁶ Consequently, these elite increasingly used the church leadership positions in EAYM and the colonial administration, as economic leverages for themselves and for their locations. Indeed, it was these elite who participated in the various constitutional amendments within the Friends Church, during the devolution period of 1953-1963. When the church became self governing in 1964, it was the same elite who became its leaders and EAYM Board members. But in their bid to use the church to satisfy their personal, clan or sub-ethnic economic interests, tension and conflict developed in the church leading to the disintegration of EAYM. After this disintegration a multitude of Yearly Meetings were formed along clan and/or sub-ethnic preferences, with the sole intention of addressing the economic concerns of these groups. The establishment, development and the role of the Friends Church in the economic transformation of the Luhya is, therefore, the main theme of this study.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

From the end of the 19th century a variety of forces brought together several participants in rural transformation in Kenya. These included among others British colonial administrators and Christian missionaries, including FAM. The FAM mission represents the only major Quaker missionary effort in Africa. With its origins in Midwest, USA, the mission had fundamental

²⁵ Black, *op.cit.*, p.167.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

views which defined the kind of society it wished to encourage in Africa. Its decision to organize a mission field in Kenya came in response to the recommendation by Willis Hotchkiss, a Friends missionary, who had earlier spent four years in East Africa. The FAM missionaries, motivated by “deep religious conviction”, saw the land as a *tabula rasa* on which to build a Christian Kingdom through evangelism.

Towards this end, the mission employed both a spiritual and secular policy. These policies were embodied in the establishment of an industrial mission. The concept of an industrial mission meant that evangelism was to go hand in hand with the development of education, health care and new industrial and agricultural skills. The study is based on the recognition that the Friends Church has been in Kenya for more than one hundred years, yet little is known on the role of its secular policy in rural economic transformation. This study, therefore, is an attempt to provide a historical analysis of the church’s role in rural economic transformation, so as to fill the gap that exists in the known literature on church secular policy in Kenya. In order to achieve this goal, the research focused on two related problems.

It must be borne in mind that FAM missionaries, as American guests in a British colony, were forced to tread carefully for two reasons. As foreigners, they had to respect any restrictions imposed by the British administration, being especially careful that their work did not cause any ill-feeling or enmity from their colonial hosts. As missionaries to a strange and different culture, they also had to guard against alienating the very people they sought to convert. In both cases, FAM missionaries had to adapt and improvise their programmes to make them compatible with administrative, as well as local temperament. This study thus seeks to answer several key issues; the response of the Luhya towards the establishment of FAM stations; the formulation and implementation of FAM secular policy; the impact of various actors in western Kenya, on the formulation and implementation of FAM secular policy; the role of FAM policy in the economic transformation of the already formed Luhya society; the establishment of EAYM and its secular policies; the role of an independent and self- governing EAYM in the economic transformation of western Kenya; and the factors that led to the disintegration of EAYM. These and other key issues can only be answered after a systematic analysis of the FAM secular policy and its impact among the Luhya of Western Kenya.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study is to examine the role and impact of Friends Church's secular policy on rural transformation among the Luhyia of western Kenya. The specific objectives of this study are;

1. To examine the establishment of FAM in western Kenya.
2. To examine the formulation and implementation of FAM secular policy.
3. To assess the role of FAM and EAYM in the economic transformation of western Kenya.
4. To examine the factors that led to the disintegration of EAYM.
5. To assess the impact of the disintegration of EAYM on its secular policy.

1.3 Scope

The study mainly focused on the formulation and implementation of FAM secular policy and its impact on economic organization among the Luhyia of western Kenya. To this end, the study examined the role of the Friends Church in the development of education, health, agricultural and industrial services and their impact, between 1902 and 1988. 1902 saw the establishment of the Friends Church in Kenya, while 1988 was the year when the EAYM constitution was amended to allow for the establishment of more than one Yearly Meeting.

1.4 Literature Review

It must be pointed out from the onset that the literature that appears on the Friends Church in Kenya is rather old. No recent research has been undertaken on the activities of this church in Kenya. This represents a gap that this study intends to fill. The literature reviewed below has been arranged in the order of the continent (Africa), East Africa, Kenya, and western Kenya.

Religion, says Christopher Dawson, is the key of history. In contrast to the academic tendency to reduce religion to epiphenomena, or a product of various material and psychic forces, Dawson insists on the need to understand a society's religion if one wants to understand the original formation and the successive transformation of human culture²⁷. With regard to the role of the church in society, many studies are available. Niles Hansen states that there is a tendency

²⁷ Christopher Dawson, *The Gods of Revolution: An Analysis of the French Revolution*, New York: Minerva Press, 1975, p.11.

in economics to neglect the importance of religious values in less developed countries, and to underestimate the problem of radically changing institutions. To him, religious or ideological motivation is one of the fundamental conditions for economic development.²⁸ Different regions place emphasis on different values in the process of social welfare. Local, national and international faith-based organizations (whose motivation or funding sources derive partly from their faith) are, in some areas, significant purveyors of education, service delivery and other non-market goods. This is the view adopted by several works on the role of Christian missions in the socio-economic transformation of Africa, which have inspired and provided an invaluable background to this study. For instance, J.F. Ajayi examines the aims, methods, nature and the impact of Christian missionary enterprise, and the African attitude to the missionary work in Nigeria to show that the main aim of the missionaries was the propagation of the Christian faith.²⁹ To do so effectively, missionaries discovered that literary education was necessary for the converts so that later they could be able to read the bible and other religious materials by themselves and thus help to enhance evangelical work. However, the missionaries limited their education to the 4R's - religion, reading, writing and arithmetic - besides recruiting apprentices for carpentry, masonry and brick-making. The author claims that training in these trades and in agriculture was aimed at creating a middle class of Africans in Nigeria. This middle class was needed if the evangelization of Africans was to succeed, hence agriculture and trade were encouraged for the role they played as civilizing agencies. In doing this, the Bible and the plough went hand in hand as tools of civilization. Medical services were also used as an agent of evangelization.

E.A. Ayandele's work focuses on the political, social, educational and economic impact of missionaries in Nigeria and argues that missionaries prepared the way for economic and political exploitation of the country by the British.³⁰ They condemned African customs and names as heathenism and although they preached the brotherhood of men, Africans were not allowed the same status as Europeans. He, however, shows that missionaries preserved African vernacular languages and also started western formal education, built hospitals and introduced new

²⁸ Niles Hansen, "The Protestant Ethics as a General Pre-condition for Economic Development" in *Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Societies*, 1963, p.2.

²⁹ J. F. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891*, London: Longmans, 1965.

³⁰ E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842 - 1914*, London: Longmans, 1966.

agricultural methods. The author argues that of all African customs, polygamy was the hardest hit by the missionaries' work. The missionaries, however, did not understand the role that polygamy played in Africa's socio-political organization.

Ikenga-Metuh argues that the phenomenon of conversion in Africa has attracted the attention of social scientists and religious historians for many reasons. The most striking one is its phenomenal impact on African lives.³¹ He argues that the period of massive conversion in Africa corresponded with a period of rapid colonialism, industrialization and modernization which swept Africa into the mainstream of world activity. Therefore, any explanation of the phenomenon of conversion in Africa must answer a number of crucial questions: what are the reasons for the movement from African traditional religion to Islam and Christianity? If this massive conversion indeed came in the wake of colonialism and rapid socio-cultural change, what, if any, is the causal link between them? To what extent could this religious change be called conversion? He concludes his discussion by saying that in Africa conversion as a socio-cultural as well as religious social change, is a multi-causal phenomenon caused by many and varied factors that are a response of the traditional African cultures to modernization.

Terence Ranger, from his research on Zimbabwe, argues that in much of Africa, the history of rural development or underdevelopment is inseparably linked with the history of the African Christian movement, through which peasants expressed their hopes and ambitions.³² Christianity in Africa has been essentially a process of rural change and peasants have used Christianity for different economic and social ends. Consequently, the social history of rural Christianity should be studied in order to understand class differentiation in peasant societies, as well as the general history of agrarian change.

Jarle Simensen discusses religious change as a transaction and considers it a part of the totality of transactions between missionaries and the local population.³³ He advances the concept of

³¹ E. Ikenga-Metuh, "The Shattered Microcosm: A Critical Survey of Explanation of Conversion in Africa" in K. H. Petersen (ed), *Religion, Development and African Identity*, Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1987, pp. 11-27.

³² T. Ranger, "Religion, Development and African Christian Identity" in K.H. Petersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-57.

³³ J. Simensen, "Religious Change as Transaction: The Norwegian Mission to Zululand" in K. H. Petersen *op. cit.*, pp.85-102.

transaction in the belief that it may provide a clear understanding of religious change as part of a process of social transformation. He asserts that the basic aim of missionaries in Africa was gaining religious adherents. Apart from the gospel, they also helped to promote a wide range of material means, goods and services which might further this aim. Some of this formed an integral part of the evangelization process, accompanied by such concepts as charity and health.

Bengt Sundkler stresses that an African church history needs to be commensurate with all parts of the hopes and vicissitudes of the continent's historical development, though it is from the local perspective of the village and town that a continental profile of church history can be shaped.³⁴ Sundkler argues that it is the numerous encounters by groups and communities with the Christian message that provide the theme for Africa's church history. A history of this kind he says requires an actor-centred approach and it was often through individual and group initiatives that the Christian faith was irradiated in communities.

Paulo Freire's book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, provides invaluable reading on the establishment of schools and teaching methods in colonial Africa.³⁵ Freire puts forth a pedagogy in which the individual learns to cultivate his/her own growth through one's daily life that provides useful learning experiences. He, therefore, argues that the student should build his reality from the circumstances that give rise to the daily events of his/her life. The texts that the individual creates permit him/her to reflect upon and analyse the world in which he/she lives - not in an effort to adapt himself/herself to this world, but rather as part of an effort to reform it and to make it conform to his/her historical demands.

Freire's method of learning requires students to do more than simply reproduce the words that already exist. He argues that students should create their own words, words that allow them to become aware of reality in order to fight for their own emancipation. Based on the above summary, there are five main points which Freire stressed. First is the importance of dialogue. For dialogue to be effective, Freire insists that it should be done with respect. The need to work with each other, instead of against each other, is crucial in making dialogue a success. The second point of contention is praxis or informed action. Dialogue, being the basic requirement

³⁴ B. Sundkler, "African Church History in a new Key" in K. H. Petersen, *op.cit.*, pp.73-83.

³⁵ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum, 1970.

for understanding is best manifested by an informed action. Third, the pedagogy of the oppressed, or the pedagogy of hope, is comprised of educators who work with the oppressed. To advance the cause of the oppressed, there is a need for conscientization or consciousness that can change reality. Fourth, educational activities must occur in the experience of the participants. Stressing the importance of words that can influence changes in the world is an example of this aspect. Fifth, Freire believes that metaphors are based on Christian teachings. For instance, teachers and students should transcend divisions and learn from each other. The book thus shows that everyday is a learning experience. The learning does not stop at the classroom, but instruction goes on in the real world.

There are also various invaluable works on the role of Christianity in the socio-economic transformation in East Africa generally and Kenya, in particular. Some of these works reviewed tackle various themes that act as background information to this study. Roland Oliver, in his book *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, shows how the missionaries were responsible for the growth of European interest in the region.³⁶ He gives a critique of the differences in approach between the Roman Catholic and protestant missionaries. The Catholic Church came to East Africa not to establish new autonomous provinces of the Roman Church. Consequently, there was no question of preparing the African church for autonomy. In contrast to the Catholics, Protestants of all shades of belief came to Africa to found autonomous churches which would one day be independent from the mother church, though not ideologically. He also argues that pioneer missionaries in East Africa made it their duty to introduce the “arts and sciences of civilization”, a factor that was universally accepted in protestant churches. The author also discusses the aims of missionary education, the alliance between the colonial state and missionaries in education and missionary medical services in Africa, thereby making the book important to the present study.

Another book that is important as a source of missionary history in East Africa is that of W.B. Anderson.³⁷ Anderson argues that as soon as the railway line reached Kisumu, “missionaries went west”. The FAM mission was the first, and they established a station at Kaimosi because

³⁶ R. Oliver, *op. cit.*

³⁷ William. B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa, 1840-1974*, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1977.

of the nearby forest and the availability of reliable water supply. He also discusses the cooperation of various missionary societies in western Kenya and their various approaches to missionary work. He stresses that many missionaries believed that medical care was the only way to unlock the souls of Africans. Healing was to be an essential aspect of Christian preaching, since it opposed the African priest and witch-doctor and pointed to something positive for curing diseases. His discussion on education and the contribution made by Africans to its development is also essential to the present study.

Jesse Mugambi's work has interesting data on the background to missionary activity in Kenya.³⁸ He argues that African responses of acceptance and rejection of the Christian faith are closely associated with the way in which Christianity was introduced in East Africa, through the missionary movement that gained momentum in the late 19th and early 20th century. He shows that the African understanding of Christianity was greatly influenced - in some cases positively and in others negatively - by the missionary enterprise, through which African individuals and communities became exposed to the Christian faith. The modern missionary movement based its major objective of spreading Christianity from Europe to countries abroad on assumptions which are both historically and theologically questionable. Historically, the movement was often (though not always) in apparent alliance with the colonial administration, to the extent that missionary organizations and individuals operating in Africa sought the protection of their respective metropolitan governments. Sometimes, missionaries from different colonial powers clashed in the mission field not only because of doctrinal disagreement, but also because of their countries of origin. He also argues that missionary activity in Africa consisted not only in teaching Africans essential proclamations of faith, but also imparting their respective western cultures, in an attempt to eradicate the African cultural and religious heritage. This historical development, he argues, thrived on a theological assumption which was scripturally erroneous, that western culture was part and parcel of Christianity and, therefore, the spreading of the Christian faith to non-European people automatically meant also imparting western civilization to them. That assumption was strengthened by the belief in "progress" which at that time was anchored in the development of the 19th century nationalism in the western world and maintained the attitude of superiority that was dominant in the western world during the 19th century. Such

³⁸ Mugambi, *op. cit.*

belief held that African people were culturally primitive and religiously deprived. African societies were therefore expected to denounce and totally abandon their heritage and adopt the culture of the missionary masters as a pre-condition of conversion. Consequently, the acceptance or rejection of the gospel was considered to be dependent on the potential of the new way of life to improve the material welfare of prospective converts. Mugambi also discusses the various missionary approaches in East Africa, which included evangelization, education (the building of schools), industrial training and medical approach.

The history of modern missionary endeavour in Kenya has been discussed by Horace Philp, who argues that this endeavour can be divided into definite periods associated with political events.³⁹ The first period (1843-88) was that of the pioneers, and the outstanding personality of this period was J.L. Krapf. The second period 1888-1908 was one of penetration and perseverance. The third period (1907-18) was the period of consolidation and the Great War. Perhaps more important is his discussion of the four methods of evangelization in Kenya, which include agricultural, industrial, medical and educational approaches.

Kevin Ward's PhD dissertation examines the development of protestant Christianity in the period between 1910 and 1940, with particular reference to its bearing on the history of missionary thinking and ideology and the growth of an African Christian consciousness.⁴⁰ The dissertation considers the range of theories and pre-conceptions with which missionaries approached the problem of spreading the gospel and establishing a church in Kenya, the reasons why these theories were adopted, and aspects of Christianity which African converts found meaningful and which they used to build up a distinctive tradition of Christian thought and practice. The author also discusses the World Missionary Conference, which met in Edinburgh in 1910, where the delegates were united in their belief that Africans stood at a lower stage of development, both morally and intellectually. The African religion was represented as rooted in fear and Africans in bondage to spirits and witchcraft. He argues that the above view formed the basis of evangelization in Kenya.

³⁹ Horace R. A. Philp, *A New Day in Kenya*, London: World Dominion Press, 1936.

⁴⁰ Kevin Ward, "The Development of Protestant Christianity in Kenya 1910-1940", PhD., Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1976.

A.J. Temu's book deals with British Protestant missions and gives insight into the aim, nature and impact of missionary work in Kenya between 1844 and 1929.⁴¹ He argues that missionaries cooperated in establishing British imperialism in East Africa. Missionaries also grabbed African land, supported and even practised racial segregation and disdained African beliefs and customs, such as dancing and polygamy, making abstinence from such practices a requirement for baptism. They also demanded that converts should live in the mission stations and not in the reserves, where they could lose their purity to heathenism.

Temu asserts that missionary education was manual and evangelical, rather than academic. He however, appreciates that missionaries trained Africans in new methods of agriculture, brick making, carpentry, masonry and medical care. This book, therefore, reinforces the idea that there was hardly any difference between the European administrators, traders, farmers and missionaries.

Robert W. Strayer examines the evolution of Christian communities associated with the Anglican Church Missionary Society, on the coast and the highlands of Kenya.⁴² These communities, he argues, were among the most significant institutions that served as networks for interaction between Europeans and Africans in colonial Kenya. These communities also gave rise to schools and churches, of both independent and orthodox varieties. They participated in most of the political crises in the colony and reflected within themselves many of the tensions and conflicts of colonial society. They were thus in a position to channel and direct, if not control, those multiple processes of social and cultural transformation that everywhere accompanied a measure of the economic change introduced by colonists.

J. Mbula has specifically discussed the transformative impact of Christianity on the family, using the Akamba of Kenya as a case study. The study provides insights on how various communities were transformed with the coming of Christianity.⁴³ Mbula shows that missionary Christianity was one of the major agents of change in Ukambani. She stresses that different missionary

⁴¹ A.J. Temu, *British Protestant Mission*, London: Longmans, 1972.

⁴² Strayer, *op. cit.*

⁴³ J. Mbula, "The Impact of Christianity on the Family Structure and Stability: The Case of the Akamba of Eastern Kenya", Ph.D Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977.

societies in Kenya utilized different methods to evangelize and convert Africans. Some were more keen on establishing schools, while others specialized in agriculture, industrial development and medical provision.

John Karanja's book attempts to identify the extent to which the Kikuyu Anglican Church was indebted to indigenous models and experiences for its impetus, dynamism and direction.⁴⁴ The significance of his study is the light it casts on Kikuyu society's ability to negotiate and compromise over specifically Kikuyu institutions. It was this readiness to consider and, if necessary, renounce objectionable and irrelevant customs and to modify the adaptable ones that gave the Kikuyu Anglican Church its distinctively indigenous character. The above three studies help to show the impact of Christianity on various communities in Kenya, hence they are helpful as background information to the present study.

Mary Mwiandi's Ph.D thesis on the "The Jeanes School in Kenya: The Role of the Jeanes Teachers and Their Wives in Social Transformation of Rural Colonial Kenya, 1925- 1961", is another helpful material for this study.⁴⁵ Her work contributes to the social history of Kenya by exploring the history of Jeanes school teachers and their spouses in societal transformation in Kenya. Further, the study shows how Jeanes school teachers worked with white missionaries and colonial authorities in the modernizing process of Kenyan rural communities.

There are also several studies on the role of Christian missionaries in the socio-economic transformation of western Kenya, which provide useful comparison on the role of FAM and other churches in rural transformation. For instance, E.H Odwako argues that the coming of Europeans to western Kenya, at the beginning of the 20th century, altered the African social, political and economic set-up.⁴⁶ As a result, the traditional arrangement could no longer prepare Africans for life in the new society. He shows that the attitude of CMS towards the people of western Kenya was inevitably influenced by its home background. Due to the two different cultural traditions, occasioned by their different environmental circumstances, Europeans

⁴⁴ John Karanja, *Founding An African Faith*, Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1999.

⁴⁵ Mary Mwiandi, "The Jeanes School in Kenya: The Role of the Jeanes Teachers and Their Wives in Social Transformation of Rural Colonial Kenya, 1925- 1961", Ph.D Thesis, Michigan State University, 2006.

⁴⁶ H. Odwako, "The Church and Education: The Contribution of the Church Missionary Society to Education in Western Kenya, 1905-1963", Master of Arts Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1973.

naturally tended to favour their customs and adopted a hostile attitude toward African practices. Under the belief that western tradition was superior, Europeans considered Africans not only inferior, but also primitive. Since the main instrument for change was thought to be education, this attitude occasionally crept into and affected the CMS educational work in western Kenya.

Further developments on this theme come from Sorobea Bogonko, who discusses the educational work of the Christian missionaries among the Gusii of western Kenya. He shows that traditional African education was practical and as real as all worthwhile education should be.⁴⁷ He argues that missionaries undermined traditional education and introduced a system that was mainly theoretical and unsuitable to the Gusii. His thesis also recognizes that modern education among the Gusii was for a long time shouldered by Christian missionaries representing the Seventh Day Adventists (hereafter SDA), Mill Hill Mission (hereafter MHM), Swedish Lutherans and the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (hereafter PAG). Even though the education was mainly evangelical. Stressing the reading of the bible, it produced the first Gusii elite and also introduced various socio-economic changes in agriculture and trade.

Ogutu's Ph.D thesis examines the origin and growth of the Roman Catholic Church in western Kenya. He argues that within the region, Christianity was both American and European in origin. Conversion to Christianity demanded a physical break with the traditional way of life.⁴⁸ The extent to which the break was religious remained a nagging problem of cultural continuity and change, and a dilemma to the missionaries. He stresses that western Kenya was not a religious vacuum, as the missionaries claimed. Ogutu also discusses the establishment of various missionary stations in western Kenya. Although Ogutu's work focuses on the Catholic Church in western Kenya, it is invaluable to this study, particularly in the aspect of missions, spheres of influence and competition to win converts in western Kenya.

⁴⁷ Sorobea N. Bogonko, "Christian Missionary Education and its Impact on the Abagussi of Western Kenya, 1909-1977", Ph.D Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977.

⁴⁸ G.E.M. Ogutu, "Origins and Growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Kenya, 1895 –1952", Ph.D Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1981.

Ezekiel Musembe Kasiera shows that Pentecostal missionaries came to western Kenya after other missionary societies had already been there for some years.⁴⁹ Significantly, Kasiera devotes chapter two of his work to the study of FAM in western Kenya between 1902 and 1920. He discusses the shift of many of FAM followers to PAG, the development of the PAG educational programme and the rise of separatist churches in western Kenya. This thesis is valuable to the present study from various dimensions, including the history of FAM and the comparison between FAM and PAG evangelism.

There have been several general studies of the Friends in Kenya. A brief general history of the Friends African Mission is provided by Levinus Painter, an American Friends missionary who was connected with the formulation of FAM mission policy.⁵⁰ His book, *The Hill of Vision*, gives some good account of the various activities of the Friends in East Africa from 1902 to 1965, and thus forms a good background to this study. The book is an account of the Christian work at Kaimosi and the primary purpose which led the Americans to establish a self-supporting and self-propagating church. While being an important source for this study, the book, however, looks at the establishment of the Friends Church in Kenya from a narrow religious view, glorifying the work of the church and thus denying the reader an objective view of the activities of the Friends Church in Kenya. Furthermore, the period after 1965 is not covered.

John Rowe wrote an insightful history of the Quaker Mission in Kenya from 1902 to 1946, for a Master of Science thesis.⁵¹ He based his study largely on records available in Richmond, Indiana, and from the offices of Friends United Meeting (hereafter FUM) but without the benefit of oral or written sources available in Kenya. The study is, however, important in explaining the history of the Quaker missionaries in Western Kenya and the establishment of the Friends industrial mission, which was an integral part of the new wave of western culture.

Rowe argues that in introducing a number of industries - such as brick-making, lumbering, furniture manufacture and others - missionaries hoped to teach Africans to improve their

⁴⁹ Ezekiel M. Kasiera, "Development of Pentecostal Christianity in Western Kenya: With Particular Reference to Maragoli, Nyang'ori and Tiriki, 1909-1942", Ph.D Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1981.

⁵⁰ Painter, K. Lavinus, *The Hill of Vision: The Story of the Quaker Movement in East Africa, 1902-1965*, Nairobi: English Press, 1966.

⁵¹ J. Rowe, "Kaimosi: An Essay in Missionary History", Master of Science Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1958.

standards of living. They believed that preaching Christianity alone would not be effective in the long run in creating a local African Church; it was, therefore, necessary to change the patterns of village life, if African traditional beliefs were to be uprooted.

Stafford Kay has done a study of the Friends African Mission and the development of education in Western Kenya, from 1902 to 1963.⁵² The study includes material based on interviews with about fifty African Friends, as well as on archival sources within Kenya. It is mainly concerned with explaining the contrasting attitude of acceptance and rejection of the Quaker gospel shown by different Luhyia groups and with the impact of African mission educational policies. The study also focuses on the African Friends' role in the development of secondary school education. While emphasizing on the ability of Africans to influence educational policy, it does not attempt to look at education as one of a number of interacting social and economic concerns in western Kenya.

Clifford Gilpin's work focuses on the Friends and the Luhyia of western Kenya and spans the period from the arrival of the first FAM missionary party in 1902 until the achievement of autonomy by the EAYM in 1963.⁵³ The study includes material based on interviews with about one hundred and fifty African Friends and is concerned mainly with the impact of the FAM on the people of western Kenya. It shows that the FAM missionaries used both spiritual and secular means in trying to establish the kind of African society they wished to encourage. Gilpin argues that FAM missionaries promoted Christian villages as centres of community life based on the traditional social tier and concept of mutual support. At the same time, Gilpin's discussion on education, as a central item in the dynamics of modernization and innovation is essential to the present study. However, one major weakness of Gilpin's study is that he concentrated on the Maragoli and Bukusu at the exclusion of the other Luhyia sub-ethnic groups that were affected by the Friends missionaries.

⁵² S. Kay, "The Southern Abaluyia: The Friends African Mission and the Development of Education in Western Kenya", Ph.D Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973.

⁵³ W. Gilpin, "The Church and the Community: The Quakers in Western Kenya, 1920-1963", Ph.D Thesis, Columbia University, 1976.

John Lonsdale examines the economic and social factors which affected the development and role of Friends Church in Kenya, in what is by far the most important general historical study of the area.⁵⁴ Lonsdale analyses the implication of new social and economic groups in the political development of western Kenya. The work's major drawback is that its analysis stops at 1945. Secondly, its main emphasis is on political developments to the exclusion of other subjects, such as socio-economic developments.

In his Ph.D thesis, Francis C. Bode argues that with the establishment of British rule, the Luhyia were subject to a number of forces working towards change.⁵⁵ Their incorporation into a new, large political entity, which drew together many formerly independent African societies and which attracted European and Asian immigrants, created a new political context that had far-reaching effects. Along with a radically new political order, colonial rule also set in motion economic forces that worked to transform the Luhyia society.

To Bode, the Luhyia were the focus of much activity by the early missionaries. The missionaries preached a new faith and inculcated new forms of behaviour and new values. Furthermore, they offered training in European skills, not the least of which was literacy. These skills were used in turn by the Africans to regain some control over their lives. The major weakness of this thesis, however, is that emphasis is placed on leadership and politics among the Luhyia, while the social and economic changes that accompanied politics are scarcely discussed.

A general ethnography of the Luhyia was written in the 1930s by Gunter Wagner.⁵⁶ Wagner based most of his research on the Bukusu and Maragoli of western Kenya. He argues that, in the entire western Kenya, the individual family constituted the basic social group that co-operated most widely and intensely in the activities of every day life. But with the coming of Europeans, conditions in the traditional Kavirondo family underwent far-reaching changes. He points out that the factors which brought about the new conditions to which the family had to adjust included economic change, new political and legal institutions and Christianity. While it is an important study, the main drawback is its emphasis on the uniformity of the Luhyia at the

⁵⁴ J. M. Lonsdale, *A Political History of Nyanza, 1883-1945*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

⁵⁵ F.C Bode, "Leadership and Politics among the Abaluyia of Kenya", Ph.D Thesis, Yale University, 1978.

⁵⁶ G. Wagner, *The Changing Family Among the Bantu Kavirondo*, London: Oxford University Press, 1939.

expense of a detailed examination of differences between them, particularly between the Maragoli and Bukusu.

Jan J. de Wolf's study on religious innovation and social change among the Bukusu also raises issues that are pertinent to this study.⁵⁷ The study deals with the influence of non-traditional religious institutions among the Bukusu of western Kenya. The emphasis is on those churches which were founded by Christian missionaries and which developed under their guidance and control. He argues that Christians emphasized the education of their children more than any of the other groups among the Bukusu, and thus they contributed significantly to the growth of a modern elite.

Walter Sangree, a social anthropologist, has written an interesting study of the inter-relationship between religion, traditional customs and socio-political structure in Tiriki society.⁵⁸ The study gives an account of Tiriki social structure and of the main currents of change and social innovation that had arisen in Tiriki, primarily as a result of European contact. It includes an examination of the conflict between the FAM missionaries and traditional authority among the Tiriki and the significance of the rise of independent sects due to this conflict.

11.5 Justification

The above material demonstrates that in spite of the existence of a sizeable amount of literature on the Friends Church in Kenya, none illustrates the important role played by the Friends in the economic transformation of the area. Specific studies appearing on the Friends Church as an innovator and agency of change have concentrated on the development of formal schools and educational policy by the missionaries. Very little, however, has been documented on other socio-economic activities initiated by the Friends among the Luhyia of western Kenya. This study seeks to fill the identified gaps.

Friends' missionary literature has also obscured the important role played by African initiatives in influencing and directing church-related activities. Africans were not simply passive

⁵⁷ Jan J. de Wolf, *Differentiation and Integration in Western Kenya: A Study of Religious Innovation and Social Change Among the Bukusu*, The Hague: Mouton, 1977.

⁵⁸ H. W. Sangree, *Age, Prayer and Politics in Tiriki*, London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

recipients, but were also able to influence and sometimes control church-related development. This study, therefore, seeks to document the active role that the Luhya sub-ethnic groups played in the history and development of the Friends Church in Kenya.

In terms of policy, this study seeks to compare and contrast the various forms of leadership and influence in the church, under the respective FAM and EAYM leaderships. To this end, the study will seek to identify the role of the church as a principal agency of transformation in western Kenya. Finally, most of the studies on church-related activities tend to span the period 1902 to 1963. This period does not give enough information on the post-independence role of the church in rural transformation. Indeed, after 1970, tension between the south and the north spheres of influence, led to conflict and disintegration of the EAYM. What role did economic factors and the educated elite play in the conflict? Why did President Moi and the provincial administration officials get involved in the church's politics? What has been the impact of the conflict and disintegration of the church on its role as a transforming agency? What has been the impact of the disintegration of the church on the administration of its institutions, like hospitals, colleges and rural development programmes? This study thus seeks to address these concerns and contribute to the emerging scholarship in this area by generating new knowledge and, hopefully, by opening up new areas for further research.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

The relationship between Christianity and socio-cultural change in Africa can be best explained using the modernization, the social exchange and social conflict theories. Proponents of modernization theory argue that the contemporary world is strongly characterized by twin aspects of modernity and modernization that are expressed in technology, differential patterns of economic development and institutions, political ideologies and modes of protest and participation.⁵⁹ But the more these and other aspects of modernization, which originated in the West, have spread throughout the world, the more difficult and problematic it has become to define exactly what is meant by the term modernization. Perhaps the most articulate formulation of this unique quality of Western civilization could be found in the works of Max Weber, where the most important aspects of modernization – especially when applied to the study of its spread

⁵⁹ S. E. Eisenstadt (ed), *Patterns of Modernity*, New York: New York University Press, 1987, p. 2.

beyond Europe – can be found. Weber’s basic concern was how to explain the specificity and uniqueness of European modernity, to explain why it was that only in the West – and not in other civilizations – did the specific ‘radical’ tendency to a rationalization of the world develop. Weber saw the roots of the process in the potentially rationalizing tendencies of the protestant work ethic – a code of morals based on the principles of thrift, discipline, hard work, and individualism.⁶⁰ The adjective ‘protestant’ is explained by the fact that these qualities were seen to have been especially encouraged by the Protestant religion, especially those denominations based on the tenets of Calvinism.

Weber saw a close relationship between the Protestant ethic and the rise of capitalism. He was impressed by the seeming fact that modern capitalism had developed mainly in those areas of Europe where Calvinistic Protestantism had taken root early in the Protestant Reformation. In his book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*,⁶¹ Weber argued that a causal connection existed between the two; his concern was with the effect of religion on economic life, but he claimed that the reverse influences were equally important. Weber held that the doctrine of predestination, central to Calvinism, and that the remote and unknowable protestant God created intense anxieties in the individual regarding that person's state of grace. Practical means of reducing those anxieties took the form of a systematic commitment to a calling, identified in hard work, thrift, and self-discipline, the material rewards of which were not consumed personally but saved and reinvested. Because these qualities were also required for success in the newly emerging capitalist economy, it followed that practising Calvinists should also form the nucleus of the new capitalist class. Furthermore, success in the commercial world tended to assure individuals that they were in fact in a state of grace because God had smiled on their endeavours. Weber theorized that with the waning of a religious world view, the Protestant ethic remained as "the spirit of capitalism."⁶² And as was the case in Europe, the Christian church was largely instrumental in introducing modernization to Africa.⁶³

⁶⁰ Eisenstadt, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

⁶¹ M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1905, p. 6.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

Most missionaries were disciples of Livingstone, who had advocated for the introduction of Commerce, Civilization and Christianity in Africa.⁶⁴ These three Cs were to be achieved primarily through the medium of education. The approach by foreign missions was largely negative toward African cultures, as the general tendency was to condemn African cultures *in toto* and paint the picture of Africa as a dark continent. Accordingly, it has been argued that missionaries were too convinced of the enormous superiority of the European west and came as bearers not only of the Christian message, but also of western culture.⁶⁵

Missionary strategists reveal the type of change sought by missionaries in Africa. In a letter to a philanthropic organization concerned with Africa in 1845, Francis Liberman, a Catholic priest, whose writing influenced the missionaries in East Africa, wrote,

The mission does not consist solely in the message of Faith that we proclaim but also in the initiation of the people to our European civilization. Faith, Christian morality, education, knowledge of agriculture and trades, all complement one another and promote and strengthen each other. In this way, little by little they bring the black people to share in the benefit of Christianity and the civilization of the people of Europe.⁶⁶

Basil Moore has argued that Africans were made to believe that salvation was both in Christ and in the acceptance of white culture. The effect of this was to internalize in the black people a sense of inferiority and the interchangeability (in religious language) of black and 'evil'.⁶⁷

Moore's conclusion that the church helped to colonize the minds of the black people is significant and consistent with what Lord Lugard had argued in 1922, that,

as Roman imperialism laid the foundation of modern civilization, and led the wild barbarians of these islands (Britain) along the path of progress, so in Africa today we are repaying the debt, and bringing to the dark places of the earth – the abode of barbarism and cruelty – the torch of culture and progress, while ministering to the material needs of our own civilization ... We hold these countries because it is the genius of our race to colonize, to

⁶⁴ For this discussion, see p. 3 of this work.

⁶⁵ Strayer, *op.cit.*, p. 77.

⁶⁶ Quoted in P. Kollman, "Civilizing Through Labour: The Place of Work in the Evangelization of Freed Slaves in the Nineteenth Century East Africa", Unpublished Seminar Paper, University of Chicago African Studies Workshop, 11 May 1999, p.6.

⁶⁷ B. Moore, (ed) *The Black Theology*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, p. V111.

trade and govern.⁶⁸

The above quotation summarizes the western perception of Africans and the major reasons for colonization of the continent. The early Europeans who arrived in Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were “shocked” at the black people’s standards of living, which were completely different from that of Europe. The disparity in levels of development, social structures, human dynamics, and concerns of life between Europe and Africa was so enormous that the explorers convinced their home countries to “civilize” Africans (into becoming like the Europeans).⁶⁹

Consequently when the missionaries arrived in Africa, they preached the Gospel and in addition, taught their converts to read and write. In doing these things, they employed the only methods known to them; that of western education and cultural change. Through the process of cultural transformation, Africans were to abandon their ways and become “modern” like the westerners. Friends, like any other missionaries in Africa, established a station at Kaimosi with the aim of transforming the Luhya society to adopt Western culture and Christianity. The term “transformation” connotes substantial cultural, economic and technological change. Accordingly, for transformation to occur, there must be fundamental change in the institutional structure of the society.⁷⁰

The Friends’ missionaries realized the importance of transforming the African, even before they began to build a station at Kaimosi. They believed that Christianity and Western civilization were to work hand in hand to ensure that both spiritual and social transformation modernized the Africans. Modernization theory, therefore, succinctly explains the two aspects of Christian missions; namely, westernization and transformation. The theory perceives all developing societies as undergoing a change, from traditional economies to the level of Advanced Capitalist Countries (hereafter ACCs). It conceives of the ACCs as having passed through the experience

⁶⁸ Quoted in from S. P. Yangaza, “Are Schools a Blessing or a Curse? Searching for Democracy Through Education: Case Study in Tanzania”, School of Education and Human Development, State University of New York, Workshop, 2005, p.4.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

of Africa. The theory thus proposes that Africa must undergo stages of development similar to those underwent by Europe and North America.⁷¹

Various scholars have defined the term “modernization.” Wilbert E. Moore views it as a total transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society, into the types of technology and associated social organization that characterize the advanced, economically prosperous and relatively politically stable nations of the Western World.⁷² Daniel Lerner sees it as the process of social change whereby the less developed societies acquire characteristics common to the more developed societies.⁷³ By the above two definitions, developed countries possess modern economies characterized by high levels of industrialization, a large middle class of consumers, food self-sufficiency, low rates of unemployment, advanced technology and a relatively educated population. By contrast, less developed countries have traditional economies characterized by high rates of unemployment, simple technology and a poorly educated population.

Modernization theory is a theory of social change. With the assistance of Western countries, the underdeveloped world supposedly can develop into modern countries with modern institutions. Proponents of modernization theory argue that societies evolve by creating and using new modern forms of international technology. Gerhard Lenski and Patrick Nolan argue that technological advances and innovation are crucial for economic and social development. Societies that undertake such advances become wealthier and more developed, whereas societies that fail to advance technologically will stagnate and possibly not survive. To them, many factors can limit a society’s commitment to innovation and change, including its values, beliefs, degree of contacts with other societies, and physical environment.⁷⁴ Modernization is thus a transformative process. Societies must drop their traditional structures and ways of thinking, if they hope to be modernized. In fact, the word “modernization” means Westernization, that is,

⁷¹ S. E. Chambua, “The Development Debates and Crisis of Development Theories: The Case of Tanzania with Special Emphasis on Peasants, State and Capital” in U. Himmelstrand, et al (eds), *African Perspective on Development*, London: James Currey, 1994, p. 38.

⁷² W.E. Moore, *Social Change*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1963, p.9.

⁷³ D. Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Societies: Modernizing the Middle East*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1964, p.11.

⁷⁴ G. Lenski and Patrick Nolan, *Human Societies: An Introduction to Microsociology*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1991, p. 9.

adopting and adapting Euro-American innovations. Modernization theorists thus justify cultural imperialism by the Western powers as a way of modernizing the Third world.

This theory points to the major concepts that were used in this study. FAM missionaries, led by Hotchkiss, came to Africa with a fixed mind that evangelism *per se* was not sufficient to transform an African into a Christian. The African's life had to be transformed culturally, in order for him to reap the benefits of Christianity. Indeed, the African had to be taught the so-called "superior cultures" of the West, so that he may abandon all aspects of "heathenism" and replace them with Christian values of modernity. This was cultural imperialism, which is one of the main tenets of modernization theory. It is this cultural imperialism that Quaker missionaries tried to use to cajole Africans into adopting western cultural practices. This theory will be used to gauge the extent and impact of cultural imperialism as practised by FAM missionaries in Kenya.

At first glance, modernization theory makes a lot of sense to the citizens of developed countries. They have been raised to value hard work, thrift, democracy, and other characteristics advocated by the theory's perspective. Beneath the surface, however, there are some problems with modernization theory, which have eroded its popularity and validity. The term "modern" is one of the most abused words in the writing of European and African history. The word means what is contemporary. But in historiographical usage, it means what is Western Europe. The "modern" period is, therefore, an arbitrary and flexible concept. Consequently, modernization as a process means adopting and adapting to the development of western innovations since 1500. Africans who accepted foreign ideas and ways of life were referred to as progressive, while those who refused were branded traditional or backward.

Social change however, is always multi-dimensional and modernization theory fails to capture the role Africans played in the transformation of their society and the conflict that ensued in the church. Consequently, two related theories of social exchange and social conflict can be used to analyse the impact of the Friends Church's secular policy among the Luhya.

First, social life can be treated as an exchange of rewards or resources between actors. Such a nature of social life is often the rationale of the social exchange paradigm.⁷⁵ The key tenet of the social exchange theory is that human interactions are an exchange of rewards or resources of primarily material character (wealth) and of symbolic attributes. This theory applies the concept of market to the entire area of social change, focusing on exchange of values - material and non-material - in personal relations of reciprocity. A central task is to map out the needs of the parties concerned and the means they used in the bargain for maximal need satisfaction.⁷⁶

The concept of exchange will be used because it provides an analysis of religious change as part of socio-economic transformation. The major need of the missionaries in the African context was gaining religious adherents. Apart from the gospel, they utilized a wide range of material means, some of which formed an integral part of the evangelization process. The key questions are: were material advantages consciously distributed or withheld as part of a total exchange strategy? What role did material needs play in the African interaction with the missionaries? What role did material factors and politics play in the development and administration of the independent EAYM? Consequently, the social exchange theory will be used to determine how the various groups involved in the Friends project transacted with each other in order to accomplish their goals.⁷⁷

Second, the conflict that occurred in the Friends Church in Kenya and hence the disintegration of EAYM can be analysed using the social conflict theory. Social conflict theory assumes that social behaviour can best be understood in terms of tension and conflict between groups and individuals. It suggests that society is an arena in which struggles over scarce commodities take place. Conflict theorists consider change, rather than order, as the essential element of social life. Change is viewed as an intrinsic process in society, not merely the outcome of some improperly functioning or imbalanced part of the social system. Structural differentiation is felt to be the source of conflict, and social change occurs only through this conflict.

⁷⁵ See for example, G. C. Homans, *Social Behaviour: Its Elementary Forms*, New York: Harcourt, 1974, and P. M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life*, New York: Willy, 1964.

⁷⁶ J. Simensen, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Karl Marx's writings and those of his followers - the Marxists - are crucial to the study of social conflict theory, especially with regard to economic and social change. In Karl Marx's words, "Without conflict, there is no progress: this is the law which civilization has followed to the present day".⁷⁸ Marx postulated that every society, whatever its stage of historical development, rests on an economic foundation. He called this the "mode of production" of commodities. The mode of production, in turn, has two elements. The first is "the forces of production", or the physical or technological arrangement of economic activity. The second is "the social relations of production", or the indispensable human attachments that people must form with one another in carrying out this economic activity. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society - the real foundation - on which rise legal and political super structures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.⁷⁹

It is important to recognize that Marx viewed the structure of society in relation to its major classes, and the struggle between them, as the engine of change in this structure. For Marx, conflict is a normal condition of social life. Conflict and change for him are inseparable. The economic production is the substructure upon which the rest of society, the superstructure, is built. Social institutions - such as the government, the family, education, and religion - are dependent on the mode of economic production in a given society. Variations and changes in economic production give rise to variations and changes in other social institutions with their associated values, attitudes and norms.

The key to understanding Marx's approach to social conflict lies in his definition of a "class". He defined a class by the ownership of property. To Marx, such ownership vests a person with the power to exclude others from the property and to use it for personal purposes. In relation to property structure, there are three great classes of society: the bourgeoisie (who own the means of production, such as machinery and factory buildings, and whose source of income is profit), landowners (whose income is rent), and the proletariat (who own their labour and sell it for a wage).⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Quoted in Ralf Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959, p. 27.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Donald Mcquarie, (ed) *Reading in Contemporary Sociological Theory: From Modernity to Post-Modernity*,

Class is thus determined by property and reflects the production and power relations of individuals. For instance, the social conditions of bourgeois production are defined by bourgeois property. Class is, therefore, a theoretical and formal relationship among individuals.

For this study, the social conflict theory will be used in two main ways. First, it will provide analysis on how the church secular policy led to the development of two social classes among the Luhyia: the 'haves' and 'have nots'. Second, the theory will be used to explain the competition over the control of EAYM economic resources and the disintegration of EAYM into various Yearly Meetings.

1.7 Research Hypotheses

1. There was resistance among the Luhyia towards the establishment of FAM stations in western Kenya.
2. Both the colonial government and Africans influenced the formulation and implementation of FAM secular policy.
3. FAM, and later EAYM, have been one of the most visible agents of transformation in western Kenya.
4. Theological schisms led to the disintegration of EAYM.
5. The various Friends Yearly Meetings have ceased to be agencies of economic transformation in western Kenya.

1.8 Methodology

The choice of methods for any study is very much dependent on perspectives and objectives being pursued. As already indicated, this study intended to analyse the role of the Friends Church in rural transformation. Abstracting key concepts from narrative reports, noting the recurrence of certain phenomena and discovering linkages between policies, plans and strategies were all part of the process of gaining useful insights from the available data.

Analysis of bibliographic data, therefore, formed the primary technique employed in this research. Particular attention was directed towards literature relating to the role of the Friends Church in rural transformation. The study also made use of primary written sources. These

include the records of the Friends Church available from the EAYM offices at Kaimosi, the Kenya National Archives (hereafter KNA), and in the microfilm department at the University of Nairobi Library. More recent records of various Yearly Meetings in Kenya are to be found at the headquarters of these Meetings, namely, Bwere, Chavakali, Chwele, Kakamega, Kapsabet, Kitale, Lirhanda, Lugari, Lugulu, Malava, Nairobi, Tongaren, Vihiga and Vokoli. Records of MHM at Mukumu, PAG records at Nyang'ori, SA records in Nairobi and National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) records in Nairobi, were also be consulted.

The Kenya National Archives (KNA) records consulted include District deposits for North Nyanza, Elgon Nyanza, Kakamega, Bungoma and Vihiga: Provincial deposits for Nyanza and Western Province: Government's Ministries deposits that include; Office of the President files, particularly, Complaints and Petitions, Religious Societies Disputes and Provincial Administration and Internal Security; Ministry of Agriculture; Ministry of Education; Ministry of Health; Ministry of Land and Ministry of Labour. It was on the basis of the content of such available documents and other literature that key variables were abstracted.

Much of the material for the study was also derived from oral interviews that were conducted in western Kenya and Nairobi, in 2007- 2008. Oral interviews corroborated and strengthened written documents. Interviews using unstructured questionnaire guide were held with 160 respondents, mainly in western Kenya and major towns where the Friends church has spread its influence. Interviews were held with individuals who are knowledgeable about Friends activities in western Kenya. Respondents were identified using purposive and snowballing sampling methods. Purposive sampling method selects a sample from the participants or group of participants that are judged to be appropriate, or especially knowledgeable, for the purpose of the research. For this study, the impact of the Friends church secular policy on economic organization among the Luhya could only be accurately evaluated, if the sample was purposively selected to include the following major categories: namely, Yearly Meetings leaders, including women and youth; pioneer Friends teacher - evangelists and their families; Friends educated elite; commercial elite; agricultural elite; provincial administration officials; and peasants and remittance families.

At each level of purposive sampling, the critical sample size was obtained by the snowball sampling method. Names of pioneer converts and their families, and provincial administration officials were obtained from records in the Kenya National Archives and EAYM archives. These names constituted the initial respondents on the categories identified in the purposive sampling above. Members of each category were identified, interviewed and asked to identify other people who are knowledgeable on the history of the Friends Church in Kenya and possessed the characteristics of interest to the study. In this way, it became possible to obtain the required number of respondents in each purposive category.

After establishing basic biographical data and general life experiences of the respondents, the line of questioning pursued particular events and happenings about which the individual was particularly knowledgeable. Questions were open-ended to maximize discussion. These questions pertained to FAM secular policy, projects and services initiated by FAM, EAYM and its secular policy, the role FAM and EAYM in transformation of western Kenya and the disintegration of the EAYM. Interviews were recorded by note taking and tape recording (with the consent of the respondent). Recorded data was transcribed and relevant information drawn. Collected data was analysed qualitatively. This method provided ways of discerning, examining, comparing and contrasting, and interpreting meaningful patterns or themes on which conclusions were drawn.

Chapter Two

The Setting: The Development of Evangelical Quakerism

2.0 Introduction

The Friends missionaries arrived in Kenya after a long and chequered history in which the church had undergone turbulent periods of transformation, both in England and the USA. It was a transformation that would lead to the idea of establishing an evangelical foreign mission. In pursuit of this goal, the American Friends Board of Foreign Mission (hereafter AFBFM) was established in 1894, to coordinate foreign missions worldwide. Kenya was one of the designated areas for the establishment of a foreign mission.

A Friends minister named Willis Hotchkiss provided the immediate link that brought evangelical American Friends into the mission field of Western Kenya. Hotchkiss' brief sojourn in Africa had left him convinced that setting up a mission would not only "save" the African's soul, (the evangelical policy), but also "raise his standard of living", by teaching him new skills, (the secular policy). Hotchkiss returned to America in 1899, after four years of travel and missionary work in East Africa. In 1902, he came back with two friends. The team, backed by an incorporated Mission Board and almost five thousand dollars in pledges and cash, was determined to transform Hotchkiss' idea into a reality. This was the beginning of the Friends African Industrial Mission (hereafter FAIM) - which later was renamed Friends African Mission (hereafter FAM) - in Kenya, in general and western Kenya, in particular.

Once in western Kenya, the pioneer FAM missionaries established the first station in 1902 at Kaimosi, among the Tiriki – one of the Luhyia sub-ethnic groups. At the time, the Luhyia were also undergoing a process of change, which had had been introduced with the establishment of colonial rule. This chapter is, to a large extent, a digression from the main body of research to help understand the early historical transformation of the Friends Church in both England and USA, and how developments in the USA led to the establishment of the Kaimosi station.

2. 1 Development of the Friends Church in England

The history of the 17th century Quaker movement (the Society of Friends, in short Friends) begins with the early life of George Fox, the acknowledged founder of the movement.¹ George Fox was born in 1624, at Fenny Drayton in Leicestershire, England. In 1640, he became a shoemaker's apprentice in his county of Leicestershire.² In 1647, at the age of twenty-three, Fox claims to have found enlightenment,

The lord opened unto me that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ. Church-going was unimportant because God dwelt in men's and women's hearts; the church was no more holy than another piece of ground.³

Fox further claims that God "revealed" to him that,

Every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ. Those that believed in it came out of condemnation and came to the light of life and became the children of it and that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell.⁴

Consequently, in his preaching, Fox put emphasis on the "light or the spirit within". To Fox, this led to salvation and perfection because the spirit was above Bible scriptures. It is not the scriptures which are to be the cornerstone of truth, Fox asserted, it is the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, "whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried".⁵ Between 1647 and 1651, Fox travelled around Leicestershire and Yorkshire, preaching his new faith, but in 1650, he suffered imprisonment in the hands of government authority for what was termed as blasphemy. Released from jail in 1651, Fox and his fellow itinerants - Richard Farnworth, Thomas Aldam, Margaret Killam, William Dewsbury and James Nayler - began moving through the rural areas of northern England preaching the new faith. This marked the beginning of the Quaker movement. Between 1652 and 1653, the followers of

¹ The term 'Quaker' originated from the statement made by Fox, when he warned a court that was about to imprison him that it ought to quake at the word of the Lord. See for example, Norman Penney, *et al.* (eds), *The Journal of George Fox*, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, 1924, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 111

³ *Ibid.*, p.112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.113

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.42

Fox became known as the “People of God” or “children of Light”. By 1654, there were Quaker communities in all the northern counties, as well as the Midlands.⁶

The early Quaker converts were for the most part ordinary men and women, who had spurned the wishes of their “betters” and who had already rejected much of the ideology and organization of Puritanism. Puritanism, which had developed in 16th and 17th century England, advocated for more “purity” of worship and doctrine. Puritans felt that the English Reformation had not gone far enough, and that the Church of England was tolerant of practices which they associated with the Roman Catholic Church. The Puritans sometimes cooperated with Presbyterians, who put forth a number of proposals for “further reformation” in order to keep the Church of England more closely in line with the reformed churches in Europe.⁷ Many early Quakers were, therefore, puritans, who were engaged in some form of agricultural work, either as yeomen or husbandmen. It seems that several had been in conflict with landlords since the 1640s, over their opposition to excessive rents and manorial services. Others had refused to pay tithes to the Church of England.⁸

The success of the movement was impressive. Within a decade, there were about 60,000 Quakers (men, women, and children). In the 1650s, cohesion had been provided by travelling ministers and by the occasional general meeting, where delegates from local areas would meet to coordinate campaigns against tithes, or to collect money to help with the spreading of “Truth” and to keep church discipline. But as their numbers increased, Fox in the late 1660s, reorganized the Movement into a fully-fledged sect with regular local, regional, and national meetings, and central control. Every Sunday, small neighbourhood groups (local) met for a formal programme of worship, under a clerk selected by the members of the meeting. The clerk was the only officer of most meetings, as there were no clergy. He was the person charged with making and keeping the records of the meeting, including the records of births, marriages, and deaths. The clerk's role was to serve as an “honoured servant” of the meeting and whilst revered, it was neither a remunerable nor an authoritarian position. The Sunday or Weekly Meetings worshipped without any form of liturgy and in silence, until an individual was moved by the “spirit” to give “testimony”, the value of which was gauged by the common sense of the assembly. Each Weekly

⁶ Penney, *op. cit.*, p.55.

⁷ Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, London: Temple Smith, 1985, p. 9

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.10.

Meeting from a given area would then send delegates to a Monthly Meeting. The Monthly Meeting met under a regional clerk to discuss spiritual, business and administrative matters concerning the various Weekly Meetings. Delegates attending various Monthly Meetings then met annually for a Yearly (National) Meeting, under the leadership of a general clerk or superintendent.

Yearly Meetings thus derive their name from the annual gatherings of members of the Friends church delegates, who congregate in order to transact the business of the church at a national level. During the annual gathering, Friends from all over the country came together to worship, to discuss their concerns, and to seek God's guidance on issues facing the church in that region. Yearly Meetings also supervised their constituent meetings, and published the guiding principles, organizational processes and collected expressions of faith of the Friends in that country. These publications were called 'Friends Faith and Practice books'. Yearly Meetings also proposed and planned for the establishment of Friends institutions, such as schools, hospitals and community development programmes.

As the Religious Society of Friends grew and spread around the world, new Yearly Meetings were established. While often influenced by the activities of other Yearly Meetings, each of the Yearly Meetings were, and still are, autonomous. Initially, a Yearly Meeting was thus the highest decision making organ of the Friends church in a country. For example, the oldest Yearly Meeting in the world – the British Yearly Meeting - was formed in 1650 by George Fox for the British.⁹

It should be pointed out from the onset that Quakerism was a product of the English Revolution, the period of the English civil wars and the commonwealth, between 1640 and 1660. The English Civil War that was fought between 1642 and 1651 was a series of armed conflicts and political machinations, between parliamentarians and the supporters of the monarchy. The first, 1642-46, and second, 1648- 49, civil wars pitted the supporters of King Charles I against the supporters of the Long Parliament. The Long Parliament is the name of the English Parliament called by Charles I on 3rd November, 1640. It received its name from the fact that through a

⁹ Penney, *op. cit.*, p.208.

unique act of parliament, it could only be dissolved with the agreement of the members, and those members did not agree to its dissolution until in 1660.¹⁰

The third civil war of 1649-51 saw fighting between supporters of King Charles II, the son of Charles I, and supporters of the Rump Parliament. When it became apparent to the leaders of the army that Parliament was ready to come to an agreement with the King that would both restore him to his throne, though without effective power, and negate the power of the Army, they resolved to shatter the power of both King and Parliament, culminating in the Pride Purge on the 7th December, 1648. The remnant, the Rump Parliament, then on 13th December 1648, broke off negotiations with the King and arranged for the trial and execution of Charles I. The Rump Parliament was also responsible for the setting up of the Commonwealth of England in 1649.¹¹ Consequently, the Civil War led to the trial and execution of Charles I, the exile of his son, Charles II, and replacement of English monarchy with first, the Commonwealth of England between 1649–53, and then with a Protectorate, between, 1653–59, under Oliver Cromwell's personal rule.¹²

Upon his death, Oliver Cromwell's son Richard became Lord Protector, but the Army had little confidence in him. The Army thus removed Richard from the throne after seven months. And in May 1659 it re-installed the Rump. However, after disagreement with the army over administrative matters the Rump Parliament was dissolved - by the army - in October 1659. After the second dissolution of the Rump, the prospect of a total descent into anarchy loomed large as the Army's pretence of unity finally dissolved into factions. Into this atmosphere, General George Monck, Governor of Scotland under the Cromwells, marched south with his army from Scotland. On 4th April 1660, in the Declaration of Breda, Charles II made known the conditions of his acceptance of the Crown of England. Monck organized the Convention of Parliament, which met for the first time on 25th April, 1660. On 8th May, 1660, it declared that King Charles II had reigned as the lawful monarch since the execution of Charles I in January 1649. Charles returned from exile on 23rd May, 1660. On 29 May 1660, the populace in London acclaimed him

¹⁰ See for example, Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Friends*, London: Greenwood, 1988, p.4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Barry Reay, *op.cit.*, p.81.

as king. His coronation took place at Westminster Abbey, on the 23rd April, 1661. These events became known as the English Restoration.¹³

The civil war had, to a large degree, encouraged the flowering of radical political groups, which tend to emerge when the usual social controls break down. Even before the civil war, Christians had begun to desert the Church of England. They opposed state interference in religious matters and had founded their own communities in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Having hoped for a more protestant reformation in the Church of England, many individuals were disappointed that political decisions were still made by the monarch in order to control the established church. The Church of England, the then officially established Church in England, came into operation when King Henry VIII wanted an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon so that he could marry Anne Boleyn. As per the Catholic tradition on the sanctity of marriage, Pope Clement VII rejected the annulment. Eventually, Henry - although theologically a doctrinal Catholic - took the position of Supreme Head of the Church of England to ensure the annulment of his own marriage.¹⁴

Many dissenters from the Church of England triumphed for a time, under Oliver Cromwell. However, the Quakers' unwillingness to acknowledge any authority but God often brought them into conflict with the state. The movement came into conflict over a number of issues, both with Cromwell's government and later, with the restored monarchy of Charles II. They refused to pay tithes to the state church, to take oaths in courts, to practise "hat honour" (doffing their hats to the king and other persons in position of power) or to go to war. Further, Quakers were attacked as "roundheads". In the days immediately following Charles II's restoration in 1660, Quakers were manhandled when they refused to drink to the health of the King. After their refusal to comply, a Cambridge crowd chanted that the Quakers were rebels and started demolishing Meeting houses.¹⁵

Hostility towards the Quakers can also be explained by simple ignorance, on the part of the gentry. Quakers were much preached against and were presented as a dangerous sort of people. This ignorance was nurtured by the propaganda of the gentry, who opposed the sect because it

¹³ Barry Reay, *op.cit.*, p.82.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

mostly attracted the poor serfs. The sect was therefore portrayed in the literature of the time as little more than a band of dangerous criminals and atheists. Gentry's reports also suggested that Quakers engaged in witchcraft, incest, buggery, and general immorality. Indeed, there was a recurring accusation that Quakers were witches. The government aided the gentry in linking Quakerism to witchcraft. For instance, there was an attempt by some Cambridgeshire ministers and justices to smear the Quaker movement with the charge of witchcraft. A Quaker widow was alleged to have changed an ex-Quaker into "a mare and had ridden her four miles to a midnight feast". The case was brought before the assizes but it was dismissed by the judge.¹⁶ Generally, the Quakers were hated because they rejected and did not recognize titles of honour and salutations, such as the doffing of the hat. Quakers also avoided art, music, drama, field-sports, and dancing. They also declared war unlawful and refused to participate in war, even if for defensive purposes.¹⁷ Such behaviour and the accusation of witchcraft resulted in the persecution of Friends in England.

To make the persecution of the Quakers and other non-conformist sects legal, parliament passed two acts that made life difficult for the Friends. The first was the Quaker Act of 1662, which made it illegal not to take the oath of allegiance to the King and outlawed the holding of any religious meetings, other than those of the established church. Because the Friends believed it was wrong to take an oath, they were sure to run afoul of this law. The second act was the Convention Act of 1664, which forbade religious assemblies of more than five people outside the auspices of the Church of England. This law was part of the programme to discourage non-conformism and to strengthen the position of the official church.¹⁸ But despite these laws, the Friends continued to meet openly. They believed that by doing so, they were testifying to the strength of their convictions and were willing to be punished for doing what they believed was right.¹⁹

2.1.1 Friends in the American Colonies

The persecution of the Friends in England had two effects. First, it created a strong feeling among the Quakers, who believed they were "the Camp of the Lord" destined to be the vanguard

¹⁶ Barry Reay, *op.cit.*, p.62.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.63.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

of the Spirit's conquest of the world, confront evil and gather the "convinced," the "Children of Light," into meetings, despite fierce opposition.²⁰ Eventually, the "Camp of the Lord" became the "Society of Friends, or just Friends". Secondly, the persecution of Friends in England made them migrate to the British colonies in North America. But Friends still continued to face persecution in the colonies. In 1656, for instance, two immigrant missionaries - namely, Mary Fischer and Ann Austin - were imprisoned and banished by the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Their books were burned, most of their property was confiscated, and they were eventually deported. Further, in 1657 a group of Friends from England landed at Long Island, in what was then called New Amsterdam. One of these Friends, Robert Hodgson, began to preach but he was arrested, flogged and imprisoned. In New England, Friends were imprisoned and banished. But the Friends immigrants continued going to the New World, despite the continued threat of persecution there.²¹

Several colonies, however, offered safe havens for the Friends in the New World. For instance, Rhode Island, which was founded on the principle of religious freedom, allowed Friends immigrants to settle. Delaware, New Jersey and North Carolina were also tolerant of the Friends. Even Maryland, which had been established as a haven for Roman Catholics, extended a welcome to Friends.²² But the main effort at colonization by the Friends themselves came in the region immediately west of New Jersey, on land belonging to William Penn, the son of a wealthy English Admiral. Penn had earlier rejected a life of ease to become a Friends adherent. In 1666 - at the age of 22 - Penn was arrested for attending Quaker meetings. Rather than state that he was not a Friend and thereby avoid facing any charges, he publicly declared himself a member of the Friends church. In pleading his case, Penn stated that since the Friends had no political agenda, they should not be subject to laws that restricted political action by minority religions and other groups. He was later released from jail, due more to his family's rank than on the strength of his argument. His father was, however, severely distressed by his son's actions and took Penn's conversion as a personal affront. Though enraged, the Admiral tried his best to reason with his

²⁰ Barbour and J. William Frost, *op cit.*, p. 5.

²¹ J.A. Garraty, *A Short History of the American Nation*, New York: Harper & Row, 1975, p.15.

²² *Ibid.*

son to no avail. He, therefore, not only feared for his own position, but also that of his son, who seemed bent on a dangerous confrontation with the crown.²³

To avoid further confrontation between his son and the crown, the admiral decided to appeal directly to the King. In his appeal, the admiral proposed a solution that would solve the dilemma - a mass emigration of Friends. Some Friends had already moved to North America, but several colonies were hostile towards them. In 1677, a group of prominent Friends that, included William Penn, purchased the colonial province of West New Jersey, half of the current state of New Jersey. In the same year, two hundred settlers from England arrived in the colony. In 1682, East New Jersey was also purchased by the Friends.²⁴

With the New Jersey foothold in place, Penn pressed a case to extend the Quaker region. Whether from personal sympathy or political expediency, King Charles II granted - to Penn's surprise - an extraordinarily generous charter, which made Penn the then largest private landowner in North America, with over 120,000 square kilometres of land. Penn became the sole proprietor of a huge tract of land south of New Jersey and New York, and north of Maryland which belonged to Lord Baltimore. He gained sovereign rule of the territory along with all the attendant rights and privileges, except the power to declare war. The land of Pennsylvania had belonged to the Duke of York, who acquiesced, but he retained New York and the area around New Castle and the Eastern portion of the Delaware peninsula. In return, one-fifth of all gold and silver mined in the province (which had virtually none) was to be remitted to the King and the Crown was freed of a debt of £16,000, which it owed the Admiral. Penn first called the area "New Wales", then "Sylvania" (Latin for "forests or woods"), which King Charles II changed to "Pennsylvania" (Penn's woods), in honour of the elder Penn. On March 4, 1681 the King signed the charter and the following day Penn jubilantly wrote, "It is a clear and just thing, and my God who has given it me through many difficulties will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation."²⁵ Penn drafted a charter of liberties for the settlement, creating a political utopia guaranteeing free and fair trial by jury, freedom of religion, freedom from unjust imprisonment and free elections.²⁶ Besides achieving his religious goals, Penn had hoped that Pennsylvania

²³ Garraty, *op.cit.*, p.16.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ W.D Jordon and L. F. Latwack, *The United States*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991, pp.34.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.35.

would be a profitable venture for himself and his family. But he proclaimed that he would not exploit either the “natives”, or the immigrants. To attract settlers in large numbers, Penn wrote a glowing prospectus, considered honest and well-researched for the time, promising religious freedom as well as material advantage. He marketed the prospectus throughout Europe in various languages. Within six months he had parcelled out 300,000 acres to over 250 prospective settlers, mostly rich London Quakers.²⁷

Next, he set out to lay the legal framework for an ethical society where power was derived from the people, from “open discourse”, in much the same way as the Friends church Meetings were run. Notably, as the sovereign, Penn thought it important to limit his own power as well. The new government had two legislative houses to safeguard the rights of private property and free enterprise, and impose taxes fairly. Parliament only called for the death punishment for two crimes, treason and murder, rather than the two hundred crimes under English law. All cases were to be tried before a jury. Prisons were to be progressive, and correction was to be through “workshops” rather than through confinement. The laws of behaviour he laid out forbade swearing, lying, and drunkenness, as well as “idle amusements”, such as stage plays, gambling, revels, masques, cock-fighting and bear-baiting. Pennsylvania proved to be a great success. Its liberal government and policy of religious freedom attracted large numbers of settlers. At first, most of the colonists were English and Welsh Friends and they continued to dominate the government of the colony.²⁸

The Act of Toleration passed by the English Parliament on 24th May, 1689, gave the Friends even more freedom in North America. This act granted freedom of worship to non-conformist religious groups, allowed them their own places of worship and their own teachers and preachers, subject to their acceptance of certain oaths of allegiance. With the freedom of worship guaranteed, the Friends had by the end of the 17th century established five Yearly Meetings, in five colonies: namely, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Delaware, New Jersey and North Carolina. These colonies then established the Five Years Meeting as a body to coordinate Friends activities

²⁷ Jordan and Latwack, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

in North America. At the same time, the Friends had a combined membership approaching 30,000 persons.²⁹

In the 18th century, the Friends in North America became noteworthy in matters of human equality, by their opposition slavery. For instance, the Germantown (Pennsylvania) Monthly Meeting put their opposition to slavery into the minutes of the 1733 meeting, arguing that slavery was wrong. Consequently, the Friends in the colonies became active in the abolition movement.³⁰

In the early to mid-1800s, Friends in USA came under the growing influence of evangelical British Friends groups. British Friends such as John Gurney, now brought to USA the practice of Bible study and the belief in the Bible's infallibility, as a central tenet of the Friends. Due to Gurney's active writing and preaching, the traditional restraint and silence practised in Friends' Meetings was also replaced by exuberant testimonies, fervent prayers and emotional conversions to a renewed faith. Young Friends particularly seemed eager for release from the staid conservatism of the past and quickly became leaders in the new activity within the Society of Friends. These recruits swelled the ranks of the new "revival enthusiasts". Under the revival influence, membership in the Meetings that supported Gurney's views rose from 67,000 to 93,000, between 1873 and 1900.³¹

The era of revivalism among USA Friends destroyed all that remained of the mysticism era. The principle of "Inner Light", with its emphasis on the spiritual powers within the individual for personal redemption, now came under direct attack as outright heresy. In its place grew the passion for saving souls. This was a turn around from the original belief in that far from seeing anything spiritual in human nature, the revivalists preached that human beings were loaded with tendencies to sin. Starting from the premise of people's hopeless depravity, the fundamentalists warned that an individual's only hope lay in placing absolute faith in God's plan of salvation, as revealed in the Bible. Friends theologians on the revival circuit then began to expound this

²⁹ Jordan and Latwack, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ E. Russell, *The History of Quakerism*, New York: Macmillan, 1943, pp. 326 – 333.

blueprint for grace, as “a four-fold Gospel” of justification, sanctification, the second coming of Christ and faith healing.³²

Justification was seen as God’s acquittal of the sinner, in response to a confession and a declaration of faith. By this act, the believer became “just” in the sight of God. Confession then set the stage for sanctification, which was a state of spiritual conversion of the heart, by the Holy Spirit. Man’s sinful nature remained and though he might backslide, the Holy Spirit at this stage offered him the power to resist temptation. Sanctification became the central doctrine of the Friends evangelists and it often led to highly emotional scenes of a “receiving” and “out-pouring” or sharing of the spirit. This doctrine also viewed the entire world as wicked, sinful and growing increasingly so. The only cure would be an instantaneous one, when the second coming of Christ would usher in an era of peace and love. The “pivot of hope” for mankind lay only in this sudden act of God. Similarly, all sicknesses were believed to be caused by a lack of faith. Therefore, only faith in the power of the Holy Spirit could safely deliver an individual from illnesses. To believers, these doctrines were beyond question because they represented “the truth” and the “word of God”. The acceptance of this fundamentalist philosophy gradually led to changes, especially Friends’ attitudes regarding religious service and proselytizing.³³

The growth of fundamentalism among Friends had shattered the long-standing tradition of silence in all Meetings. Once this prohibition was overcome, many other traditions were soon questioned. Before long, music and Bible readings became essential parts of worship services. In parts of the Midwest, the revival had unexpected effects on the organization of many Meetings. The influence of travelling revivalist ministers was so forceful and effective that some Meetings asked them to remain and preach full time. This meant supporting the minister, and the resulting pastoral ministry was adopted by a large number of Gurneyites’ Meetings, which often called themselves “Friends Churches”. Indeed, these Meetings were also responsible for establishing colleges to train Friends church ministers. Such colleges included Earlham College, founded in 1847 and the Cleveland Bible Institute, founded in 1892.³⁴

³² Russell, *op.cit.*, p. 333.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 915 – 918.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

Significantly, the Ohio and Indiana Yearly Meetings dropped the traditional references opposing a paid ministry in 1878 and 1886, respectively. Thus, the last vestige of waiting in silence for guidance in meetings was abandoned and, along with this innovation, came a programmed service. Most important was that a way had been opened for the Friends to join other protestant groups in sponsoring foreign missions.³⁵

2.2 Foreign Missions

It was quite natural then, when Friends became influenced by evangelical fervour toward a saving religion, that they began to be moved by concern for mission work, and the missions that they eventually founded emphasized some of the traditional Friends activities. For instance, during the 19th century, Quakers built upon their historical opposition to slavery by educating former slaves in the American South after the Civil War, and accepted a commission from President U. S. Grant to work toward the “improvement, education and civilization” of Native Americans in Kansas and Nebraska.³⁶ Consequently, the Friends ideology of social development, particularly the establishment of schools and hospitals, was integrated into Quaker foreign missionary work. It, however, took a great deal of soul-searching on the part of members of the Five Years Meeting, before they accepted the cause of foreign missions as an official Friends’ function, instead of leaving it to the concern of individual interested Friends.³⁷

Though the missions of other protestant denominations in America had been well underway by the 1820s, it was not until 1869 that the Friends actually began to engage in missionary work. In that year, two Friends - Eli and Sybil Jones, who had set up a school in Palestine - returned and succeeded in influencing their Indiana Yearly Meeting to undertake support for the school.³⁸ Further, in 1871, the Indiana Yearly Meeting sent Samuel Purdie to set up a mission in Mexico. This mission established a school and a printing press at Matamoras. In 1883, the Iowa Yearly Meeting also sponsored missionary work in Jamaica, where it established a school for both girls and boys. In 1885, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting established a school in Japan. In 1887, the New England Yearly Meeting took charge of the mission in Palestine at Ramallah, which was

³⁵Russell *op. cit.*, 1918.

³⁶Rufus Matthew Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970. P. 604.

³⁷C. Jones, *American Friends in World Mission*, Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1946, pp. 40.

³⁸*Ibid.*

interested in medical work and schools. In 1889, the Indiana Yearly Meeting, with the support of the Western Yearly Meeting, sent a mission to Mexico, where they started schools and medical work. The Ohio Yearly Meeting started its missionary work in China in 1890, founding several schools and dispensaries. In these early mission stations, teaching, healing and industrial work were used to attract people for the eventual motive of starting churches and gaining converts.³⁹

Earlier in 1887, delegates from various Meetings in America had decided to press for a joint missionary organization. Active Friends women took up the problem of organization, drafting a constitution and setting up machinery for such an amalgamating board. The plans, which they developed at the conference of Friends Women's Organization in 1888, were duly adopted in 1894 and the American Board of Missions (hereafter ABM) was established.⁴⁰ At first, the duties of the Board were only advisory. It was to act as a liaison between the outside world and the individual missions, which themselves remained under the control of the various Yearly Meetings. In 1900, Mahalah Jay, the first executive secretary of the Board, reported that the Board had made preparations to set up a mission of its own in Cuba. In 1901, the evangelical Friends adopted AFBFM as their official organ for administering missions. Gradually, the Board was awarded control over the missions of the various Yearly Meetings.⁴¹ One of these mission fields was in East Africa.

2.3 Arrival in Kenya

Willis Hotchkiss, a Friends' minister, provided the link that brought evangelical American Friends' mission to Western Kenya. Hotchkiss had received his training at the Cleveland Bible Institute and while there, he received the "call" to work in Africa. In 1895, Hotchkiss joined the non-denominational African Inland Mission Party, which tried to work among the Kamba of Kenya. The endeavour had been long on faith and short on careful planning; as a result, it was a total failure. The group had wanted to set up a chain of stations, each led by a single missionary. Financial support had been enlisted for the initial undertaking but there were no provisions for continuous sourcing of finance. Instead, the missionaries entirely believed that Africans would

³⁹C. Jones *op.cit* p. 41.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹EAYM, Friends Africa Industrial Mission Annual Report, 1902.

be willing to be converted and hence support the missionaries with basic needs like food. On this basis, the missionaries hoped for the consequent development of a self-supporting African church. Contrary to their expectation, the missionaries did not find the Kamba eager to accept the Christian message. This is because the missionaries insisted that in order for the Kamba to become Christians, they had to be converted to the belief or faith in God, repentance of what Christians perceive as sin, and confession of Jesus Christ as the Son of God. Conversion also entailed the renunciation of some aspects of the African culture, like the worship of ancestral spirits, polygamy, African education and socialization, and consumption of brews.⁴²

It was in Ukambani that Hotchkiss was converted to the industrial mission concept or the holistic development policy, which entailed both evangelical and secular propagation of Christianity. This concept meant teaching “the natives habits of industry and ultimately, establishing a self-supporting native church”.⁴³ Hotchkiss was following the pattern that had been developed by the Friends, sixty years earlier. This involved “starting small home industries or building mills operated by water”.⁴⁴ His conversion to the concept probably took place during the famine of 1898-99 in Ukambani. The famine had been caused not only by the failure of rains, but also what Hotchkiss termed as “poor agricultural methods” practised by the Kamba. In his words, “they had no iron hoes, only wooden ones. They scratched the soil, instead of digging it. They did not always plant with the first great rains”.⁴⁵ The famine thus became the immediate concern for the Kamba and the missionaries’ evangelical efforts turned into a disappointment, because for the four years the missionaries were in Ukambani, no one was converted. Consequently, Hotchkiss and the rest of the missionaries returned to the USA in 1899, convinced that a “holistic mission”, rather than a preaching mission, was needed in East Africa.⁴⁶

Hotchkiss believed that such a missionary endeavour must be self-supporting and also teach African Christian converts to assume the major responsibilities for evangelizing their own people, without overshadowing its primary religious motives. In his book, written in 1902 to

⁴² EAYM, Friends Africa Industrial Mission Annual Report, 1902.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ W. R. Hotchkiss, *Sketches From the Dark Continent*, Cleveland: The Friends Bible Institute, 1901, p. 52.

⁴⁵ W. B. Anderson, “A History of the Church in Kenya, 1944 to Now”, in *Christianity in Contemporary Africa*, Occasional Research Papers, February 1973, p. 22.

⁴⁶ Hotchkiss, *op.cit.*, p.53.

generate support for a Friends mission in East Africa, Hotchkiss talked about his philosophy of missions. His statements revealed how deeply the evangelical wing of the Society of Friends had been affected by the European racism of the 19th century. In his words,

It might be beautiful as charity and noble as philanthropy, and audacious as a civilizing enterprise, but these are not the reasons that justify missions to the African. No! No! It is because we believe there is a divine potency in the gospel of Christ to reach down to the lowest depths of African beastliness, and transform it, creating those lost ones anew in the image of God; because He is able, and will perform; because what He can do with the dregs of humanity has been imagined in what He has done, we are persuaded that even the awfully degraded African ought to hear the message of God's love... He ought to hear it because he needs it.⁴⁷

The certainty with which Hotchkiss viewed Christian missionary work is typical of two attributes. First, it revealed the strong will and self-righteousness, characteristic of his generation of fundamentalist missionaries. These were strong-minded persons who had devoted their lives to an ideal, which could not be questioned because it was the "Truth", and they were engaged in "God's Work".⁴⁸ Secondly, it indicated the strong racist beliefs that had crept into the late 19th century missionary thinking. The unquestioned superiority of a white Christian civilization was intended to lift up the "children" and help them to abandon "heathenism and superstition" and adopt Christian morality and beliefs. However, his initial experience with the Kamba had revealed to Hotchkiss that religion alone could not accomplish this dramatic transformation. The entire pattern of African society had to be altered first.⁴⁹

Hotchkiss was not the first to advocate a mission which combined the traditional aim of converting Africans to Christianity, with the secular goal of raising their material standards of living and making them contribute to their evangelization. As noted earlier, David Livingstone had put forward, some forty years earlier, his plan for the three Cs, "Christianity, Commerce and Civilization." Livingstone urged that commerce and Christianity should be introduced to Africa, as an integrated endeavour. He recommended that the convert should be taught "better" principles of life, which would induce a replacement of the slave trade with legitimate trade and modern farming practices that would produce more food for consumption and for sale. The

⁴⁷ Hotchkiss, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁴⁸ Painter, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴⁹ Hotchkiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 – 148.

presupposition underlying this view of missionary work was that if the Africans were trained in new methods of trade and agriculture, they would find it easier to accept the Gospel, having experienced the “alleviation of some of their material handicaps”.⁵⁰ The acceptance or rejection of the Gospel was, therefore, considered to be dependent on the possibility of a new way of life to “improve the material welfare of the prospective converts”.⁵¹ This was the basic tenet of cultural imperialism; the protestant ethics of clean living and hard work would instill in the African the moral fibre he needed to escape his “world of heathenism”.⁵² For missionaries like Hotchkiss, the goal of such training was to produce a corpus of dedicated African Christians, who would become missionaries among their own people. Hotchkiss himself asserted that Friends must stop at nothing short of building “a self-supporting, self-propagating African Church”, to ensure the permanent acceptance of Christianity in Africa.⁵³

In spite of the respectable tradition advocated by Livingstone, there were still many mission-supporting Friends in the USA who were reluctant to contribute to a mission which carried on a secular, as well as soul-saving programmes. They would have been happier had the mission stayed on the straight and narrow path of religious conversion, and not run the risk of being guided by seemingly unreligious aims.⁵⁴

This reluctance was overcome by the AFBFM which stated that,

The primary aim of the Friends African Industrial Mission is evangelization of the heathen...The industrial feature is introduced into the work for the purpose of exerting a continuous Christian influence over the natives... with the hope of industry and ultimately, establishing a self-supporting church.⁵⁵

This argument either convinced or led to a great outnumbering of the doubtful. Hotchkiss' “concern” soon became popular and received immediate and widespread response. Upon his return from Africa in 1899, Hotchkiss enlisted a small group of supporters, who travelled

⁵⁰ Hotchkiss, *op. cit.*, p. 148

⁵¹ See J.K.N Mugambi, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

⁵² Hotchkiss, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

widely among Friends Centres promoting these ideas and gaining pledges of financial support.⁵⁶ At the time, AFBFM was about to initiate mission work in Cuba and found itself unable to consider a second field. However, Hotchkiss had appeared on the scene in 1899, looking for support from the “right people” at the “right time.”⁵⁷ Friends were cooperating with other churches in America in the preparations for an ecumenical conference to be held in New York in 1900. One major theme of this gathering was the significance of foreign missions. Thus, the evangelical branch of the Society of Friends was just at the point where enthusiasm to support mission work was high.⁵⁸

At the Cleveland Bible Institute, Hotchkiss won immediate support for his ideas. One student, a convert to Friends named Arthur Chilson, recognized in Hotchkiss’ plea the answer to his own felt “call” to missionary work in Africa. Chilson joined Hotchkiss and together they campaigned effectively before an audience of Friends. In 1901 through their efforts, the Five Years Meeting agreed, to establish a separate board for Friends Africa Industrial Mission (hereafter FAIM). Within a year, the AFBFM had raised nearly £5,000 and was ready to launch the project. From among twenty applicants, the AFBFM selected Edgar T. Hole to accompany Hotchkiss and Chilson to Africa. Hole, an Ohio businessman and lay leader, would act as both evangelist and business manager for the mission.⁵⁹

In April 1902, the trio sailed to East Africa to initiate the work. The three missionaries stopped over in England and Ireland, where members of the British Yearly Meeting donated the metal Devonshire house which was shipped to Kenya in 1903. By that time, the British Yearly Meeting had already established a mission on the Island of Pemba, off the coast of Kenya, in 1896. The three missionaries arrived at Mombasa on June 24, 1902. Using the newly constructed railroad, they arrived at Kisumu in July. When the three pioneers arrived at the then rail terminal on Lake Victoria, the railway officials and C.W. Hobley, the District Commissioner, were very helpful. Hobley, a scholar as well as a government official, had collected valuable information on the local people like the Maragoli. He passed on to the

⁵⁶ Hotchkiss, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ E. H. Chilson, *Ambassador of the King*, Wichita: The Friends Bible Institute, 1943, pp. 3 – 9.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

missionaries a dictionary of several hundred Luloogoli words, which became the basis of the Friends study of that language.⁶⁰ He also assisted the missionaries with planning a tour through North Kavirondo and Nandi districts and invited them to accompany him on a visit to Mumias, his district headquarters.⁶¹

When the Friends missionaries arrived, there was no permanent government station north of Kisumu. In 1899, the station at Mumias had been abandoned in favour of Kisumu, the railway terminus. In addition to a very light presence of British administration in North Kavirondo, there was a complete absence of Christian missionary influence, even though missionaries to Buganda, who disembarked at Mombasa, had passed through the area. Alfred Robert Tucker, the third Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa and a member of the CMS, had passed through western Kenya in December 1892, and expressed a concern for Christian evangelization in the area. Thus, the first missionary initiative in the area was taken by the CMS when, in April 1894, Rev. William Arthur Grabtree and Rev. Frank Rowling came to Mumias to negotiate for land for a CMS mission station. But this proved a false start because there was already a strong influence of Islam in this area.⁶² It was, in fact, due the Bishop Tucker's knowledge of the area that the three Friends missionaries met him in London, while on their way to Kenya. Bishop Tucker advised them to locate their mission near Lake Victoria, where there was a "great need and nothing had been done".⁶³ Thus, the Friends arrived in western Kenya with a clear advantage and a considerable fund of goodwill from other missions and the administration.⁶⁴

After eight weeks of trekking during which both Hotchkiss and Hole were often disabled by malaria, a suitable site was found on the 10th of August at Kaimosi. The missionaries decided to work among the Bantu of what had become North Kavirondo district of western Kenya because the area seemed suitable for implementing the Friends' ideas about salvation and civilization. Events leading to the selection of Kaimosi site were recorded in a letter Chilson sent to Emma Malone, the secretary of the AFBFM. Chilson wrote that,

⁶⁰ Painter, *op.cit.*, pp. 21 – 22.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.22.

⁶² Kenya National Archives (hereafter KNA), PC/ NZA, 1/8, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1913.

⁶³ Ogotu, *op.cit.*, p. 81.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

It was a hard tramp through a wild country but the question of a good camping place was becoming more and more serious every moment. When we came back to where the caravan had waited, I climbed a tree to gain better view of the country, and espied through the trees, this grassy slope. I hurried down and we started toward it. Crossing the river, I saw we were in a fine place with many things favourable for a mission location, more than any place we had found yet. There is quite a tract of land unoccupied by the natives, and splendid drinking water. Hundreds of natives live within reach. The altitude, a little high, is 5,300 feet.⁶⁵

This area was called Kaimosi, situated about twenty kilometres north of the then railhead at Kisumu. It lay on the uninhabited border between the Tiriki and Nandi. The Nandi had a reputation for being warlike. The area's high elevation promised fertile soil and climatic conditions both bearable and conducive to agricultural work. Water power and timber were also available for the industrial programme and Hobley had reported the presence of a relatively dense population and people who were peaceful and industrious.⁶⁶ Hobley commanded the nearest Tiriki headman, Isiaho, to give every possible assistance to the new mission.⁶⁷ Thus, the missionaries were establishing themselves among the Luhyia; a society, less affected by the establishment of colonial rule in area. It was also a society which treasured such values as kinship and communalism, values that were necessary for holding the society together, and which were anchored by the society's religious beliefs.

2.4 Conclusion

This introductory chapter is mainly a digression from the main body of FAM's history in Kenya. Its main aim was to shed light on the history of the Friends, both in England where the movement started, and in the USA, which produced the Friends missionaries who, subsequently, came to Africa. Consequently, the chapter sought to explain the reasons why Friends missionaries were interested in Kenya. The answer has to be understood against the background of the pseudo-scientific and racist theories of the late 19th century, which saw the superiority of the White Christian civilization as a given. Consequently, the Western Christian civilization was meant to uplift the children of Africa from heathenism and bring them into the light. It was the "White Man's Burden" to ensure that Africans abandoned superstition, for Christian morals and

⁶⁵ EAYM, Arthur Chilson's Journal Entries, 10/8/1902.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Report, 1902.

beliefs. Missionaries, therefore, invariably aimed at the overall change in the beliefs and actions of the Africans, or the colonization of heart and mind as well as of the body. The Friends missionaries viewed themselves as vanguards of Christian civilization and saw Western Kenya as an ideal place to begin their missionary enterprise. Western Kenya was chosen because of its high population density, good climate for the proposed industrial mission, and lack of other missions - apart from the CMS at Kisumu.

The beginning of the 20th century, therefore, represents an encounter between two diverse religions, one western and the other, African. The bearers of the western religion were thought to be deeply religious people, who sought to universalize their religion and defeat the forces of "sin and heathenism" in Africa. Missionaries also wanted to bring what they perceived to be civilization to the Africans. African religion, on the other hand, was local rather than universal. However, Africans had developed their own civilizations that made their society cohesive. Consequently, the success of the Friends missionaries depended on the willingness of the Africans to adopt the new religion and the concomitant transformation that was to take place after their conversion.

Chapter Three

The Establishment of Mission Stations in Western Kenya, 1902-1918

3.0 Introduction

The establishment of FAM stations in Kenya was a slow process. The early missionaries endured hardships such as uncertain safety as strangers in a foreign and hostile land, personal tragedies and diseases. The first two decades of FAM's work were, thus, primarily a pioneer homesteading operation. By 1918, however, the Friends had established a vibrant and growing church among the Luhyia, particularly among the Maragoli and the Bukusu. Five stations had been established by the end of that year, and it was from these stations that the Friends' missionaries sought to transform the Luhyia society.

This chapter, examines the following issues: namely, the establishment of FAM stations in Kenya, the reaction of the affected Luhyia groups toward these new stations, early converts, the formulation of FAM secular policy and the impact of other stakeholders - particularly, the colonial government and the Catholic mission - on the implementation of missionary policy, as well as the effects of FAM policies on the economic organization of the Luhyia. Changes in economic organization during this time could be seen in growth of pioneer teacher – evangelists who had acquired literacy education. Education made these pioneer teacher – evangelists to become the initial advocates of modernity. These pioneer teacher – evangelists had money with which to buy shoes and clothes, as well as to pay taxes. They also re-invested they money in modern agriculture, trade and modern housing. These educated Luhyia, who owed their wealth and status to their positions in the mission establishment acted as role- models to the youth. They thus encouraged the young to earn a similar gentry position for themselves in the colonial world, a factor which led to demand for literacy education among the Luhyia.

3.1 The Kaimosi Station

It has been demonstrated that the three pioneer Friends missionaries in Kenya - Willis Hotchkiss, Arthur Chilson and Edgar Hole – were to a large extent assisted by Hobley, the North Kavirondo DC, to establish their station at Kaimosi. This no-man's land lay between two antagonistic

groups, the Tiriki to the east and Nandi to the west. In 1902, Hobley gave the missionaries permission to occupy the Kaimosi site, on a temporary basis. Later in the year, the FAM was,

Granted approximately 850 acres of land, for a fee of Sh.4.60 (68, USA cents) per acre. An additional 150 acres was obtained on a leasehold basis. So Friends obtained approximately 1,000 acres for use as a Christian mission.¹

The missionaries began “erecting temporary buildings in September 1902. However, they continued to use 10× 24 feet tents as living quarters and a 15×30 feet tent as a store house”.²

Within three months, FAM reports indicated that,

Thirty-five African men were on payroll of FAM. At first, fifteen Buganda tribesmen[CMS converts] from Uganda were employed and about twenty men from local tribes. The workmen cleared eight acres of land and planted two acres of crops consisting of wheat, millet, potatoes and garden vegetables. The missionaries purchased two oxen, two milch cows with calves, fourteen sheep, four goats and sixty chicken.³

In anticipation of the arrival of Dr. Elisha Blackburn in 1903, the missionaries also built a grass dispensary and “a decision was made to erect a mill both for producing lumber and grinding maize - on the Falls of Goli Goli River, which ran through the mission property”.⁴ The construction of a dam began in late 1902, using African labour. The report further notes that, “each man was to receive, as wages, his food rations and two rupees per month (Sh.4.20 or 60 USA cents). Handling money was, however, a new experience and some of the workmen were uncertain as to its value”.⁵ At the same time, the mission staff at Kaimosi was reinforced by the coming in 1903 of Elisha Blackburn, a medical doctor, his wife Grace, a teacher and Adelaide Hole, also a teacher and wife to Edgar Hole. Emory Rees and his wife Deborah also joined the mission in 1904, as teachers.⁶ By 1904, therefore, FAM had established a homesteading station at Kaimosi.

¹ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1902.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1904.

With the establishment of the station, Hobley instructed Mujela, the newly appointed Tiriki chief and his headmen to help the missionaries settle and carry out their duties in the area.⁷ Initially, the FAM missionaries generally found the Tiriki leaders and their people to be welcoming. During those early days, the Tiriki were receptive because they viewed the missionaries as allies, who could be counted on to help defend them against “the disturbances caused by the cattle-raiding Nandi, their neighbours to the east”. Hence, they did not interfere with the work.⁸ They also began to establish homesteads further east, towards the Nandi territory.⁹ Indeed, one consideration that may have loomed large in the British Administration’s decision to grant the Friends such a large tract of land at Kaimosi was the hope that their presence would help stop the incessant fighting and cattle raiding between the Tiriki and the Nandi.¹⁰ The advent of new Tiriki settlers east of Kaimosi, however, did nothing to deter Nandi raids against the Tiriki.¹¹

On their part, the Nandi proved quite hostile toward the Friends for two reasons. First, the presence of the missionaries interfered with their raids for Tiriki cattle. Secondly, the Nandi resisted the coming of British rule and had put up a vigorous and protracted fight to preserve their independence. To the Nandi, the FAM missionaries were an extension of European rulers, who were to be annihilated. Consequently, for the next three years, the disturbances caused by the Nandi interrupted the routine at the station and proved somewhat of an annoyance.¹² To stop the menace, in March 1903, the colonial administration used the Kaimosi FAM station as a base from which to launch punitive expeditions against the Nandi. Hobley and a detachment of about 900 soldiers conscripted from Sudanese, Baganda and Mumia’s forces camped at Kaimosi, from where they harassed the Nandi, confiscated their livestock, burned houses and shot and killed about 5 of the Nandi raiders.¹³ Hobley then left ten African soldiers behind to provide protection to the missionaries.¹⁴

⁷ Sangree, *op. cit.*, p.101

⁸ EAYM, Friends African Mission, Reports 1905.

⁹ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, Senende, 16/4/2007.

¹⁰ KNA, MSS/54/67, Minutes of Annual General Meeting, 20/12/1909.

¹¹ Sangree, *op. cit.*, p.101.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ EAYM, Friends African Mission, Reports 1905.

¹⁴ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op. cit.*

Despite the soldiers' presence, a group of Nandi warriors raided the Kaimosi station in 1904, and killed William Wendt, a Friends missionary who had just joined the mission.¹⁵ The colonial government then turned this into an excuse for reinforcing troop-strength at Kaimosi in order to initiate a showdown with the Nandi. To achieve this objective, the government ordered the evacuation of missionaries from Kaimosi. The missionaries thus took refuge with the CMS at their Vihiga station in Maragoli and remained there until the subjugation of the Nandi was completed in 1905. But the soldiers did more "damage to the property at Kaimosi than the invading Nandi raiders. Houses were pulled down and the poles were used for fuel".¹⁶ Consequently, when missionaries returned in early 1905, "the property was in sad condition and many months were required to repair the buildings. Crops had been neglected or destroyed, and all missionary activity had been suspended"¹⁷ The FAM missionaries were, therefore, forced to make a fresh start in their endeavour to win followers at Kaimosi.

3.2 Early Converts

FAM missionaries had come to "bring to Africans the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, the saviour".¹⁸ To this end, the missionaries hoped to convert the Luhyia to Christianity. Christianity may be defined as a form of religious conversion, by means of a radical transformation of the self. Conversion occurs when a previously non-Christian person subscribes to some form of Christianity, which primarily involves the belief or faith in God, repentance of what Christians perceive as sin and confession of Jesus Christ as the Son of God and saviour. While conversion to Christianity may simply involve a personal choice to identify with Christianity rather than with another religion, many Christians understand it to mean that the individual attains eternal salvation by a genuine conversion experience or act.¹⁹ Consequently, in order to be truly converted FAM missionaries demanded that the Luhyia reject those cultural forms that were deemed to be opposing Christian tenets. These included a renunciation of traditional religious beliefs; abandonment of the practice of ancestral propitiation; prohibition of traditional dancing, drinking alcoholic beverages (or even participation in the making of such beverages), pre-marital sex, polygamy, seeking out the assistance of diviners or traditional

¹⁵ Painter, *op. cit.*, p.29.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.30.

¹⁷ KNA, MSS/54/67, Minutes of Annual Meeting, 2/12 1905.

¹⁸ Painter, *op. cit.*, p.24.

¹⁹ Spilka, Bernard, *et al*, *The Psychology of Religion: An Empirical Approach*. London: Guilford Press, 2003, p. 1.

healers, among many others.²⁰ From the very beginning, the missionaries regularly held services of worship on Sundays. As recorded by Painter “messages to the natives were communicated through the Swahili interpreter Cherumbuim Matolas, an African brought from the British Friends station at Pemba, on the East African coast”.²¹ Through the sermons, FAM missionaries invited the local “chiefs to bring their people”.²²

The purpose of the FAM in Kenya was clearly outlined in the first issue of the mission’s reports, in early 1903. The report noted that,

The primary object of the Friends African Industrial Mission is the evangelization of the heathen. The industrial feature is introduced into the work for the purpose of exerting continuous Christian influence over the natives employed, with the hope of obtaining the following results: Teaching them habits of industry and ultimately, establishing a self-supporting native Christian church.²³

Emphasizing on the value of this idea in 1904, Arthur Chilson wrote that,

The industrial idea is one of the most powerful agencies used of the lord to bring the gospel to these people. Even before much was accomplished in language study, men were being taught using occupations and were developing new skills through the use of tools. Recognition of the value of hard work would be essential in the new society. Certainly, a *fundi* [skilled workman] can find very practical ways to witness to Christian faith. Also, under favourable conditions, work can become an effective means of communication.²⁴

Consequently, at the beginning of each day, African workers at the mission were assembled for a half - hour gospel service. During these services, the missionaries enunciated what they considered to be the “four basic needs of the African, the gospel message, habits of industry, clothing and medical care”.²⁵ Indeed, the early FAM missionaries emphasized that, “the great hope of Africa must be realized by means of native evangelization”.²⁶ The missionaries stressed that “the planting of Christianity in the African heart and African society can be done most

²⁰ Painter, *op.cit.*, p.25.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1903.

²⁴ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1904.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

effectively by Africans themselves”.²⁷ The pioneer missionaries at Kaimosi, therefore, argued that if this sort of African leadership was to be realized, “an effective educational programme should develop along with direct evangelization”.²⁸ Consequently, Hole,

Assembled a group of boys and young men, in what might be called a school. The class met under a tree. Hole stood before the boys with a syllable or word chart, teaching the pupils to make the sounds for which the written symbols stood. There were no textbooks, no writing materials, no set curriculum and the methods used were determined by the trial and error process.²⁹

The first objective of the missionaries was to teach the African to read the Bible, in Swahili. Later on Luloogoli (the Maragoli dialect) became the medium for education. The term “catechetical school” was often used to designate these early literacy classes, where reading, writing and religion were taught as inter-related subjects. The teaching objective had a dual goal - education and Christianity.³⁰ The first pupils were station workers, who did not understand, at least initially, what their response to the missionary invitations to conversion actually entailed. But they feared not responding, thinking that they would not be allowed to continue to attend classes if they did not.³¹ They were mostly attracted by the reputation the missionaries had among the Luhya during the early period, and when their curiosities were ignited, many became determined to learn how to read, write, and to be able to teach with conviction, as they saw the missionaries doing.³² Others came seeking employment, having learned of wage labour opportunities, such as working on the establishment of the mission station and construction of roads. They were also eager for money to buy new commodities, particularly clothes, which were becoming available from new Indian merchants in the area.³³ Later, they would need money with which to pay taxes. The medical clinics set up by the missionaries attracted people as well. Many stayed to become involved in the growing church community, which offered a chance to learn to read and write.³⁴

²⁷ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1904.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1905.

³¹ See for example, J.E Nelson, *Christian Missionizing and Social Transformation: A History of Conflict and Change in Eastern Zaire*, London: Praeger, 1992, p. 32.

³² Oral Interview, Samson Anyanje, Bushigunga, 18/4/2007.

³³ Oral Interview, Thomas Ihagi, Tigoi, 16/ 4/ 2007.

³⁴ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, Chavakali, 10/ 5/ 2007.

The Christian teachings that the workers were taught, however, remained somewhat of a mystery to them. After life on earth, a person had to take one of two roads; “one leading to heaven and the other to a great darkness, where people wait for a fiery judgement”.³⁵ A fear of death was, therefore, the primary essence of what they felt.³⁶ Indeed, to many of the workers at the station, God's judgement appeared to be something greater than the harsh punitive measures exacted by the new colonial authorities.³⁷

To become converted, Africans had to go through some form of training. The literacy and catechism classes thus involved six-month periods of inculcation into church life. On weekdays, workers at the station, who also doubled up as the first pupils, typically attended an early morning prayer and worship service and then spent the mornings in classes; the afternoons were spent on communal garden projects, from which the subsistence for the entire community came. Pioneer pupils were taught the basics of reading and writing, initially in Kiswahili and later, Luloogoli, using pamphlets containing select biblical texts translated by Rees. The emphasis was on rote memorizing of Bible verses. Hymns were learned along with other practices of Christian worship. Doctrine classes, taught by Arthur Chilson, instructed the pupils on the imperative of knowing Jesus Christ as the Lord and Saviour of one's life. Combined with this was a promise of eternal life in heaven, with further rewards for a good life lived on earth, and harsh warnings of a terrible judgement for those who refused to accept these truths.³⁸

Considerable emphasis was placed on the life one had to conform to in order to be counted among the true believers. A complete break from the past “pagan” practices was required, and the specifics of what this entailed were made very clear to the pupils. Teaching on Christian marriage and family life was given, as was instruction on the significance of Christian baptism. Finally, the importance of sacrifice in giving of one's efforts, as well as one's produce for the advancement of the church was stressed. Prospective converts were taught that there was no earthly pay that could sufficiently compensate them for the work they were being trained to do,

³⁵ Oral Interview, Mathew Tsimbagi, Munzatsi, 20/4/2007.

³⁶ Oral Interview, Thomas Ihagi, *op.cit.*

³⁷ Oral Interview, Hezron Ingaji, Gavundunyi, 17/4/ 2007.

³⁸ Oral Interview, Charles Busolo, Kaimosi, 3/4/2007.

but that God would richly reward them in heaven for their efforts.³⁹ The afternoons were spent fulfilling the gardening quotas that were assigned to each student. For instance, Edgar Hole taught Africans new “maize growing techniques and encouraged them to grow more vegetables in their *shambas*”.⁴⁰ Each station also developed and maintained at least 2 acres of garden, where the missionaries grew food for their home consumption.⁴¹

Upon the successful completion of training, pupils were baptized (in a ceremony that eventually became a large annual event), after which they became teacher-evangelists. Teacher-evangelists would maintain a house on the mission station, which they would make available to their students to live in while on the mission station, as they continued to prepare for baptism.⁴² The mission station thus became a very active community, with about 100 people involved in different aspects of the FAM’s work.⁴³ Another programme, established first at Kaimosi and then duplicated in other mission stations, was a resident school for girls. In the belief that quality Christian ministry depended on strong Christian homes, an effort was made to educate girls in a “Christian” environment at the mission. These girls became a pool from which wives for the pioneer teacher-evangelists would be chosen.⁴⁴

In the mission stations, any breach of the moral code was quickly dealt with. Culprits would be brought before the missionaries and the elders of the church if accused of smoking, drinking, stealing, lying or adultery. Guilty persons, who confessed, could remain in the community but they were prohibited from participating in communion services for several months. If they did not repent, they were immediately evicted from the station.⁴⁵

Although there were about 100 workers at Kaimosi, the rate of conversion among the workers was disappointingly slow, despite the efforts at the translation of the Bible into Luloogoli, preaching and concerted attempt at conversion by the missionaries.⁴⁶ After two years (1904),

³⁹ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op.cit.*

⁴⁰ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1909.

⁴¹ Oral Interview, Hesbon Asamka, Kegoya, 3/6/2007, and William Shibadu, *op.cit.*

⁴² Oral Interview, Marita Amudavi, Senende, 11/6/2007.

⁴³ Oral Interview, Rebecca Isendi, Luchina, 5/5/2007, and Thomas Ehagi, *op.cit.*

⁴⁴ Oral Interview, Jones Lusangalu, Senende, 16/4/2007.

⁴⁵ Oral Interview, Japheth Kisangi, Kaimosi, 3/4/2007.

⁴⁶ Oral Interview, Francis Shiverenje Mwashu, Jeptulu, 17/4/2007.

only four Africans - and none of them Tiriki - had been converted to Christianity. These were Musa Akhonya, Daudi Lung'aho, Yohana Amugune and Maria Maraga. Maria Maraga had fled "from her parents and taken shelter on the mission because she was being forced to marry some old man". She later became Lung'aho's wife.⁴⁷ Although the missionaries continued to encourage Tiriki headmen - like Isiaho and Isalano - to attend evangelical services at Kaimosi, the Tiriki residing in areas surrounding Kaimosi still remained suspicious of the missionaries and were "afraid of them."⁴⁸ They called the missionaries "*amanani*" (man-eaters in the Luhyia folklore) because the "coats they wore were so long at the back that they resembled tails".⁴⁹ The pioneer African converts and the missionaries had "the difficult and yet challenging task of explaining about these white men and women, and persuading the people to accept them as human beings".⁵⁰ To a few others, particularly the workers at the station, the strangers were too novel and interesting to be avoided for long. Gifts of salt, rice and pieces of cloth helped allay some of their fears. Consequently, although a few of the Tiriki - including Petro Inyasa, Marita Mugotso, Benjamin Sangale, Stephen Shimejelo and Elisha Shivarenje - were put on probation status, of those who were yet to be baptized, the majority of the Tiriki resisted attempts by the missionaries to change their lives and the rate of conversion subsequently remained low.⁵¹

The reason for the delayed success lay not so much in the inadequacies of FAM missionaries as in the nature of Luhyia society. Luhyia resistance to Christian conversion was largely due to the strength of traditional religious beliefs. Religion among the Luhyia sub-ethnic groups was an integral part of their entire culture, and it proved impossible to divorce these traditional beliefs from the minds of the people, without first accomplishing changes in many social areas. Among the Luhyia, reverence for supernatural forces was vital to a cohesive way of life that centred on the clan. The actions and attitudes of the individual were believed to affect the health and welfare of the entire lineage and clan, and conformity was the highest ideal. Early converts were, therefore, essentially non-conformist individuals, who were maligned by traditionalists striving to keep their society and beliefs intact. Consequently, the early converts were ostracized by their

⁴⁷ Thomas Lung'aho, *Daudi Lung'aho, An African Missionary, a Biography*, Kisumu: Evangel Press, 1971, p.9

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.8

⁵⁰ Lung'aho, *op.cit.*, p.10.

⁵¹ EAYM, *History ye Livugana Iya Valina (Friends Quakers)*, 1971, and Oral Interview, Francis Shiverenje Mwashu, *op.cit.*

families and were forced to seek refuge at Kaimosi. The case of Maria Maraga proves this point.⁵² Kaimosi thus became a refuge for those Tiriki who had violated traditional customs. Tiriki girls received protection at Kaimosi since the missionaries refused to return girls to their communities, where “they had been mistreated”.⁵³ Such girls, who sought refuge at the mission station later, became the brides of early non-Tiriki Christians, like the Maragoli - who actually dominated the personnel numbers at station - the Isukha and Idakho. For example, Maria Maraga became Lung’aho’s wife as noted above, while Rebecca Amigidi - Maraga’s sister - became Yohana Amugune’s wife. Lung’aho and Amugune hailed from Isukha and Maragoli, respectively.⁵⁴ Consequently, the Tiriki were disgusted by the mission because of the “aliens, outcast and irresponsible youth” that the missionaries willingly recruited as their African helpers and converts.⁵⁵

The Tiriki also increasingly became infuriated by the hostility the missionaries expressed toward their secret circumcision rituals. Other Luhyia sub-groups did not perform their circumcision ceremonies in seclusion, nor did such lengthy and secret initiation rites accompany the ceremonies. Among the Tiriki, circumcision and initiation rites constituted an individual’s entry into membership of an age set. Thus, the rites were not only of enormous importance to the organization and maintenance of both warfare patterns and peace time activities, but they were also the principal symbolic basis for a sense of sub-ethnic identity and unity.⁵⁶ Consequently, the Tiriki disliked the missionaries’ attempts to block, or discourage, circumcision and initiation practices. The missionaries also encouraged Tiriki converts to undergo circumcision at the hospital, thereby putting to test the Tiriki traditional view that “non -Tiriki could not circumcise a Tiriki man, without attrition befalling the society by affliction of diseases and famine”.⁵⁷ The Tiriki thus wrongly attributed the drought and famine of 1907 to the circumcision of Tiriki boys at the hospital.⁵⁸

⁵² Thomas Lung’aho, *op.cit.*, 1971, p.9. Also see Oral Interview, Leah Ginira Lung’aho, Madioli, 3/6/2007.

⁵³ Oral Interview, Leah Kaishindi, Musingu, 4/6/2007.

⁵⁴ Oral Interview, Hezron Isamba, Mulundu, 20/5/2007.

⁵⁵ Oral Interview, Jengo Kaligonah, Senende, 20/4/2007.

⁵⁶ Sangree, *op.cit.*, p. 125.

⁵⁷ Oral Interview, Jones Lusangalu, Senende, 16/4/2007.

⁵⁸ Oral Interview, Francis Shiverenje Mwashu, *op.cit.*

Furthermore, any Tiriki attending FAM schools, who left the classroom to undergo the traditional operation, faced difficulties in continuing education afterwards. This was because parents feared that initiates might be forced by the missionaries to reveal secrets of the ceremonies. In addition, the young Tiriki 'adults' felt embarrassed and humiliated sitting in the same classroom with "uncircumcised boys, those who were circumcised at the hospital or those circumcised in other traditions".⁵⁹ To the Tiriki, the men from other sub-ethnic groups were considered to be "children, because they did not undergo the same circumcision rigours and rites".⁶⁰ Again, teacher-evangelists from Maragoli - like Yohana Amugune, Andrea Agufuna, Joel Litu and Daniel Akelo - who dominated the FAM teaching staff, as well as FAM missionaries, continuously harassed initiated Tiriki pupils who returned to the classroom. The harassment was due to the unjustifiable fear that the initiated Tiriki, with the "traditional sexual privileges that circumcision bestowed on them, would molest the Christian girls".⁶¹

The Tiriki, like all other Luhya sub-groups, also disliked the FAM missionaries for their intractable stand on Luhya customs. FAM missionaries had labelled as sinful such Tiriki pastimes as dancing, smoking and beer drinking. The Friends also took a very firm stand against polygamy and adoption of monogamy became one of the acid tests for Church membership. This requirement proved difficult for the Luhya to comply with, since polygamy was deemed to be a social virtue. The Tiriki thus remained unwilling to accede to missionary demands that they abandon activities and customs long deemed as socially important. Ultimately, the emotion-laden issue of male circumcision generated outright anger and hatred between the FAM missionaries and the Tiriki.⁶² The Tiriki persistence in clinging to tradition, pitted against the missionaries' overzealous criticism of these customs, eventually informed FAM's change of policy.⁶³ Instead of concentrating its work at Kaimosi, FAM missionaries began to open more new stations. It was from these new stations that the FAM missionaries hoped for greater success in reaching a larger segment of the Luhya.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Oral Interview, Pius Malongo, Senende, 24/4/2007.

⁶⁰ Oral Interview, Abraham Ludeshi, Senende, 11/4/2007.

⁶¹ Rose Adede, *Joel Litu: Pioneer African Quaker*, Wallingford: Pandle Hill, 1928, p. 15; and Oral Interview, Joseph Lugadiro, Gavudunyi, 20/4/2007.

⁶² Lung'aho, *op.cit.*, p. 13, and Oral Interview, Daniel Yano, Kaimosi, 23/4/2007.

⁶³ Oral Interview, Johnstone Shivairo, Senende, 16/4/2007 and Selah Agoili, Kaimosi, 3/4/2007.

⁶⁴ Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

3.3 The Vihiga Station

The enforced relocation of FAM missionaries from Kaimosi to Vihiga had “one fortunate result”.⁶⁵ Before the eruption of skirmishes at Kaimosi, the CMS had decided to withdraw its missionaries from Vihiga to Kisumu, where it could concentrate its efforts on the Luo. During their earlier stay at the Vihiga station,

Negotiations had been going on between the Friends and the Anglican Bishop located in Kampala, Uganda, regarding areas of mission activity. Finally a decision was reached that the Friends should take over the mission work among the Maragoli people, at Vihiga. The property was transferred to Friends on March 1906 for a sum of \$60. This compensation included temporary buildings and 152 acres of land. In due time, the transfer was approved by the District Commissioner.⁶⁶

As the rest of the missionaries returned to Kaimosi, after the pacification of the area, Emory and Deborah Rees remained at Vihiga with their African helper and convert, Yohana Amugune. At Vihiga, Rees devoted most of his time to learning the local language”.⁶⁷ The occupation of the post at Vihiga meant that the Friends now had a foothold among the densely populated Maragoli people. The FAM missionaries described their pioneer work among the Maragoli as, “qualified, in several aspects to take the lead in setting pace for other districts”.⁶⁸ This was because unlike the Tiriki, the Maragoli responded favourably to the coming of FAM missionaries.

Several factors explain this response. First was demographic pressure. Statistics indicate that at this time, the Maragoli had the highest population in the southern locations of North Kavirondo district. The North Maragoli population was estimated at 29,998 while South Maragoli stood at 18,977, making for a total of 48,975. In comparison Bunyore had a population of 29,612, while Tiriki, which neighbours Maragoli, had a population of 14,149. The average population density in North Kavirondo district was 124 persons per square mile. However, Maragoli area registered 400 to 500 people per square mile in the same period.⁶⁹ These figures make it apparent that the Maragoli area was becoming overcrowded. Consequently, even before the advent of colonialism, the Maragoli had been expanding northwards and eastwards, towards the Idakho and Tiriki areas.

⁶⁵ KNA, MSS/54/63, Letters from the Educational Department, 1904.

⁶⁶ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1906.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ KNA, MSS/54/164, Maragoli Annual Report for 1919.

⁶⁹ KNA, PC/NZA/1/6, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1911.

When the British presence minimized the Nandi cattle-raiding threat, the Maragoli increasingly began settling in the less densely populated Tiriki lands. Crowded domestic conditions also appear to have given the Maragoli impetus to find alternative sources of livelihood.⁷⁰ For instance, the Maragoli were among the “first to heed their headmen’s call to go to seek employment at the Kaimosi station”.⁷¹ For example, Amugune was “asked to go to Kaimosi by Nameza, who was a sub-chief working for missionaries in that area”.⁷² This explains why the Maragoli made up the majority of the labour force, as well as being the earliest converts at Kaimosi. This situation marked the beginning of six decades of Maragoli domination in accessing the opportunities and facilities that FAM provided in Kenya.⁷³ Simultaneously, population pressure prodded the Maragoli to take advantage of the new economic and social opportunities that the colonial situation presented.⁷⁴

Secondly, geographical factors combined with population density to develop entrepreneurial skills among the Maragoli. Their “district is near Kisumu, the Uganda railway terminus and the port for the steam ship service with Uganda and all regions bordering Victoria Nyanza”.⁷⁵ This proximity enabled the Maragoli to easily engage in trade. For example, the Maragoli took their surplus commodities to buyers in Kisumu, where they obtained higher profits than any other Luhya groups. Maragoli men also engaged in meat selling and cattle trading. They purchased cattle from the Luo in Kisumu and re-sold them for a profit. The Maragoli were thus exposed, earlier than most of the other Luhya groups, to the pressures undermining traditional clan society. Indeed, FAM missionaries considered the Maragoli to be the wealthiest group in the FAM sphere, as well as the most eager for new learning. FAM reports indicated that “as to comparative wealth, the average Maragoli native would probably place several rupee coins beside each single rupee owned by the average native in some of our other districts”.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Oral Interview, Evans Jumba Kigada, Mbihi, 4/6/2007.

⁷¹ Amugune, *op.cit.*, p.6

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ KNA, MSS/54/164, Maragoli Annual Report for 1919.

⁷⁴ Oral Interview, Joseph Mahasi, Mbihi, 4/6/2007.

⁷⁵ Oral Interview, Desy Ligwisa Miroyo, Mbale, 16/ 5/ 2007.

⁷⁶ Oral Interview, Mmboga Chunguli, Vihiga, 18/5/2007 and Selina Adema Deya, Iduku, 21/5/2007.

Thirdly, among the Maragoli, initiation rituals were not shrouded in secrecy and missionaries had no cause to mount a determined offensive against them, as they had done in Tiriki. FAM reports indicated that,

While the rigidity of native customs is a tremendous barrier in every section, there is one of our adjoining districts a blighting appurtenance, veiled in secrecy, which attaches to a certain custom concerning the young men. This is mentioned as an example of a localism which is still making stubborn resistance to Christianity. It is doomed and will finally fade away in the light of the gospel, but for the present it is a pernicious bane which the Maragoli is thankful does not exist in the precincts.⁷⁷

It should be pointed out that initiation rites were also important among the Maragoli, but seemingly not to the degree that the Tiriki regarded them. The Maragoli thus proved willing to compromise on issues of traditional beliefs and customs, whereas the Tiriki adamantly refused to make any changes.⁷⁸ By 1910, for example, Maragoli Christian initiates mostly convalesced at the Vihiga mission station clinic rather than the seclusion huts, something that could never have taken place in Tiriki at that time.⁷⁹

Fourthly, the Maragoli were also favoured by FAM mission policy. Of particular importance was the language policy. The fact that,

Almost all translating and printing is done in Luloogoli dialect means much to this group's educational work. The natives in each of our districts wish that their dialect could be printed. Most, if not all of them have definitely asked for it but, of course, this is not practicable.⁸⁰

Emory Rees, the resident missionary at Vihiga, was more closely identified with the development of the Maragoli Church than any other missionary. FAM reports indicated that,

A recital of favouring circumstances in Maragoli would be incomplete without the name of Rees, who from the beginning has nurtured and developed the tribe, reduced their language to writing and translated the gospel into their own tongue.⁸¹

⁷⁷ KNA, MSS/54/164, Maragoli Annual Report for 1919.

⁷⁸ Oral Interview, Elisha Mwanga, Mbihi, 4/6/2007.

⁷⁹ Oral Interview, Sebastian Matiti, Vihiga, 18/5/2007.

⁸⁰ KNA, MSS/54/164, Maragoli Annual Report for 1919.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Rees was, however, not alone. He was helped in his work by Maragoli pioneer converts, who included Amugune and his wife Rebecca, Joel Litu, Daudi Lyanda, Isaac Kilivwa, Mathew Esendi, Zedekiah Chayuga, Stephen Jarenga, Joshua Anusu and Daniel Akelo. In fact, it was Amugune - a leading African evangelist who was also the first African Friends teacher-evangelist, among the Maragoli who was responsible for establishing Friends churches at Mbale, Chavakali, Viyalo, Kigama and Vokoli, before 1910.⁸² However, it was Rees who insisted that all mission teaching should be in Luloogoli - a dialect he had studied extensively. Vihiga thus became the centre for all printing and translation. When the mission acquired a printing press in 1913, all the printing and publishing activities were carried out at Vihiga. Rees, however, failed to persuade the CMS to cooperate in adopting Luloogoli as a common mission language for the area. The CMS feared that their rejection of Wanga district would produce political problems and play into the hands of the Catholics. Rees was, however, well aware of the importance of choosing the dialect of one of the most populous groups.⁸³ The selection of Luloogoli for all FAM literature, however, caused considerable problems among the Bukusu, the Tachoni and the Kabras groups, which were far removed from the Maragoli and who could hardly understand the language.⁸⁴ The Maragoli, thus, formed the majority of the initial FAM membership and benefited most from its secular services, chief among them being education. Indeed, their willingness to adapt their past for the promise of the future ingratiated the Maragoli with the FAM missionaries and their secular programmes.⁸⁵ With two mission stations established by the end of 1905, a lengthy reconnaissance journey was taken northward in search of other potential sites for mission stations.

3.4 The Lirhanda Station

The inception of Lirhanda station in 1906, among the Isukha, arose out of fear that the MHM of the Roman Catholic would outmaneuver the FAM and seal them off from the Luhya populations located to the north of Kaimosi. The missionaries then wrote to the AFBFM, arguing that the Lirhanda station would open the door to the north, an area the Catholics were keen to occupy. Further, FAM missionaries wrote to the government requesting for land to set up a station among

⁸² Amugune, *op.cit.*, p.7.

⁸³ KNA, MSS/54/164, Maragoli Annual Report for 1919.

⁸⁴ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, Chwele, 12/9/2007.

⁸⁵ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

the Isukha. Consequently, in July 1906, the government allocated the Friends Church 52.14 acres at a total price of Shs. 6/- , to establish a station at Lirhanda.⁸⁶ However, just two months after the Friends occupied Lirhanda, the Mill Hill order of the Roman Catholic Church also laid claim to a site at Mukumu, among the Idakho, about three kilometres from Lirhanda, on the grounds that it was “better to start both stations at the same time, than give the Friends a year’s advantage”.⁸⁷

In 1903, a year after their arrival, the FAM missionaries were worrying about the MHM in nearby Kisumu, which had tried to poach Friends’ converts. When they opened a station at Lirhanda in 1906, the Friends again were plagued by aggressive proselytizing from the Catholic mission, established in the same year at Mukumu. On their part, the Catholic missionaries complained of the obstructionist tactics employed by the FAM missionaries at Lirhanda as well as the hostility and outright interference from the Maragoli Friends, when they opened a station at Eregi – about five kilometres from the FAM Vihiga station.⁸⁸ Colonial administrators, too, complained about recurrent problems that had to be moderated between antagonistic missions. This was embarrassing to missionaries and administrators alike, since colonialists sought to present Africans with the illusion that Europeans formed a solid front toward the indigenous population.⁸⁹ It was such situations that compelled the colonial administration to establish spheres of influence, granting each denomination exclusive rights to certain regions. In 1913, government directives stated that “no two mission stations can be established at a distance of less than 10 miles (16 Kilometres) from one another”, though the already established mission stations were allowed to stand.⁹⁰ This was to prevent competition for converts and duplication of efforts and expenditures.⁹¹ Likewise, the protestant missions in Kenya had been well aware of their common rival, the MHM. This realization made the Protestants come together and agree on which areas to evangelize, lest the Catholics exploit their differences. For instance, they called a comity conference at Maseno, towards the end of 1907, at which they resolved that the CMS and

⁸⁶ KNA, DC/NN/1/4, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1923.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Oral Interview, Teina Shivachi, Eregi, 3/6/2007, Samson Atsiaya, Kilimani, 15/5/ 2007 and Margaret Musonye, Madioli, 2/7/2007.

⁸⁹ KNA, PC/NZA/1/8, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1913.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ T. O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio - Historical Study of East Africa Mission at the Grassroots*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1982, p. 11.

the Nilotic Independent Mission (hereafter NIM) should concentrate on the Luo; and the Friends together with the South African Compound and Interior Mission (hereafter SACIM), should work among the Luhyia. However, the Catholics, not being party to this agreement, considered themselves free to establish mission stations anywhere, depending on the availability of missionary personnel.⁹²

In 1909, another Missionary Conference was held in Nairobi, at which there was unanimity among the Protestant missions, over the need to divide Kenya into spheres of missionary influence. But since this was a protestant meeting, the Catholics opposed this view, claiming that missions should be free to establish stations anywhere in Kenya.⁹³ The government, however, supported the spheres of influence policy, including the separation of Protestant and Catholic missions, in order to avoid such religious conflict as had been witnessed in Uganda.⁹⁴ Consequently, in 1910 the government divided the Kisumu and North Kavirondo Districts among the Protestant missions, allocating the Tiriki, Maragoli, Isukha, Idakho and Kabras areas to the Friends. The Friends also succeeded in persuading the government to allocate to them North Kitosh (later Bungoma). Although the MHM tried to oppose the separate spheres of influence, they became subject to an earlier government directive that no new stations would be opened less than 10 miles from a pre-existing station of another mission.⁹⁵ Thus theoretically, the Friends had gained the right to exert unchallenged religious influence over the entire eastern half of the Luhyia region. In practice, however, the agreement ignored the presence of the MHM and made no provisions to accommodate the future establishment of other missions in the area.⁹⁶

With the demarcation of spheres of influence among the Protestants, conflict between the Friends and Catholics quickly emerged. The Lirhanda FAM station had been established about three kilometres from the Catholic station at Mukumu. When the Lirhanda Friends station began establishing out-schools, it soon came into conflict with headmen like Usambili, Majanja and Shimanyole, who did not share chief Ichivini's support for the Friends missionaries.⁹⁷

⁹² G.E. M. Ogutu, *op.cit.*

⁹³ KNA, MSS/54/67, Minutes of Annual Meeting, 20/12/1909.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ KNA, PC/NZA/1/8, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1913.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Oral Interview, Teina Shivachi, *op.cit.*

Consequently, in April 1913 Edgar Hole was ordered by the provincial administration to close all the Friends out-schools in Isukha. Although the schools were re-opened a few months later, this friction persisted and was a major factor in limiting the influence of the Friends in the Isukha-Idakho area.⁹⁸

In Northern Maragoli, leading FAM converts began using the mission as a power base from which they could challenge the chief's authority. In 1913, Chiefs Shivachi from Idakho, who was ruling Northern Maragoli, was verbally attacked by Maragoli Friends, led by Amugune, who felt that he was discouraging the spread and adoption of Christianity in Maragoli. This move brought to the fore Shivachi's feelings of insecurity, as the ruler of an alien people. Shivachi was, however, provided with an opportunity to support a mission - MHM - less critical of traditional customs and by so doing, be able to undermine the influence of the Friends. This was because at that time, the government had disregarded its own rules and had granted MHM permission to establish a new station at Eregi, in Northern Maragoli. This station was less than five kilometres from the Chavakali FAM post. The Friends protested against the establishment of the station, as an infringement of the 16 kilometres rule and accused Shivachi of forcing students in Friends schools to assist in the construction of the Catholic station and to attend Catholic, rather than Friends', schools. Consequently, the FAM converts, led by Amugune and with some support from the non-Christian Maragoli - like headmen Galo and Mafunya - came out openly challenging Shivachi's authority.⁹⁹ John Ainsworth, the then Provincial Commissioner (hereafter PC), recalling the religious conflict in Uganda in the 1800s, ordered the closure of all out-schools in Maragoli and Tiriki, both FAM and MHM. FAM missionaries then became convinced that the administration was discriminating against the Friends Mission since "they were Americans and not Europeans, as the Catholics".¹⁰⁰ This argument appears valid as in 1913, C. Horne, the then acting PC, wrote that there was a consensus in the administration that the American societies do "little real good among the natives", that CMS and MHM were to be preferred, and that the administrative officers have "decided objections to the minor societies whose work, generally speaking, is of a negative characteristic".¹⁰¹ Indeed, the PC had in the same year stated that,

⁹⁸ KNA, PC/NZA/1/8, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1913.

⁹⁹ Oral Interview, Elisha Mwangi and Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁰ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1915.

¹⁰¹ KNA, PC/NZA3/66/1, Home to Chief Secretary, November 1913.

The education of the sons of chiefs and headmen is continuing through the medium of certain of the mission societies. The two societies mainly concerned in this matter are the CMS and MHM.¹⁰²

The PC further noted that,

In dealing with matters of education, I cannot overlook the most excellent work performed by some of the missions in the province, notably by CMS and MHM. I'm very pleased to be able to record that so far the natives attached to this missions are disciplined, industrious and respectful and appear very enthusiastic.¹⁰³

The PC was concerned about what he termed the FAM's inability to control its members. It will be recalled that it was the Maragoli FAM converts, led by pioneer teacher-evangelist Yohana Amugune, who had challenged Shivachi's rule over the Maragoli. And since Shivachi had converted to Catholicism, the FAM missionaries had tacitly supported their converts, in their quest "to rule themselves".¹⁰⁴ This action by the FAM converts annoyed the PC, who condemned the mission for encouraging political activism among its adherents and for employing Africans with no "sense of responsibility towards the government".¹⁰⁵

Such rivalry, among the Friends and MHM, affected the FAM's work at Lirhanda. All missionaries concerned had the goal of converting the "heathen and saving souls", but this goal had different implications for the Friends and the Catholics.¹⁰⁶ The Catholics, compared to the Friends, "made few demands on their converts" and tended to be more tolerant of the Luhyia culture.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, the Catholics made serious inroads into the Friends efforts to win converts. Catholic converts were permitted to retain social pastimes such as dancing, smoking and beer drinking, while the Friends sternly insisted that all their converts must reject such pursuits.¹⁰⁸ This factor also seems to have mitigated against the total acceptance of FAM

¹⁰² KNA, PC/NZA/1/8, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1913.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Oral Interview, Harun Wesley Sasita, Kakamega, 4/7/2007 and Samuel Mufoyongo, Madioli, 15/ 6/ 2007.

¹⁰⁵ Oral Interview, John Mwinamo, Lirhembe, 14/ 6/ 2007.

¹⁰⁶ Oral Interview, Fred Shitsinzi, Lugala, 3/8/2007 and Esther Khamasi, Madioli, 3/6/2007.

¹⁰⁷ Margaret Akeyo, Madala, 8/ 6/2007.

¹⁰⁸ Oral Interview, Christopher Keli, Madala, 4/7/2007.

missionaries among the Isukha and Idakho, since it provided them with an alternative to the FAM.¹⁰⁹

With the subsequent lack of enthusiasm among the Isukha and Idakho, the work at Lirhanda station was increasingly by-passed for - seemingly - more challenging work in the northern location among the Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras. Lirhanda thus suffered long periods without a resident missionary. However, the lack of missionaries made Isukha and Idakho pioneer FAM converts - like Yohana and Rebecca Lumwagi, Jeremiah Sejero, Samuel Mwinamo and Daniel Lyula - to become evangelists among their people. In fact, Yohana Lumwagi became the first teacher-evangelist among the Isukha and he is credited with establishing preaching centres and out-schools at Lirhanda, Kivini, Magongo, Shetemi, Ngaira, Avungana, Livondo and Ileho.¹¹⁰ FAM reports of 1909 thus indicated that,

We feel that native teachers have done exceptionally well under the circumstances, for it is exceeding hard for a native to take charge of a work which has been opened and conducted for several years by a white missionary before him.¹¹¹

By 1915, FAM reports also indicated that,

Sunday services have been held with the natives in the various localities where we have been camped, the attendances have been good and interest deep. Sometimes there have been more than 200 in attendance.¹¹²

3.5 The Lugulu Station

Due to competition from the MHM and the lack of enthusiasm shown by the Isukha and the Idakho towards the work of FAM, Friends missionaries decided to spread their network of mission influence to the northern Luhyia areas, among the Bukusu, the Tachoni and the Kabras. After the battle of Chetambe in 1895, at which the Bukusu resistance towards the establishment of colonial rule in their land had been broken, Hobley appointed Namachanja, one of the five Bukusu elders who had sued for peace as a chief. His son, Sudi, succeeded him in 1906, but the British found him “childish and irresponsible, unable to control Bukusu lawlessness”, while his

¹⁰⁹ Oral Interview, Elikah Liuva, Musingu, 4/6/2007, and Reuben Liyela, Madioli, 5/6/2007.

¹¹⁰ EAYM, Annual Report of Lirhanda Station, 30/6/1915.

¹¹¹ EAYM, Lirhanda Annual Report, December, 1909.

¹¹² EAYM, Annual Report of Lirhanda Station, 30/6/1915.

territory was regarded as a refuge zone for all those who were dissatisfied with their own chiefs.¹¹³ Consequently, the British divided the Bukusu population and appointed Murunga, the brother of Mumia, chief of North Kitosh. Murunga was expected to discipline the Bukusu, though he did not have an easy time of it. He was issued with firearms for his protection and relied heavily on the administration's police force to ensure the collection of taxes and generally keep the peace. All this made him very unpopular among the Bukusu. Once the "pacification" of the Bukusu was completed, the administration became anxious to introduce missions into the area to encourage "modernization and development".¹¹⁴

Since the visit made by Hole to Sifuma, the "old big headman of the Tachoni" in 1909, the Friends had taken no further action toward the establishment of a mission in the northern part of the district.¹¹⁵ However, in 1912 they decided, in response to the administration's urgings and to forestall a move by the Catholics into the northern areas, to apply for a mission station in Eastern Bukusu.¹¹⁶ A few months later, Dr Andrew Estock and his wife Lila met Murunga at his camp.¹¹⁷ They however found Murunga, who already had contacts with the MHM, lukewarm to the proposal that Friends establish a mission station. Murunga thus directed Estock to locate his station on the southeastern fringe of the less populated areas of Mahanga. Mahanga (literally translated as skulls) was a desolate spot which was feared by the local people because many people had died there during the battle of Chetambe. The site was located in the territory controlled by headman Sifuma of the Tachoni. The Tachoni, a Bantuized Nilotic minority, were then living around Kimilili area. During the pre-colonial period, the Teso were expanding territorially from Amukura to the area inhabited by the Bukusu. But as the Teso expanded at the expense of the Bukusu, the latter encroached into the Tachoni territory. The Tachoni were thus driven out of their settlement by the Bukusu and forced to settle in the area around Webuye hills. Here, the Tachoni constructed the Chetambe Fort to protect them from the Masaai and Nandi cattle raiders.¹¹⁸ Unlike the Bukusu, though, the Tachoni neither opposed the advent of colonial

¹¹³ KNA, MSS/ 54/ 63, Kitosh Station Annual Report, 30/6/1917.

¹¹⁴ EAYM, African Record, July-September, 1913.

¹¹⁵ KNA, MSS/ 54/ 63, Kitosh Station Annual Report, 30/6/1917.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ K.A. Nangulu, "Resistance to the Imposition of Colonial Rule in Bungoma District: A Case Study of the Lumboka- Chetambe War of 1894-1896", B.A Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1986, p. 20.

rule nor supported the former, in their fight against the British. In fact, during the conflict it is reported that,

Chetambe, the leader of the Tachoni, learning that the Bukusu were being pursued, persuaded his people to abandon the fort and the Bukusu took over. The Tachoni were not ready to fight in a war which was not theirs.¹¹⁹

Consequently, the Bukusu despised the Tachoni as “cowards”.¹²⁰ Such derogatory labels made Tachoni - led by Sifuma - to develop closer working relations with the colonial government and the Christian missions, in the hope that such alliances would act as a levelling factor against the threat of Bukusu domination.¹²¹

When Estock and his wife met Sifuma in 1913, the chief gave them a piece of land that was approximately 5 acres in size, located about two kilometres north of Mahanga, for a mission station.¹²² Further, through the assistance of H. W. Gray, Assistant DC, the missionaries were able to obtain,

Plenty of native labour to put a coat of mud on the house. We also, cleared about two acres of land and discovered and dug out a very fine spring of water. The latter insures a permanent supply of water on the mission property. Then, we built a permanent stone house, 10×14 feet. We also completed a temporary building for school and chapel purpose-size 25×50 feet.¹²³

By 1914, FAM reports indicated that,

Our Sabbath services are on the increase, attendance being about 125 most of the time. It is evident that the people are becoming more and more friendly. They are now moving near to the station, whereas when we first arrived they moved away from me.¹²⁴

The Tachoni thus provided the first converts and later, the church leaders at Lugulu. For instance, in 1914 Petro Wanyama became the first Tachoni to be converted to Friends, and he

¹¹⁹ Nangulu, *op.cit.*, p. 53.

¹²⁰ Oral Interview, Samuel Barasa Wekesa, Misikhu, 12/ 9/2007.

¹²¹ Oral Interview, Willington Wamukune, Webuye, 12/9/2007.

¹²² Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p. 79; and Oral Interview, Nathan Wekesa Sakari, Lugulu, 13/9/2007

¹²³ KNA, MSS/ 54/158, East Kitosh Station Quarterly Report, 1913.

¹²⁴ EAYM, Estock's Kitosh Station Report, 1913.

was instrumental together with Estock in initiating the conversion of the Tachoni to Christianity.¹²⁵

However, the real success of the mission effort in the northern locations largely depended on the reaction of the populous Bukusu. By 1914, a school dormitory had been built at Lugulu and in December 1915, Jefferson and Helen Ford replaced Dr. Estock at Lugulu. The Jeffersons brought with them a Maragoli assistant, Paul Imbwanga, to ground the Bukusu converts in Christianity and missionary education. At the same time, there was change of heart on Murunga's part and he began aiding the Friends. FAM reports indicated that,

Murunga has shown a friendly attitude toward the work. He has recently returned from a visit, with other chiefs, to Uganda. There, he gained many helpful ideas for bettering of conditions among his people, which he is putting into practice, and seeking the cooperation of this mission in this. And we are glad to have his help in uplifting of the people. Among other things he wants the people to be decently clad. He also earnestly desires them to go to school and to learn different trades and handicrafts. Murunga also encouraged his headmen to send pupils to Lugulu.¹²⁶

As a consequence of Murunga's support,

There seems to be an increasing spirit of friendliness on the part of the people toward the mission. The attendance at Sunday services and at the school is gradually increasing. The Sunday services had an average attendance of over 200. In average, 6 villages per Sunday have been reached.¹²⁷

FAM reports further showed that,

A change is noticeable in the attitude of the girls. Six months ago they did not want to come to school, nor learn to sew. Recently a girls' school has been started by request, which already has an enrolment of 18.¹²⁸

For the boys, the missionaries reported that,

Interest had deepened in the district and the enrolment is now at 78, after 10 were removed from the roll here [Lugulu] on account of the opening of the

¹²⁵ EAYM, Estock's Kitosh Station Report, 1913.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ EAYM, Kitosh Station Reports, 30/11/1913.

new school at Murunga's. The boys have requested instruction in carpentry, brick-making and tailoring.¹²⁹

Such interest in the mission's activities made the Friends church to grow at a faster pace among the Bukusu and the Tachoni, than it did among the Isukha and Idakho. Thus, the Lugulu station increasingly began to rival the Vihiga station, in terms of the numbers of converts and school attendance. Subsequently, it would be the Vihiga and Lugulu stations that would provide the nuclei of FAM mission work and converts in western Kenya.

3.6 The Malava Station

On his way to Kitosh, Arthur Chilson had met Chief Shitanda, the Kabras chief, in 1912. FAM reports of that year indicated that,

Shitanda had heard of Shikanga (Arthur Chilson) - the white man who lived at Kaimosi and he had been given that name by the natives there because he was strong and had protected them from the Nandi raiders. Shitanda had heard that a mission station was to be opened in the Kitosh district. When he saw Shikanga, he inquired when the mission was going to plant a station in his part of the country.¹³⁰

Chilson agreed to the idea of establishing a mission station among the Kabras. During his furlough in the USA in 1913, Chilson managed to raise funds to support the new station. On his return to Kenya in 1914, FAM asked for permission from the colonial administration, to establish the Kabras station. The administration was, however, not giving any grants for mission sites during the war. None the less in 1915, Chilson, accompanied by Joseph Ngaira, a teacher-evangelist from Kaimosi,¹³¹

Went into the Kabras district to camp and spy out the land for a mission station. After investigation, a site called Malava was chosen for the mission station. When the government officials heard that we wanted to enter this untouched territory they gave temporary permission reluctantly. While this meant we could not open the work properly, we were able to be in the district and become acquainted with the people.¹³²

¹²⁹ EAYM, Kitosh Station Reports, 30/11/1913.

¹³⁰ Arthur Chilson, *Ambassador of the King*. Wichita: The Friends Bible Institute, 1943. p. 93.

¹³¹ Joseph Ngaira "Came to Kaimosi in 1908, when he accompanied two sons of Chief Shivachi to "look after them and learn with them". In 1914 he accompanied Chilson to start a mission station at Malava, where he became the first African preacher and teacher. See Chilson, *op.cit.* pp. 102-103.

¹³² Chilson, *op.cit.*, p. 106 and Oral Interview, Mutali Masoni, Lukhono, 16/8/2007.

In the same year, reports indicate that,

A school was started at sub-chief Mwanza's. It began with a small enrolment but attendance and interest has steadily increased to nearly 50. Mwanza was urged by a government official to have us start a school at his place and we were given verbal permission to put up a school building here at the camp.¹³³

In 1919, the Friends received permission from the colonial administration to build the Malava station, on a piece of land approximately 5 acres in size. At the same time, "eight new out-schools have been opened and are running, with good interest and attendance of about 774 scholars. This makes ten out-schools in all".¹³⁴ Since the "Kabras boys were not ready for teaching responsibilities", three Maragoli teacher-evangelists - Abraham Adaka, Samuel Mmalenga and Zachariah Amoni – all recruited and trained by Amugune, were posted to Malava to help in teaching.¹³⁵

3.7 Articulation of FAM's Secular Policy

By 1918, the Friends had established five stations among the Luhya, with a sizeable following. Kaimosi, Vihiga and Lirhanda were located in the southern part of the North Kavirondo District, while Lugulu and Malava were in the North, hence the south and north FAM's spheres of influence. After the establishment of these stations, FAM missionaries and pioneer teacher-evangelists began a concerted effort to recruit new followers, in the hope of "obtaining the following result; teaching them habits of industry and ultimately, establishing a self-supporting native church".¹³⁶

Initially, however, the Luhya conversion to Christianity was slow. For instance, parents preferred their children to continue contributing labour to the family compound, rather than "waste time" in the classroom.¹³⁷ The families depended on boys to look after cattle and on girls to perform household chores. Parents and grandparents alike were also eager to preserve this

¹³³ KNA, MSS/54/161, Report of Arthur and Edna Chilson, September-December 1915.

¹³⁴ KNA, MSS/54/164, Malava Station Annual Report, 1919.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*; and Amugune, *op.cit.*, p.8.

¹³⁶ Amugune, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

¹³⁷ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op cit.*

cultural heritage for the future generations. Children were thus put under a great deal of pressure to submit to these wishes, lest they jeopardize the well-being of the entire lineage and clan.¹³⁸

Opposition to such pressure required very strong will-power or great inducement.¹³⁹ Consequently, early Friends' converts were drawn from marginalized groups in the traditional society. Invariably, the early converts were orphans, strangers, or people escaping punishment and forced marriage. To abandon traditional beliefs for the uncertain, ill-understood and unappreciated beliefs of Christianity was a step few in the Luhyia community could take, until a variety of forces had undermined the traditional culture. However, the mission stations and schools still held out certain undeniable attractions, particularly to the Luhyia youth.¹⁴⁰

As time passed, forces encouraging youthful rebellion became stronger than those counseling obedience to the past. Consequently, after a slow start in the effort to acquire converts, several factors combined and resulted in an increase in conversion. The first was the work of pioneer teacher-evangelists in the spread and acceptance of Christianity. As early as 1903, FAM reports indicated that,

Our native Christians are a wonderful help and inspiration to us in this new, and in many ways, trying work. They are deepening in their Christian lives and are showing an unceasing desire not only to live and preach the message, but are earnestly seeking the definite salvation of the people.¹⁴¹

Daudi Lung'aho, the first Luhyia convert and teacher-evangelist was instrumental in spreading "the Good News, not only on the mission station, but further afield". Missionaries sent him "to the homes and barazas of headmen and chiefs to announce the services to be held on Sunday".¹⁴² These visits by Lung'aho allowed him to have "personal contacts and in this way, he converted young men and women like Yohana Amugune, Joseph Ngaira, Nameza, Yohana Ingi, Maria

¹³⁸ Oral Interview, Samuel Ikumilu, Itenyi, 4/6/2007; Sarah Masitsa, Shivanga, 11/8/2007; and Charles Mwanga, Wa Mulume, 2/6/2007.

¹³⁹ Oral Interview, Elisha Mwanga, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁰ Oral Interview, Philip Misiko Nakome, Chwele, 27/7/ 2007; and Elijah Nandi, Kakoyi, 2/8/2007.

¹⁴¹ KNA, MSS/54/67, Kaimosi Annual Report, 1909.

¹⁴² Lung'aho, *op.cit.*, 10.

Mwashi and Marita Amugotso".¹⁴³ These pioneer Christians were to have a far-reaching impact on the development of the Friends church.

In 1904, after his conversion and training, Amugune "voluntarily severed his connection with the Whiteman's purse, in order that he might prove that he is not a Christian for the White man's money." FAM reports of that year indicated that,

Amugune has returned to his own tribe, where he has a good wattle and daub house with thatch roof nearly completed. We hope that his home will become the centre of new work at this place.¹⁴⁴

From his house at Chavakali, Amugune "started going to Mbale –the then local market centre - to establish evangelism and literacy there".¹⁴⁵ Since there were no buildings at Mbale, Amugune used to teach his pupils under a tree. In order to attract people to come to his classes, he used to ask "Marenga, the headman of the area, to blow his trumpet".¹⁴⁶ In 1911, Amugune was asked by headman Galo of Chavakali, "to build a church at Chavakali and bring literacy among the people living in the locality of Chavakali".¹⁴⁷ After Chavakali, Amugune helped to establish Friends churches at Viyalo, Kigama and Vokoli.¹⁴⁸ Amugune converted, taught and appointed the following as his assistants in different villages; Peter Inyasa, Marita Mugotso, Benjamin Sangale, Stephen Shimenjelo and Elisha Shiverenje from the Kaimosi area; Andrea Agufana, Joel Litu, Isaac Kilivwa, Daudi Lyanda, Mathew Esendi, Zedekiah Jarenga, Joshua Anusu, Paul Imbwanga, Stephen Ndonga Yakobo Ondede, Musa Alwena, Daniel Amudavi, Thomas Chokonzira and Daniel Akelo.¹⁴⁹

While Amugune was "perhaps the most conspicuous example, he is not the only one of our Christians to live a Christian life, independent of our purse".¹⁵⁰ The mission had several followers "living in their own houses off the station, who have no connection with the mission exchequer".¹⁵¹ Among these were Yohana and Rebecca Lumwagi, who were instrumental in the

¹⁴³ Lung'aho, *op.cit.*, 10.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Amugune, *op.cit.*, p.7.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ EAYM, *History ye Livugana lya Valina (Friends Quakers)*, 1971.

¹⁵⁰ KNA, MSS/54/67, Kaimosi Annual Report, 1909.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

establishment of Lirhanda station. Lumwagi was the one who converted, educated and made the following as his assistants in evangelizing the Lirhanda area; Isaac Luchetu, Samuel Lumwagi, Maudi Mudola, Daniel Lyula, Jeremiah Sejero and Samuel Mwinamo. From Malava, the Chilsons, assisted by Joseph and Maria Ngaira, converted Samuel Ashihundu, James Angote, Peter Wangaji, Musa Muzanza, Mark Weragogo, Andrea Gwalanda, Samuel Imbuye and Jonathan Kulecho. At Lugulu, Peter Wanyama, the first Tachoni convert, converted, educated and recruited the following as his assistants in the evangelical ministry; Philip Mwangale, Paul Mwangi Tadayo Waudu, Ezekiel Wanyonyi, Andrea Kilonyi, Yakobo Sugura, Musa Wambuti and Elisha Wakhisi.¹⁵² These young people were willing to risk the disapprobation of their parents to follow the missionaries and African teacher - evangelists. To the new converts, Christianity seemed to possess greater power and wisdom than their parents.¹⁵³

It was thus through the efforts of teacher-evangelists and their assistants that various Monthly, Village (Weekly), and later on Quarterly and Yearly Meetings were established to administer the activities of the Friends church in Kenya. Monthly Meetings, or *Salasini*, were at this time the most important unit for the Friends Church. Monthly Meetings brought together various Village (Weekly) Meetings. Village Meeting, or *Litala*, met every Sunday in a given village for worship. Each Village Meeting sent its presiding and recording clerks as delegates to the Monthly Meeting. Monthly Meetings had a presiding clerk as its chief executive, vice presiding clerk, recording clerk, vice recording clerk, a treasurer, a pastor, and a Sunday school supervisor. As the name suggests delegates from Villages Meetings came together once a month for worship and to conduct church business. Consequently, the Monthly Meeting was responsible for “providing pastoral care of members, adequate preparation of new ones and suspending those who had broken the rules’”.¹⁵⁴

The first African Monthly Meeting was established by Amugune in 1917 at Vihiga. At the time, this Monthly Meeting had a membership of 253 full members and a further 409 on probation.¹⁵⁵ Monthly Meetings then chose delegates who attended Quarterly Meetings. Quarterly Meetings,

¹⁵² EAYM, *History ye Livugana Iya Valina (Friends Quakers)*, 1971.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ EAYM, *The Constitution of the EAYM*, 1963.

¹⁵⁵ EAYM, *Maragoli Annual Reports*, 1917.

which included at least two Monthly Meetings, were established on the basis of geographical areas and met three times a year to discuss the pastoral work of various Monthly Meetings. Delegates to the Quarterly Meeting also had the power to establish new Monthly meetings. The first Quarterly Meeting was also established by Amugune at Chavakali in 1922.¹⁵⁶

Secondly, the government, missionaries and pioneer teacher-evangelists employed various methods to win converts to Christianity. One of these methods was the use of chiefs and headmen. When the British organized the Luhyia under appointed chiefs and headmen from 1901, they created a ruling class with the potential to profit handsomely from their new positions. Retention of the position depended more on pleasing the British than on local popular support. Between 1902 and the end of the First World War, local chiefs and headmen were put under government orders to assist the missionaries and in compliance with this directive, the new local leaders proved friendly and helpful to the Friends, as in the case of Hobley who ordered Mujela, the Tiriki chief and his headmen, to “take special care of the new missionaries and to help them in every way possible to get established”.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, the first preaching centres and schools were established near headmen’s compounds. Among the Maragoli, for instance, preaching centres were established at the following headmen’s compounds, Odanga, Kisungu, Mmugyi, Shivaiki, Asena, Anusu, Mbalagonia, Luseno and Alegaya.¹⁵⁸

In addition, the headmen were under instructions to provide pupils for the schools thus established in their compounds.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, the early FAM adherents were young men whose fathers had positions that brought them into contact with colonial administration, hence giving them an appreciation of the advantages of the new learning. For instance, although Chief Shivachi was reluctant to accept FAM’s teachings, he accepted Hobley’s request that he send two of his sons to Kaimosi School in 1908.¹⁶⁰ In fact, Shivachi sent them in the company of Ngaira “to look after them” during their stay at the station.¹⁶¹ When Shivachi later converted to Catholicism, his sons also dropped out of the Kaimosi School but Ngaira remained at Kaimosi

¹⁵⁶ Amugune, *op.cit*, p. 12.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ KNA, MSS/54/164, Maragoli Station Annual Reports, 1918.

¹⁵⁹ Oral Interview, Sarah Litu, Mbale, 5/5/2007.

¹⁶⁰ Oral Interview, Hudson Liyai, Nairobi, 2/6/2008.

¹⁶¹ Oral Interview, Leah Ganira Lung’aho, *op.cit*.

and later became one of the FAM's leading teacher-evangelists.¹⁶² Following the example set by Shivachi, several Luhyia chiefs and headmen began to send some of their own sons and several other children from their clans to Kaimosi to live there and learn what the missionaries had to offer. Similarly, this was the case for chiefs and headmen among the Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras, who sent their sons to the newly established stations at Lugulu and Malava.¹⁶³

Furthermore, missionaries offered various enticements to prospective students and converts. Salt, sweets, beads, cloth and foodstuffs were distributed by FAM missionaries to attract potential adherents, particularly those from poorer families. During the famine of 1918, the FAM missionaries also worked hand in hand with the colonial administration to alleviate starvation. The 1918 Maragoli annual report, for example, notes that "the government brought in food and used the mission centres as distributing agencies to relieve the distress."¹⁶⁴ This evidently did much to diminish Luhyia suspicion of the mission. The famine relief efforts were received with gratitude by the Luhyia and from that year, maize started to gain wide acceptance as a food crop.¹⁶⁵ However, not all who joined the mission stations were forced or enticed into doing so.

Many leading pioneer Luhyia Friends were young men who had lost their fathers in youth, had suffered from neglect and thus felt an obligation to relieve their mothers of the further responsibility of fending for them. For instance, when Daudi Lung'aho's father died, "as the eldest son, he had to look after his brothers and sisters".¹⁶⁶ At first, Lung'aho worked for the government at Kaptum post, near Kapsabet. After three months, he left this post to seek employment at the Kaimosi FAM station.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, the FAM report of 1918 indicated that there were,

Fifteen orphaned children under the care of Rees and his family at the Vihiga station. And the relatives of seven of the children appear to be content to have the mission raise the children, provided there is no danger

¹⁶² Oral Interview, Agnes Khanjira, Chepsai, 5/8/2007 and Teina Shivachi, *op.cit.*

¹⁶³ Oral Interview, Joseph Kituyi Nyaranga, Chwele, 11/9/ 2007 and Rhoda Absolom, Makhonje, 5/8/2007.

¹⁶⁴ KNA, MSS/54/164, Maragoli Station Annual Report, 30/6/1918.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Lung'aho, *op.cit.*, p.6.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

of the marriage dowry being lost to the rightful owners. The people of the remaining eight children are yet to be conferred with.¹⁶⁸

Out of these orphans emerged several aggressive and outspoken pioneers of the new religion and its schools. Among the Luhya, societal disadvantage prevented orphans from relying on traditional community support and there existed constraints imposed on their economic development by the laws of the community. Joining mission stations was, therefore, an important underpinning of their individualism and innovativeness, in their approach to the new economic opportunities that accompanied colonial rule.¹⁶⁹

Thirdly, a fair proportion of the Luhya men, who became devoted adherents and workers at Kaimosi, were widely believed to have been sorcerers before they went to the mission.¹⁷⁰ Anybody suspected to be a sorcerer had little chance of becoming an important community elder, and was in continual danger of being publicly cursed by elders. Punishments were occasionally administered to anyone openly accused of witchcraft and sometimes the accused was stoned or clubbed to death by incensed community members. It is quite probable that outcasts and those suspected to be sorcerers turned to the mission for protection and support.¹⁷¹ In several instances, Tiriki girls - who were later married off to pioneer mission converts from other Luhya sub-ethnic groups - first came to the mission as runaways from forced or unhappy marriages.¹⁷² Although in some families, particularly in Tiriki, disobedient youth who came under mission influence were punished and even ostracized from their families, among the Maragoli and the Bukusu - where Christianity had become entrenched much quicker - converts found new prestige and increased importance from school attendance.¹⁷³

In the evenings, they were permitted to share whatever songs and knowledge they had learned with the other members of the household. The story-telling and dispensing of wisdom, which traditionally had been the prerogative of the elders, was now mildly challenged by the new

¹⁶⁸ KNA, MSS/54/164, Maragoli Station Annual Report Supplement, 1/12/1918.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op. cit.*

¹⁷¹ Sangree, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

¹⁷² Oral interview, William Shibadu, Japheth Amugune and Sarah Litu, *op. cit.*

¹⁷³ All the pioneer converts from Tiriki including Peter Inyasa, Marita Mugotso, Benjamin Sangale, Stephen Shimenjelo and Elisha Shiverenje were ostracized from the families and had to seek refuge at Kaimosi mission station. See Oral interview, Francis Shiverenje Mwashu, *op. cit.*

learning. With the new-found knowledge and a sense of importance, the young pupils also enticed younger brothers and sisters into the classroom. A psychological revolution was at work among the youth. They began to seek alternative identities and roles in the emerging social order and the mission schools became the first step for many towards reaching a new social purpose. Increasingly, youths began to perceive that the powers of missionaries and other European officials lay in their general knowledge of the world. Reading and writing thus became the keys to that power and made schooling imperative. Africans perceived that they could also gain some of the European's economic, political, social privileges and prestige by obtaining an equivalent education.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, the literate pioneer FAM's teacher-evangelists exemplified this idea because they had money with which to buy shoes and clothes, as well as to pay taxes. They could afford their own bride-wealth payments, breaking traditional youth dependence on elders for this. The educated Luhyia thus acted as role - models to the youth. These emerging gentry owed their wealth and status to their positions in the mission establishment. And with skills, luxuries and a sense of "self importance", they encouraged the young Luhyia to defy tradition and earn a similar niche for themselves in the colonial world.¹⁷⁵

A good example of the importance of literate people in the emerging colonial situation was given by two African Friends missionaries from the British Friends mission on Pemba islands. In 1904, FAM had recruited Cherumbuim Matolas as a Swahili translator. Later in 1907, he was joined by his brother Bartolommeo, a teacher. The two brothers shared the teaching and preaching duties at Kaimosi and Lirhanda. Between 1908 and 1910, the Matolas were in charge of Lirhanda post when Edgar T. Hole was on leave in America.¹⁷⁶ Cherumbuim helped to start the first schools and prepared lessons translated from Kiswahili for use by the first Luhyia teacher-evangelists, such as Yohana Amugune and Joseph Ngaira, who had been trained by Rees and Chilson, respectively. The Matolas brothers were, to the Luhyia, living examples of Africans who had successfully combined Christian virtues with secular achievements in the colonial situation. Converts who were eager to know "how to read and write" like the Matolas brothers, thus joined the mission station and began training as converts.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, teacher-evangelists were often

¹⁷⁴ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*, and Hezekiah Nagosa, Mbale, 26/5/2007.

¹⁷⁵ Oral Interview, Welington Mikisi Ndinyo, Lugulu, 23/9/ 2007.

¹⁷⁶ KNA, MSS/54/164, Malava Station Annual Report, 14/7/1918.

¹⁷⁷ Oral interview, Rhoda Absolom, *op.cit.*

spared from the more onerous demands of the colonial regime, like compulsory road construction or portage. Also, Christians suffering oppression from a chief or headman could appeal to their missionaries for relief. Missionaries then raised such matters with district officials. For instance, reports indicate that Shivachi,

Sent his *askaris* to take Amugune by force to the army, when the First World War started. This was because Amugune had asked Shivachi to grant the Maragoli independence to rule themselves. Amugune was then taken to Voi, where he was made a foreman. But FAM missionaries intervened and he was released from war engagement, in 1916.¹⁷⁸

Conversion to Christianity thus became one way of circumventing the high handedness of local administration.¹⁷⁹

Fourthly, the end of warfare and raiding had robbed the traditional warriors of their most important purpose, thereby rendering them less significant within the colonial society. After 1905, particularly with the defeat of the Bukusu and Nandi resistance, it became increasingly apparent that the warrior-grade of traditional society held few of its past attractions and rewards in the new colonial situation.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, young men were quick to perceive the alternative that the colonial society offered. The “idle hours” spent looking after cattle and the tedious ones spent on the farm soon proved unattractive, when contrasted with the classroom.¹⁸¹ Ways were then found to perform traditional chores and still make time for schooling. For example, herds boys pooled their work and took turns attending school. The missionaries were then asked to hold classes very early in the morning so that children could still perform the household duties during the remainder of the day. Reading and writing seemed exciting to them. Indeed, opportunities to obtain European clothing and free food, to hear enchanting stories told by the teachers, to witness magic lantern shows and to receive printed sheets, were simply irresistible.¹⁸² After 1912, however, it was reported that,

At one time being a Christian was synonymous with being in the employment of the mission or at least living in the station. Today we believe that the true idea of being a Christian has taken hold upon many of

¹⁷⁸ Amugune, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ KNA, MSS/54/67, Annual Report of the Maragoli Station, 1912.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

us. They are no longer expecting to have some profit financially from us, instead there is a growing idea that being a Christian means giving something of yourself and your means to bring Christ to others.¹⁸³

This shows that as the years went by, Africans were no longer enticed into conversion by gifts, but rather by the genuine desire to become a Christian and acquire education.

Lastly, after nearly two decades of colonialism, cracks began to appear in the traditionalists' armour. Years of slow infiltration by the forces of western civilization were then followed by a new wave of conversion to Christianity that swept throughout Luhyialand at the end of the First World War. For example, the Tiriki traditionalists had been able to repel the individual FAM missionaries, but not the combined forces of mission, government, the railroad, the educated elite, money, wage labour, new property laws and urban centres. Gradually, these influences eroded the traditional economic, social and political bases of the Luhyia society. The First World War dealt the final blow by "draining off large numbers of young men, upon whom the society depended to restore itself".¹⁸⁴ In all, 92,037 men were recruited in Nyanza province during the war.¹⁸⁵ Once the alien and unusual practice of seeking employment outside the tribe had been established, it rapidly grew in strength and was reinforced by the "prestige that men enjoyed when they returned home with stories about the European areas, with manufactured articles they had bought in towns and with cash that could be used to purchase cattle".¹⁸⁶ Consequently, the recruitment of the Luhyia into African regiments, coupled with the intensified utilization of African manpower throughout the colony, greatly increased Luhyia contacts with the European world and fanned a growing curiosity about, and a desire for, European life and know-how.¹⁸⁷ By 1918, therefore, FAM had a membership of 317 full members, as well as 979 on probation.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, the initial response shown by the various sub-groups toward the FAM would later determine the rates of school development and their subsequent degree of economic transformation. In this case, the Maragoli showed the most enthusiasm, closely followed by the Bukusu and the Tachoni. The Isukha and Idakho came third, while the Tiriki came last.

¹⁸³ KNA, MSS/ 54/164, Maragoli station Annual Reports, 1918.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ G. Hodges, *The Carrier Corps: Military Labour in the East Africa Campaign, 1914-1918*, West Point, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1986, pp.99, 207.

¹⁸⁶ Sangree, *op cit.*, p. 155

¹⁸⁷ Oral Interview, Elisha Mwanga, *op.cit.*

¹⁸⁸ EAYM, Kaimosi Evangelistic Reports, 1918.

Consequently, it was from the Maragoli and the Bukusu that the Friends church drew most of its followers and it was they who benefited the most from the Church-directed transformation, during the colonial and post-colonial periods.

As it has already been noted, the primary objective of FAM missionaries among the Luhyia, was evangelization and conversion of the “pagans”. But the early missionaries, particularly Hotchkiss, believed that an industrial mission was best suited to accomplish these ends as well as providing a strong type of mission station.¹⁸⁹ To Hotchkiss, Christianity and “civilization” were to work hand in hand to ensure that both spiritual and social transformation came to Africa.¹⁹⁰

Evangelization thus represented the fundamental method that the FAM used to transform western Kenya. Secular policy was simply a complementary approach used by the FAM, to reinforce evangelization and win converts. The provision of education, industrial skills, agriculture and health care as approaches to evangelization, and their effects, therefore constituted FAM’s secular policy.

3.7.1 Literacy Education

For the FAM missionaries, “a very close relation can be seen between evangelistic and educational work”. FAM reports of 1904 indicated that,

While educating the natives does not Christianize him, yet it is mostly through teaching that opportunity is afforded of making a direct and effective appeal to the native, to leave his old life and live for Christ.¹⁹¹

The FAM missionaries argued that the “first objective of their mission is to teach the African how to read the Bible in Swahili. Later, when Emory Rees had created the written language, Luloogoli became the medium for education”.¹⁹²

FAM missionaries reported that,

At first, the schools were very primitive, and pupils were learning under a tree. A missionary stood before the boys with a syllable or word chart

¹⁸⁹ For this discussion, see Chapter Two, p. 50.

¹⁹⁰ W.R. Hotchkiss, *Sketches from the Dark Continent*, *op.cit.*, pp. 148.

¹⁹¹ KNA, MSS/54/164, Report of Kaimosi Evangelistic and Educational Department, 1919.

¹⁹² EAYM, Friends African Industrial Missions Annual Reports, 1904, and W.R. Hotchkiss, *Sketches from the Dark Continent*, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 – 154.

teaching the pupils to make sounds for which the written symbols stood for.¹⁹³

FAM Missionaries felt converts needed “literacy to read the Bible and to serve as teacher-evangelists”.¹⁹⁴ Pupils were also engaged in a variety of activities, which gave them manual skills. Such training included logging, lumber-making, brick-laying, brick-making, masonry, milling and smithing. It was through such industrial learning that FAM missionaries intended to bring more than just the Bible to the Luhyia; they sought to introduce a new way of life. Vocational training skills were to be imparted to Africans to enable them to be the “master-builders of their new world and civilization”.¹⁹⁵

FAM’s educational system heavily borrowed from the American Negro education philosophy of Booker T. Washington. At his Tuskegee College, Washington had taught his black students skills and attitudes that he thought would help them succeed in an environment of increasing racial violence and discrimination. He prepared his black students for “productive, profitable work” that focused on the everyday practical needs of life. His education was thus aimed at making them succeed in those occupations that the dominant white people needed them to fill, in the process hopefully winning white acceptance.¹⁹⁶ This Tuskegee philosophy fitted very well into the FAM’s idea about training Africans to transform their own society, apolitically and from the bottom up at a slow, evolutionary pace. However, given the nature of the African environment, missionaries believed that Christianization and civilization could only be achieved if African students were kept away from the influence of the ethnic group. For instance, the rituals surrounding circumcision of boys among the Tiriki and the institution of children sharing beds with grandparents were both condemned by the church, as instruments for the transmission of “pagan” beliefs. African Christians’ civilization could therefore be best accomplished by complete removal from that “pagan” environment, for a sufficient length of time. In the early

¹⁹³ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Missions Annual Reports, 1909.

¹⁹⁴ Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁹⁵ D.N. Sifuna, “Some Factors Underlying Christian Educational Activities in Kenya, 1844 – 1900” Paper Presented at the Historical Association of Kenya, Annual Conference, August 1975, p. 2; and Bogonko, *op cit.*, p. 136.

¹⁹⁶ Andrew Cayton, Elizabeth Israel Perry and Allan Winkler, *America, Pathways to the Present*, Needham, Massachusetts: Prentice Hall, 1995, p. 471.

years of FAM's work, this ideal led to the necessity of having converts boarding at the mission stations, to better facilitate evangelization.¹⁹⁷

The FAM missionaries were chiefly concerned with reaching the youth, although they always consented to educate everyone who showed an interest in learning. The emphasis on the youth was due to the belief that young people were less entrenched in traditional beliefs and activities and, therefore, more open to persuasion and new ideas. Initially, though, FAM missionaries were forced to start working with the people who were close at hand, for example, the workers at Kaimosi station. The daily classes for the workers were popular, but after three years, none had learned how to read. This could be attributed to several factors. First was the preoccupation with pioneering an infant station, a factor that diverted most of the available time to administrative and homesteading issues. Secondly, there were inadequate teaching materials and initially missionaries used English as a medium of instruction, a language Africans did not know. And thirdly, at this stage of mission work the learners possessed little motivation to master the school work beyond some vague curiosity about the written and printed word.¹⁹⁸

Initially, despite repeated efforts, the missionaries could not induce non-employees to attend classes. The missionary response to this indifference was to encourage workers to settle their families at the station in return for the use of station farmland. In this way, the Friends hoped to collect a group of children for the classes and to make the youngsters the nucleus of a new Christian community. Vihiga station also experimented with an orphanage, as another means of obtaining an active audience to work with and at first, 15 orphans were enrolled in the station school.¹⁹⁹ But the most successful strategy for filling the classroom involved persuading local leaders to send their sons and subjects to the mission for training. The policy began to pay off in 1906, when the British administrators began to systematize colonial rule, and colonial officials sought to create a self-perpetuating ruling elite in local societies – like the Luhyia - where such a class had previously been mostly non-existent. The colonial officials also intended to have these literate children assist their uneducated fathers in government business, thus making colonial administration more efficient. In the annual report of 1913, for example, John Ainsworth, the

¹⁹⁷ Sifuna, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹⁹⁸ Oral Interview, Joseph Sapiri, Lukhokho, 5/8/2007.

¹⁹⁹ EAYM, Annual Report, 1905.

Nyanza PC, noted that “the education of the sons of chiefs and headmen was continuing, through the medium of certain of the mission societies”.²⁰⁰

Apart from their own sons, chiefs and headmen also rounded up young men and took them to the Kaimosi station. Chiefs and headmen, like their people, apparently regarded the missionaries as having powers equivalent to the government officials and sometimes even confused them with government officials. This was not completely surprising since missionaries often acted for the government by conveying messages from district officials to the chiefs, or by performing different functions for the government. Consequently, Chiefs treated requests from missionaries - for help in finding students for their schools - as a command from government officials.²⁰¹

The FAM missionaries also “made a major contribution to African education by their insistence that girls, as well as boys, should have the same privilege of classroom instruction”. In the Luhya traditional set up, women and children were always considered as “objects and not subjects”. For instance, most of the Luhya traditions stated that “women and children shall be given care and protection”. Consequently, when the male head was not at home, his wife would say “there is no one here except me and the children”.²⁰² This traditional view is what was opposed by the FAM missionaries, when they instituted education for women. FAM missionaries thus viewed women as “subjects”. This new thinking espoused that women should be given access to many privileges previously denied them, for example, the right to choose a husband.²⁰³ FAM missionaries thus found “resistance on the part of African elders difficult to overcome, particularly regarding girls’ education”.²⁰⁴

Luhya men believed that African women were to handle domestic duties and not “waste” time in class. British educators and government officials also held a conservative attitude towards girls’ education and they were reluctant to support such a venture. This attitude was due to the mistaken British assumption that African women had no role to play in the running of their society except performance of domestic duties, hence their insistence on educating boys.

²⁰⁰ KNA, PC/NZA/1/8, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1913.

²⁰¹ Bode, *op. cit.*, p.138.

²⁰² Oral Interview, Grace Misigo, Senende, 10/4/2007.

²⁰³ Oral Interview, Esther Atsiaya, Senende, 10/4/2007.

²⁰⁴ Pinter, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

However in 1907, Adelaide Hole, wife of Edgar Hole at Lirhanda, and Deborah Rees, wife of Emory Rees at Vihiga, inaugurated girls' education to make them suitable wives. They started schools for women and girls, where reading, writing, elementary arithmetic, cooking, knitting, laundry and child-care were taught. However, changing the community's perception toward girl education was a long term process. This was largely due to the fear that girls with education might "question the privilege of elders to select husbands for them".²⁰⁵ The fear could have been real. The first woman to be converted, Maria Maraga, had indeed refused to marry the husband that had been selected for her. Eventually, she married a non-Tiriki, Daudi Lung'aho, in a ceremony arranged by the missionaries.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, FAM reports of 1915 indicated that the pioneer girl pupils "are the wives of school boys who live on or near the station."²⁰⁷ Initially, women seeking education were those who had won the argument with their fathers or had run away from home in order to pursue education at missionary centres. But after 1910 fathers, who had been converted and had received missionary training, began to push for the education of their daughters.²⁰⁸

The initial growth of school facilities was not spectacular. By 1912, Kaimosi, Vihiga, Lirhanda and Lugulu mission stations had established one school each and were providing daily classes. Vihiga station also had additional branch schools (out-schools) at Mfwogo, which met three times weekly.²⁰⁹

In the same year, FAM reports indicated that,

The girls' school was opened by Deborah G. Rees at Vihiga. She gives but one hour daily and this is before breakfast. This is recognized as quite insufficient but still that can be done for the present.²¹⁰

In these FAM schools, therefore, the most pressing problem was availability of teachers. Deborah G. Rees argued that "we are more than convinced that we need teachers who can give time almost wholly to the large and growing number of pupils that come to us".²¹¹ Reports of Vihiga station further indicated that school attendance, "is good at all three schools. The

²⁰⁵ Oral Interview, Esther Kapino, Shikhomola, 2/6/2007.

²⁰⁶ Oral Interview, Beatrice Khaweli, Webuye, 22/9/ 2007.

²⁰⁷ KNA, MSS/54/63, Report of the Work with the Women and Girls at the Kitosh Station, 1915.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ KNA, MSS/54/159, Maragoli Station of the Friends African Industrial Report of the First Quarter, 1912.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

enrolment had averaged 46 for the station school, 32 for Mfwogo and 60 for the girls' school". Due to the shortage of teachers, the most promising pupils served as monitors-cum-teachers, for the beginners. Another problem that confronted these early schools was learning materials. Few books and supplies were available in the classroom. Consequently, reading lessons, Bible passages and elementary arithmetic examples were written out on the blackboard by a missionary. They were copied on slates and mastered by the more advanced pupils, then transmitted in similar fashion to the beginners. But despite these shortages, the mission was by 1912, educating 300 students in its four stations. Three years later, both the average attendance and the number of schools had grown ten times and promised to grow even more rapidly. For instance, among the Maragoli, 20 schools were reported in 1915, with an average enrolment of 1,545 boys and 1,013 girls, making up a total of 2,558.²¹² At Lirhandu, there were 8 out-schools with an average of 631 boys and 175 girls, making up a total of 806 pupils.²¹³ This expansion can be explained by several factors; the work of chiefs and headmen, the influence of teacher – evangelists, the influence of the pioneer educated elite and the simultaneous increase in the number of teachers. It has already been stated that among the Bukusu, Murunga changed his attitude towards the Friends and with his help, the school enrolment doubled within a month. The first out-school in the area was built at Kimilili, near Murunga's camp. Further, Murunga instructed his headmen to send pupils to this school, where they were to be taught tailoring and carpentry.²¹⁴ Teacher-evangelists also played a leading role in the increased rates of school enrolment. For instance, Amugune established schools at various centres among the Maragoli and used the local administration to fill up the classes.²¹⁵

Influence from the pioneer educated elite also contributed to the rising demand for education. Among the Tiriki, for example, young men argued that,

We want to get wisdom just like Daniel Chagona, one of the mission carpenters. He knows how to read and write and count well, knows many kinds of work and gets big wages. Now, we want to follow him. Chagona was, at this time, attending the advanced school for teachers and preachers.²¹⁶

²¹² KNA, MSS/54/161, Maragoli Station Report, First Quarter, 1915.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ KNA, MSS/54/161, Kitosh Station Report, 1915.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ KNA, MSS/54/165, Kaimosi Station Report, 1921.

Young men thus wanted to join school not only to know how to read, write and do arithmetic, but also to get well-paying employment. In 1909, for instance, Chagona's monthly payment was Shs. 5/- as a carpenter, while most of the uneducated did not have any employment and had no cash income.²¹⁷ There was also an increase in school attendance among the girls. Mission reports of 1912 stated that,

A change is noticeable in the attitude of the girls. Six month ago, they did not want to come to school, nor learn to sew. Girls are now asking for sewing classes to learn how to make their own clothes.²¹⁸

In 1912, to educate the increasing number of pupils, FAM missionaries in Kenya put a request to the board in the USA for more staff. Consequently, 7 more missionaries were sent to Kenya. These missionaries were; Frank and Blanche Conover, Jefferson and Helen Ford, Fred and Alter Hoyt and Roxie Reeve, to make a total of 12 missionaries in Kenya. The following year the number increased to seventeen missionaries in the field. The arrival of staff reinforcements meant that the missionaries were in a better position to deal with the mounting pressure for education among the Luhyia. This injection of new missionaries coincided with a continued rapid increase in schools' attendance so that by 1916, there were 42 schools, with an enrolment of over, 3,000 pupils.²¹⁹

In 1913, to manage the rapidly expanding school network, the FAM missionaries, formed a committee of all stations' education superintendents. At that time, education superintendents were also those appointed as resident missionaries for the five stations. For instance, Hoyt was the resident missionary at Kaimosi, Rees at Vihiga, Hole at Lirhanda, Dr Estock, and later Ford at Lugulu and Chilson at Malava.²²⁰ These education superintendents were asked, by the board in the USA, to make recommendations on how to improve the FAM's educational programme. Education superintendents also consulted with other mission societies in the region for new ideas on the management of African education.

²¹⁷ KNA, MSS/54/165, Kaimosi Station Report, 1921.

²¹⁸ KNA, MSS/54/161, Kitosh Station Report, First Quarter, 1915.

²¹⁹ EAYM, Annual Report, 1910, 1912 and 1916.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

In their first meeting held at Kaimosi in the same year, education superintendents made three proposals. First, they proposed that FAM purchase the badly needed classroom supplies, and order one hundred copies of reading charts. Secondly, the committee proposed to reorganize the teaching schedule, so as to provide three separate classes per day at Kaimosi. In the morning, the more advanced students would teach primary classes; these monitors -cum-teachers were then to receive their lessons from a missionary in the early afternoon. Later in the day, apprentices from the industrial department were to attend literacy classes. Finally, the committee proposed improvements in the training of teachers.²²¹ Monitor-cum-teachers were to be provided with outlines for the week's lessons and suggestions for improving their classroom programmes. Education superintendents were also to institute monthly visits to out-schools to provide another means of improving teaching.²²²

In spite of these efforts, the quality and level of education offered remained low. Indeed,

A few Friends missionaries were concerned that the poor education might produce a weak foundation for the African church. Without adequately trained teachers and evangelists, they feared that Friends' doctrines and beliefs might be imperfectly transmitted to later converts. Missionaries were however forced to let untrained African leaders take charge of new outstations as mounting enrolment forced FAM to provide more schools.²²³

Earlier in 1910, Emory Rees had drafted and petitioned the Board in America to make additional provisions to the mission for training of teachers, particularly in Maragoli, where the pressure for improved schools was strongest. In fact, the Board had already sensed the immediacy of this need and was making arrangements to send Roxie Reeve, a trained teacher, to Kenya. The arrival of Reeve in 1913, therefore, marked the beginning of an attempt to improve teacher training. At the Vihiga station, she organized a special continuation class for out-school teachers, with the express aim of improving their teaching ability.²²⁴

FAM missionaries also improvised other ways to provide better education. Different members of the mission agreed to write graded textbooks and readers, in Luloogoli, for use in the schools.

²²¹ EAYM, Kaimosi Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 6/13/12, 9/19/12 and 12/19/12.

²²² Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

While in America on leave, Emory Rees learned typesetting and when he returned to Kenya in 1913, he brought with him a printing press, which provided the Friends with a direct means of improving the content of their curriculum. Previously, the missionaries had produced only a single Luloogoli reader and small portions of the Bible for class work. The teachers had also used a few Swahili reference books and Bibles to develop their lessons. With its own printing press, the mission had by 1918 published a Luloogoli series of reading charts, two arithmetic texts, a hymn book, five books of the New Testament and a series of weekly scripture lessons. Reports thus indicate that in 1912, less than one hundred people could read, albeit with difficulty. By 1917 however, more than seven hundred people could read with comparative ease.²²⁵

The FAM had initiated its mission work in 1902, with little more than a rough idea about providing literacy and manual training for its future Christian community. Seventeen years later, it was trying to manage a network of educational programme consisting of 54 schools and nearly 4,000 pupils. However, these FAM schools were generally of low quality; heavily religious in tone and purpose and under the direction of teachers with minimal training.²²⁶ For instance, the minimum requirement set by the colonial government for teaching in the village school was four or five years of education, but missionary schools were not providing more than two years of literacy education at that time.²²⁷

The general weakness of missionary education forced the government, in response to African opposition, to move to direct and show the missionaries how education should be run. On the other hand, the inadequacy of literacy content of the same education had sharpened Africans' mental appetites to seek more secular education. Africans, after some experience of missionary education, now wanted non-denominational education, sponsored either by the government or themselves and in schools where the kind of education they wanted could be offered. The government, finding itself in a dilemma, decided to steer a course of action which, while largely

²²⁵ EAYM, Kaimosi Quarterly Reports, 6/15/1911, 12/28/1911, 3/14/1912 and 9/19/1912.

²²⁶ Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

meeting the aspirations of Africans, would not be repulsive to the missionaries.²²⁸

Prior to 1911, all African education in the British East African Protectorate was entirely in the hands of the Christian missionaries. This was because the British government had insisted that the colonies pay for themselves and was more interested in broad economic and political affairs. Reluctant to take part in any education venture, the government had supported the various missions in their educational endeavours. But the agitation from pioneer educated Luhya - like Lung'aho, Amugune, Litu, Lumwagi and Ngaira - and rising expenses incurred in employing expensive Asian labour on government projects, forced the colonial administrators to think of giving Africans technical education. Technical education was to produce cheap African skilled and subservient labour.²²⁹ Consequently, the government established a commission on education in the East Africa Protectorate. Chaired by Professor J. Nelson Frazer, it was commissioned to recommend a structure of education in the East African Protectorate. However, among Frazer's terms of reference was the explicit instruction 'not to put forward plans for literary education of the Africans, but to consider the possibilities of developing industries among them'.²³⁰

In his report, Frazer recommended to the colonial administration an industrial apprenticeship scheme, through indentures. He argued that missions and government might, through such a scheme, begin a fruitful cooperation in training educated labour in the form of masons, carpenters and recorders, who both the government and the settlers needed. In proposing an industrial formula, Frazer believed that such an educational system would not only be producing artisans but would also be crucial in making an assault on undesirable qualities like self-conceit and insolence, which were assumed to follow from giving Africans a literary education. On government-missionary co-operation, Frazer's stand was that it was desirable that educational facilities for Africans be provided by mission societies, on the grounds that African education of any kind, industrial or technical, was mischievous if imparted without morality and should, therefore, be accompanied by definite Christian instruction. He also recommended the

²²⁸ Asian skilled labourers who had mostly worked on the construction of the railway were paid more in wages than an African. For instance, in 1915 while an Asian labourer could earn as much as Shs.43/- an African labourer could earn as low as Shs.3/-. See for example, Hugh Fearn, *An African Economy*, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, p.139.

²²⁹ S. N. Bogonko, *A History of Education in Kenya, 1895-1991*, Nairobi: Evans Brothers, 1992, p. 23.

²³⁰ Quoted in D. N. Sifuna and J. E. Otiende, *An Introductory History of Education*, Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press, 2006, p. 193.

establishment of a Department of Education and the appointment of a Director of Education. Frazer finally recommended that education should be on racial lines, with the Europeans getting an academic type of education, Asian children a mixture of academic and industrial training, while Africans were to receive purely industrial education.²³¹

The colonial Education Board approved Frazer's proposals. The Department of Education, with James R. Orr as its first director, was established in 1911. And government's grants-in-aid were given to eight missions, which included FAM, CMS, African Inland Mission (hereafter AIM), Gospel Mission Society (hereafter GMS), Consolata Catholic Mission (hereafter CCM), MHM, Seventh Day Adventist (hereafter SDA) and Church of God (hereafter COG), to make them capable of trade training.²³² By 1912, industrial training in basic skills - such as smithing, carpentry, agriculture and even typing - was successfully underway. The better the results in technical education examination, the higher the amount of aid a mission school received from the government.²³³ However, even with the introduction of industrial learning, religious education was still deemed more important above anything else in the mission schools. In many instances this practice, together with industrial education, led parents to take their children out of schools.

In 1913, for example, boys at the MHM School in Mumias went on strike, rejecting religious and industrial education. They claimed that as sons of chiefs, they warranted better treatment that would prepare them for leadership and get them formal employment. This strike had an effect on FAM pupils. In the same year, Musa Akhonya and Daniel Chagona, former FAM teacher-evangelists, both of whom had the experience of working in Kisumu and Eldoret as carpenters and who had backslidden by marrying second wives, advised students at the Kaimosi station to follow the MHM pupils' example. They advised FAM pupils to demand for a functional, academic education that would equip them with the necessary working skills and enable them to earn money to be expended on taxes and other material needs.²³⁴ Subsequently, pupils at

²³¹ Sifuna and Otiende, *op.cit.*, p. 193.

²³² KNA, MSS/54/63, Friends African Industrial Report, 1912.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ KNA, NZA/12/13, Nyanza Province Annual Reports, 1928.

Kaimosi and Vihiga stations also began to agitate for a more secular education taught in English.²³⁵

At the same time, some government officials like John Ainsworth, the PC of Nyanza, were advocating the establishment of Government schools on non-sectarian lines. He wrote "I would not exclude religious teachings from such schools. I would, however, have selected men appointed to the charge of the schools and leave the matter of instruction in their hands".²³⁶ Further, the PC observed that many of the Luhyia people were more adaptable to European innovations and that they should be brought up in the way the provincial administrators desired; that is, the "improvement and not the exploitation" of the Africans through education, so as "to develop one of the richest assets we have in the protectorate - labour."²³⁷

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 diverted energies and resources away from any further reform agenda in the education sector. But still, despite the poor standard evinced in FAM schools, the mission had laid the foundation for future educational development among the Tiriki, Maragoli, Isukha, Idakho, Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras. And largely due to their efforts, education was on its way to transforming these groups.

3.7.2 Industrial and Agricultural Departments

As already noted, the industrial and agricultural features of evangelization were introduced by the pioneer FAM missionaries, with the hope of developing, "self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating African churches".²³⁸ These pioneer FAM missionaries in East Africa argued that the Christian message could not be effectively proclaimed in a social vacuum. For instance, Hotchkiss stressed that,

The people to whom the Christian evangelism was being taken need more adequate food for their families, better houses, basic medical care and education. If these basic assets for living were to become significant for the Africans, they must be taught to attain these things through the labour

²³⁵ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

²³⁶ KNA, PC/NZA/1/8, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1913.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ For this discussion, see Chapter Two, p. 46. See also, W.R. Hotchkiss, *Then and Now in Kenya Colony*, New York: Fleming H.Revell, 1937, p. 95, and Hotchkiss, *Sketches from the Dark Continent*, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and p. 164-5.

of their own hands. This would mean learning new skills and use of strange tools.²³⁹

FAM missionaries were, therefore, convinced that an industrial programme would provide an opportunity for Christian witnessing in a manner that most Africans could understand.²⁴⁰ The industrial feature was supposed to work hand in hand with evangelism, but instead it led to uncertainty and confusion. Hotchkiss, the architect of the scheme, was opposed by other missionaries, led by Hole and Rees, who wanted to emphasize evangelism, but were reluctantly committed to the idea due to the investment already made in the development of an industrial mission. The Mission Board on the other hand, wrote enthusiastically of the “vision”, of the possibilities of an organized industrial mission which could develop a large-scale lumbering industry and plantation agriculture.²⁴¹ However, while the board insisted on industrial work as necessary “in the founding of a Christian civilization”, it did not send more specialists to undertake the programme. The Mission Board was only interested in making profit from their investment at Kaimosi using the industrial enterprise, while the field committee stressed the need of integrating Christian faith with the supply of economic and social needs of everyday life. This situation created confusion and delays in achieving the core aspect of evangelization and the development of a Christian culture among Africans.²⁴²

Hobley, had been particularly helpful to the mission because of its industrial feature, which he believed would contribute to the training of Africans in manual skills and in agriculture. For instance, in 1903, Hobley had suggested the possibility of a government grant to FAM mission, if it would agree to teach Swahili, carpentry and masonry to a number of young Africans on a strictly business proposition and without religious and sectarian teaching in it. The mission hesitated, fearful of government interference and suspicious of allowing the evangelistic part to take a secondary place.²⁴³

²³⁹ Hotchkiss, *Sketches from the Dark Continent*, *op. cit.*, *op.cit.* p. 87.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission, 1905.

²⁴³ KNA, PC/NZA/1/8, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1913.

John Ainsworth, the PC of Nyanza, was particularly disappointed by the lack of development on the Kaimosi mission land and accused the missionaries of being "land grabbers". He was reassured by the arrival of Frank Conover, a farmer from America and an agricultural specialist, sent by the Mission Board in 1913 to expand the agricultural programme that had been started at the time the station was established in 1902. He gave practical demonstration in planting and cultivating fruit trees, vegetables and maize to converts and pupils at the various stations. Conover also began to teach Luhya converts what he termed as better "agricultural methods, like planting crops in regular rows". Conover also helped Kaimosi and Lirhanda stations to experiment with coffee growing. Kaimosi started off with 1,900 coffee trees and Lirhanda, 300 trees. 1,500 pineapples were also planted at Kaimosi.²⁴⁴ At Vihiga, about half an acre was planted with black wattle "in accordance with our plan to plant trees until a constant supply of fuel is insured at the station".²⁴⁵ Using the knowledge acquired from the mission station-farms, a number of FAM converts - including Amugune, Litu, Agufana and Lumwagi - had by 1914 put a large acreage under simsim. In the same year, the secretary for Native Affairs, A.C. Holis, reported that the population of Nyanza could make more money by selling agricultural produce than by engaging in wage employment and that "the Kavirondo were practically the only progressive natives in the country".²⁴⁶ Consequently, in 1913 the government "began to direct part of its effort toward the agricultural education of the natives".²⁴⁷ Indeed, the government encouraged "some of the more ambitious chiefs" to send some of their children "to the government farm at Kabete [Kikuyu] to learn agricultural development, particularly the use of animal-pulled ploughs".²⁴⁸

Further, the Board also sent Fred Hoyt, a mechanical and industrial arts specialist, to Kenya. Hoyt proceeded to develop the industrial department and training schools. He trained African converts in carpentry, masonry and brick-making. He also established a formal apprenticeship programme in carpentry and masonry and within a year, the Friends were training up to ten men annually in these trades. As early as 1914, the FAM also planned to construct a training

²⁴⁴ KNA, MSS/ 54/322, Report of Agricultural Development, September 15-December 16, 1913.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ KNA, PC/NZA/1/9, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1914.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ KNA, PC/NZA/1/8, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1913.

workshop at Kaimosi, but owing to delays caused by the outbreak of the war, the building was not completed until 1919.²⁴⁹

FAM missionaries also engaged in the construction and running of water mills at Kaimosi. The attractive natural resources at Kaimosi included the potential for waterpower from the Falls of Goli Goli River and the hard-wood forest, which assured an adequate supply of timber for the proposed mill. Soon after his arrival in 1902, Arthur Chilson started the construction of a dam and the Kisumu-Kaimosi road. The road was completed after many weeks of Africans labour. FAM reports indicate that “each chief was directed by Hobley to supply as many labourers as might be needed for building the road through his district”.²⁵⁰ The completion enabled delivery of the heavy machinery for the saw mill and grist (*posho*) mill from Kisumu. By the end of 1904, the mill was in operation and FAM reports of 1905 stated that the mill operated on a daily basis, grinding millet and maize flour. The grist mill’s most significant benefit was that it lessened the time women used in grinding. Since the services of the grist mill were initially free, it became so popular that Luhya converts from other stations asked the missionaries to set up similar mills in their areas. This was not possible due to the high cost of setting up the mills.²⁵¹ At the same time, the missionaries, using African converts’ labour at Kaimosi, harvested timber and produced 30,000 square feet of lumber which was sold to the government and private individuals. The proceeds went towards offsetting the operating expenses of the industrial department.²⁵²

The industrial programme was important for two reasons. First, it provided the mission with inexpensive material and valuable technicians for maintaining the stations in good repair. Secondly, FAM’s founding philosophy was being served through providing Africans with vocational skills with which to improve their lives. Indeed, these early Christians were conscious of their roles as innovators and pioneers. They had developed a commitment to religious, political and economic change and often chose to interpret their experience as apprentices in ways favourable to the mission’s modernizing ideology.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ KNA, PC/NZA/1/9, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1914.

²⁵⁰ KNA, MSS/54/63, Friends African Industrial Report, 1912.

²⁵¹ Painter, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

²⁵² KNA, MSS/54/64, Frank Conover, Personal Report, 1918.

²⁵³ Oral Interview, Thomas Mukhembu, Shamakhokho, 3/4/2007.

3.7.3 The Medical Department

Christian witnessing, through medical and nursing care, arose out of a long standing missionary tradition and has continued to be an important part of the missionary enterprise in Kenya. The 19th century missionaries had spent a great deal of time and energy serving as medical practitioners, often with little or no formal training. This is because healing was seen as part and parcel of the gospel. The Friends, like other missionaries, were therefore very much interested in evangelization through medical work. When FAM began its work at Kaimosi, one of its challenges was how the missionaries could reach Africans through modern medicine and treatment. At that time, North Kavirondo district reports indicated that the area was ravaged by many diseases. Reports indicate that plague, smallpox, malaria, venereal diseases, elephantiasis, leprosy, dysentery, pneumonia and yaws were prevalent in the district. Against all these maladies, Nyanza province had only one government medical officer stationed at Kisumu. Thus most of the medical work was carried out by missionaries from their various stations.²⁵⁴

FAM's first missionary doctor, Elisha Blackburn, and his wife Virginia, who was a trained nurse, arrived at Kaimosi in 1903. Before his arrival, Willis Hotchkiss and Arthur Chilson had carried out some medical work, although they did not have any medical training. As the first and only doctor in western Kenya, Blackburn had to give thousands of vaccinations in 1904, against the smallpox and plague epidemics of that year. In the early years the doctor was patient and tactful, gradually winning over the Africans, who were at first reluctant to come to the clinic. Initially, the numbers were small, and perhaps he treated only five to seven Africans each day.²⁵⁵

At first, a small mud and thatch hut served as a dispensary. Gradually, Africans began to troop to the mud hut, but often as a last resort when their traditional medicine had failed. Reports indicate that by 1906, the number of Africans who came for treatment had doubled to 90, some of them requiring surgical operations.²⁵⁶ In addition to providing medical services for the Africans, Dr. Blackburn - often using a bicycle - gave itinerary medical care to missionaries and other Europeans in the then North Kavirondo District.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ KNA, DC/NN/1/3, North Kavirondo District Annual Reports, 1919-1920.

²⁵⁵ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Report, 1905.

²⁵⁶ EAYM, Kaimosi Annual Report, 1909.

²⁵⁷ KNA, MSS/54/63, Friends African Industrial Report, 1912.

During Blackburn's furlough of 1909 to 1911, Chilson dealt with the minor cases he was able to handle. On his return in 1911, Blackburn started work on the construction of a permanent building, as a replacement for the mud and wattle hut that served before. The Board had sent \$200 towards its construction.²⁵⁸ In the same year, the number of Africans seeking treatment increased to 15,000, a figure so high that a special appeal was made to Friends in USA to send more doctors and funds to build hospitals. Consequently, Dr. A.B. Estock joined the mission in 1912. He was assigned station duties at Lirhanda, but performed medical services in the field whenever needed. Dr. Estock was a trained dentist and this proved useful especially to the missionaries, for there was no dentist in the area and they often had to go to Nairobi for dental treatment. Construction of the hospital began but was interrupted by the First World War, which delayed its completion to 1918.²⁵⁹

The arrival of Dr. A.A. Bond in 1917 further strengthened the medical staff.²⁶⁰ Months after his arrival at Kaimosi, Dr. Bond was asked to go to Kisumu. He was to aid in the military hospital, which cared for the African porters who had returned home wounded from military campaigns in the German East Africa (later Tanganyika). Dr. Bond saw this as an appropriate means of doing missionary work, for he wrote;

There is certainly a great field of medical work here and I believe that it will contribute much of the missionary work as soon as we get the hospital started, as it will give an additional point of contact with the natives and help to win their confidence.²⁶¹

In contrast to Kaimosi, Bond found Kisumu very unhealthy and quite depressing with illness like plague, cerebro-meningitis and malaria being very common, with occasional cases of sleeping sickness.

Bond stayed in Kisumu longer than he had anticipated, so Dr. A.B. Estock, who was based at the Lirhanda station, undertook to run the Kaimosi hospital. Mid-1918 saw the completion of one ward at the hospital and the admission of the first African in-patient. In the same year, the district experienced a Spanish influenza epidemic and by the end of 1918, about 3,500 deaths had been

²⁵⁸ KNA, MSS/54/63, Friends African Industrial Report, 1912.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*

²⁶¹ Quoted in E.M. Kasiera, *op.cit.*, p.144.

reported. The mission medical staff mobilized its staff for this emergency and asked for more assistance of \$100 from America, to assist the converts.²⁶² To control the outbreak, the mission also authorized that each mission should operate a clinic, manned by the resident missionary.²⁶³ This increment in the demand for medical services shows that Africans were beginning to accept western medicine, at the expense of their traditional medicine.

3.8 Initial Economic Transformation

Missionaries' efforts at winning converts and civilizing them in the Christian ways met with some success. Within a few years, African converts were taking their new learning and experience back to the villages beyond the mission stations' reach. Through the efforts of Amugune, the first African convert to leave a mission station and to establish his own evangelical team, the Maragoli increasingly dominated the FAM's converts' numbers. By 1917, Vihiga became the first Monthly Meeting, with 644 members. The Bukusu came second in terms of church membership with 240, followed by the Isukha and Idakho, with 222 members and lastly the Tiriki, with 78 converts.²⁶⁴

Most studies on the role of the church in the ensuing cultural transformation are more or less concerned with exploring two questions. The first is the "why" question: why did the Luhyia get converted to FAM? For this study, the importance of this question rests in its relation to the intersection between religious conversion and economic transformation. If it is argued that economic forces created the conditions for conversion among the Luhyia, then in this instance, religious change serves as a dependent variable, or as something that has to be explained.

Variables contributing to the initial conversions by 1918 can be categorized under two headings, internal and external. Internal variables included the inner spiritual experiences of converts, or the fulfilment of the intrinsic needs they believed conversion would provide. For instance, only two pioneer converts - Daudi Lung'aho and Rasoah Mutuha - claimed that God "spoke to them

²⁶² Painter, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²⁶³ EAYM, Kaimosi Medical Reports, 1918.

²⁶⁴ Painter, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

and told them to believe and get saved".²⁶⁵ Lung'aho claimed he found in the Christian faith some answer to the "questions, trials, or longings of his own life".²⁶⁶ For Lung'aho, therefore, conversion was first, a supernatural experience, an encounter with God or God's word, that showed him a new and better way of living.²⁶⁷

Lung'aho claimed that his conversion began even before he met the missionaries. After working for a European at Kaptum government post for about three months, Lung'aho happened to see some European strangers, who had come to visit the government officials. On inquiring about their visit, Lung'aho was told that,

They were missionaries from America. They had come to begin mission work at a place called Kaimosi among the Tiriki people. Their work was to teach people about God and how to read and write. They had come to Kaptum to look for people who could speak Swahili to help them in this task.²⁶⁸

According to Lung'aho, when he heard these words, his "heart was drawn to this kind of work".²⁶⁹ Mutuha on the other hand, claimed that,

Every day I heard Mr. Ford proclaim the glad tiding of Jesus Christ. God opened my eyes and I learnt the tune of the hymn, *Yesu akhulanga* (come to Jesus). I joined the church as soon as I got to Lugulu area.²⁷⁰

Consequently, it was the "inner feeling" that prompted Lung'aho and Mutuha to join the FAM missionaries at Kaimosi and Lugulu, respectively, where they became pioneer Luhyia converts.

A second internal reason for conversion was the desire to escape the disarray and suffering caused by experiences like loss of parents, societal rejections like for those suspected of witchcraft, or forced marriages on the part of women. Conversion to Christianity was a way to compensate for lack of recognition in the society. Indeed, more women initially took refuge at Kaimosi station than men, in part because of the hardship that many of them experienced while

²⁶⁵ Lung'aho, *op.cit.*, p. 6; and Herbert Kimball and Beatrice Kimball, *Go into all the World: A Centennial Celebration of Friends in East Africa*, Richmond: Friends United Press, 2002, p. 25.

²⁶⁶ Lung'aho, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ Herbert and Beatrice Kimball, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

in forced marriages. For instance, after her marriage Maria Maraga's, brother and sisters - namely, Daniel Chagona, Mariam Inyanje, Rebeka Amugidi and Inzera - joined her at Kaimosi, where they also became converts.²⁷¹

The first and most frequently mentioned explanation for conversion focusing on external variables is that conversion allowed people to escape economic deprivation at the personal and societal levels. Converts like Amugune, Ngaira, Maria Mwaisti, Lumwagi, Chagona and Petro Wanyama all joined the mission stations in search of wage labour. Missionaries offered employment opportunities at their stations and this prompted some of the pioneer converts to become Christians so as to continue earning a wage and living at the mission stations as cooks or construction workers.²⁷²

Missionaries also used economic enticements, like food and clothing, to woo African converts. These items made the converts stand apart from the rest in the community and become an envied class. For instance, the administrative report of 1918 indicated that,

The natives as whole are anxious to be taught and a marked advance in civilization is noticeable among mission pupils. Clothes are becoming the rule rather than the exception; this is partly due to mission influence.²⁷³

Since conversion was a pre-condition to receiving clothing and education, many Luhyia initially began to see the economic advantages that accrued from this change of religion. Moreover, through education, early converts became teacher-evangelists. Teacher-evangelists were "generally rather more civilized than the average native. They are better clothed, more polite and more intelligent".²⁷⁴ Carpenters and masons also enjoyed considerably higher salaries and they were able to write and read. Consequently, the early converts became a wage-earning class and incipient elite, with money to buy European commodities. For instance, Amugune and Lung'aho gained social prestige by acquiring items like bicycles, constructing European-type permanent houses and gaining knowledge of reading and writing. Model Christian women, like Maria Lung'aho and Rebeka Amugune had knowledge of the Bible, and European nutrition and child

²⁷¹ Herbert and Beatrice Kimball, *op.cit.*, p. 25. .

²⁷² Oral Interview, Leah Ganira Lung'aho, *op.cit.*

²⁷³ KNA, DC/NN/1/1, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 31/3/1918.

²⁷⁴ KNA, PC/NZA/1/12, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1917.

care.²⁷⁵ Consequently, these early African Christian pioneers used their religion to demonstrate the role of conversion as a means toward social betterment and advancement.²⁷⁶

Marginalized members of society also converted to FAM, with the aim of gaining a new identity. To these people, therefore, conversion constituted a therapeutic act of self-aggrandizement. Where an individual with a strong drive existentially to affirm himself or herself could not achieve adequate gratification of that drive utilizing traditional socio-cultural means, conversion to a new religion - in the face of strong social disapproval - became the beginning of achieving the greatest gratification.

The last category of converts was comprised of those who were forced into mission stations and schools, by chiefs and headmen. For instance, Ngaira was forcibly taken to Kaimosi to look after chief Shivachi's two sons, whom the government had also forced through their father to go and study at the station. Later, Ngaira became one of the pioneer Christians and was instrumental in the establishment of Malava station. Consequently, in the early years of FAM operations in western Kenya, social prestige could be gained through service in religious matters and the association with missionaries. Social prestige was thus used by the early converts to attract more Africans to this new religion.²⁷⁷

The second question is the "so what" inquiry, concerning the consequences of conversion. It may explain in what ways converts differed from the unconverted, or what economic changes occurred in their lives. In this case, conversion may be treated either as an independent or a dependent variable. Among the early Luhya converts, religious conversion set in motion various processes of change that manifested themselves in socio-economic advancement.²⁷⁸ To the new converts, their lives were now ordered on what was perceived to be a Christian life and, hence, a modern way of life, replacing traditional training and socialization. And as Christianity took root among the pioneer minority, conversion and association with the new Christian culture began to be seen as a means to economic advancement and success which, in turn, created inequalities in

²⁷⁵ Amugune, *op. cit.*, p. 13 and Lung'aho, *op. cit.*, p. 10

²⁷⁶ Sangree, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

²⁷⁷ Oral Interview, Agnes Khanjira, *op. cit.*

²⁷⁸ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op. cit.*

the society. Consequently, the perceived economic and social benefits of conversion were attractive and the new converts were important for attracting others into the new faith. Pioneer converts claim that they became better individuals after conversion. The acquisition of European education and material items turned them into one of the most influential people in their locations, thus affording them respect and prestige.²⁷⁹

They also became pioneers in adopting modern techniques in agriculture and invested in trade and other activities, leading to economic prosperity and societal transformation. Acceptance of missionary education by the minority pioneer Christians meant that Africans were open to many new innovations that helped to ignite the process of cultural transformation. By breaking with traditional beliefs and organizations, pioneer African Christians opened themselves to the possibility of contact with new groups and ideas. Their frequent relationships with Western missionaries thus opened up their previously cloistered world. For example, early African converts' contact with FAM missionaries sometimes led to an economic payoff, since such exposure increased African Christians' circle of contacts, enabling them to hear of educational, job or marketing opportunities that they could take advantage of.²⁸⁰

In fact, many pioneer converts enthusiastically reported positive post-conversion economic changes and prosperity. Even those who did not experience any personal financial improvement were quick to identify with other beneficial changes like better health, less anxiety, stronger marriages, a new self-confidence, new insights as parents, or greater peace with Christian neighbours. Therefore, whatever the objective evidence for the consequences of conversion, converts subjectively interpreted their decision in a positive light and believed that their lives had improved in important ways because of their new faith.²⁸¹

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter set out to examine five key issues; namely, the establishment of FAM stations in western Kenya; the reaction of the Luhya toward the new stations; the formulation of FAM secular policy; the impact of other stakeholders - the colonial government and the Catholic

²⁷⁹ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op. cit.*

²⁸⁰ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op. cit.*

²⁸¹ See for Example, Amugune, *op. cit.*, pp.12-14.

mission - on the implementation of missionary policy, and the effects of FAM projects on the economic life of those who had converted to Christianity.

FAM's main strategy in Kenya was to instil what they perceived to be the truth, the word of God, through the establishment of an evangelical and industrial mission. During its first sixteen years, however, the Kaimosi mission had very little success in winning converts. Neither the increase in numbers of missionaries in the field, nor the expanded degree of financial assistance from home seemed able to bring about an impressive number of conversions to Christianity. For the most part, this lack of success was due to problems associated with establishing a new mission station and the strength of indigenous African religion, which proved effective in resisting conversion. Those converted, during FAM's initial stages were thus non-conformist individuals of independent character, who were willing to leave behind their homes and customary ways of life. But the vast majority of Africans remained conformists, in a society in which conformity was the highest ideal.

Missionaries invariably aimed at the overall change in the beliefs and actions of the Africans; the colonization of heart and mind, as well as body. And in pursuit of this sustained policy of change, missionaries demonstrated a more radical and morally intense commitment than political administrators. Before the First World War, a sizeable minority of the Luhyia had, therefore, converted to Christianity. It was these new Christians that the FAM hoped to use as a modernizing example to the rest of the Africans. However, the process of winning over Africans was not realized without efforts and setbacks. At first, African-type mud and wattle huts were built to serve as homes, chapels, infirmaries and classrooms, as the missions struggled to establish themselves.

The early years of the history of the Friends in Kenya were significant in that attitudes were formed and policies formulated and implemented. Of particular importance was the development of a language policy and the initial steps taken toward the creation of the first separate Christian community. The move toward decentralization, which began with the opening of the Vihiga station, would also enable the Friends to adapt their message to a variety of conditions in a society which was variegated. In these early years, FAM policies were affected not only by the

colonial government, which had provided land and protection to the early missionaries, but also by the AFBFM, other Christian missions, particularly MHM, and the reaction of the Africans toward the new religion.

Missionary education was the most important dynamic form of innovation. FAM missionaries used various ways - like the use of chiefs and headmen, enticement and peer pressure - to fill up classrooms. This was no easy task because during this period, many pressures operated against the youth in their endeavour to receive missionary education. But as the colonial situation gradually encroached on rural life, Christianity and its attributes became an important aspect of life. Education thus led to the emergence of advocates of modernity among the Luhyia, who became agents of rural transformation. The early success of education, together with other secular departments - like agriculture, health and industrial development, was primarily viewed by missionaries as closely bound up with the central aim of saving souls, and creating an African self-supporting church.

Chapter Four

Increased Conversion and Demand for Secular Services, 1919- 1939

4.0 Introduction

In the period between 1902 and 1918, FAM missionaries tried to use education as one of several means of enticing the Luhyia to join Christianity. During this time, however, the number of Christian converts remained low due to the strength of the traditional society. It must be pointed out that before the coming of the colonial rule and Christianity, the Luhyia - like most pre-colonial societies in Kenya - lived in a tradition-directed society. The strength of such a society lay in the cohesive, integrated and self-sufficient system that sanctioned behaviour and in which everything had its prescribed place. It was, therefore, through this strength that the Luhyia sub-groups were able to repel the efforts of the early missionaries because to accept Christianity was to reject one's whole way of life. However, in the face of new ways of viewing the world, the traditional ways of life were undermined.

The impact made by the colonial situation, such as the introduction of wage labour, money, urban centres, production for export, individual enterprise and colonial laws – which the Luhyia had witnessed for nearly two decades - were too much for traditional society or religion to counter. Consequently, the walls of traditional society began to crack. Some of the Luhyia then began to accept the western culture, including Christianity and education ideals, as means for adapting to the new situation. Thus, the Luhyia not only began to demand for more educational opportunities (from the missions and the colonial government alike), but were also willing to tax themselves in order to finance mission-affiliated schools in their areas. And in the process of meeting the Luhyia's educational demands, a close interaction developed between the Africans, FAM missionaries and the colonial government. Consequently, in the inter-war period, the critical factor was the role played by the three stakeholders in the provision of African education and the concomitant transformation that occurred among the Luhyia.

This chapter therefore examines these dynamics along the following aspects: namely, acceptance of Christianity, FAM Christian villages, development of education, end of spheres of influence, the medical department, FAM and the educated elite, and the development of entrepreneurship. During this period, indicators of economic transformation included increased demand higher

education and the willingness of the Luhya to tax themselves to build more schools. At the same time the educated elite were becoming professional teachers and entrepreneurs. Increasingly, Luhya society began to be divided into two social classes; namely, the educated elite - who continued to acquire wealth from employment and business ventures - and the peasants.

4.1 Acceptance of Christianity

Starting in 1919, the Luhya slowly, but increasingly, embraced Christianity and began to demand for more educational opportunities from the FAM. This change can be attributed to the impact of the First World War, the labour requirements of the White settlers, the relevance of education in the emerging colonial order and the complementary efforts of teacher-evangelists and missionaries.

It was also at this time that “pagan” Luhya leaders and/or elders began to convert to Christianity, notable among them being Sakwa Lumbete, who was the circumcision initiation chief among the Tiriki.¹ Their conversion indicated two significant trends. First, the indigenous social structure and religion were beginning to be undermined to such an extent that some of its most conservative and strongest supporters were abandoning it. Secondly, the elders’ conversion showed that Christianity had begun to substitute some aspects of the traditional social and religious structures among the Luhya. For instance, many of the traditional requirements and benefits of clan affiliation were incorporated into the new African FAM Meetings. For example, church leadership still rested with the elders and their opinions were still respected as they had been before. Church elders not only took up leadership in religious matters, but also in social activities and projects, like the building of additional churches, schools and the hiring of teachers.²

Following the example set by the Luhya leaders and/or elders, an increasing number converted to FAM. For example, membership rose from 100 to 300 between 1919 and 1920, and to 1,013 in the following year.³ Concomitant with the increased rate of conversion was the development of education. This can be inferred from the FAM mission reports which emphasized the

¹ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op.cit.*, and EAYM, Kaimosi Station Annual Reports, 1920.

² Oral Agnes Khajira, *op.cit.*

³ EAYM, FAM Annual Report, 1920 and 1921.

necessity of starting a school in every village. For example, one report stated that, “we can expect that the converts to Christianity will be in direct proportion to the number who can read the scriptures in their local dialect”.⁴ Consequently, by 1920, FAM had established 85 out-schools, with an enrolment of 40,000 pupils.⁵

The First World War irreparably undermined some of the traditional Luhya structures and values which had so far resisted the coming of Christianity. In particular, the large scale conscription of many Africans for military service meant that the geographical isolation of the clan structure was disrupted, as its young men were sent hundreds of miles away, where they became increasingly influenced by the western way of life. War-time experiences were thus instrumental in stimulating African acceptance of Christianity. As a consequence of the government’s call for porters and labourers to serve in the East African campaigns, thousands of young Africans had been uprooted from their homes and had travelled all over the protectorate. From North Nyanza, where FAM’s five stations (Kaimosi, Vihiga, Lirhandu, Lugulu and Malava) were located, over 28,000 were conscripted to serve in the forces.⁶ Their return helped to quickly erase the prevalent negative perceptions about conversion and education.⁷ This came about as the war survivors - who were mostly below the age of forty years – became eager to gain the education and training that was necessary in order for them to share in the new world that they had seen.⁸ By the end of the war, the Luhya had also realized that there was a wider range of possible employment alternatives for them, resulting in a drastic curtailment of the flow of labourers to the European farms.

The concomitant labour shortage for settlers forced the colonial officials to act quickly in order to avert a labour crisis. On 23rd October 1919 the Acting Governor, Sir Edward Northey, therefore issued a special labour circular to government officials, with clear instructions regarding labour supply. They were directed to “actively encourage” Africans to engage in wage labour and to place heavy pressure on chiefs and headmen, to give their African subjects similar encouragement. As a consequence of these directives, chiefs were judged mainly on their ability

⁴EAYM, FAM Annual Report, 1920 and 1921.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶G. Hodges, *op.cit.*, pp 99 and 207.

⁷EAYM, FAM Annual Report, 1919-120.

⁸Oral Elisha Masambu Wakube, Chwele, 6/9/2007.

to turn out labour after the war. In western Kenya, chiefs adopted forceful tactics - such as capturing young men in the middle of the night - to achieve the desired end.⁹ Furthermore, after the war, intensified direct and indirect taxation in Kenya did more than merely increase the flow of labour to European employers. It also served to inhibit the accumulation and investment of funds in African lands, which might have enabled Africans to withdraw their labour from Europeans and still find other ways to pay their tax bills.¹⁰

The Native Registration Ordinance No. 56 was also promulgated in 1921. Under this ordinance, every adult African male received and was required to carry a certificate called a pass. In this certificate, each employer recorded the time worked, the kind of work performed, the wages earned, and general comments on the individual. Loss of the certificate rendered its owner liable to severe punishment. Exemptions from the obligation to carry it were extremely difficult to obtain. The resultant effect of this law was that many Africans were forced to undertake manual labour on settlers' farms. However, Christian converts and teacher-evangelists who worked with the FAM missionaries - like Yohana Amugune, Daudi Lung'aho, Joel Litu, Yohana Lumwagi, Petro Wanyama and Joseph Ngaira - were exempted from such labour recruitment.¹¹ By observing the exemption of Christians from such harsh colonial requirements, the Luhya began to see the benefits of Christianity. Western culture, particularly the acquisition of education, thus became an avenue for gaining better employment and increasing one's capacity of meeting the new demands of the colonial system, while avoiding others. Since only missionary societies provided the bulk of education, an increasing number began to join the Friends church. The outcome was a significant rise in FAM membership, so that by 1939, FAM had 20,000 members out of north Kavirondo's population of 378,365. Indeed, during this period, Christian converts of various denominations accounted for 15.6 per cent of the population of western province.¹² But the percentage is likely to have been higher among the Maragoli, where the FAM mission had a stronger following.¹³

⁹ Robert Maxon, "Colonial Conquest and Administration", in William. R. Ochieng, (ed), *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya*, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 2002, p.105.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Amugune, *op.cit* p.11.

¹² KNA, PC/NZA/1/43, Nyanza Province Annual Reports, 1939.

¹³ G. Wagner, *The Bantu of Western Kenya*, London: Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 37.

The growing acceptance of Christianity, however, proved to be a mixed blessing for the FAM. This is because the large number of converts translated into greater demand for schools and called for more financial investment. And although annual support from the USA had grown over the years from \$3,756 in 1903 to \$14,630 in 1919, it still proved insufficient to financially support the growing church in Kenya.¹⁴ As an alternative solution, a new financial scheme, known as the Cooperative Plan, was launched by the Board in 1919. The central idea of this scheme involved persuading local African Weekly Meetings to assume total responsibility for paying local evangelists and teachers. This would permit the channelling of mission funds into provision of schools, equipment and better training programmes. As a result of the Cooperative Plan, the mission reported an increasing percentage of schools and teachers that was being entirely supported out of local funds.¹⁵

In 1917, for instance, African financial contribution - from offerings and tithes for that year - had been \$6.86 toward education and \$20 for church support. By 1923, their contribution to education and the African church totalled a little over \$2,000.¹⁶ This sudden increase mostly came from the heavily populated southern districts around Maragoli, where the earliest Monthly Meetings had been established. These Meetings were far in advance of the rest, both in membership and degree of responsibility over their own affairs. For instance, as early as 1921, the Maragoli Monthly Meeting used its church offerings and tithes to pay for the support of all its school teachers, and had "accumulated a balance of £120, which was deposited in an account with the National Bank of India Limited in the name of the Maragoli Native Church".¹⁷ By 1928, the Maragoli Christians were giving over \$6,000¹⁸ annually to their Church and had relieved the mission of all costs for religious work in the area. This enabled the FAM to concentrate a greater share of its limited funds on the less advanced locations further north.¹⁹

The campaign for local financial support was shortly followed by a drive in the USA, to revive the flagging interest in foreign mission work which had been interrupted by the war. In early

¹⁴ KNA, MSS/54/63, Letters from Educational Department 1920.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ EAYM, FAM, Annual Reports, 1924-25.

¹⁷ EAYM, Annual Report of Maragoli Station, 1921.

¹⁸ EAYM, FAM, Annual Reports, 1932-1929.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

1920s, American Friends participated in an ecumenical movement known as the Inter-Church World Movement of North America, where the AFBFM launched a fund called the "Forward Movement", to help finance foreign missions.²⁰ In the same year, the collected and concentrated efforts of thousands of individual Friends - energized by the Forward Movement - swept into a single wave of enthusiastic support for the missionary programme. This drive netted \$344,000 in its initial year, \$215,802 of which was earmarked for Friends missionary work abroad. FAM's share of this sum amounted to \$32,541 in 1920-1, in contrast with the \$14,630 that it had received in 1918-19.²¹ However, this wave of popular support was crushed by the reality of the 1921-22 depression in the USA. By 1922, the Forward Movement had completely collapsed because the depression severely hit the American Midwest, the heartland of evangelical Friends strength.²² Subsequently, the Board sought to centralize missionary operations and late in 1922, it launched the "Concentration Scheme". This scheme reversed the original strategy of creating numerous small stations. The new policy was to concentrate the educational, industrial, agricultural and medical work at Kaimosi. Later, as the financial situation worsened, resident missionaries were withdrawn from posts at Malava (1923), Vihiga (1926) and Lirhandu (1927), with only one American family remaining at Lugulu. This situation forced the mission to operate its growing Church programmes on declining income and personnel, a difficult feat that inevitably produced deficiencies in missionary work.²³

Fluctuations in mission income, increasing African financial contribution and the expansion of church programmes, began to change missionary-African relations. Due to their financial strength, Africans increasingly gained a stronger voice in FAM's evangelistic matters. In 1921, for instance, Yohana Amugune established the first African-led Monthly Meeting at Chavakali. He appointed Andrea Agufana and Daniel Akelo as the presiding clerk (pastor) and recording clerk, respectively. In 1922 Amugune also established the First African-led Quarterly Meeting at Chavakali, to serve the Chavakali, Vihiga and Tiriki Monthly Meetings. Andrea Agufana and Mathew Esendi were appointed presiding clerk and recording clerk respectively, while Daniel Bukayaga became the treasurer. In fact, in the 1920s, Amugune had become the leading teacher -

²⁰ KNA, MSS/54/63, Letters from Educational Department, 1920.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² KNA, MSS/54/63, Letters from Educational Department, 1923.

²³ Kay, *op. cit.* p.152.

evangelist and leader of the Vihiga station. For instance, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Amugune financially sponsored teacher-evangelists chosen from Maragoli Friends and sent them to preach, teach and establish churches in other parts of the district. He sent Abraham Adaka, Samweli Mmalenga and Zachariah Amoni to Malava, while Paul Mbwanga, Stefano Ndonga, Yakobo Ondede, Musa Alwena, Daniel Amudavi and Thomas Chokunzira were sent to Lugulu and Chwele.²⁴

Moreover, with the implementation of the Concentration Policy, pioneer teacher-evangelists took over the running of mission stations. For instance, Joseph Ngaira undertook administration of Malava station, Yohana Lumwagi took over the running of Lirhanda, while Peter Wanyama and Philip Mwangale managed the Lugulu station.²⁵ With Africans assuming leadership of the Weekly, Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, the missionaries' role, as directors, diminished and they instead became more like counsellors and advisors. A partnership now replaced the old missionary directorship and missionaries ceased being wholly responsible for the weekly activities of local congregations.²⁶ Consequently, African Friends began to develop a feeling of proprietorship over the church and its institutions, which became less of a foreign entity and more of an integral part of the local Christian villages.²⁷

4.1.1 FAM Christian Villages

In 1920, as a result of growing acceptance of Christianity among the Luhya, FAM missionaries, established Christian villages. The villages were a deliberate attempt by the missionaries to encourage their growing flock to leave the confines of the mission station, and to live together in small clusters of Christian families. Unlike the traditional village, whose basis was kinship affiliations, the Christian villages were made up of Christians from a particular location, not necessarily related.²⁸ Leadership of the Christian villages was shared by a council of church elders, headed by the senior-most teacher-evangelist. Christian village leaders also enjoyed a strong influence in recognition of their training and learning. Rules were rigidly enforced in

²⁴ EAYM, *History ye Livugana lya Valina (Friends Quakers)*, 1971.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ EAYM, FAM Annual Reports, 1928.

²⁷ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op. cit.*

²⁸ EAYM, *History ye Livugana lya Valina (Friends Quakers)*, 1971.

these communities. For serious transgressions, members were placed on probation and if their mistakes persisted, they were dropped from the Church.²⁹

The Christian village thus attempted to replace the clan, by adopting the church structure as the basis of unity and cooperation. The forms of co-operation in traditional and Christian society were similar, although the social relationship that provided the rationale for co-operation was different. In establishing the “brotherhood of Christ”, the church also made possible a new social mobility and brought together people of different clans and ethnic groups, in new communities. The village church became the “family altar” and church elders assumed the function of kinship heads in the training of children, the maintenance of discipline and the organization of social and economic life.³⁰ Church membership superseded kinship as the primary social tie and Friends were taught to live in the spirit of a new “*ujamaa*”. The men learned to make bricks and applied their new knowledge to the construction of permanent church buildings. The women helped each other with the care and teaching of children, the sick were visited and food was shared with those in need. This new relationship was demonstrated in the organization of many forms of economic and social cooperation.³¹

Christian villages were established at Kaimosi, Vihiga, Chavakali, Kegoye, Lirhanda, Lugulu, Kambi Mwanza, Chesamisi, Indivisi, Lirhembe Chabaywa, Kidundu, Vokoli, Shamberere, Senende and Munzatsi.³² Land for the setting up of Christian villages was acquired through various ways. By the early 1920s, most of the Luhya chiefs had come to terms with the apparent alliance between the colonial government and the missions and had accepted as inevitable many of the changes being brought by the new religion. Chiefs and headmen, therefore, were willing to set land aside for the building of Christian villages.³³ For instance, Chiefs authorized the use of customary meeting places (*barazas*) for the establishment of Christian villages. Such was the case for Chavakali and Senende Christian villages.³⁴ In other instances, individuals with influence and access to wealth donated land for the new church and

²⁹ KNA, MSS/54/63, Letters from Educational Department 1929.

³⁰ KNA, MSS/54/322, Minutes of Meeting, 12/8.1929.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op.cit.*

³³ KNA, MSS/54/322, Minutes of Meeting, 12/8.1929.

³⁴ Oral Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*; Abraham Misigo, Senende, 10/4/2007.

community. This was the case of Jeremiah Sejero, the son of a headman, who was able to arrange for the building of the Musingu church in Idakho location on his father's land in 1921.³⁵ Among the Kabras, Zacharia Makhalan'gan'ga donated land for the building of Christian villages and schools.³⁶ Christian villages varied in size. Some had just a few huts. There was a large one at Kegoye in Maragoli, which had about 80 families. The largest was at Chesamisi, among the Bukusu and Tachoni, and had over 100 families and covered approximately 10 acres.³⁷

FAM missionaries and pioneer teacher-evangelists encouraged the development of Christian villages for a number of reasons. First, FAM missionaries felt that as new Christians emerged from the protection of the mission station, further separation from the unconverted could prevent them from succumbing to temptation. Self-contained communal life would provide mutual support and lessen the chances of backsliding into traditional 'vices'. FAM missionaries and the early Luhya Friends also felt that separation from the unconverted was a necessary proof of one's faith.³⁸ Indeed, Bukusu and Tachoni Friends went further by making an analogy between the pre-colonial walled villages, constructed as a defence against physical enemies and the new villages created as a shield against loss of spiritual powers. In most cases, this feeling was reinforced by the hostility shown towards young Christians by members of the families and clans they had separated from. This hostility was so great that at times converts were ostracized and even driven out of their homes. For instance, Peter Inyasi, Marita Mugotso, Benjamin Sangale, Stephen Shimajelo, Elisha Shiverenje, Yohana Ingi, Maria Mwaitisi, were all disowned by their families for converting to Christianity. They initially stayed at Kaimosi under Lung'aho's care and later, at the various Christian villages in Tiriki.³⁹

Secondly, the missionaries also believed that these pockets of Christian influence would help to evangelize the Luhya more rapidly. Christian villages were thus seen as a necessary preparation for outreach to the wider community, through prayer, preaching and teaching. Finally, to the FAM missionaries, the development of Christian villages was a means of training Africans in

³⁵ Oral Interview, Teina Sejero, Musingu, 8/6/2007

³⁶ Oral Interview, Rodgers Katami Wambia, Maturu, Maturu, 13/8/2007, and Dinah Wanyona, Silungai, 21/3/2007,

³⁷ EAYM, *History ye Livugana lya Valina (Friends Quakers)*, 1934.

³⁸ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Oral Interview, Francis Shiverenje Mwashu, *op. cit.*; EAYM, Annual Reports, 1922.

self-support. Christian communities were in the near future expected to undertake the financing of education programmes in their areas. The development of self-sufficient Christian communities was thus seen as the corollary of church self-support and establishment of schools.⁴⁰ Consequently, wherever a Christian village was established, a school was also begun. A picture of the growth of Christian villages can thus be gained from observing the increase in the number of schools. In 1920, there were approximately 50 FAM schools in Luhyialand but by 1938, this number had increased to over 302, with a total enrolment of over 20,400 pupils.⁴¹ Consequently, by the 1930s, Christian villages had developed into models of new forms of socio-economic organization in education, agriculture and medical care. A piece of land averaging one acre was usually set aside in each Christian village, for demonstration of new methods of agriculture. Women were trained in new methods of maternal care, hygiene and preparation of balanced diets. The FAM medical team also visited each Christian village once a month. Thus, from being initially fortresses embattled against non-Christian influences, Christian villages began to act as agents of change by passing on western culture to the rest of the African population.⁴² To the FAM missionaries, Christian villages seemed an idyllic pastoral scene,

Insulated from the impingement of the outside world. Within the villages, the educational aims and experience of family, work, school and the church were combined to provide a single set of references, by which all aspects of life could be evaluated. Moreover, education was a deliberate continuity of experience which embraced children and adults.⁴³

Although Christian villages served as centres for socio-economic innovation, there was however, a marked difference between the southern and northern Friends, especially in their expectations of Christian life. The southern Friends regarded life in separate communities as a necessary preparation for outreach to the wider community and a way of learning to harmonize their spiritual faith with their temporal needs.⁴⁴ But among the northern Friends, there clearly was a belief that life in the Christian village was a temporary sojourn on the earth, to be spent in prayer and in expectation of Christ's imminent return and their departure for a new life in the after-

⁴⁰ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1923.

⁴¹ EAYM, Education Report 1938; and Oral Interview, Diminah Wepukulu 26/3/2007; Leah Ganira Lung'aho, Agnes Khajira and William Shibadu, *op.cit.*

⁴² Oral interview Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

⁴³ KNA, MSS/54/322, Minutes of Meeting, 30/10/1930.

⁴⁴ Oral Interview, Francis Mwashu Shiverenje, *op.cit.*

world. This belief was mostly due to the stress which a FAM missionary, Jefferson Ford, had laid on the second coming of Christ.⁴⁵

Ford had emphasized that Christians should give no thought to earthly riches, but should instead look forward to the spiritual riches promised in heaven. While Ford may have spoken of this event as imminent only in relation to the total span of human history, many Bukusu and Tachoni apparently expected it within their life-time. This prospect certainly appealed to many Bukusu and Tachoni, shaken by the effects of colonial conquest and the occupation of their land. Consequently, many of those who lived in Christian villages remember them as places of preparation for the next world, rather than the present. Thus, daily prayers loomed large in the Bukusu and Tachoni Christian villages.⁴⁶ When the Ford promise remained unfulfilled, many Bukusu and Tachoni became frustrated and sought alternative solutions to their problems. Prominent among these was the establishment of African independent churches, like *Dini ya Musambwa*.⁴⁷

In the early 1930s, the rationale for separate Christian villages progressively became weaker. This was because as Christianity gained wider acceptance, segregation became less and less necessary for protection. In the late 1920s, for instance, important linkage had begun growing between traditional and Christian villages. In many areas, "blood proved thicker than water". Christians and the traditional Luhya co-operated while living in separate communities. Indeed by the late 1920s, conversion to Christianity no longer led to ostracism. For example, when a convert joined the Church and moved into a Christian village, he still retained his land and the inheritance rights of his lineage. Births, weddings and funerals also continued to be occasions when family and kinship bonds were renewed. Furthermore, many young Christians, who disliked the enforced separation from their non-Christian parents, reconciled with their families. These young Christians also became instrumental in encouraging their unconverted peers and adults to attend the FAM's out-schools in Christian villages.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Oral Interview, Metta Nanjala Munyole and Henry Munyole, Busakala, 26/9/2007.

⁴⁶ Oral Interview, Elisha Masambu Wakube, *op.cit.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op.cit.*

Land pressures and changing patterns of land ownership were also major contributors to the decline of the Christian villages in the 1920s. Land in the Christian villages had been haphazardly allocated, with little basis in either customary or colonial law. Many who moved into the Christian village simply squatted on land owned by others. In this period of Christian *ujamaa*, little thought was given to individual rights of tenure. Indeed, as the new communities mushroomed from simple dormitories housing young unmarried Christians into villages of family homesteads, little time was taken to consider the changing economic relationships and the demands of individual ownership rights.⁴⁹ And as land pressure increased, the Christian villages were reduced to a few of the faithful who owned land around the church and school, thus making it increasingly difficult for the Friends to maintain the church as a focal point for all village experience and transformation. Community agricultural groups gradually declined and they were replaced by a labour - for - cash system, where money played the central role in a new value system. The increased awareness of the monetary value of land also led to disputes over compensation and families which refused to pay rent - to the owners of the land on which villages had been built - were evicted from the Christian villages. Furthermore, the growing inequalities in the distribution of land within the villages and emergence of individual land ownership, coupled with the spirit of competitiveness, combined to undermine the whole system of egalitarianism and communalism that had been the hallmark of the Christian villages. Instead of mutual support, jealousies arose among the village members, eventually leading to the break up of Christian village communities by the mid 1930s.⁵⁰

Even though the importance of Christian villages slowly declined in the 1930s, they were still instrumental in the establishment of schools among the Luhya. This was because the typical mark of each Christian village was the establishment of a weekly Meeting and a school to serve its members. Christian villages thus marked an attempt by the Friends to create an institution that goaded its members, through the church and school, to accept a new Christian way of life.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁵⁰ EAYM, Christian Village Reports, 1928-1933.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

4.2 The Impact of Church on Community

In the period after 1919, the Luhya increasingly converted to Christianity. This is shown by the fact that between 1902 and 1918, 1,013 converts were recorded, while between 1919 and 1939, the total number stood at over 20,000.⁵² This increase can be explained by the importance of missionary education in the emerging social order. FAM reports of 1919 stated that,

A very close relation can be seen between evangelistic and educational work. While educating the native does not Christianize him, yet it is most often through teaching that opportunity is afforded of making a direct and effective appeal to the native to leave his old ways for Christ.⁵³

FAM education thus played an important role in the economic transformation of Luhya society. This transformation can be seen in the emergence of educated elite who became professional teachers and entrepreneurs, apart from acquiring material possessions like bicycles and motor vehicles.

4.2.1 Developments in Education

Since its inception, the FAM had set forth the provision of education as one of its major responsibilities. Education was inseparable from Church membership and reading, writing and arithmetic were perceived as necessary tools in the propagation of the faith, the administration of a self-supporting church and the desired transformation of the African society.⁵⁴

Before the war, FAM missionaries had mainly relied on teacher-evangelists like Amugune, and/or appointed headmen and chiefs to establish and sustain out-schools, or village schools which generally offered between two to five years of education.⁵⁵ However, as the advantages of FAM education became apparent in the inter-war period, an increasing number among the Luhya began to demand more access to education opportunities. For instance, provincial reports indicated that,

Out of a population of 1.25 million, 5 % are children of school age - from 6 to 16 years - giving a total of 250,000. There are 80,837 African children on the roll of all African schools in the province - 32% of the children are receiving some form of instruction. If we take the proportion on the roll of

⁵² EAYM, Annual Reports, 1920 and 1939.

⁵³ KNA, MSS/ 54/ 161, Kaimosi Evangelistic and Educational Departments, 1919.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op.cit.*

the elementary and sub-elementary schools to the total number of children of age for elementary education- 6 to 10 years, we get a more encouraging figure of 63%.⁵⁶

Reports further suggested that, "the pressure of desire for entry to primary school is greater than ever, and is resulting in a flood of demand for Day Primary schools".⁵⁷ Several reasons can explain this increased demand. The first was the experience that Africans had acquired from their participation in the First World War. This war had shown that Africans could only compete effectively in the colonial situation if they acquired western religion and hence, education. The returning soldiers like Anganya Muharia, Petro Makokha, Festus Amiani, Filomena Amulega, John Kaya and Henry Songa spread this new gospel, leading to an increasing number of the Luhya who desired a share in the white man's civilization.⁵⁸ These demand were further crystallized by the introduction of the special labour circular which made Africans, particularly Christian converts, to demand for an education that was functional and which would equip them with working skills, like being a teacher, a clerk to the local chief or court clerk, jobs that were well paying and prestigious in the village standing, rather than doing manual labour on European farms. In early 1920s, for instance, clerks could earn as high as Shs. 17/- per month, while farm labourers were earning only Shs.3/- per month.⁵⁹ To the Africans, such well paying jobs would enable them to earn money to pay taxes and satisfy their other material needs that had accompanied capitalist development in Kenya.⁶⁰ Since education provided the most important avenue in the acquisition of better paying jobs, the Luhya therefore increasingly joined mission schools. Their desire was further heightened by the examples set by Christians residing in Friends Christian villages. These were an envied lot, "because of their knowledge of the White man's world" and the material acquisitions, like bicycles and better houses that pioneer converts, like Lung'aho, Amugune and Litu, possessed.⁶¹

The second reason behind the increased interest in and demand for education was the development of Christian villages in the 1920s. When these communities of converts were

⁵⁶ KNA, PC/NZA/1/38, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1938.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*

⁵⁸ KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/131, African Ex- soldiers Education, 1933 and EAYM, Maragoli Station Reports, 1925.

⁵⁹ KNA, PC/NZA/3/33/8/9, North Kavirondo District Local Native Council Expenditure Estimates, 1930.

⁶⁰ KNA, MSS/54/165, Kaimosi Station Report, 1921.

⁶¹ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op.cit*.

formed, they immediately began to organize schools, only relying on local headmen for permission to occupy land. For instance, the FAM annual report of 1918 had listed 30 out-schools with 1,818 pupils, while in 1921 the number of schools had risen to 85, with 4,000 pupils. By 1923, the number of out-schools had increased to 121, with an enrolment of 7,500.⁶² Even Tiriki location, an area long considered as the bastion of traditionalism also changed its attitude towards education due to the development of Christian villages. Pioneer converts like Marita Mogotso, Benjamin Sangale, Stephen Shimejelo, Elisha Shiverenje, Isaac Khaguli, Japheth Inyanya, Fred Kamidi, Joshua Anusu, Peter Nyasa, Andrea Anene, Joseph Adede, Enisi Ayuma, Rhoda Gilwoni, Yohana Inyange and Yohana Ingi, all of whom had been ostracized from their families due their conversion to Christianity, used Chief Amiani to acquire land at Munzatsi and Senende where they established Christian villages in 1924.⁶³ Through their preaching and teaching, the Tiriki increasingly converted to Christianity. For instance, within the first three months of the inception of the villages, ten families joined the pioneer converts already residing there. Indeed, the number of converts in Tiriki increased from 78 in 1920 to 1,000 in 1925. Two out-schools were also established at Munzatsi and Senende, with a combined enrolment of 650 pupils.⁶⁴ Consequently, as the Christian - village philosophy spread, many out-schools were established among the Luhyia.

The third reason was the contribution made by Africans - through offerings and tithes - towards missionary work in the 1920s. This accounted for an ever increasing African share of the total financial support for the expanding FAM educational work. In 1925, for instance, among the Maragoli, there was an

Increase in the church income of Sh. 2650 and the total income has been Sh.13,665(about \$3,284). The sum, cared for and expended by the native church, has relieved the mission of all expenses for the Maragoli native church.⁶⁵

It was also noted that the Lirhanda Monthly Meeting "has supported all the native work this past year (1927)".⁶⁶ At the same time, it was reported of the Lugulu Monthly Meeting that "the native

⁶² EAYM Education Department Annual Reports of 1918, 1921 and 1923.

⁶³ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op.cit.*

⁶⁴ EAYM, Report of Evangelistic and Educational, Kaimosi Station, December 1924.

⁶⁵ EAYM, Maragoli Station Report, 1925.

⁶⁶ EAYM, Lirhanda Station Report, 1928.

church takes care of 37 of its 53 schools".⁶⁷ Therefore, as African contributions increased, they began to demand for the establishment of more schools in their areas claiming that "they could be able to pay teachers".⁶⁸ Such demands led to a proliferation of out-schools that were poorly equipped or not equipped at all.⁶⁹

The Mission Board also began to recognize that the pioneer period - when FAM missionaries had managed all church programmes - was over and that the mission should concentrate on training African leaders to expand the field. For instance, from the Malava Monthly Meeting, Samuel Ashihundu became inspector of schools and Musa Matsanza was sent to Jeanes School to be trained in the supervision of schools. At Lirhanda, Jeremiah Segero, who had already finished his studies at Jeanes School, was made a school supervisor. Among the Bukusu and Tachoni, it was noted that "Yakobo Sugura oversees 50 schools".⁷⁰ More Africans also became teacher- evangelists in various Monthly Meetings. Examples include Joel Litu at Vihiga, Peter Wanyama at Lugulu, Joseph Ngaira at Malava and John Lumwagi at Lirhanda.⁷¹ Moreover, the failure of the Forward Movement was an important influence in the decision to train African leaders, who would assume educational and evangelistic duties. However, this decision required preparation and planning for advanced education, which would better equip teacher-evangelists and African church leaders with the skills necessary for carrying out this duty. Subsequently, a teachers' training college was established at Kaimosi in 1922. Also built at Kaimosi were a Girls' Boarding School (hereafter GBS) for advanced education (beyond the first two or three years of school instruction) and a technical training school to teach skills in building and carpentry. The graduates of the teacher training college not only went out teaching in various schools, but also became evangelists among their people, on whom they emphasised the importance of Christianity and education in the transformation of their societies.⁷² It was, therefore, due to the efforts of African teacher-evangelists that a competitive atmosphere emerged in the Luhyia community, especially in the establishment of schools. Each village

⁶⁷ EAYM, Annual Report Kitosh, 1927.

⁶⁸ EAYM, Maragoli Station Report, 1925

⁶⁹ *Ibid*

⁷⁰ EAYM, Report of the North District of FAM, 1928.

⁷¹ *Ibid*

⁷² Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

established its own school without "caring about the availability of teachers".⁷³ Inevitably, the Luhyia demand for more education and the corresponding inability by FAM to provide qualified teachers resulted in general disenchantment and political agitation among Luhyia Friends. For instance, FAM reports of 1922 indicated that,

There are underway in Kavirondo, a very important movement in the direction of race consciousness. For better or worse, the native is beginning to express himself in no uncertain way. The native of this land is born with agitation. These are useful traits if tempered by wisdom, and are capable of much mischief if out of bounds. This movement has already taken a secure hold on Maragoli and is beginning to influence considerably the course of affairs, in and out of the church. Several of the leading boys of the district have been drawn into the Young Kavirondo Association, which is dominated by Church Missionary Society influences.⁷⁴

The Young Kavirondo Association (hereafter YKA) was formed in 1921, by former students of CMS Maseno mission. Its chairman was Jonathan Okwirri, while Benjamin Owour and Simeon Nyande were secretary and treasurer, respectively. The objectives of the association included withdrawal of the labour circulars, reduction of hut and poll taxes, introduction of land title deeds and the provision of functional, formal and secular education that was relevant to the emerging labour requirements.⁷⁵

It was such agitation - among the Luhyia and elsewhere in the colony - that forced the colonial government to step in deeper and more forcefully into mission educational matters, on the assumption that mission schools had become centres of African opposition to colonial rule.⁷⁶ Indeed, colonial officials in North Kavirondo district had complained that they could not "find a trace of single right school in the district, since the general curriculum is two hours a day of religious instruction"⁷⁷ Government involvement was also provoked by the missionaries' disregard for the standards that had been set for teacher qualification in 1916. Reports indicate that,

Schools under the care of Friends were supposed to be staffed by teachers who had certificates provided by the Kavirondo Mission Council, an

⁷³ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op.cit.*

⁷⁴ EAYM, Maragoli Station Report, 1925.

⁷⁵ KNA, NZA/12/13, Nyanza Province Annual Reports 1928.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ KNA, DC/NN/1/8, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1927.

organization set up by the missions in the area. Minimum qualifications were not mentioned but five years later [1921], the requirement for teaching in village schools was four years of education.⁷⁸

FAM, however, continued to train its teachers for only two years, in total disregard of the above requirement. It was largely due to such meagreness of missionary education and the corresponding African agitation that precipitated the government's increasing involvement in African education.⁷⁹ However, the First World War soon absorbed most of the territory's energies and resources. Consequently, it was not until 1919 that African education would again receive the government's attention. In that year, at James R. Orr's urging, the governor appointed the East African Protectorate Education Commission to examine the state of education of all the races in the protectorate.⁸⁰

In its report, the commission urged the government to play a larger role in African education, but allow the missions to continue running most schools because of the importance of building character through religious training.⁸¹ The commission recommended that the cooperation between government and the missions be based on the establishment of a grants-in-aid scheme. Following this recommendation, in 1922 the Education Department officially established a grants-in-aid scheme. In this scheme, all mission schools were to be registered and subsidized according to the level of education offered. Teachers were to be graded through qualifying examinations and their salaries were to be subsidized by the government.⁸² Further, in 1923 the British government appointed an Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa. This Advisory Committee was important in the appointment of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. This Commission toured East Africa in 1924.⁸³

⁷⁸ EAYM, Educational Annual Reports, 1922.

⁷⁹ See East African Protectorate, *Report of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate*, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1909, p.1.

⁸⁰ Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *Report of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate*, Nairobi: Government Press 1919, p.169.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.97

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ See for example, Thomas Jesse Jones, *Education in East Africa*, London: Longmans, 1929.

4.2.1.1 The Phelps-Stokes Commission

Under the leadership of Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, the Phelps-Stokes Commission helped to inaugurate a partnership between the government and the mission societies in African education. The commission welcomed the development of the grant-in-aid scheme and focused its attention on the dismal state of education for Africans. Indeed, the commission helped to resolve the general impasse that had developed in Kenya, between major interest groups – government officials, settlers' representatives, the missionaries and the Africans. The dispute was on what the focus of African education should be. On one hand, there were suggestions for rudimentary primary education, providing bare literacy, religious tutelage, simple agricultural instruction directed at the mass of peasants in the reserves and technical and vocational training for skilled artisans. The opposing view was for 'literary' education on British lines, to provide clerical staff and teachers, with explicit potential for the development of full secondary and even post-secondary education.⁸⁴ All these interest groups felt that a definite need existed for a new education policy. However, until the appearance of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, no compromise that could produce an effective change had been reached. Behind the concern, too, lay the growing African challenge to the colonial system and in the eyes of government officials, mission-provided literacy education was to blame for these challenges.⁸⁵

The Commission made a number of recommendations. First, it emphasised the need for greater cooperation between the government and missions in African education, and recommended that the government should provide and shoulder more responsibilities in teacher-training centres. The Commission also recommended that focus be put on training in agriculture, industry and the adaptation of education to the local needs. In this way, the Commission was proposing drastic departures from the few years of literacy and vocational training then found in most mission schools. It urged colonial educators to change their focus, by adapting schools to serve the welfare of African communities. Adaptation, in this sense, meant using schools as instruments for directing rural social change. The Commission argued that Africans were virtually destined to live in rural areas and, therefore, ought to be educated in and for such a life. In view of this, it proposed that the five primary objectives of education should be; character development,

⁸⁴ Bruce Berman, *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya: The Dialectics of Domination*, London: James Curry, 1990, p. 225.

⁸⁵ Bruce Berman, *op.cit.*, p.225.

improvement of health, imparting agricultural and handicraft skills, bettering family life, and providing sound and healthful recreation.⁸⁶ The Phelps-Stokes Commission further urged an even greater shift of emphasis in African education from a literacy to a more practical bias with expressly utilitarian purposes, and hence the necessity of establishing the Jeanes Schools and the Native Industrial Training Depot (hereafter NITD).⁸⁷

The Jeanes movement, after which the Jeanes schools were named, took its name from Ann Jeanes, a philanthropic American Friends woman from Philadelphia, who had supported Negro education in the USA in the early 1900s. The first Jeanes School in Africa was started at Kabete, Kenya in 1925 as a direct result of the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report, coupled with financial assistance from the Carnegie Co-operation of New York. In Africa, foundation funds from the USA supplemented government grants, wherever the Jeanes Schools were established. The essence of adopting the Jeanes movement's idea came from the realization that formal education could only reach a small segment of African society and that grass-roots efforts at the village level, were required to reach the mass of the population.⁸⁸ With two years of practical training, the Jeanes teachers were therefore expected to instruct rural Africans in health and sanitation, child care, general home economics and agricultural development.⁸⁹ Meanwhile, the NITD, a trade training institution designed to provide the fourth and fifth years of instruction to mission apprentices, would supply the semi-skilled labour needed on settler farms and in government departments. Under settler pressure, NITDs were to receive far greater funds than the Jeanes scheme, though both systems still represented deliberate attempts to steer African education along narrowly utilitarian lines.⁹⁰

Thirdly, the Commission recommended access to higher education for Africans, through the establishment of a college at Kikuyu, as proposed by the Alliance of Protestant Missions, where English was to be a medium of instruction in the upper forms. Lastly, the Commission

⁸⁶ L. J. Lewis, *Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas*, London: Nelson and Sons, 1954, p. 13.

⁸⁷ See painter, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁸⁸ Mary Mwiandi, "The Jeanes School in Kenya: The Role of the Jeanes Teachers and Their Wives in Social Transformation of Rural Colonial Kenya, 1925- 1961", Ph.D Thesis, Michigan State University, 2006, p. 308.

⁸⁹ The First FAM Jeanes teachers were, Jeremiah Sejero, James M'mata and Stefano Shimejero, see KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/114, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1929-1930.

⁹⁰ Sheffield, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

recommended the expansion of girls' education.⁹¹ The Commission's reasoning and recommendations were not lost on government officials and missionaries, who had both been searching for the means by which to blunt African discontent. Consequently, both missions' representatives and government unanimously endorsed Jones' call for an educational partnership between them. For the FAM, the merger was to avail the needed funds into mission programmes. But before opening up its purse, the government was to gain the powers of inspection, registration (of all schools and teachers) and control of the education syllabus.⁹² The terms in which the Commission promoted its ideas on educational adaptation also seemed to ensure the development of a peaceful, Christian and non-political rural peasantry, rather than a discontented urban proletariat - with its concomitant problems of political agitation and urban unrest. Such a prospect, with its obvious appeal to colonial officials, also won favour among Kenya's settlers, who desired cheap labour, not economic rivalry or meddlesome African politicians.⁹³

In the immediate following months, the government squarely stepped into African education with the passage of the colony's first Education Ordinance in 1924. Under the Ordinance, all schools and teachers were to be registered and the Director of Education was empowered to inspect all schools. The Mission school system in Kenya was standardized into three categories: namely, sub-elementary (grade 1 and 2), elementary (grade 3 and 4) and higher schools. The higher two categories were to be aided by the government, through the grants-in-aid system. Sub-elementary, or "Bush" schools, were not accredited and were, therefore, not subsidized.⁹⁴ The Education Ordinance thus provided a system of reciprocal relationships between the mission schools, the colonial government and the Africans. It gave Africans the responsibility to finance some of the school expenses through the Local Native Councils (hereafter LNCs), which had powers to vote levies and set up new schools.

4.2.1.2 The Local Native Councils and African Education

The birth of LNCs, set up in 1924, was directly related to the dynamics of African political activism of the early 1920s. In late 1921 and early 1922, for instance, a new form of African

⁹¹ EAYM, *Christian Co-operation in Kenya, 1917*; D.N. Sifuna and J.E Otiende, *op.cit* p.205.

⁹² D. N. Sifuna and J. E. Otiende, *op.cit.*, p. 199.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁹⁴ This meant that a large part of Friends educational network had to be self-supported. See EAYM, *FAM Education Reports, 1924*.

political agitation had simultaneously appeared among the Luo and the Kikuyu. In Nyanza, the YKA emerged, under the leadership of several young, mission-educated Luo who had the support of several chiefs. It held a series of mass meetings during which grievances were presented to the local administration. In the Kikuyu areas, the East African Association (hereafter EAA) was formed in 1921, under the leadership of Harry Thuku, a clerk at the Treasury in Nairobi. Both associations represented African opposition to increased taxes, unpaid compulsory labour on public works, the use of compulsion by officials to force Africans to work on settler farms, the *kipande*, registration and identification system and the alienation of African lands to white settlers. Following the eruption of violence in March 1922, during a demonstration in Nairobi, which was organized by the EAA and which left 21 Africans dead and 28 wounded, the government moderated its labour policy and in July 1922, announced a reduction in hut tax, the disbanding of government labour camps, and the end to active labour recruitment by chiefs and the Provincial Administration.⁹⁵

The 1921-22 protests had been mounted against specific economic conditions and state policies, and provided an indication of how deeply the Luo and Kikuyu had already been affected by their incorporation into the political economy of colonialism. These troubles had also burst forth against a backdrop of the depression, which saw a disastrous drop in commodity prices for both settlers and African producers. There was also a one-third cut in African wages, a one-third increase in African taxes, the use of administrators and chiefs to force Africans to work on the settler estates and the mismanaged conversion of the local currency from the Indian rupee to the East African shilling, which led to widespread inflation. The rapid growth of YKA and EAA also confronted the colonial state with the possibility that its system for containing African politics within separate localities had broken down. The state thus faced the emergence of a potentially broad based inter-ethnic challenge. These pressures not only posed serious challenges to the legitimacy and control of the colonial state, but also undermined the material basis on which it rested.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Berman, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁹⁶ EAYM, Maragoli Station Report 1925.

The colonial administration consequently moved to create LNCs, as an “outlet for political tension among the Africans”.⁹⁷ In 1924-25, the first LNCs were brought into operation, in the politically conscious and populous districts of Central and Nyanza provinces. Gradually, they were extended to the other African areas, with 22 LNCs functioning by 1938. The LNCs were intended to counteract “any mischievous tendencies which might develop into native political societies” by providing local forums in which Africans could harmlessly let off steam, and also function as local government bodies that could exercise limited legislative and executive functions, thereby providing Africans with tutelary experience in the ‘responsible’ conduct of their own affairs at district levels.⁹⁸

All the chiefs were members of the LNC. In addition, between one and five other people – depending on the size and population - from each location were appointed members of the LNC. The latter were supposed to be elected, although the first LNC in North Kavirondo contained many people who had been appointed by the chiefs themselves.⁹⁹ The following were the first members of the North Kavirondo LNC.¹⁰⁰

Table 1: Pioneer Members of North Kavirondo LNC, 1924

Names of Councillors	Location
Chief Paul Amiani, Headman Nditi Rangoni, Daniel Chagona and Limo Lubihera	Tiriki
Chiefs Odanga, Johan Mafunya, Johanna Muguni and Nengo Rugondi	North Maragoli
Chief Munubi, Headman Paul Agoi, Jacobo Vuruka Simyon and Odido Mudomo Giragwa	South Maragoli
Chief Shivachi, Headman Mudasia and Mugesya Asawoli	Idakho
Chief Mulimu, Headman Majanja, Chiboli	West Kakamega

⁹⁷ EAYM, Maragoli Station Report 1925.
⁹⁸ KNA, DC/NN/1/8, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1924.
⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
¹⁰⁰ KNA, PC/NZA/ 3/33/1, Native Advisory Councils, 1925.

Lakite, Paulo Shimanyole and Jairo Hahekha	
Chief Sudi Mganda Masanja, Lubahaya Mafuwo and Dominiko Wasiany	South Kitosh
Chief Murunga, Headman Tendeti, Headman Waiuchio, Zakaya Biketi and Petro Wanyama	North Kitosh
Chief Mwanza, Shundende Mkuyani and Moses Masansa	Kabras
Chief Were, Gesasusa Onyango, and Otieno Orembe	Waholo
Chief Osore, Usambiri Shitakwa and Ayibu Mulivu	East Kakamega
Chief Ndumbi and Athmani Nanguo	Kakalelwa
Chief Mutsembi, Headman Radol Akutia Muiza and Kibolo Bukabona	Butsotso
Chief Oduya, Thomas Wayinga, Daudi Opondo and Laurent Ngoma	Marach
Paramount Chief Mumia Shihundu, Mumia Jaffer Manjira, Musungu Muhandi and Kasuiri Hamali	Wanga
Chief Rapando and Satima Amwaya	Mukulu
Headman Lukoli, Petro Namai Oningo Koite Akaba Oguti and Onaba Machara	Samia
Chief Magero, Ulugha Usera, Achachi Oduki and Ojinji Bernji	Bukhayo
Chief Mulama, Headman Livoi Elijah Maloba, Ibrahim Okwoni, Mukolwe Meti and Ouna Okolongo	Marama
Headman Kuta and Stephen Oluchiri	Kisa

Adopted from KNA, PC/NZA/ 3/33/1, Native Advisory Councils, 1925.

From these 20 locations in North Kavirondo District, FAM educated councillors dominated the councils of Tiriki, North and South Maragoli, Kabras and North Kitosh. Using their membership in the LNC, FAM educated councillors campaigned for funds to build schools in their areas. In 1926, for instance, the LNC voted Shs. 20,000 towards education. The Funds were expended as follows; CMS which had the largest network of out-schools received Sh. 8,860, followed by FAM, which received 5,360, while MHM and the Church of God (hereafter COG) received 4,335 and 1,445, respectively.¹⁰¹ By the 1930s, the councils were spending thousands of shillings a year, especially on supporting government schools and to some degree, those run by missions operating in the districts. And by 1938, the LNCs were providing some £17,937, or 22.3 per cent of the total public expenditure of £80,284 on African education in Kenya.¹⁰² In other words, North Nyanza LNC gave 81 Luhyia councillors a legal forum through which they could promote the educational aspirations of their communities, among other things.

4.2.1.3 FAM Education Policy

The government's increasing role in the provision of African education meant that it would dictate the terms under which mission schools operated. For instance, the Education Ordinance of 1924 and the establishment of a grants-in-aid scheme empowered the education department to regulate schools, curricula examinations and the licensing of teachers, all previously a domain of missionaries. The Education Ordinance also offered compliant missionary societies the promise of a greatly expanded grants-in-aid scheme to ease their financial burden. Indeed, on its visit to Kaimosi, the Phelps-Stokes commission had found great future promise in the mission's diversified rural-oriented programme, but was concerned that "as yet little real progress had been made".¹⁰³ Thomas Jesse Jones, the Commission's chairman, strongly urged the Friends to seek government funds which could help them rectify their educational short-comings. He particularly wanted them to improve the educational quality of their out-schools. These would

¹⁰¹ KNA, DC/NN/1/7, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1926.

¹⁰² *Ibid*

¹⁰³ EAYM, FAM Education Report, 1925.

then feed better prepared pupils to the elementary schools. From these elementary schools, the best pupils would then be sent onwards for advanced programmes in literary subjects and vocational training at Kaimosi.¹⁰⁴ However, the increased government role in education produced two critical challenges for the FAM. The first was how to comply with government regulations, and the second was how to organize their schools system efficiently, to make it serve the original goal of evangelization. For instance, the FAM mission reported in 1925, that due the involvement of the government and LNCs in education,

The church, which once occupied the whole attention of its members and adherents, has this monopoly of the field. It must hereafter maintain itself and make headway in the face of counter attraction.¹⁰⁵

FAM missionaries further complained that,

The presence, in the country, of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the propaganda of the welfare associations organized by a neighbouring mission, have kept the natives of Maragoli district agitated and their thought on education and material things.¹⁰⁶

But under heavy pressure - from Africans - to provide more and better equipped schools, the missionaries decided that compliance with the new law and co-operation with the government, offered the only workable solution for sustaining their educational work. Consequently, after the passage of the Educational Ordinance, FAM began to adopt the government's guidelines for school curriculum and also began to prepare teachers for the government's vernacular teachers' examination.¹⁰⁷

The Board in the USA also officially endorsed the idea of a partnership with the colonial government. In late 1926, an *ad hoc* board committee report defined the FAM's new stance, vis-à-vis the government. In this report, the Board not only pledged strict conformity to all government regulations, but was also determined to exceed them in efficiency and thoroughness. The report stated that the mission would endeavour "to systemize its varied schools, to carefully evolve graded stages that would lead to advanced training programmes, operated by both the

¹⁰⁴ EAYM, FAM Education Report, 1925.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

mission and the government".¹⁰⁸ The Board also agreed to buy into Jesse Jones' adaptation type of education, because such training neatly fitted in FAM's policy of material needs, as well as its goal of encouraging African self-sufficiency. Under this policy, apprentices gained skills required to improve rural living conditions; the mission profited in both equipment and services, while industrial operations and the African Church both gained permanent buildings and skilled, salaried members.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, between 1926 and 1928, the Board sent eight new missionaries to Kaimosi to implement the adaptation scheme in FAM schools. Elizabeth Haviland, from Baltimore and Everett J. Kellum from Kansas - both graduate trained teachers - arrived in Kenya in 1926 and 1928, respectively, as deliberate efforts were made to inject a rural focus into FAM's schools. While on his furlough in 1928, FAM's industrialist, Fred Hoyt, was also trained in the adaptation scheme and upon his return, was instructed to establish a first-rate industrial department equipped with logging, lumbering and grain milling facilities.¹¹⁰ Consequently, the FAM reports of 1928 noted that,

There are 30 boys apprenticed for a three year term. All go through the same mill. Whether they are to be carpenters or masons. On leaving, each pupil takes a small equipment of tools"¹¹¹

In the late 1920s, FAM's efforts in implementing government policies began to pay dividends. First, the colonial government praised FAM's practical training in carpentry and masonry as the best in the colony. It, therefore, permitted FAM to be the only mission in Kenya to provide a full five-year industrial course, instead of sending students to the NITD to complete their training.¹¹² Secondly and as already noted, the North Kavirondo LNC had by 1926, made its first subsidy of Shs. 5,360 to the FAM mission in support of its educational department.¹¹³ In 1927, the mission had received a further subsidy of Shs. 7,495.¹¹⁴ This was more than the Shs. 5,950, which the American Mission Board had been able to send for school development.¹¹⁵ In 1928, the government also added the FAM to the list of permanent grant recipients. In that same year, Haviland began upgrading the more promising sub-elementary schools ("A schools") into

¹⁰⁸ EAYM, FAM Education Reports, 1926.

¹⁰⁹ Rowe, *op cit.*, p. 161.

¹¹⁰ EAYM, FAM Education Reports, 1928.

¹¹¹ KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/1/9, Education North Kavirondo District, 1928.

¹¹² *Ibid*

¹¹³ KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/1/9, Education North Kavirondo District, 1928.

¹¹⁴ KNA, PC/NZA/3/33/8/9, North Kavirondo District Local Native Council Estimates, 1930.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*

government-aided elementary schools (“B schools”). Gradually, the latter began to provide education up to Standard Three. The boys’ boarding School at Kaimosi became an intermediate (“C school”) offering Standard Four and Five education.¹¹⁶ Further the mission also began charging fees. In 1932, for instance, FAM charged the following categories of fees as shown by the table below.¹¹⁷

Table 2: FAM School Tuition and Boarding Fee, 1932

Class (Standard)	Tuition Fee	Boarding Fee
Five	Sh. 33	Sh. 22
Four	„ 33	„ 22
Thee	„ 33	„ 22
Two	„ 17	–
Sub- Standard	„ 0.75	–

Adopted from KNA, NZA/2/11/ 12, 1932, FAM Out-schools.

Boosted by government grants-in-aid, LNC’s funding and the African willingness to pay school fees for their children, the educational component of the mission’s activity expanded to dimensions that had been inconceivable before. In 1928, FAM missionaries who were eager to develop schools to meet African demand, invited FAM appointed African Friends schools’ supervisors - like Joel Litu from Vihiga, Yohana Adimuga from Kaimosi, Jeremiah Segero from Lirhanda, Petro Wanyama from Lugulu and Samuel Ashihundu from Malava, all who were trained teachers - to become FAM Education Committee members. This committee was set up to manage the rapidly expanding FAM educational network.¹¹⁸ Although the missionaries remained in control of the policy making apparatus, this move gave Luhyia Friends the feeling that they had a voice in running the schools. As members of the FAM education committee, the supervisors shared in the discussions on teachers’ salaries, supervision, pupil selection, Jeanes School training, up-grading of teachers and schools, and the disbursement of LNC’s grants. Each school supervisor was also required to visit all schools under his area of responsibility once a

¹¹⁶ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1926-28.

¹¹⁷ KNA, NZA/2/11/ 12, FAM Out-schools.

¹¹⁸ EAYM, Education Reports for Kaimosi and Maragoli, 1928.

month in order to assist local teachers with lesson plans, school records, teaching and discipline, and school-garden maintenance.¹¹⁹ However, as the FAM missionaries sought to meet government standards and African educational demands, they began to resent the persistent delays by the USA Board in providing funds and additional specialized staff.¹²⁰

From 1924, the Board had allowed the mission to apply for the government grants, despite the fact that it remained unable for a period of four years to raise the funds that would enable a recruitment of sufficient members of qualified staff. This was the minimum condition set by the government for any mission seeking permanent grants-in-aid. In 1927, for instance, the mission received Shs. 7,495 from LNC and Shs. 5,950 from the Board in the USA, an amount that was not enough to meet the FAM's education budget of Shs. 35,714.¹²¹ Frustrated by the Board's inability to act swiftly on its request, at its annual meeting in December 1928, the FAM proposed that the mission sever its ties with AFBFM and find a sponsor among various Yearly Meetings in the USA. Fearing to lose its influence and investment in western Kenya and in an effort to nip this insurgency in the bud, the Board renewed its pledge to aid the mission, as rapidly as possible. The new pledge, however, never materialized. This was attributed to the worldwide depression that began in 1929, and which threatened the survival of all FAM mission projects. As a result, the question of expansion no longer became urgent. However, even before the depression broke, AFBFM - which was renamed America Friends Board of Mission (hereafter AFBM) in 1928 - had already seen its total revenues drop from a high of \$344,000 in 1920, to just \$132,247 in 1928. After six years of depression, the Board could only raise \$45,000 in 1934, with Kaimosi receiving only \$5,500, or Shs. 38,500 - against a recurrent annual budget of Shs. 78,572 - for all its staff and programmes.¹²² Gradually, the funding dilemma translated into a near disaster in the field.¹²³

By 1931, the situation appeared so adverse to the point that the Mission Board's Finance Committee recommended an end to the FAM in Kenya. However, the Board decided instead to

¹¹⁹ Rose Adede, *op.cit.*, p. 15; H. Kimball and B. Kimball, *op.cit.*, p.23 and Oral Interview, William Shibadu. *op. cit.*

¹²⁰ KNA, MSS/54/63, Letters from the Educational Department, 1928.

¹²¹ *Ibid*

¹²² KNA, MSS/54/63, Letters from the Educational Department, 1935.

¹²³ *Ibid*

institute a five-point emergency programme with the sole purpose of enabling the mission to last out the depression. This was through a reduction in the number of missionaries in the field worldwide from 70 to 44, a 10 percent salary cut and the declaration of a moratorium on all furlough except in cases of emergency, the termination of all building projects sponsored from the general income fund, the establishment of a closer relationship between the field and supporting groups, and the shifting of more financial responsibilities into the hands of the local FAM Christians.¹²⁴ Consequently, while other mission societies were pioneering secondary and primary teacher training, FAM was unable to do likewise. For instance, the CMS mission at Maseno received the government's permission to "begin secondary education and 12 North Kavirondo boys were admitted in Form One there".¹²⁵ CMS Maseno thus became the first mission in Nyanza Province to offer secondary school education by 1938. FAM was thus forced to rely on the CMS for higher training of its members. This situation not only served to prove the inadequacy of the FAM in providing higher education to its adherents, but also raised the possibility of African Friends joining CMS and hence reducing FAM membership.¹²⁶ Ironically by 1938, FAM still ranked third in the entire colony, in the provision of education. This can be explained by FAM's preponderance of sub-elementary or out-schools, supported by African Monthly Meetings and which did not receive any grant-in-aid from the colonial government. It was these schools that gave FAM a high place in the school statistics, after CMS and Church of Scotland Mission (hereafter CSM), as illustrated in the following tables.

Table 3: Government Aided schools in 1938

Mission	Sub-Elementary	Elementary	Primary	Enrolment
CMS	13	90	8	16,446
CSM	--	39	2	8,681
FAM	--	17	1	2,577
MHM	18	39	6	3,102
AIM	--	26	--	3,329

Adopted from EAYM, Educational Annual Records, 1938.

¹²⁴ KNA, MSS/54/63, Letters from the Educational Department, 1938.

¹²⁵ KNA, DC/NN/1/20, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1938.

¹²⁶ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, *op.cit.*

Table 4: Unaided Schools in 1938

Mission	Sub-elementary	Elementary	Primary	Enrolment	Total Roll Aided and unaided.
CMS	316	5	--	37,110	53,550
CSM	38	6	--	12,734	21,415
FAM	330	--	--	17,692	20,269
MHM	93	2	--	9,279	12,381
AIM	75	4	--	6,534	9,841

Adopted from EAYM, Educational Annual Records, 1938.

4.2.1.4 African Reaction

With the enactment of the Education Ordinance, the colonial government and the FAM increasingly turned to the adaptationist method of education, which prepared youth for Christian rural living. In the inter-war period, FAM Educational Secretary, Everett Kellum, favoured a manual training bias in the curriculum, still clinging to the belief that low level mass education was most desirable for Africans and that higher education should be only for the few most able students. He also sought to instil in pupils ideas about community service, to combat what he deemed their growing concern with personal gain. For instance, the FAM missionaries regarded out-schools as the basis of all,

Mission work and they probably contribute more to mass education of the country than all of the rest of the work put together. They are not simply schools for children but also for adults. They are churches as well as schools and each is a centre for joined effort and a potential instrument of social change. Practical work provides a stimulus to many pupils who cannot maintain prolonged concentration of literary subjects. Many boys think best with their hands in ways literary work neglects.¹²⁷

To achieve the goals set by the adaptation philosophy, the FAM sent some of its teacher-evangelists to the Jeanes School at Kabete for further training. These included Jeremiah Segero, James M'mata and Stephen Shimegero.¹²⁸ These were the first Jeanes teachers to emerge from Kabete in the late 1920s. They were essentially trained as community development agents with

¹²⁷ EAYM, Dougall Report to the FAM, 1933.

¹²⁸ KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/114, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1929.

some knowledge of health, agriculture and village industries and were expected to work partly through the school, but not to become school-oriented. Indeed, many southern Luhya viewed the Jeanes teachers as the ones who “brought light” to the village through teaching hygiene, skills for building modern and improved houses, improved planting and spacing of maize, as well as giving encouragement in planting groundnuts and vegetables. Ironically, while the first Jeanes teachers supported and even reinforced the community spirit, they would later form the cadre of the first educated elite, who were to become vocal in questioning the usefulness of community-centred training in the colonial situation and actively opposed any attempt to inject greater rural bias into FAM schools.¹²⁹

A shift was occurring in what the Jeanes educated members of the FAM education committee - who included Lazarus Amwayi, Joel Litu, Samuel, Imbuye, James M'mata, Musa Wambuto, Yohana Ingi, Joshua Anusu, Dina Bulimu, Rebecca Mwange, Elizabeth Kageli, Robai Kanigi and Miriam Ekombe - demanded of the FAM's schools.¹³⁰ An earlier generation had generally accepted the FAM's trade training and apprenticeships because they had seemed to offer Africans the opportunity to master European technical expertise. Skilled labourers had also enjoyed economic benefits from FAM's training in the early years of the mission. However, with the reorganization of labour systems and the highlighting of recruitment after the First World War, Luhya Friends - led by African FAM education committee members - gradually began to perceive that manual training and agricultural education could only lead to manual employment, and hence subordinate and low paying positions in the emerging colonial order. And as the 1920s depression and colonial policies that discriminated against African participation in commerce drastically reduced available trade positions, demand accelerated for an academic type of education, which would lead to higher paying jobs, like clerks, school supervisors and inspectors. For instance, in the 1930s, teachers in particular were earning an income that made them stand out as a special group in the village. For instance, Simeon Lidzanga, with a Makerere school masters' qualification, earned Sh.80/- per month; Ezekiah Wahuyila, with a Junior Secondary school certification from Alliance High School, earned Sh.60/- per month; and Benjamin Ngaira, as FAM supervisor of schools, earned up to Sh.75/- per month, while most

¹²⁹ KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/114, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1929.

¹³⁰ EAYM, Educational Committee Meeting Minutes, 8/3/1935.

unskilled labourers earned as little as Sh. 5/- per month.¹³¹ The higher income of the elite then meant that they were financially able to send their children to superior schools, where they received the highest education then available for Africans. Consequently, as education became an important tool for economic betterment, the average age of converts fell. More parents began sending their children to school in the hope that they would benefit from the expanding colonial opportunities, like the pioneer teachers and/or clerks.¹³² For instance, Provincial reports indicated that,

The present policy would appear to be that we welcome pupils at approximately, 6 years of age, and if they progress normally they will complete their elementary and primary education at age of 12 or 15. Their first tendency on leaving school at this age is to drift to towns and seek employment as clerks. It is apparent that every African father looks upon his payment of school fees as an investment, and expect a quick return by way of wages as soon as education is complete.¹³³

Further, the PC Nyanza Province noted that,

All the embarrassing demands at present made by the Africans are connected with education. It's very evident that they have no sort of appreciation of the costs. A Local Native Councillor will rise in council and quite empathetically declare that so many more day primary schools are needed in his area.¹³⁴

The right to be taught English also became an important determinant in the relationship between the Luhyia and FAM missionaries. English had become the mark of an educated man in the Luhyia society. It conveyed multiple notions and aspirations of equality with the European elite.¹³⁵ Indeed, for the Luhyia Friends, the point of comparison for them was the CMS mission at Maseno, particularly the practical advantage of studying at Maseno School. Luhyia accounts indicate that, "when Friends were looking for work, they would be asked if they knew English, and they saw that CMS educated Africans were given these jobs".¹³⁶ The Luhyia, had become

¹³¹ KNA, PC/NZA/2/11/12, FAM Schools, Kaimosi, 1939.

¹³² KNA, PC/NZA/2/11/12, Report on FAM Schools, 1936.

¹³³ KNA, PC/ NZA/1/38, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1938.

¹³⁴ KNA, PC/ NZA/1/40, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1945.

¹³⁵ Oral Interview, Jeremiah Lusweti, Chwele, 12/9/2007.

¹³⁶ Quoted in Gilpin, *op.cit*, p. 165.

one of the colony's major labour pools and FAM school graduates were thus experiencing disappointment and humiliation outside the reserve for not knowing English.¹³⁷

The Luhya Friends felt that despite their willingness to share in the "white man's" religion, they were being excluded from sharing his knowledge. FAM gave various explanations for refusing to teach English. Some of these were that it was too difficult for Africans to learn, that the government did not allow them to teach English, that true understanding and spiritual insight could come only through the mother tongue of a convert, or that FAM could not teach English because it was an American mission. The Luhya Friends, led by the John Musumba and Joseph Otiende, who were both educated at CMS Maseno School for their higher primary school studies, and Jeremiah Segero, Joel Litu, Samuel Imbuye, James M'mata, Musa Wamboto, Yohana Ingi and Joshua Anusu, all former Jeanes School students and members of the FAM education committee, were not convinced.¹³⁸ They felt that missionaries feared that Africans who had acquired knowledge of English would get jobs in the neighbouring towns, thus decreasing church membership. The Luhya Friends also felt that FAM missionaries were "selfish and they were deliberately refusing to share the White man's secrets by making it impossible for Africans to communicate in English and not through the missionary interpreters".¹³⁹ The missionaries' reluctance to abandon the emphasis on teaching in the Luloogoli, consequently, led many among the Luhya Friends, to feel cheated since they already knew the language.¹⁴⁰

The visit of Phelps-Stokes Commission to Kenya, gave many Africans graphic proof of what academic education, particularly the teaching of English, could help them accomplish. This was made by the membership of Dr. James E.K. Aggrey, the USA University-educated West African representative.¹⁴¹ Dr. Aggrey appeared as a symbol of African progress, and the immeasurable possibilities for those who acquired the knowledge. He addressed Luhya Friends at Kaimosi, where he publicly expressed surprise and disappointment over the fact that most of the Luhya present did not understand English and that he could only communicate to them through a

¹³⁷ Oral Interview, William Shibadu and Leah Ganira Lung'aho, *op.cit.*

¹³⁸ EAYM, Educational Committee Meeting Minutes, 8/3/1935.

¹³⁹ Oral Interview, Joseph Otiende, Mbale, 2/5/2007

¹⁴⁰ Oral Interview, Serah Litu, *op.cit.*

¹⁴¹ Sylvia. M. Jacobs, "James Emmam Kwegyir Aggrey: An African Intellectual in the United States", *the Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 81, 1996, p. 2

missionary interpreter. He told them that Africans had brains equal to Europeans, that they should open bank accounts to promote economic development and that they should demand more advanced education. Aggrey also warned the Commission about African dissatisfaction with the state of education, in general, and the mission's control of schools, in particular.¹⁴² Dr. Aggrey's speech invigorated Luhyia awareness of the practical advantages of English in the new occupational structure.¹⁴³ An almost immediate consequence of this development was that after 1924, there was a renewed demand by the Luhyia leaders - LNC councillors and the FAM education committee - for more advanced schools, particularly those teaching English and trained teachers who could teach it, from the FAM and government.¹⁴⁴ For instance, FAM reports of 1928 stated that,

Interest in higher education continues to increase. The latest request is for a secondary school in this province. At present the colony has 2 secondary schools; one manned by the Alliance of Protestant missions and one by the Catholic Mission. There has been no time that this part of the colony has had their share of the pupils in Alliance High school.¹⁴⁵

This was a clear challenge to the adaptation movement, with its emphasis on vernacular language, agriculture, rural living, handicrafts and the preservation of certain aspects of traditional culture.¹⁴⁶ For instance, even when the FAM mission complied with the government's new primary school syllabus in 1935, which required agriculture and manual training to be on an equal footing with literacy subjects, pupils in FAM's schools still continued to aspire to higher academic studies and clerical employment. Indeed, the teachers and supervisors of FAM's schools reported that agriculture was among the least popular subjects, with English being the most popular. Further in 1937, the education department acknowledged that its efforts to make handicrafts and agriculture central to elementary and primary school were failing to keep the "vast majority of school graduates in the rural areas earning a living in trade or from the soil".¹⁴⁷ Consequently, the insistence by the FAM on adaptation education and the Luhyia Friends

¹⁴² Oral Interview, Joseph Otiende, *op.cit.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ EAYM, Maragoli Station Report, 1924.

¹⁴⁵ EAYM, Educational Department Reports, 1928

¹⁴⁶ EAYM, Maragoli Station Report, 1924.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

counter demand for academic education increasingly became the source of friction between Luhyia Friends, on the one hand, and the missionaries and the government, on the other.¹⁴⁸

Luhyia Friends demanded more advanced schools, at a pace that neither the government nor the missionaries could match. But in their demands and threats to establish independent schools, the Luhyia could not do without the support of both FAM and the colonial government. Two reasons account for this. First, there were political and economic difficulties mitigating against the establishment of independent schools, since the government was channelling all educational grants-in-aid through the missions. Secondly, the Luhyia Friends also enjoyed considerable leverages in the process through which the FAM schools developed. Schools' curriculum and education policy were not simply imposed on an amenable people. In practice, they developed and grew as the result of a bargaining process between all parties concerned. Issues like the role of the Luhyia FAM educational committee members in advancement of education, LNC education resolutions and initiatives, threats of desertion to other missions, requests for funds and financial leverage all contributed to the evolution of FAM and government educational policies. Consequently, throughout 1930s, Luhyia Friends continued to push for more educational advancement within the FAM, so that on the eve of the Second World War, the mission could report 316 schools catering for over 20, 402 pupils, by far the largest system of mass education in North Nyanza as shown by the table below.¹⁴⁹

Table 5: Pupils in Mission Schools, 1939

Mission	Pupils	Percentage	Government Assisted Schools	Non-Assisted Schools	Government Grants
FAM	20,402	21.3	15	301	\$9,619
CMS	18,807	19.7	88	118	\$ 60,776
MHM	16,440	17.2	129	180	\$44,685
CSM	9,399	9.8	40	44	\$31,931
AIM	8,559	8.9	51	116	\$2,431
PAG	3,011	-	4	45	\$500

¹⁴⁸ EAYM, FAM, Educational Report, 1937.

¹⁴⁹ KNA, MSS/ 54/67, FAM Minutes of Annual Meetings and EAYM, E.J. Kellum Report, 1938.

Independent	5,111	-	-	-	-
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Adopted from KNA, MSS/ 54/67, FAM Minutes of Annual Meetings and EAYM, E.J. Kellum Report, 1938.

In spite of their numbers, African FAM educational committee members, alongside LNC Friends councillors, continued to issue new educational demands, such as teacher training, English instruction and more advanced education. Africans' ability to translate threats into actions also enabled them to exercise real and effective leverage within the FAM educational system. Three case studies namely, the Mbale School, among the Maragoli, the Luhyia Friends elite's role in the formation of North Kavirondo Central Association(hereafter NKCA) and the Formation of Kitosh Education Society (hereafter KES) among the Bukusu and Tachoni, illustrate this point.

I) The Mbale School

The proposal to establish a school at Mbale deserves to be ranked as the most striking example of educational initiative in Luhyialand, in the inter-war period. Reports indicated that this proposal,

Was initiated in 1926, with the intention of providing elementary day school, where literary work shall be given up to the standard of vernacular examination or standard IV.¹⁵⁰

The project was sponsored by the Mbale Quarterly Meeting (established in 1923) and although signifying dissatisfaction with mission control, it welcomed FAM support and included religious instruction in its curriculum.¹⁵¹ At this time, African Christians still exercised initiative along denominational lines and the Friends could not easily conceive of a school entirely separate from the church.¹⁵² In February 1927, a 13 member Maragoli delegation led by two of the chiefs of Maragoli locations, William Mnubi and Paulo Agoi, presented their vision before Ernest Webb, the government inspector of schools and H. O. Weller, the government supervisor of technical education at Vihiga. The Maragoli delegation proposed to build and run a school with technical instruction and suggested teaching agriculture, carpentry, shoe-making and tailoring. Weller was impressed with this proposal and suggested that the Maragoli should be given the school, first, due to the high population of the area, and secondly, as evidence of their economic prosperity

¹⁵⁰ KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/1/9, Education North Kavirondo District, 2/11/1927.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² Oral Interview, Sarah Litu, *op.cit.*

and religious enthusiasm. He proposed that this request be handled fast, noting that, "I should not be associated with refusal of the demand or even with delay in complying with it".¹⁵³

Encouraged by this reaction, Maragoli Friends selected a school site at Mbale, and raised Sh. 2,000 to start off the project. However, A.E Charrier, the acting North Kavirondo DC, did not share the same enthusiasm with his educational officers. He opposed the plan, on several grounds. First, the DC argued that,

The LNC had not been consulted. If a precedent is made in the establishment of such a school it is probable that the Maragoli Natives will wish to use the education rate for their own location thus there is a danger of the whole of the finance of the LNC being upset.¹⁵⁴

The DC argued that since the LNC had not been consulted the decision to allow the Mbale School would undermine the authority of the LNC and would create an undesirable precedent, splitting the LNC into a series of camps, each wanting to spend money on its own location.¹⁵⁵

Secondly, the DC argued that this was a sectarian move by the FAM adherents, which the FAM mission did not support.¹⁵⁶ He noted that,

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the promoters are all Friends African mission adherents and Mr Chilson is not aware of the proposed financial side of the scheme. I have mentioned to him that you estimate it at £5,000 and he told me that the maximum amount which would be raised voluntarily would not exceed £2,000.¹⁵⁷

Besides, FAM missionaries opposed the development of a school which would not be under European supervision. Chilson, therefore, incited other North Kavirondo councillors to oppose it, in return for his support for an LNC funded school for all the Luhyia.¹⁵⁸

Thirdly, the DC further argued that the Mbale School scheme would be detrimental to the proposed central school at Kakamega.¹⁵⁹ He noted that,

¹⁵³ KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/1/9, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1927.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁸ EAYM, Annual Report, 1928 and KNA, DC/NN/1/2/137, North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1931.

This school was put before the School Area Committee after it had discussed and approved the scheme for the Central School. Consequently, it's easy to follow why Paul Agoi opposed the resolution in the LNC meeting to raise £10,000 for the central school at Kakamega.¹⁶⁰

Further, the DC argued that,

To raise £10,000 it's necessary to introduce a Shs. 3 rate over the whole of North Kavirondo. In this scheme Maragoli are presumably expected to raise £5,000 by the so called voluntary subscription.¹⁶¹

In 1925, the North Nyanza LNC had requested that a central primary school be built at Kakamega. This school was opened in 1932, with a technical bias and with a graduated system of schooling that was selective and competitive, rather than community-sponsored mass education. The school increased the chances of Africans to acquire better education, as English and mathematics were taught. As such, Kakamega School threatened the existence of mission schools among the Luhya. This was a clear warning to the FAM that Africans could do without missionary schools.¹⁶²

The refusal by the government and the FAM to support the Maragoli proposal spelt doom for the project. Instead, the government established a 'B' school at Mbale in Maragoli, to provide both literary and technical training. This was a compromise solution simultaneously meeting the principal educational demands of the Maragoli Friends, along with those of the colonial administrators and the missionaries.¹⁶³

II) North Kavirondo Central Association

The NKCA was formed in 1933, by the Luhya educated elite from the FAM and CMS missions. Its first president was Andrea Jumba (a Friends adherent from Maragoli). NKCA was formed to address the issues of educational and economic development. The association also vigorously protested against threats to Luhya lands, resulting from a gold rush.¹⁶⁴ With the discovery of alluvial gold near Kakamega, in the midst of the North Nyanza reserve in 1931, nearly 400

¹⁶⁰ KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/1/9, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 31/3/1927.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ KNA, DC/NN/1/8, North Kavirondo District Report, 1927.

¹⁶⁴ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune and Sarah Litu, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁵ Bode, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-174.

European prospectors rushed to the site, in the hope of making quick profits from mining. Ironically, the initial discovery took place on almost the exact spot verbally guaranteed a year before by the Governor, Sir Joseph Byrne, before a huge crowd of Africans as inalienable. Yet despite warnings from the District and Provincial Commissioners, colonial officials in Nairobi, in 1932 amended the Native Land Trust Ordinance of 1930, to permit expropriation of the same land.¹⁶⁵ The result was that some 6,500 acres of land in the vicinity of Kakamega town was alienated for mining operations.¹⁶⁶

The second grievance that Africans raised, and which was particularly irksome to FAM's adherents, was the close business relationship that had developed between some FAM missionaries - particularly Fred Hoyt, the head of the industrial department - and miners. In fact, Hoyt had been described by the Phelps-Stokes commission as a consultant for neighbouring European settlers, giving an admirable example of the deep-seated African suspicion regarding the co-operation between missionaries and the settler community. The Luhya Friends expected the missionaries who provided them with agricultural and industrial advice not to play double games with the European miners and settlers, who were the Africans' main competitors.¹⁶⁷

The NKCA also proved to be a thorn in FAM's industrial policy. Members of NKCA criticized the industrial department for using its special economic advantage - its timber, water power and access to cheap labour - to unfairly compete with the Africans in securing contracts with the mining companies and maintaining low prices for maize. Indeed, FAM missionaries had resorted to trading owing to the,

Drying up of funds from America. But native traders consider that he [Hoyt] has competed unfairly with them in securing large contracts with the mining companies. Contracts far beyond native capacity at present.¹⁶⁸

Consequently, Andrea Jumba, the NKCA President, wrote directly to the Mission Board in Indiana accusing the mission of failing to work for the benefit of Africans.

¹⁶⁵ KNA, DC/NN/1.16, North Kavirondo District Annual Reports, 1932.

¹⁶⁶ P. Shilaro, "Colonial Land Policies: The Kenya Land Commission and the Kakamega Gold Rush, 1932-4", in W. Ochieng' (ed) *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya*, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 2002, p.111, and G.S. Were, *A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya*, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1967, p. 238, and Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

¹⁶⁷ KNA, DC/NN/1/15/82, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1934.

¹⁶⁸ KNA, DC/NN/1/14/58, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1933.

Another grievance that emerged at this time was FAM's freehold possession of 1,000 acres at Kaimosi, ostensibly intended for agricultural development. Africans questioned why the mission needed such vast tracts of land, outside the designated settler area.¹⁶⁹

NKCA members had also become incensed over Hoyt's behaviour. In 1934, members of the NKCA wrote to the Board in the USA, charging Hoyt with high-handed training practices, including whipping mission workers, unfair treatment of trainees and persecuting women found collecting firewood on the mission land.¹⁷⁰ In fact, Hoyt was at the centre of the controversy involving the NKCA and the mission's industrial and land policies. He was actively hostile to the NKCA, even acting as an informer to the Kakamega police on the activities of NKCA and its relationship with Albert Bond, a doctor at Kaimosi hospital, who had opposed Hoyt's views on Africans and the NKCA. Hoyt accused Bond of being a sympathizer and benefactor of the NKCA, describing him as a "socialist" who had the intent of fighting other Europeans by being sympathetic to the Africans, determined to have the Church controlled by the NKCA.¹⁷¹ Embarrassed by Hoyt's actions, the Board in the USA counselled its missionaries to remember that they were guests of the people to whom they ministered, and that despite temptation to use their greater resources or influence with the government, friendly means should prevail.¹⁷² The missionaries failed to heed this caution, leading to a flurry of more letters to the USA denouncing Hoyt, Everett Kellum and Jefferson Ford, three of the more conservative members of staff. The Luhya Friends leaders led by Andrea Jumba and Paulo Agoi, an LNC councillor, "asked the Board whether they sent some of the FAM missionaries to help or to trouble them".¹⁷³ Consequently, the NKCA grievances led to a schism within the FAM Missions.

The schism arose due to conflict among the missionaries regarding FAM's mission policies and its relationships with both the African Monthly Meetings and other missions. On the one hand were missionaries, Edith Michener, a teacher at Kaimosi Girls Boarding school and Margaret Parker, a nurse at Kaimosi hospital, who supported Dr. Bond's view that there should be fewer

¹⁶⁹ KNA, DC/NN/1/15/82 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1934.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² EAYM, FAM Annual Records, 1935.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

restrictions on young people in the Church, that there should be more social contact between missionaries and Africans and that the mission's industrial enterprise was competing with African businesses. Bond wrote that,

The most urgent need of missionary work was to close the 'great social gap' between missionaries and Africans and help Africans to secure fullness of life of a Christian.¹⁷⁴

In support of this view, Margaret Parker also argued that racial antagonism would cause Africans to fail to see the fruits of Christianity and thus decide not to fully participate in it. They invited Africans into their homes and social gatherings, showed concern for the material plight afflicting Africans and supported the NKCA position against FAM and government policies.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand, Jefferson Ford, who was the principal evangelist, together with, Everett Kellum, FAM supervisor of schools, and his wife Ruth, a nurse at Kaimosi hospital were among those who supported Hoyt's views. This group tended to support the colonial government in any political dispute with Africans and treated Africans as 'back door' Christians. They argued that social contact between European and Africans would make the latter conceited, and asserted that industrial work brought needed revenue for mission and Church alike. These missionaries argued that Africans should be subservient, segregated and supervised. They strongly believed that a movement like the NKCA, which propagated the doctrine of "Africa for Africans", did not fit in with the Christian message and was hence a manifestation of sin.¹⁷⁶ However, the Mission Board increasingly leaned towards missionaries who supported the African cause.

In its annual report of 1934, the Board emphasized on "the inner values of African society as the necessary basis of Christian structure", noting that "early missionary aspects were almost entirely based upon ignorance, superstition and primitiveness of Africa". The report concluded that missionaries must prove themselves to be friends of the best interests of the Africans. These views were reflected in the Board's correspondence with FAM, which made reference to the active role of the early English Friends in solving the social problems of the Americans, noting the need for the Friends mission to defend African social and economic rights and the need to

¹⁷⁴ EAYM, FAM Annual Records, 1935.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

move from a paternal to a fraternal relationship with Africans.¹⁷⁷ But since most members of NKCA were Friends, the colonial government warned both the Board and FAM mission to monitor its members and report those perceived to be engaging in political agitation.¹⁷⁸

III) The Kitosh Education Society

In the 1920s, Christian missions had initially divided the Bukusu and Tachoni locations into spheres of influence. For instance, the Friends had excluded Catholics from proselytizing in Chief Murunga's North Bukusu location, while Catholics had excluded the Friends from Chief Sudi's South Bukusu location. On the one hand, this led to bitter competition for adherents and in the pace of school development, especially between the Friends and Catholics. On the other hand, this rivalry cemented the unity of the Bukusu and Tachoni because Africans - particularly the educated of both denominations - challenged the divisions created by the missionaries. But even the missionaries themselves only made a point of talking about spheres of influence when it was their own influence which was threatened.¹⁷⁹ For instance, in 1926, FAM reported that,

The Catholic situation in the district has been the cause of much heated discussion and a few hot headed Friends boys were so determined they would allow no Catholics to enter that they came to blows. At one time it seems that the Catholics made concerted attempts to enter our district at 6 different places to start catechists' centres. The Local Native Council was unanimous of not wanting the Catholic to enter our districts. Our teachers hold a place of respect and influence in these Native Councils.¹⁸⁰

In the early 1930s, however, religious tolerance was enforced by the administration and the protection of spheres of influence was effectively ended. Tolerance had one important effect on the Bukusu and Tachoni society. At the level of the missions' educated elite, the effect was a new unity, cutting across denominational lines and which presented unified demands for educational development.¹⁸¹ There was a growing feeling among the Bukusu and Tachoni elite - particularly the FAM educated ones like Petro Wanyama, (a member of FAM education committee), Daniel Simiyu, Philip Mwangale, Musa Wambuto, Ezekiel Wanyonyi (leaders of Lugulu Monthly Meeting), and Pascal Nabwana (a local leader of the Catholic Church among

¹⁷⁷ EAYM, FAM Annual Report, 1934.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Jan J. de Wolf, *op. cit.*, p.147.

¹⁸⁰ EAYM, Annual Report of Kitosh Station and District, 1926.

¹⁸¹ Oral Interview, Henry Deenambo, Malakisi, 1/4/2007, and Augustino Khisa, Chwele, 21/8/2007.

the Bukusu) - that educational development in their area had been neglected. Demand for advanced educational opportunities were thus intensified. By 1935, for instance, Bukusu and Tachoni Friends had built more than 200 sub-elementary schools, yet they had no primary schools that offered standard IV, V and VI levels of education, while in the southern locations, there were such primary schools at Kakamega, Kaimosi, Yala and Maseno.¹⁸² Similarly, the only agricultural training centre in the district was in the south, at Bukura, which also had several hospitals. This inequality became more apparent when the expansion of commercial maize production in the northern locations, coupled with the introduction of maize cesses -of Shs. 3/- per bag - meant that the Bukusu and Tachoni were financing a growing percentage of the educational, health and agricultural services in the district.¹⁸³

To address their concerns, in 1936 the Bukusu and Tachoni FAM educated elite, led by Petro Wanyama, Philip Mwangale, and the MHM educated elite led by Pascal Nabwana, formed the KES. KES tended to encourage Bukusu and Tachoni Friends' feelings of independence and self-support. KES's demands were ; that the three Christian denominations - FAM, MHM, CMS - and the Muslims should be brought together, by introducing a system whereby pupils of different backgrounds would be able to associate in games and education with one another; all missionary boundaries be abolished, because the Bukusu and Tachoni had no say in the issue; that the Bukusu and Tachoni should have a single leader namely chief Sudi, through whom they would communicate with the government and that contributions of money should be made toward the building of more schools, without thinking of them in religious terms. KES then immediately embarked on collecting funds which were to help in building schools that were to be sponsored by various denominations.

The funds were to be used to build schools at Chwele and Lugulu (FAM), Kibabii (Catholic), and Butonge (Anglican).¹⁸⁴ However, Fred Hoyt opposed the erection of school buildings at Lugulu. He accused Musa Wambuto, KES's treasurer, of misappropriation of funds and succeeded in getting the association proscribed.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/1/9, Education North Kavirondo District, 1935.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*

¹⁸⁴ Jan J. de Wolf, *op.cit*, p.178.

¹⁸⁵ KNA, DC/NN/1/11, North Kavirondo District Annual report, 1937.

FAM missionaries also opposed any Bukusu and Tachoni initiatives based on an ethnic, non-denominational basis. They argued that such associations were out to cause trouble in the Friends church since the missionaries believed that the Bukusu and Tachoni were agitating for their own separate Friends church. Both allegations were, however, never proved.¹⁸⁶ Consequently, the proscription of KES caused even the steadiest mission supporters among Bukusu and Tachoni Friends to be critical of FAM, attacking church's failure to contribute to educational development. Petro Wanyama thus warned that if the mission did not undertake to repair the school "people might think the mission had withdrawn its help and this might weaken the reputation of FAM among the Bukusu".¹⁸⁷ Although in 1939, the Mission Board instructed the FAM to establish a separate educational department for the northern locations, nothing was done to redress the imbalance in educational development and feelings of neglect persisted among the Bukusu and Tachoni Friends throughout the 1940s.¹⁸⁸

4.3 The End of Spheres of influence and Revivalism

Apart from the activities of NKCA and KES, the 1930s also witnessed a number of events which impacted on FAM and not only led to more friction within the mission and between the mission and Africans, but also resulted in general dissension and a drop in church membership. First was the entry of new denominations into the FAM's sphere of influence, a factor that impinged on FAM's policy. In 1924, the Pentecostal East African Mission (hereafter PEAM) established a station at Nyang'ori, about 20 kilometres from the FAM station at Kaimosi and began to seek FAM converts.¹⁸⁹ Similarly, the Salvation Army (hereafter SA), armed with colourful paraphernalia and a martial spirit invaded FAM's territory in 1926.¹⁹⁰ FAM missionaries continued to protest against this invasion of their sphere, despite clear advice from the Protestant Alliance that the spheres of influence policy needed to be modified in view of the development of African Christian thought and religious consciousness. In 1932, for instance, reports indicated that PEAM adherents in south Maragoli "are asking for a place of worship, and are also being

¹⁸⁶ KNA, DC/NN/1/11, North Kavirondo District Annual report, 1937.

¹⁸⁷ Quoted in Gilpin, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-260.

¹⁸⁸ Oral Interview, Erastus Manyasi Waliaula, Mount Elgon, 11/9/2007.

¹⁸⁹ KNA, DC/NN/1/13/113, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1932.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

refused by the *Baraza*, in which the Friends' influence is strong".¹⁹¹ Indeed, many converts to the Salvation Army also claimed that the mission offered a more joyous mode of religious observance than the Friends church. North Kavirondo District annual reports indicated that,

It seems clear that the band and bright uniforms of the Army are attractive to the Africans, and it may well be that a large number will find in it a relief from austere practices of the other societies, and will secede from them to the Army. Salvation Army brought off a spectacular coup by the enlistment of chief Amiani under their banner...His conversion to the tenets of the Army was followed by that 50 of his people, all formerly Friends.¹⁹²

Fearing desertions, the Friends made strong efforts to prevent the establishment of Pentecostal schools in the 1930s. The government, however, was more interested in promoting elementary education than in preserving spheres of religious influences.¹⁹³ Consequently, the missionaries had to live with the knowledge that Africans were watching their unedifying squabbles. To make matters worse, schisms also arose among FAM missionaries over matters of doctrine, mission policy and religious practice. Seizures and trance states, apparently encouraged by the Pentecostal converts who "condoned seeing of visions and speaking in tongues", reached almost epidemic proportions in several Monthly Meetings in the southern locations. FAM missionaries, while generally opposed to such displays of uncontrolled emotionality, were divided as to how the situation should be best dealt with.¹⁹⁴ One group favoured severe disciplinary measures for those converts who persisted in such behaviour, while the other group, led by Arthur Chilson, favoured revivalism to awaken the Friends church in that era of competition.

Thus there were FAM religious revivals in the 1930s, sparked off by Arthur Chilson. He laid particular emphasis on spontaneous public prayer, public confession of sin and repentance, and seeking grace through baptism and the Holy Spirit. Widespread revival meetings then took place among the southern Luhya. However, some other FAM missionaries, particularly those who opposed close working relationship with Africans, supported by pioneer African converts, like Amugune and Lung'aho, reacted against what they regarded as extremism.¹⁹⁵ Chilson was outnumbered and transferred to Rwanda, but the revival continued. The revivalists' new message

¹⁹¹ KNA, DC/NN/1/13/113, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1932.

¹⁹² *Ibid*

¹⁹³ *Ibid*

¹⁹⁴ Oral Interview, Teina Sejero, *op. cit.*

¹⁹⁵ Oral Interview, Leah Ganira Lung'aho and Japheth Amugune, *op. cit.*

emphasized spiritual and communal harmony in place of economic progress. Consequently, in 1932, a confrontation loomed and when attempts at reconciliation failed, about 5,000 FAM members, particularly from the southern locations, left the Friends Church. Some defected to the Pentecostal missions while many more rejected the confines of any mission church and joined independent African churches. FAM reports for that year indicated that large numbers had “fallen away from their faith due to secularism and conversely, the rise of independent fanatical religious sects”.¹⁹⁶

Most FAM missionaries in the field did not recognize the basic causes of secularism and fanaticism. It was largely a result of the failure of mission-taught Christianity and especially, its inability to live up to the expectations of Africans. For instance, African Christians were not treated with the brotherly love preached by the missionaries. Some missionaries even wished for Africans to be segregated. It increasingly became evident to educated Luhyia Friends that being a Christian and educated were not enough to attain the same status as the missionaries. Disillusionment thus regarding the mission’s religious and educational programmes.¹⁹⁷ The independent churches of the 1930s thus symbolized the growing disillusionment that Africans felt especially in regard to FAM policies. Two contrasting cases of the African Church - the Holy Spirit (hereafter ACOHS), or *Dini ya Roho*, and *Dini ya Musambwa* - illustrate this point.

ACOHS emerged among the Maragoli and the Tiriki as a direct result of the FAM refusal to allow spiritualism or ‘speaking in tongues’ within the church. When Arthur Chilson was transferred to Rwanda, the ‘seizure-prone’ Friends converts interpreted this as a defeat for them. They then seceded from FAM and formed ACOHS. The sect set up a formal organization hierarchy modelled after that of the Friends Church and, consequently, established Quarterly, Monthly and Weekly Meetings. The church also prohibited beer drinking, but encouraged faith healing as an alternative to hospital treatment. It was initially suspicious of western education, though it allowed existing polygamists to join the church. It was mostly the uneducated peasants who were attracted to this sect. This was because most of them had failed to benefit from education or economic development. Thus, they chose to embrace the view that Christianity was

¹⁹⁶ EAYM, Annual Report, 1932.

¹⁹⁷ EAYM, Annual Reports 1931.

to prepare one “to go to heaven and not to accumulate material resources in this world”.¹⁹⁸ For the educated elite, however, the church was an instrument of progress and modernization, through education and material accumulation.

Dini ya Musambwa, or the “veneration of ancestors”, originated from Bukusu Friends disillusionment with the failure of Jesus’ second coming, as propagated by the missionaries in the early 1920s (particularly after the establishment of Christian villages among the Bukusu).¹⁹⁹

The followers of the sect also believed that FAM missionaries had destroyed Bukusu culture - through missionary education - and their prophets and had made them forget their traditional names and customs. In 1927, it was reported that some parents among the Bukusu were whipping their children to prevent them from going to school.²⁰⁰ Indeed, the 1930s action by the

FAM missionaries to expel Friends converts who became polygamists, might have also contributed to the rise of *Dini ya Musambwa*.²⁰¹ Joshua Walumoli, one of the founders of the sect, had defected from Friends and began preaching against the missions, emphasizing the need for all Bukusu to unite and protect their culture. He had “visions” and followed the path of Mutonyi Wa Nabukelembe, a Bukusu prophet who claimed a mandate from God and had foretold the arrival of the Europeans.²⁰² At the same time, Elijah Masinde, who eventually

became the leader of the sect, left the Friends church in 1935 when he married a second wife.²⁰³

The activities of *Dini ya Musambwa* were to become a great concern to the colonial administration in the 1940s.

The cumulative result of African disillusionment and division among missionary staff was not only the formation of independent churches, but also a steady decline in the number of African Christians on the FAM rolls in the 1930s. This decline stood in sharp contrast to the doubling rate of conversion in the 1920s. The number of Luhya Friends dropped from 12,408 in 1932, to 7,084 in 1934. Thereafter, the number stayed close to the figure of 7,000 until the end of the

¹⁹⁸ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op. cit.*

¹⁹⁹ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

²⁰⁰ Oral interview, Michael Namurwa Masinde, Nzoia, 15/9/2007.

²⁰¹ Oral Interview, Samuel Barasa Wakesa, Lugulu, 15/9/2007.

²⁰² Oral Interview, Muliro Ngoyomali, Kamukuywa, 15/9/2007.

²⁰³ V. G. Simiyu, *Elijah Masinde*, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1997, p.15; and Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p.195.

decade. It was not until 1940 that the number of converts began to swing upward again reminiscent of the 1920s.²⁰⁴

The reduction in the number of converts also corresponded to a drop in FAM's school attendance in the 1930s. By 1933 the number of out-schools had grown to 200, but school enrolment had dropped to 13,000, as opposed to 18,000 in 1930. Thus, the FAM schools experienced the first decline since 1919. But in 1934, the figure rebounded to well over the 14,000 mark.²⁰⁵ Part of the recovery came because the doors of FAM schools remained open to all pupils, regardless of their religious affiliation. It is also possible that most education-minded youth realized that FAM's schools still offered the best education that could be found in their area. By the 1930s, Kaimosi Boys' School stood as the only government-aided primary school offering education up to standard four, the stepping stone to further education at Alliance High School. This was because the Government African School at Kakamega had not achieved full primary school status. In Idakho, Isukha and Bungoma, the Roman Catholic stations still continued to stress catechism over secular education and primary schools belonging to the Church of God (thereafter COG) and the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG) did not begin to receive government grants-in-aid until 1936. Kaimosi also offered a teacher training course and an industrial programme equivalent to the NITD's apprenticeship levels. Thus, FAM still offered the Luhya their only real chance for higher education and the educated elite preferred to work within the mission to secure educational progress.²⁰⁶

4.3.1 The 1937 Mission Deputation

Divisions within the mission and between the mission and its African followers compelled the Board in the USA to send a Mission Deputation to Kenya in 1937. The Deputation, comprising of Levinus Painter, the executive secretary of AFBM and Willard Trueblood, a board member, was sent "from America to investigate the conditions under which the Friends were working and to resolve the divisions within the mission, as well as those between the mission and the Africans".²⁰⁷ During its visit, the Luhya Friends' Monthly Meetings leaders - who included

²⁰⁴ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1920-1940.

²⁰⁵ EAYN, Annual Report, 1934.

²⁰⁶ Kay, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-214.

²⁰⁷ KNA, DC/NN/1/19, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1937.

Yohana Amugune, Joel Litu, Elisha Shiverenje, Benjamin Sangale, Yohana Lumwagi, Jeremiah Sejero, Joseph Ngaira, Samuel Ashihundu, Peter Wanyama and Philip Mwangale - had an opportunity to express their concerns before FAM missionaries and the Mission Deputation. Very significant was a letter written by the Maragoli Friends leaders - Amugune, Litu, Andrea Agufana, Joshua Anusu and Daniel Akelo - on the role of the church as an instrument of secular development, not only in expanding opportunity for education, but also in raising the general welfare and prosperity of the rural areas. In general, the Luhyia Friends leaders specifically asked for specialists in agriculture and trade, promotion of both practical teaching in schools and instruction for adults in the villages, since the Jeanes teachers had neither the time nor the knowledge for teaching commerce-related issues.²⁰⁸ The other major requests made by the Luhyia Friends concerned the development of the church as well as the relationship between African church leaders and the mission. Requests were made for a Bible School and for the establishment of a Yearly Meeting, in which Africans would have greater responsibility for church affairs. The Deputation basically agreed to those requests, but expressed doubts about the mission's ability to meet the costs of more advanced education.²⁰⁹

The Deputation also met a delegation of Friends representatives from the NKCA, led by Andrea Jumba, which voiced complaints about the lack of educational development, the misuse of Kaimosi mission land and the poor level of school discipline, which had led to a growing number of pregnancies among female students.²¹⁰ The visit also provided an opportunity for airing regional grievances. The Bukusu and Tachoni Friends, led by KES Friends leaders like Philip Mwangale and Musa Wambuto, asked for more development in their area, particularly the establishment of a hospital and a primary school. They were, however, told by the deputation that FAM could not afford the additional costs and that further development would only be undertaken at Kaimosi. The Bukusu Friends leaders further blamed the Tachoni for opposing their request that the Lugulu Monthly Meeting be split into two, one for the Bukusu and the other for the Tachoni. The Lugulu FAM station had been built in the Tachoni area. But with the increasing leverages arising from Christianity and education particularly after 1920, the Bukusu

²⁰⁸ Due to high population density, particularly in Maragoli locations, the Maragoli requested for commerce - related training to enable them enter business ventures. See Oral Interview, Joram Mwondi Kuzuhu, Vihiga, 16/4/2007.

²⁰⁹ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

²¹⁰ KNA, DC/NN/1/19, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1937.

Friends feared that the Tachoni would take control of the church and economic development generally.²¹¹ Painter and Trueblood, however, condemned the splitting of the Monthly Meeting along sub-ethnic lines and insisted on one evangelical and educational programme for the North.²¹²

In their report, Painter and Trueblood supported most of the Luhya views. They condemned Hoyt and Ford, for their interference in colonial political matters and their tendency to support European mining interests against those of the Africans. Hoyt was specifically blamed for neglecting African industrial training, consulting for European commercial ventures and harassing Africans. Ford and his wife were likewise condemned for their extremist discriminative leanings, though they were not forced to leave. However, much of the blame for the divisions among the American missionaries in the mission was placed on the rugged individualism of its members and the absence of an authoritative commanding figure. Since the resignation of Willis Hotchkiss 1904, as the head of FAM mission in Kenya, the mission had lacked a central figure to lead it; hence all decisions were undertaken by *ad hoc* committees that proved ineffective in administering the FAM's work in Kenya.²¹³

Following this report, FAM missionaries agreed to appreciate each other's points of view, as well as those of the Africans. The intervention of the World War II, however, prevented the Board in the USA and the FAM from implementing the Deputation's recommendations, especially on policies and programmes. Indeed, the Board did not accept the need for decentralizing FAM resources to the various mission stations. But faced with increased pressure for more development in the north, from the Lugulu Monthly Meeting leaders, the mission established a separate budget for the North in late 1939. Ford also proposed to independently raise money for the expansion of mission work at Lugulu.²¹⁴ The Deputation thus succeeded in restoring - at least - the appearance of unity in the Friends church in Kenya.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Oral Interview, Samuel Barasa Wakesa, Lugulu, *op.cit.*

²¹² EAYM, Deputation Report, 1937.

²¹³ KNA, DC/NN/1/19, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1937.

²¹⁴ EAYM, Annual Report, 1940.

²¹⁵ KNA, DC/NN/1/19, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1937.

4.4 The Medical Department

The medical department of the mission also experienced considerable growth over the decade of the 1920s and 1930s. A major asset was the hospital building, which was completed just after the First World War. In 1920, the hospital secured more equipment for the operating room, including a metal operating table, a steam sterilizer and additional surgical instruments. Further, in 1925, Margaret Parker, a trained nurse, arrived to assist Dr Bond. The hospital received forty additional iron beds. At first, in-patients were hard to find because rumours had been spread about the hospital to the effect that anyone entering the building would have a limb cut off. But in 1920s the Luhya fear began to wane due the spread of education and testimonies from patients, particularly women converts who had gone through successful child birth at the hospital. ²¹⁶

In 1925, in line with the rural adaptation education policy, a nursing school was set up at Kaimosi hospital to train African hospital assistants in hygiene and child care. In 1926, the LNC voted Shs.1,050 to assist the hospital in this training. ²¹⁷ After training, the nurses were sent out to take charge of dispensaries at Malava, Lugulu, Vihiga and Lirhanda. In 1928, dispensaries were also opened at Chavakali, Musingu, Kakalewe and Chwele, under the care of African trained nurses. Bond - FAM's doctor - periodically visited these dispensaries. Any patients requiring further treatment were referred to the Kaimosi hospital. ²¹⁸

With the 1930s depression and the resultant drop in mission support from the USA, the medical department was forced to economize greatly. In addition, a small fee of between 30 to 50 cents was introduced for outpatients. Further in 1935, the hospital began to turn away minor cases if the fee could not be paid. These actions did not, however, discourage Africans, who both wanted and needed those services. ²¹⁹ The number of cases handled over this period is summarized below.

²¹⁶ EAYM, Medical Reports, 1925.

²¹⁷ KNA, PC/NZA/3/33/8/9, North Kavirondo District Local Native Council, 1929.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1928.

²¹⁹ EAYM, Medical Reports, 1919-1939.

Table 6: Number of Patients in FAM's Clinics

Year	Dispensaries	Hospital (in-patients)	Surgery	Maternity
1919	8,134	75	65	—
1930	—	1,213	228	44
1936	11,600	960	131	180

Adopted from EAYM, Medical Reports, 1919-1939.

One area in which the medical department succeeded in transforming the Luhyia society was in the treatment of epilepsy and leprosy. Traditionally, people suffering from these conditions were separated from other family members due to the belief that these diseases were highly contagious and could not be treated. FAM missionaries built huts for these people near the hospital, where they could live and receive medical care as required.²²⁰

4.5 FAM and the Development of the Elite

FAM missionaries had been and were essential to the introduction and expansion of the missions. But without the devotion, drive and even charisma demonstrated by many of the early Luhyia church leaders, the FAM mission would probably not have developed at the speed and spread that it did. These pioneer Luhyia converts and teacher-evangelists formed the basis of a new Luhyia elite that helped transform Luhyia society in the 20th century.²²¹

4.5.1 Pioneer Professional Teachers

The early FAM schools were never intended to provide formal academic education. They were but one part of an integrated learning system, whose purpose was to socialize and educate the Christians in a new way of life, for a new existence, dedicated to teaching and evangelizing others. As already noted, education was virtually denied to non-Christians because affiliation was a condition of entry into church schools and 95 percent of school literature was based on Christian religion.²²² But during the inter-war period, the Luhyia Friends leadership consolidated its position and became more successful in pressing for its demands. Education became part of a

²²⁰ EAYM, FAM Medical Reports, 1928.

²²¹ EAYM, *History ye Livugana Lya Valina (Friends Quakers)*, 1971. See also Oral Interview, Agnes Khajira, *op.cit* and Netty Khisa, Malava, 10/8/2007; Alfred Khayemba, Manda, 10/8/2007.

²²² For this discussion, see Chapter Three, p. 56.

new value system less identified with transmitting Christian community values and beliefs, and more with providing access to new occupational and social status. Education became increasingly valued for its cash returns and pupils were encouraged to study hard so that “they would buy big cars, build permanent houses” and generally become rich and influential in the new society, like the highly qualified and well paid teachers such as Benjamin Ngaira, Simeon Lidzanga and Ezekiah Wahuyila. Education thus became an important drawing card for the church and economic advancement.²²³ In addition, more and more women joined the churches during this period. With the frequent absence of the men, who had left their villages to seek paid employment in urban areas or settlers’ farms, the decline of traditional institutions and uncertainty arising from changes in society, more and more women joined FAM in search of a new vision of the world as well as support and reassurance.²²⁴

Christianity thus created new roles for women, apart from modifying the traditional ones. FAM missionaries taught pioneer Friends women rudimentary methods of maternal and child care, nutrition and home-making. These pioneers were then posted to Christian villages to teach Luhya women the new skills.²²⁵ The first Friends women teacher-evangelists in the FAM’s sphere of influence were; Maria Alenga from Maragoli, Rasoah Mutuha, Rebecca Nasibwondi, Rael Wangwe and Recho Namarome Lusweti.²²⁶ They were posted to various Monthly Meetings, as teacher-evangelists. By 1932, for example, GBS, Kaimosi, had three female teachers. This included Doris Dula and Besi Litu, both with Standard Four qualification earning Sh.20/- per month, and the newly employed Margaret Kavaya with Standard Four certificate earning Sh. 15/- per month.²²⁷ In many mixed schools, however, public opinion, jealousy and discrimination on grounds of gender, often led to boys absconding classes taught by women. In many cases, boys preferred to be taught by male teachers due the belief that - even with education - women should continue being housewives and not teachers. Indeed, many parents, not only opposed the idea of women teachers, but also tenaciously opposed girls’ education.²²⁸ But the females who went to school and became teachers initiated the beginning of a wage

²²³ Quoted in Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

²²⁴ EAYM, Maragoli Station Report 1926.

²²⁵ Oral Interview, Rasoha Mwashu, Jeptulu, 17/4/07.

²²⁶ Oral interview, Recho Namarome Lusweti, Chwele, 12/9/2007.

²²⁷ KNA, PC/NZA/2/11/12, Inspection Report on the FAM Station School, Kaimosi, 20/7/1936.

²²⁸ Oral Interview, Ruth Inyanje Kakai, Lugulu, 18/9/2007, Diminah Wepukhulu, Lugulu, 18/9/2007 and Nathan Wekesa Sakari, *op.cit*

earning class of women among the Luhya, and it reflected the widening transformative impact of Christianity and its agencies. With the success of the pioneer working class women, parents began to take their girls to schools in increasing numbers. For instance FAM GBS, Kaimosi reports of 1936 indicated that,

The average class-age of the girls is almost the same as that of the boys in the primary school. This fact shows that there is now, in the schools, practically an even balance in the education of girls and boys.²²⁹

Subsequently, education for girls, just like that of boys, was seen as a future investment. Parents were, therefore, willing to pay school fees for their daughters too.²³⁰

4.5.2 Development of Entrepreneurship

FAM education also produced an incipient commercial elite class among the Luhya. This new class was made up of the commercial, clerical and agricultural elite. Pre-colonial Luhya society had been relatively egalitarian. There had been wealthy people, but they had been constrained - by the nature of the economy and obligations of the kinship system - in their ability to accumulate resources and pass them on to their children. However, with the establishment of colonial rule and the initiation of socio-economic changes, an elite class emerged, which was significantly different from the ordinary agricultural peasants. These new elite possessed 'modern' knowledge, wealth, power and hence, influence. They slowly, but increasingly, became the reference points for the young and old alike, and spearheaded African demands for social reforms, better educational facilities and the growing of cash crops. This group owed their wealth and status to their positions in the mission establishment and their involvement in the market economy. They may not have been as powerful as the colonial ruling elite, but those who held positions in the mission - as evangelists, teachers, and successful businessmen - were at least as wealthy as some of the African colonial administrators. Two case studies of the Maragoli in the south and the Bukusu and Kabras in the north, show how the growing elite class benefited from being members of the Friends church. At the outset, the Maragoli and the Bukusu had been the most responsive to FAM missionaries' directed changes and consequently, the first major education-related transformative effects were witnessed among these communities. Indeed, it

²²⁹ KNA, PC/NZA/2/11/12, Inspection Report on the FAM Station School, Kaimosi, 20/7/1936.

²³⁰ Oral Interview, Jones Lusangalu, *op.cit.*

may thus be argued that the pioneer FAM converts laid the foundation for the families which today constitute a significant portion of the Luhya elite in general, and the Maragoli and Bukusu elite, in particular.²³¹

I) The Maragoli

Among the Maragoli, Yohana Amugune, a pioneer Friends leader worked hard to transform the community.²³² In the inter-war period, Amugune started Friends churches at Chavakali, Viyalo, Kigama, and Vokoli. In 1922, he also started a Quarterly Meeting at Chavakali, and became its first presiding officer. This Quarterly Meeting combined the Monthly Meetings of Idakho, Isukha, Tiriki and South Maragoli.²³³ Strongly believing in the value of European culture, Amugune modelled his own behaviour after that of the missionaries. For instance, he built the first permanent brick house in the district and also invested his wealth in new ventures. Some of his wealth went into increasing the trappings of a new life style, including European clothing and furniture, purchase of land, use of hired labourers, capital investments in business - like flour mills, butcheries and lorries for the transport industry - education of his children and new social commitments, such as contributions to the church and schools.²³⁴

Apart from Amugune, a number of Maragoli Friends also developed entrepreneurial skills, through the experience of managing church finances.²³⁵ They used this experience for the development of new secular enterprises. Tithing became an integral part of Christian service and by 1930, the Maragoli Friends Church had saved over Sh 60,000 in the National Bank of India. Such savings were not only used to pay teachers, but also loaned out to progressive church members at an interest of one per cent per year, thus enabling its members to start business projects.²³⁶ For example, the Mbale Quarterly Meeting loaned Andrea Munubi and Elijah Ukiru Sh. 2,000 to buy a lorry together. Using the example set by Amugune, Munubi and Ukiru were a few among the Maragoli who invested in the transport industry. And by 1927, there were 27

²³¹ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube and Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

²³² Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op. cit.*

²³³ J. Amugune, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/8, Nyanza Provincial Annual Report, 1933.

²³⁶ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

African-owned buses and lorries operating between Kisumu and Mumias.²³⁷ The eagerness of Maragoli educated elite to engage in entrepreneurship may be explained by the fact that they were being strongly affected by land pressure due to a high population growth. In 1933, for instance, North Kavirondo District reports indicated that shrinking of cultivating and grazing areas was forcing the Maragoli to increasingly invest in commerce, particularly motor transport, as a source of livelihood.²³⁸

FAM missionaries also assisted African Friends with finance and organization skills to establish a number of shops at various trading centres. Emory Rees (a Friends missionary), in particular, introduced sewing machines, taught tailoring, provided contacts with Indian merchants and instructed the Maragoli among whom he worked in new methods of commerce, like banking. Consequently, a number of leading Friends, including Andrea Munubi, Paul Agoi and Andrea Agufana raised money and each bought a maize-grinding mill. Mills were subsequently established at Vihiga, Lunyerere, Mbale and Mudete, all owned by Maragoli men.²³⁹ The number of African-owned flour mills rose steadily and by 1933, there were over 40 flour mills operating in Maragoli, producing over one hundred bags of flour per day.²⁴⁰ In the same year (1933), the number of Maragoli owned shops was over 200, and African traders began to replace Asians in the sale of household commodities.²⁴¹ To coordinate the Maragoli business activities, Andrea Agufana, a Mbale Monthly Meeting leader, founded the North Kavirondo Chamber of Commerce in 1933. And by 1937 the association had 300 members, mostly Maragoli.²⁴² Thus, Friends among the Maragoli used church leadership, education, access to loans and missionary advice and support to reap economic dividends.

II) The Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras

In the inter-war period, economic transformation among the Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras was simultaneously influenced by the Friends church and the labour requirements of the settlers in the neighbouring Trans-Nzoia district. The Bukusu and the Tachoni and, to a small extent, the

²³⁷ Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p. 135- 140.

²³⁸ KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/8, Nyanza Provincial Annual Report, 1933.

²³⁹ R. M. Maxon, *Going their Separate Ways*, Madison: Fairleigh Dickson University Press, 2003, p. 113.

²⁴⁰ KNA, PC/NZA/3/28//5, Chavakali African Dukas to PC Nyanza Province, 1937.

²⁴¹ KNA, PC/NZA/2/1/36, Minutes of North Kavirondo District LNC Meeting, 1932.

²⁴² Oral Interview, Mathew Sagide, Kitale, 26/9/2007; and Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

Kabras showed remarkable enthusiasm for FAM educational activities.²⁴³ By 1928, there were 959 converts and the church was supporting almost all its 51 schools from church offerings and tithes. In addition, the Bukusu and Tachoni Friends supplied most of the teachers for the FAM's 65 farm schools that had been established in the European settled area of Trans-Nzoia.²⁴⁴

With the opening up of Trans-Nzoia to white settlement after the First World War, many Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras men seized the opportunity of wage employment and flocked to the European farms. A number of them returned home and started to put into practice the semi-mechanized farming that they had learned on the European farms.²⁴⁵ It was, therefore, FAM converts who first planted the new maize seeds and adopted techniques urged upon them by the administrative and agricultural officers.²⁴⁶ They consciously aimed at expanding their production for sale in order to purchase the new consumer goods, to improve their homes and meet new expenses, such as school fees and church dues.

Bukusu and Tachoni locations and, to a small extent, Kabras location, thus became major food producing areas in the 1930s, mainly due to African Friends farmers. Indeed, while trading offered the greatest economic opportunity and rewards in the south, where population density was high, the greatest rewards for the northern Friends lay in large-scale maize farming.²⁴⁷ Both in the south and the north, Friends used their contacts through the church to develop these opportunities. For example in 1927, Bukusu and Tachoni men - like Peter Wanyama, Philip Mwangale, Zakayo Wasike, Peter Makari, Aaron Wakhungu, Yohana Masambu and Andrea Chemiati, who each owned between 20 to 25 acres of land - became the first African Friends to mechanize their farms through the use of animal-pulled iron ploughs.²⁴⁸ In Kabras, Joseph Ngaira, Zacharia Makhalan'gan'ga, Richard Chesoni, Samuel Imbuye, Elijah Nandi, Samson

²⁴³ When Arthur Chilson was withdrawn from the Malava station in 1923, Joseph Ngaira, an Isukha, was given the responsibility of managing FAM activities among the Kabras. This created animosity between the Friends and the Kabras leading to the loss of enthusiasm for FAM activities. See Oral Interview, Rhodah Absolom, and Julius Marani, Malava, 12/8/2007.

²⁴⁴ Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

²⁴⁵ Oral Interview, Erastus Manyasi Waliaula, Chwele, 18/9/2007.

²⁴⁶ Oral Interview, Wellington Wamukune, Lugusi- Lugulu, 18/9/2007.

²⁴⁷ Oral Interview, Joseph Kituyi Nyaranga, Chwele, 19/9/2007.

²⁴⁸ KNA, DC/NN/1/8, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1927; Oral Interview, Henry Simuyu Chemiati, Chwele, 19/9/2007 and Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

Marani, Rasto Katami, Isaac Wabuge and Samson Wekulo, all large scale farmers, also adopted the use of iron ploughs.²⁴⁹ Consequently, the sale of ploughing equipment skyrocketed and by 1938, there were 2,109 ploughs in the district.²⁵⁰ Most of the ploughs in the district were in the north because the Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras area was primarily pastoral as opposed to the south, where acreage per family was low and hence the low number of animals.²⁵¹

Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras farmers, led by Friends like Philip Mwangale and Zacharia Makhalan'gan'ga, respectively, also acted on their own initiative to develop an effective bulk-marketing system and campaigned to obtain better prices for their produce. At the time, Africans were not allowed to directly sell maize to Europeans, or to the government. They were, therefore, forced to sell their produce through the Asian middlemen, who were often unscrupulous in their business methods by underpricing African goods. The government, anxious to encourage African maize production in order to offset deficiencies caused by the slump (due to the depression) in settler production of maize, agreed to increase the price of maize per bag paid to African farmers from 90 cents to Sh 2.50 in 1930, after the deduction of the cost of bags and transportation.²⁵² The government also allowed Africans to sell their maize directly to the Kenya Farmers Association (hereafter KFA), a settler organization. Consequently, many large-scale African farmers joined KFA, at a fee of Sh.200. In addition, district reports of 1937 indicated that,

There are now three LNC go-downs in the district at Luanda, Butere and Brodericks [Webuye]. All are now leased to KFA for Shs. 700 per annum. The last named was handed over to a native company of some 80 members who are themselves one member of the KFA.²⁵³

The company that the report mentioned was the Kimilili Farmers' Association, formed in 1936, under the leadership of Philip Mwangale. Out of the 80 members of the association, 70 were Friends. Through Mwangale's advice, the association "pledged to sell its maize solely to the KFA".²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ Oral Interview, Joshua Wanja Mahalan'gan'ga, and Sarah Ofuwa Silungai, Lukhokho, 12/8/2007.

²⁵⁰ KNA, DC/NN/1/8/ North Kavirondo District Annual Reports, 1927.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² See Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

²⁵³ KNA, DC/NN/1/9, North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1937.

²⁵⁴ KNA, DC/EN/3/1/2, North Kavirondo District Agriculture Annual Report, 1935.

Such developments brought considerable prosperity to the new crop of Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras farmers in the 1930s. The new marketing arrangement further increased the price per bag to Sh. 6/- and an additional bonus of Sh. 1.40/ per bag.²⁵⁵ Consequently, maize production increased and by 1935 Mwangale and his partners were producing over 1000 bags of maize per annum. Maize produced by Africans, railed at Broderick Falls and exported, rose from 4,600 bags in 1933, to 23,600 bags in 1935. Expansion of production and export continued throughout the second half of the decade and by 1939, 453,000 bags, valued at £136,000 - approximately Sh. 1.36 million - which reports noted was a small decline from the previous years, were exported outside the district.²⁵⁶ By the end of the decade, the area around Webuye, Kimilili, Malava and Lugari had become North Kavirondo's leading producer and exporter of maize in Kenya.²⁵⁷

An important feature of this agricultural development among the Bukusu, Tachoni and Kabras is that the Friends, as was in the case Maragoli, formed new economic groups through the church. They had been taught that Christians should be self-sufficient, that they should work hard to avoid famine and that they should help the poor. And while the church preached the work ethic, the European farmers taught practical knowledge and skills. African Friends in the north also had the advantage of surplus land and more sympathetic government policy towards the kind of crops suitable for the area - maize - and consequently invested in agriculture. But both the southern and northern Friends had the widening experience and contact of church and school, which seem to have played important roles in the development of entrepreneurship and an incipient middle class in western Kenya. It was this middle class that produced the political and economic elite among the Luhya. The church thus provided a double example of a cooperative group and a vehicle through which development could be discussed and ideas shared.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter set out to answer two questions. First, it sought to explain the reasons behind increased and nature of interaction between the FAM, the colonial government and the Luhya society during the inter-war period. It was observed that before the end of the First World War, the relationship was characterized, on the one hand, by dominance on the part of the colonial

²⁵⁵ KNA, DC/NN/1/10, North Kavirondo District Agriculture Annual Report, 1929.

²⁵⁶ KNA, AK/11/27, North Kavirondo District Agriculture Annual Report, 1935.

²⁵⁷ Oral Interview, Joshua Wanja Mahalan'gan'ga, *op.cit.*

government and FAM, and on the other hand, by submission, some suspicion and hostility on the part of the Africans. The relationship between the three could, therefore, be described as proper but distant. The nature of this relationship changed in the inter-war period due to a variety of factors.

The enlightenment occasioned by African participation in the First World War, through the *Carrier Corps*, reinforced the importance of education. And because only the missionaries provided education, most Africans ended up joining the Church in order to gain it. Secondly, the material advantages that accrued to pioneer converts had a demonstrative effect that encouraged others to join the Church and school in order to gain the benefits. Thirdly, the labour shortages that resulted from increased enrolment of Africans into the Church-organized education system reinforced the settlers' views about the desirable organization of labour. As a consequence of this, the colonial government began to play a direct role in the education system, a domain long dominated by the missionaries. This was due to several reasons, including an attempt to control and improve the productivity of labour and a desire to supervise and control the curriculum, in an attempt to stem African political agitation arising from lack of educational opportunities in mission schools.

Secondly, the chapter sought to examine the dynamics of the increased interaction between FAM, the colonial government and the Luhya society. The colonial government, through the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Education Ordinance of 1924, undertook to adapt African education to the needs of the rural areas, through an emphasis on agricultural and industrial/technical training, rather than academic education. Consequently, the government initiated an industrial training programme for Africans, through the Jeanes School and the Native Industrial Training Depot, which were meant to provide semi-skilled labour that could be deployed as an agent of change in the rural areas, or be directly used on the settlers' farms. Further, in return for control over missionary education, the government established a grants-in-aid scheme whereby mission schools were partly to be financed by the government and by African taxes, through the LNCs. But the government and FAM's emphasis on the adaptation type of schooling and a corresponding failure to provide academic education, including the teaching of English, was a major cause of discontent among Luhya converts. Subsequent

African protests not only led to an injection of more academic education in FAM schools, but also the establishment of LNC's Central School at Kakamega, where English was taught.

There can, however, be no doubt that among all the changes wrought by the colonial government and FAM policies upon the Luhyia in the inter-war period, western education was the most significant. Not only did it provide a rallying point around which major grievances in Luhyia society crystallized, but it was also a major tool of socio-economic transformation. Indeed, its major impact among the Luhyia was the growth of a western educated elite. Initially, the village church elders were the foundation on which the church and school had been built, but their responsibility and leadership was taken from them by the young western-educated FAM men. Gradually, a new professional elite, with qualifications based on western education, was emerging. In other words, the period between 1919 and 1939 increasingly saw leadership and authority wrested from elders to be vested on the young, FAM educated men. The new elite class was at the forefront in demanding scholarly education, particularly the teaching of English, and provision of higher education as opposed to village mass education. It was also instrumental in wealth accumulation, especially through engagement in entrepreneurial activities (commercial and agricultural), as well as pushing for the redress of local African grievances. It is the development of this class that the next chapter will examine.

Chapter Five

The Church and the Educated Elite, 1940-1953

5.0 Introduction

The beginning of the Second World War marked no sharp break in the economic development of the Luhya. Rather, the economic developments and changes which had been initiated before the war accelerated during the war period. The cumulative impact of several decades of socio-economic changes that had occurred, or were still going on in the family and kin groups, had led an increasing number of the Luhya to conclude that conversion to Christianity was increasingly appropriate to their new needs. Among these new needs was the provision of education, which was becoming inseparable from economic development. Indeed, the population pressure witnessed in the post-war years had made education a necessity, if one was to find a source of livelihood off the land. The demand for more academic education, including post-secondary training, thus became the major educational demand of the emerging FAM - educated Luhya elite. New sub-elementary and elementary schools were thus built and then the communities increased pressure on the government to permit the establishment of more advanced primary and secondary schools in their areas. The critical factor, after the Second World War, was therefore how the FAM - educated Luhya elite used their leadership positions in EAYM and the colonial administration to harness economic leverages for their locations, and the concomitant effects of these initiatives.

This chapter thus examines the post - war development in Luhyialand in regard to FAM's work using the following issues: namely, East African Yearly Meeting, developments in education, demand for medical services, the 1953 Special Delegation, initiatives in agriculture and entrepreneurship, social classes and sub-ethnic group conflict. During this period, indicators of economic transformation included, demand for higher education that was seen as an avenue for acquiring better paying jobs, consolidation of political leadership in the hands of a new generation of educated elite, commercial farming and the demand to grow high priced cash crops, like coffee, the development of entrepreneurship and the accumulation of resources. The accumulation of resources further marked the division between social classes, leading to social conflict.

5.1 East African Yearly Meeting

The beginning of the Second World War witnessed the FAM church membership increasing from 7,000 to 20,000, a figure representing a conversion rate of more than five times that of the previous years.¹ This new wave of conversions can be explained by two factors. First, there was a growing desire to belong to a church that was increasingly becoming part of the Luhya culture. As Christianity increasingly became the preferred religion of the Luhya and a dominant aspect of life in the locations, Sunday came to be regarded as a special day for worship and rest. Prayers became common place at the meetings of the location councils and some chiefs' *barazas*. Special prayers were also held at planting and harvest times, as well as during circumcision ceremonies.² Biblical references became common in every day discourse. The implication of this picture was the decline of traditional religious beliefs and practices.³ Consequently, many among the Luhya began having second thoughts about the scorn which they had directed at their age-mates for joining the new religion and were no longer certain about the efficacy of the traditional spirits, in these circumstances of great socio-economic changes. The Christian God may, therefore, have appeared more efficacious and more acceptable.⁴

Secondly, the years during the Second World War and the period thereafter, saw pioneer African leaders of the FAM - such as Yohana Amugune, Joel Litu, Yohana Lumwagi, Joseph Ngaira, Benjamin Shamala, Samuel Mwinamo and Peter Wanyama - being replaced by younger, better educated men. They were more articulate in communicating with mission and government and were able to represent the views of the Church at large and to press for mission and Church support for education.⁵ These new elite were responsible for starting many new Village and Monthly Meetings in their locations. Thus, the initial missionary goal of achieving the conversion of Africans by Africans was not only taking place at an unprecedented degree, but was also becoming part of a large, working church system being run by Africans, with minimal missionary guidance.⁶ The FAM annual report of 1940 thus recognized the mounting achievements of the African Christian leaders and noted that back in 1915, there had been 17

¹ EAYM, FAM, Statistical Tables in the FAM Annual Reports, 1939-1946.

² Oral Interview, Ephraim Konzolo, Kaimosi, 2/4/2007.

³ EAYM, FAM, Annual Reports, 1940 - 1946.

⁴ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op. cit.*

⁵ EAYM, FAM, Evangelistic Reports, 1945.

⁶ EAYM, FAM, Annual Report, 1940.

missionaries and 43 converts to care for 30 outstations. In contrast, there were only 7 missionaries in 1940, but the number of Village congregations had grown to 260, with over 20,000 people in weekly attendance, an expansion, the report concluded, that could only have been brought about by the increasing competence of African church leaders.⁷

The financial burden of supporting the Church system was also being borne by African Christians. For example, African donations – through tithes and offerings - to their Meetings increased from \$6,585 in 1942 to \$20,698 in 1946.⁸ Observing the rapid growth of the African church and realizing that the role of the comparatively small number of FAM missionaries was rapidly narrowing down to one of technical support (particularly in education and hospital administration), the missionaries turned over an even greater portion of their time to the duty of advising African leaders in church management. Indeed, the growth in FAM's African membership led the missionaries to report that the time had come when all Village, Monthly and Quarterly Meetings could be drawn together into one larger body, and be organized into a Yearly Meeting.⁹

At a meeting held in December 1945, FAM missionaries asked the Board's permission to start drawing up the plans for setting up a Yearly Meeting in Kenya. Four months later, the Board announced its approval for the creation of an African Yearly Meeting and appointed Merle Davis, the executive secretary of the Mission Board and Levinus K. Painter, a Board member, to represent the AFBM during the inauguration of the new Yearly Meeting.¹⁰ On the 18th November 1946, the first session of EAYM of Friends was inaugurated at Lugulu,¹¹ with over 10,000 Friends in attendance, drawn from over 400 Village Meetings which had been organized into 11 monthly Meetings and 4 Quarterly Meetings.¹²

FAM reports indicated that the new EAYM was given,

⁷ EAYM, FAM, Annual Report, 1940.

⁸ EAYM, FAM, Statistical Table, in the Annual Report, 1939-46.

⁹ EAYM, FAM, Annual Report, 1940.

¹⁰ EAYM, FAM, Kaimosi Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1943-1946.

¹¹ The inauguration took place at Lugulu, probably as an attempt to encourage cooperation between the Bukusu and the Maragoli Friends. See Oral interview, William Shibadu, *op. cit.*, and John Musundi, Kitale, 15/9/2007.

¹² EAYM, FAM, Kaimosi Monthly Meeting Minutes, December 1946.

Authority to organize a Yearly Meeting, to act as a corporate Christian body, to set up departments of religious work, to establish a Christian ministry and to carry on evangelistic, educational and missionary service, as a Yearly Meeting.¹³

The constitution of EAYM, adopted at the same convention, stated that “the name of the organization shall be East African Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)”, herein known as the Yearly Meeting”.¹⁴ The Yearly Meeting “shall be a constituent member of the Five Years Meeting of Friends”. Further, the new constitution stated that,

It shall be the aim of the Yearly Meeting to function as a fellowship of Christians, maintaining and promoting Christian service to fellow men, in accordance with the principle and practice of the Quaker faith and understanding of the Friends in general.¹⁵

In organization, the new Yearly Meeting divided “the entire membership into Quarterly, Monthly and Weekly (Village Meetings)”. Quarterly Meetings were to be established “on the basis of geographical areas. Each Quarterly Meeting shall include two or more Monthly Meetings”. Monthly Meetings “shall be established by the Yearly Meeting upon recommendation of the permanent board. Each shall include the Village Meetings in its assigned area”.¹⁶ The Yearly Meeting was thus the highest decision making body of the Friends church in Kenya.

In organization, the new Yearly Meeting resembled American Yearly Meetings, with one temporary exception. The office of General Superintendent (a FAM missionary - selected and approved by the EAYM) was created. The General Superintendent’s duty was to advise African leadership during the formative years of the organization. The Missionary advisor was to be aided by an African Assistant Superintendent, also selected and approved by the African Church. Consequently, Paul Barnett and Joel Litu were chosen as the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent, respectively.¹⁷ Joel Litu became the first Presiding Clerk (the Chief Executive Officer), while Benjamin Ngaira and Petro Wanyama became Recording Clerk (*Karani*) and Treasurer, respectively.

¹³ Quoted in EAYM, FAM, Annual Evangelistic Report, 1946.

¹⁴ EAYM, East African Yearly Meeting Constitution, 1946.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

The establishment of EAYM meant that the machinery of an independent African church had been set up, was under African leadership and only awaited the withdrawal of the temporary missionary advisor to be truly and completely self-governing. Local church affairs, particularly pastoral responsibility, now rested in African hands. However, American money to pay missionaries and support secular programmes, as well as missionary advice, remained quite strong in directing the new church. Moreover, control of the FAM's non-church activities, including education and medical care, remained a mission and American Board responsibility. This was for two reasons. First, colonial laws by then did not "allow African churches to own property in the colony". Secondly, the fledgeling EAYM did not have sufficient trained personnel to assume responsibility for the secular affairs of the church. Indeed, the Board and the FAM missionaries were not willing at this time to turn over their considerable investment in education, medical care, industrial development and agriculture, to the embryonic and uncertain African management.¹⁸

5.2 Education

The development of education paralleled the expansion of Christianity. During and after the war, the demand for education became increasingly universal and included a growing desire for secondary and even university education.¹⁹ After the war, FAM missionaries and influential, educated African Friends began to espouse divergent views regarding African education. As with the inter-war period, Africans continued to press FAM for more and better education. For example, the 1946 FAM report indicated that Friends schools were serving a population of 32,127, in 424 schools. The reports noted that,

The African people can provide school buildings, build desks and pay school fees, but there is a bottleneck, not nearly enough teachers are available...not only are small children clamouring to get into school, but also a backlog of thousands of teenagers who have been denied privileges of attending school were demanding that they be given a chance to get education.²⁰

¹⁸ EAYM, East African Yearly Meeting Constitution, 1946 and Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

¹⁹ Oral Interview, Diminah Wepukhulu, Lugulu, 18/9/2007.

²⁰ EAYM, Everett Kellum School Reports, 1952.

indeed, North Kavirondo annual reports indicated that there was a “marked educational awakening in District”. The report further showed that the distribution of aided schools closely followed the distribution of population as follows.²¹

Table 7: Pupil Population in Primary schools in 1949

Location	Estimated Child Population	Aided Primary Schools	Aided Intermediate Schools
Maragoli	42,000	38	6
Kimilili	30,000	21	2
Bunyore	25,000	19	3
Wanga	24,000	18	3
Isukha	18,000	16	3
Marama	16,000	14	2
Idakho	16,000	13	2
Nyang'ori	11,000	12	2
Tiriki	17,500	12	1
S. Bukusu	21,000	12	1
Iteso	15,000	11	2
Malakisi	10,000	10	1
Kisa	13,500	9	2
Kabras	12,500	8	1
Bukhayo	12,500	7	2
Marach	11,000	7	1
Bunyala	5,000	6	1
Butsotso	7,500	6	1
Buholo	5,000	4	—
Elgon	4,500	2	—

Adopted from KNA, DC/NN/1/31, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1949.

²¹ KNA, DC/NN/1/31, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1949.

It seems that Friends-dominated locations of the Maragoli, Kimilili, Isukha, Tiriki and Kabras also dominated other areas in the number of aided primary and intermediate schools. Reports indicated that "primary schools are maintained by the community and there is a great competition to get onto the aided list".²² Apart from running many aided schools, FAM was at the time also running a mixed Teacher Training College at Kaimosi.²³ Further, the 1950s saw,

An increasing number of young Friends find places in the few secondary schools provided for Africans in Kenya. At the same time, African Friends were pressing for a secondary school of their own.²⁴

District reports further indicated that "there is a continued and ever increasing demand for more secondary schools and in some, areas for girls' schools".²⁵ However, the increasing demand for both primary and secondary education far outstripped the financial support the mission was receiving from the AFBM.²⁶ For instance, FAM's education budget for 1944 was estimated at over Sh.1,174, 100 yet the Board could only send Sh.77,000, which was divided between missionary salaries and the various medical, evangelical and educational activities of the mission. Indeed, approximately Sh. 100,000 was required annually to meet the recurrent budget of establishing and maintaining a single day school. Thus, the aid from the Board was hardly enough to establish a single day school.²⁷ Faced with mounting expenses for FAM educational services, the Board came to the conclusion that it "would be a tight squeeze indeed, unless greater income could be secured".²⁸ The seriousness of the situation was made clear by the Board's declaration that it was ready to give up the north (Lugulu and Malava) mission area, if the demand for educational services became too great for the mission to meet.²⁹ To try and prevent such a dramatic action - of closing some of the FAM stations - the Board planned a new promotional effort that would secure a greater home contribution. And through the promotional efforts, Friends contributions from the USA showed a sign of improvement. For instance, FAM had been allocated only Sh.49,630 in 1939 but by 1946, the Board was able to send Sh. 137,263

²² KNA, DC/NN/1/31, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1949.

²³ KNA, NN/ 1/34, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1952.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ EAYM, FAM, Statistical Table, in the Annual Report, 1939-46.

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ KNA, PC/NZA/ 1/ 40, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1945; and EAYM, FAM, Statistical Table, in the Annual Report, 1939 - 46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

to support FAM programmes.³⁰ But this comparatively small increase made it very difficult to meet the demand for more and more missionaries to act as teachers and education administrators. Fortunately for the mission, government and individual African contributions towards FAM projects rose substantially, enabling it to meet some of its commitment.³¹

Government aid to the FAM education department was already substantial and it significantly increased in the period after 1940, from Sh. 91,000 in 1939, to Sh. 150,000 by 1946. African support to FAM educational development also increased proportionally. This increment from the Board came at a time when Africans were also willing to tax themselves more to finance education. For example, in 1945 LNCs in Nyanza Province provided Sh. 252,200 in education grants and were willing to spend over Sh. 294,000 in the following year.³² The increase in government subsidy, added to African financial support, was thus the primary factor in the remarkable expansion of the FAM's school system.³³

Consequently, the financial support from the government and the Africans enabled the FAM to educate over 32,000 Africans a year, in various sub-elementary, elementary and intermediate and secondary schools. African educational demands were, however, so great and expanding so rapidly that government aid and African financial support were unable to keep pace. Neither enough schools existed, nor were they built fast enough to meet the needs. For instance, it was reported in 1945 that the subsidies from many LNCs for the coveted primary education were exceeding the bounds of good financial judgment. The government reacted by banning the addition of new schools to those aided by any LNC, unless education expenditure remained less than 25 percent of total revenue collected. Even so, during the next five years, the central government had to send *ex-gratia* aid to a number of LNCs threatened with bankruptcy because of their over-enthusiastic support for education.³⁴

³⁰ EAYM, FAM, Statistical Table, in the Annual Report, 1939-46.

³¹ See, Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *Proposals for the Recommendation of the Report on African Education in Kenya*, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1950. p.1

³² KNA, NZA/1/40, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1945.

³³ EAYM, FAM, Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 1945,

³⁴ EAYM, FAM, Minutes of the Meeting of January 9, 1946, 158, and Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *Proposals for the Recommendation of the Report on African Education in Kenya*, *op. cit.*.p.1

5.2.1 African Education: Demands and Policies

Africans' increasing need for education and their desire for training beyond the primary school had seen FAM's sub-elementary and elementary schools expand to over 424 by 1946. However, places for advancement of education within the FAM were limited to two intermediate schools - Kaimosi Boys' Intermediate School and Kaimosi Girls' Intermediate School.³⁵ Consequently, there arose an increased demand for intermediate and secondary education among the Luhyia. The presence of a new group of talented leaders dedicated to spreading education, and a social climate in which education had become more attractive than ever before, were the two factors that accounted for this increased demand.

The 1940s, therefore, saw the growth of a sizeable and prosperous wage earning African middle class - like Chief Paul Agoi, Jeremiah Sejero and Simeon Sabwa, who had used their income to invest in land holdings and commercial interests - but also marked the consolidation of political leadership in the hands of a new generation of educated, English-speaking Africans. The new educated elite appeared on the scene, assumed positions of influence and responsibility in government, in the church and in political associations, and consequently began gaining local prominence. The former Friends - who were also Alliance, Maseno and Makerere students of the 1930s - were now maturing into the prominent Luhyia educational spokesmen of the 1940s and 1950s. These included Solomon Adagala, Joseph Otiende, Solomon Muyundo, Richard Wekesa, Nathan Munoko, John Musundi, Fredrick Wakhungu, Fred Kamidi, Benjamin Ngaira, Benjamin Kaptan, Fred Wakhungu, Hiram Karani, Simeon Lisanga, Japheth Chunguli and Absalom Kagasi, all who later became FAM schools supervisors and principals.³⁶ This new middle class used the Friends church as a means of developing secondary education. They also formed the Abaluhya Youth Society, whose members travelled around North Nyanza district, encouraging Village Meetings to acquire government-aided primary schools, through the FAM mission.³⁷

Reminiscent of the pre-First World War era, local Luhyia chiefs and headmen substantially aided the spread of Friends' schools. New FAM educated men were becoming chiefs. The new leaders, in their early thirties, were eager to restore vigour and action to their offices. For example, in

³⁵ EAYM, FAM Annual Reports, 1940.

³⁶ EAYM, FAM Annual Reports, 1948 and Oral interview, Walter Watila, Chelekesi, 28/9/2007.

³⁷ Oral Interview, Johnstone Shivairo, Senende, 16/4/2007.

1940, the appointment of Paul Agoi - a Friends member, Jeanes teacher and the North Nyanza LNC's spokesman - as chief of the combined Maragoli location enabled him to quickly help in the formation of the Maragoli Education Board (hereafter MEB), the Maragoli Youth Society, the Maragoli Chamber of Commerce and the Maragoli Traders Association. All these associations were concerned with educational and economic development.³⁸ In 1943, Jeremiah Sejero (a Friends member, one time Jeanes teacher and district court clerk) was appointed as chief of the new Isukha location. In the same year William Shivachi (a Friends member and a school teacher) became the chief of new Idakho location.³⁹ To the North, Henry Nakhisa and Jonathan Barasa (both Friends members and elementary school teachers) had succeeded to the chieftaincy among the Bukusu by the 1950s.⁴⁰ However, it was the Tiriki who exhibited a marked transformation in their attitude towards education, and they offer an interesting case study of a change of attitude towards education during the post-war period.

Tiriki Location, long considered the bedrock of traditionalism and anti-Christianity, experienced marked changes regarding education after the 1946 election of Hezron Mushenye, a Friends-educated court clerk, as chief. Once elected, Mushenye won support of the educated Tiriki Christians by his endeavour to increase the number and quality of Tiriki schools. He also rallied the support of both Christians and non-Christians, by rightly accusing the Friends mission of favouring the Maragoli in school development through employing mostly Maragoli school teachers in Tiriki schools, favouring Maragoli over Tiriki students, and not developing the school system more rapidly in Tiriki. Furthermore, by resuming the traditional practices of beer drinking and polygamy, Mushenye - though excommunicated by the Friends church - won over the unquestioning support of non-Christians in Tiriki.⁴¹

As a chief, Mushenye not only championed the establishment of non-denominational District Education Board (hereafter DEB) Schools in Tiriki, but also for more subsidized FAM schools.⁴²

³⁸ Oral Interview Japheth Amugune, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Oral Interview, Teina Sejero, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

⁴¹ FAM reprimanded Mushenye for beer drinking, and withdrew his Church membership when he became polygamous. Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op. cit.*

⁴² For the discussion on DEB see p. 194.

Through this campaign, FAM stopped further discrimination and the number of schools in Tiriki increased considerably, to match the population requirements.⁴³

The Tiriki male circumcision ceremony was another impediment to education efforts and Mushenye campaigned hard to overcome it. In the preceding decades, many Tiriki youth had started their education at mission schools only to discover, after a six-month absence for initiation, that the schools were not willing to take them back.⁴⁴ Three reasons led to this reluctance. First, during the six-month seclusion and convalescence period, the initiates were taught various Tiriki customs. The FAM missionary opposed such seclusion as forums where 'paganism' was taught and they demanded an end to it. Secondly, pioneer teacher-evangelists also claimed that the initiated youths were often unruly and hard to discipline after the initiation process. Thirdly, the shortage of teachers and schools made it imperative that both the African teachers and the missionaries favour those students who did not disrupt their education by such a long absence. Mushenye - who was among a few of his age group who had undergone the traditional initiation ceremonies and at the same time, had managed to return to school after initiation - therefore canvassed among many initiation chiefs, asking that they shorten the period of convalescence from six months to three months and later, to one month. His success in obtaining these changes meant that Tiriki boys would miss less class time and hence would be present during the examination period, which in most cases coincided with the start of the initiation ceremonies.⁴⁵ Mushenye's personal actions greatly encouraged a convergence of non-Christian and Christian interests in Tiriki, leading to the acceptance and establishment of more schools.⁴⁶

The appointment of Mushenye, and other similarly inclined chiefs, therefore marked a new era among the Luhya. All these chiefs were Friends, trained and experienced administrators, eager to modernize and improve their local communities. Their appointment also marked the desire of the colonial government to woo the progressive middle class, which in the previous decade had decried the work of illiterate chiefs and headmen. Consequently, the enlightenment, brought

⁴³ Oral Interview, Thomas Mbere, Senende, 16/4/2007.

⁴⁴ Oral Interview, Johnstone Shivairo, *op.cit.*

⁴⁵ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ KNA, PC/NZA/ 1/119, Nyanza Province Annual Reports, 1947.

about by the effects of the Second World War, not only allowed the educated elite and the new chiefs to steadily rise to prominence, but also actively undermined vestiges of traditional Luhya society.⁴⁷

In the post-war period, the overriding priority of the new elite – both educated and political - was the development of secondary education. With the growing intrusion of the money economy and the need to employ educated Africans in the expanding government bureaucracy, a more advanced academic education became the key to financial and economic success, for many among the Luhya. For instance in 1946, Benjamin Ngaira, an Alliance graduate, became the first African headmaster at Kaimosi Teacher Training College and the Presiding Clerk (the Executive officer) of EAYM; Solomon Adagala, an Alliance and Makerere graduate, became a Kakamega Government School Teacher and DEB member; Fred Kamidi, another Makerere graduate, became a teacher at Kaimosi Teacher Training College.⁴⁸ Other leading positions in the new Yearly Meeting were also held by younger, more educated men. Eventually, the new African leadership in the Friends Yearly Meeting was able to force the mission to abandon its support for mass education, in favour of expanding higher education for a minority.⁴⁹ This development was further reinforced by the Maragoli, who used their powerful positions in FAM to push for development of commercial training, as an answer to the problems of land shortage and population pressure.⁵⁰

Apart from the considerations accounting for constant pressure on the government and FAM to expand their outlets on education, Africans also demonstrated a willingness to tax themselves to the limit to provide more money for schools in their locations. Even when the government or FAM appeared unable or unwilling to meet their demands, Africans occasionally attempted to fulfil them on their own through the LNC – renamed African District Councils in 1950. Consequently, in public *barazas* and the ADC meetings, Africans increasingly demanded greater access to better and higher education, including opportunities for overseas university training.⁵¹ District reports indicated that “the demand for education by Africans, as previously stated, has no

⁴⁷ Oral Interview, Mathew Tsambagi, *op.cit.*

⁴⁸ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1941-1946.

⁴⁹ EAYM, FAM, Annual Reports, 1946-1950.

⁵⁰ KNA, NN/ ED/2/11, North Nyanza Annual Report, 1947.

⁵¹ KNA, NN/ 1/25, and KNA/NN/1/29, North Nyanza Annual Reports, 1950.

limit, and despite all our effort in organization and finance, will not be met for very many years to come".⁵² Consequently, Luhya educational aspirations, although partly realized, had to contend with financial realities and the policies of the mission and government.

5.2.2 The Beecher Commission

During the World War II the preoccupation of the colonial government with aiding the war effort meant that education in Kenya suffered badly. Education funds were diverted to the war effort and the gap between goals and realities - on the part of the government - remained wide. But the growing demand by Africans for education coupled with a shortage of both funds and supervisory personnel not only led to lack of controls, but also a decline in the quality of educational services. In 1940, the colonial government attempted remedial measures to increase and enforce school regulations, but these attempts proved futile. In Nyanza province, for example, there was only one government inspector to oversee a school population which, between 1943 and 1945, grew from 80,000 to 115,000.⁵³

As the numbers of elementary schools were growing at a higher rate than the available teachers, the education department could only worry over a subsequent decline in educational standards. Seeing that Africans were clamouring for more educational services and LNCs were more than willing to spend all their tax revenue to provide them, the missions warned the colonial education officials about the deteriorating quality in African education, since the rapidly expanding elementary schools were heavily relying on poorly trained and lowly paid teachers. Immediate steps were thus needed to initiate the long-postponed expansion of secondary and teacher education, which had further been delayed by the war and the depression.⁵⁴ In light of these circumstances, the colonial government, immediately after the war, had to turn its attention once again to a disorganized educational scenario. But it was not until 1945 - when the external funds became available through the Colonial Development and Welfare Act - that government officials in Kenya could contemplate injecting more substantial funds into African education.

⁵² KNA, PC/NZA/1/40, North Nyanza Annual Reports, 1945.

⁵³ Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *African Education in Kenya*, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949, p. 5-9.

⁵⁴ KNA, NZA/1/40 Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1945.

The Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945 marked a significant shift, from the traditional policy of colonial economic self-sufficiency, to a policy of increased aid to the colonies. This is because the war years had marked not only a shift in economic policy, but had also elicited a desire - on the part of the British government - to create a more progressive political situation in the colonies, for eventual self- government.⁵⁵ The passage of the 1945 Act, therefore, promised to provide some relief to the beleaguered colonial governments like Kenya, but on condition that a definite development plan was outlined to determine exactly where the funds would be utilized. As a result, Kenya's first two development proposals were rejected by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies because they were not proposing to expand secondary education as fast enough as demanded by Africans. Finally, in 1948 a third post-war plan, The Ten Year Education Plan (hereafter TYP), was conceived, developed and approved.⁵⁶

The proposed TYP called on LNCs to finance 50 percent of the school-going-age population's first six years of primary education, while the central government would concentrate on the expansion of secondary and teacher-training education. LNCs were to aid schools according to a formula based on population and geography. This meant that there would be one aided primary school approximately every three to six kilometres, and then a cluster of these would serve as one aided intermediate school. In order to achieve this expansion, LNC expenditure would increase from Sh.1,000,000 to 3,430,000 annually over a ten year period, while the central government would contribute Sh.8,000,000 for capital costs, mostly the construction of buildings.⁵⁷ However, despite these regulations, expansion of new unaided schools - established by communities - continued unabated among the Luhya due to community, denominational and kinship rivalry. Indeed, most of the unaided FAM schools were largely staffed by unqualified teachers, resulting in poor educational standards. And where unaided schools were established, demands for government aid would soon follow.⁵⁸ The subsequent increase in demand for

⁵⁵ J.R. Sheffield, *Education in Kenya: An Historical Study*, New York: Teachers College Press, 1973, p.31.

⁵⁶ See, Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *A Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education*, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1948.

⁵⁷ Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *A Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education*, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

⁵⁸ See, *Ibid.*

government aid meant that most of the LNCs were unable to finance educational expenditure.⁵⁹ The alarm was sounded and in light of the problem of uncontrolled expansion, another commission was hastily constituted in 1949. Under the leadership of the Anglican Archbishop, Leonard J. Beecher, the commission was mandated to examine the scope, content and methods of African education, its financing and African teachers' salaries.⁶⁰

The Beecher Report (as the Commission's Report came to be known) was published in September 1949, and became the blueprint for Kenya's educational development. The most serious problem identified by the report was that expansion at the primary level had been done without adequate financial provision, control or supervision and was staffed by unqualified teachers. In order to remedy this trend, strict supervision was necessary, to control primary school expansion and expand teacher training. To bring the African school system under control, the Beecher Report also recommended an enlarged government inspectorate and mission supervisory teams. For instance, the first supervisory team in North Nyanza was handed to the Friends in 1952. The supervisory team was responsible for "staffing, construction and maintenance of buildings, keeping up academic standards and the general management of its own schools".⁶¹ The Report further placed primary and intermediate schools under the reconstructed DEB, and called for specific district development plans, which would spell out exactly how many schools would be aided.⁶²

The Beecher Report also restructured the educational system, by introducing a 4-4-4 system of primary, intermediate and secondary education to replace the 6:2:4 system that entailed six years of primary education, two years of junior secondary school and four years of secondary school. The new structure aimed to present each stage of education as complete in itself, capable of equipping those who might leave after one stage with the competence to play an active role in

⁵⁹ James R. Sheffield, "Policies and Progress in African Education in Kenya: 1949-1963", PhD Thesis, Columbia University, 1964, p.122.

⁶⁰ See, Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *A Committee Appointed to Inquire into Scope, Content, Methods of African Education, its Administration and Make Recommendations*, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949 (hereafter Beecher Report).

⁶¹ EAYM, Everett Kellum Education Reports, 1952.

⁶² Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *A Committee Appointed to Inquire into Scope, Content, Methods of African Education, its Administration and Make Recommendations*, *op.cit.*, p.11.

society. It was thus expected that in ten years' time, 50 percent of the school-going- age population would have received at least six years of primary education. ⁶³

The most far-reaching of the Beecher Report's recommendations was the planned expansion of secondary school spaces, an act that broadened the apex of the education pyramid. Indeed, the report had forecast 16 new senior secondary schools by 1957. Although this number of secondary schools was inadequate in providing for the intermediate African aspiration and later for the cadres of the educated civil servants, as independence came nearer, the proposal was a big leap forward, compared to the six senior secondary schools that existed in 1949.⁶⁴ Finally, the report also highlighted the need to make education more practical and to provide African pupils with moral and character training. For the former, they recommended a renewed injection of vocational training and agriculture into a system which they felt had become too academically oriented. For the latter task, they stressed the Christian influence the mission could and should exert in education, supported continued mission control of the bulk of African education and emphasized the importance of religious education as a necessary part of civilization.⁶⁵ Since missionaries still sponsored nearly three quarters of all schools and provided most of the teachers, the colonial government willingly agreed to continue the educational partnership.⁶⁶ The Beecher report was accepted and implemented in 1950, despite continued African campaign against it.

In contrast to government enthusiasm, Africans were highly critical of the report. Their objections mainly fell into four categories. First, there was the complaint that the report emphasized quality rather than quantity, meaning that enrolment would grow too slowly, thereby frustrating African hopes for universal literacy. The second criticism was directed against the replacement of the 6:2:4 system by the 4:4:4 system. It was felt that the four-years of primary school course would be too short to achieve permanent literacy, and too few students would get

⁶³ Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *A Committee Appointed to Inquire into Scope, Content, Methods of African Education, its Administration and Make Recommendations*, op. cit., p.11..

⁶⁴ S. N. Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya, 1895-1991*, Nairobi: Evans Brothers, 1992, p. 64.

⁶⁵ Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *A Committee Appointed to Inquire into Scope, Content, Methods of African Education, its Administration and Make Recommendations*, op. cit., p. 2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

beyond the fourth grade to make the intermediate level worthwhile.⁶⁷ Thirdly, the report forbade the establishment of independent schools – not affiliated to any mission - despite the African premise that this would limit the amount and availability of primary education, as well as curb future African initiatives in education.⁶⁸ Lastly, Africans' desire that local education matters be handled by the ADCs that had replaced LNCs in 1950, was also rejected by the Beecher Report. ADCs had become a forum where Africans demanded higher education and overseas training and consequently, the commission felt that such bodies would not resist popular pressure for more schools, regardless of their costs. The commission thus revamped the District Education Boards - which were established after 1934 as district advisory bodies on education - as organizations for educational discussion, planning and the link between the ADC and the education department. In other words, DEBs recommended schools that would receive grants from the funds pledged by ADC and the education department.⁶⁹ And although DEBs were given more African representation, they still contained a European majority, hence Africans feared that most of their recommendations on school development could be vetoed.⁷⁰

5.2.3 FAM Education Policies

Before the publication and implementation of the Beecher Report, the FAM's educational policy and programme had been affected by various factors, which had eroded its educational monopoly among the Luhyia. The first was the development of the school as an institution divorced from church affiliation. At the end of the World War I, there had emerged a growing hostility to the denominational control of education and a frustration that missionaries had done little to develop education. Consequently, a growing number of African Friends were going outside Friends' institutions to obtain more advanced education. There was also greater demand and preference for LNC schools (like Kakamega School), over mission schools. This was because Africans felt that LNC schools were locally owned, through local financing and were also divorced from the European control and supervision associated with mission schools. For instance, in proposing to merge Mbale School with a Pentecostal mission school, less than a kilometre away, into a DEB school, John Majani, a member of MEB, voiced the views of many Christian teachers. He said "I

⁶⁷ Sheffield, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁶⁸ Bogonko, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Beecher Report, p. 95-6.

don't think the education department adheres to sects of *Dini* (religion) in promoting education. Furthermore, it is not the basis on which we should rely if we evidently want to educate every child well in this country".⁷¹

It was this prodding by Africans that forced the Friends into inter-denominational cooperation in western Kenya. For instance, in 1940 FAM agreed to co-operate in training some teachers for its neighbouring missions, the Pentecostal mission at Nyang'ori and the Church of God Mission at Bunyore. This modest programme helped ease memories of earlier bitter competition.⁷² A situation of particularly aggressive and long lasting rivalry, between Friends and Pentecostals in one area of North Maragoli, was consequently resolved through the creation of the Busali Union school, under the alternating management of the Friends and the Pentecostal missions, and an agreement between the two missions to let children attend a school of either denomination.⁷³ And in another step toward cooperation, the FAM joined the newly formed Christian Council of Kenya (CCK) in 1943. This association was formed in an attempt to promote mission unity in negotiating with government officials, particularly on educational issues. At the same time, the concept of 'exclusive spheres' was dying out and all Christian denominations shared in the renewed African enthusiasm for education. This trend ended the monopoly of Friends in schools and churches among the Luhya, but at the same time it permitted the Friends to spread their influence into neighbouring and competing missionary territories with less hostility.⁷⁴

Shortages of money and missionary personnel in FAM's stations meant that the mission had to increasingly rely on African teachers, headmasters and educational supervisors, with limited training, to operate the school system. For example, only one new missionary – Dorothy Pitman - joined the Kaimosi staff between 1940 and 1944, implying that most of the work was carried out by the seven missionaries who were by now quite aged and, in most cases, sickly. This situation forced FAM missionaries to lobby before various planning committees and education officials for permission to secure a full secondary school for boys and an improved teachers' training college in order to have better-trained African teachers. During the war, the colonial officials -

⁷¹ Quoted in Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p.267.

⁷² See Gilpin, *op. cit.*, p. 267; and EAYM, Christian Co-operation in Kenya, 1943.

⁷³ KNA, DC/22/12/52, Daudi Mulindi to DC, Kakamega, 1940.

⁷⁴ EAYM, FAM, Annual Report, 1943.

led by the Nyanza school inspector, T. G. Benson and the educational secretary for the Christian Council of Kenya, L.B Greaves - had earlier urged the Friends to press for a boys' technical school because of their long-standing commitment to industrial education.⁷⁵ By 1948, the two senior education officers had eventually managed to convince both the FAM and the American Board about the significance of a boys' secondary school and teacher training college. Consequently, AFBM started making the necessary preparations to establish the two institutions. Understandably, the February 1948 publication of the TYP then came as a great shock to the Friends for it made no provisions for aiding either the secondary school, or a teacher training institution at Kaimosi. Only the separate boys' and girls' junior secondary schools opened in 1945 had been considered for funding. Apparently, Benson had over-stepped his authority in promising the FAM these other schools, and after his transfer out of Kenya, educational officials in Nairobi vetoed his recommendation. This turn of events shocked the Board and, although the government permitted the teacher training schools to stand as a *fait accompli*, all other pleas to reinstate the secondary school that had closed after Hoyt's retirement in 1945 - and which was the strongest point of the FAM's educational programme - fell on deaf ears.⁷⁶

The publication of the Beecher Report, however, gave the FAM education department some hope. In the report, substantial increases were suggested in the fields of education, personnel and a system of government-aided mission supervision teams to help administer newly aided schools. The colonial educational department's rules now stipulated that only recognized school managers could receive grants, which meant that in areas like North Nyanza, only the missions - like FAM, the Catholic MHM, CMS, Church of God, Salvation Army and Pentecostal Assemblies Mission - and the North Nyanza District DEB were authorized school managers. Consequently, any Luhya community seeking grants had to get a mission to act as its sponsor and to present the community's case before the DEB. And since the Christian missions were the only source of trained teachers in the district, Luhya leaders were obliged to cooperate with them in order to obtain qualified teachers at local schools.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ KNA, PC/NZA/1/191, T.G. Benson, Kaimosi Inspection Report, 1942.

⁷⁶ EAYM, FAM Annual Report, 1948.

⁷⁷ EAYM, FAM, Annual Report, 1950.

Under the Beecher Report, the FAM was the major beneficiary in North Nyanza due to its large school network. FAM was thus given a new lease of life and offered a full boys' secondary school up to form four, three boys' and one girls' junior secondary schools up to form two and a teachers' training college. The FAM also received about one third of the aided intermediate schools in North Nyanza District, while the Mill Hill, Church of God, Salvation Army, CMS and Pentecostal Assemblies Mission would share the rest. FAM thus retained its educational leadership by sponsoring the most advanced male schools in the district, as its monopoly in the primary and intermediate school system was disappearing. Logically, therefore, Luhyia Friends felt they had a better chance in securing a secondary school place than the Luhyia adherents of the other denominations because missions tended to select only their own adherents for places in their advanced schools. However, although these arrangements ensured that the Luhyia would work with the government and the mission in educational matters, they did not completely constrain the Luhyia's ability in circumventing the rules. Furthermore, the allocation of education grants through the DEB resulted in heavily missionized areas - like Maragoli - receiving a disproportionate share of grants in schools, resulting in divisions and animosity among the Luhyia communities, along sub-ethnic lines.⁷⁸

When the FAM accepted and began to implement the Beecher Report, the battle for substantial government support for primary and intermediate levels of African education had been won. The Report had pledged to aid 2,000 primary and 310 intermediate schools within a decade, compared to a total of 840 in 1948. Under this plan, the number of FAM fully aided schools more than doubled between 1947 and 1953.⁷⁹ However, even with the government's aid, FAM still faced a number of challenges in its education policy. The first problem arose when the FAM postponed the opening of the senior secondary school - by one year - to 1952. Owing to delays in America, partly caused by the AFBM's debt of \$23,000, no new staff - that is, trained secondary school teachers - arrived at Kaimosi in time to open the school in January 1951 as scheduled.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ EAYM, FAM, Annual Report, 1950 and Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, Japheth Amugune, William Shibusu and Ephraim Konzolo, *op. cit.*

⁷⁹ EAYM, FAM, Education Report, 1947-1953.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1950.

Matters seemed healed, though, when the Board formally approved the provisions of the Beecher Report at its annual meeting in April 1951. In addition, the Board pledged to send the first half of the required ten educational workers to Kenya by January 1952 and approved a special fund-raising appeal of \$16,000 to finance the project.⁸¹ This would, however, prove to be the first of many false starts for the FAM's development plans.

In mid-1951, colonial officials informed the American Board of an abrupt change in policy. The government now insisted that FAM should move at least one of Kaimosi's planned schools onto a site in the northern part of North Nyanza District. Ostensibly, the move would redress the grave imbalance of schools clustered in the south. For instance, reports indicated that there were only two secondary schools in the district; the Government African School at Kakamega and the Kaimosi School, both located in the south, and that there was much agitation for a third school to be located in the north.⁸²

Meanwhile, the early fifties had become a very tense period in Kenya because of the growing violence between the colonial government and Africans, arising from the development of African nationalism. The tension escalated, culminating in October 1952 with the declaration of an emergency against the Mau Mau movement - a violent reaction, mainly by the Kikuyu of central Kenya, to alienation of land, the continued denial of political rights, unemployment and rural poverty.⁸³ Throughout the entire period, government officials were extremely concerned about similar opposition erupting elsewhere in the colony, and the northern part of Nyanza province seemed a likely spot for renewed protest, as the troubles that had been caused by the activities of *Dini ya Musambwa* were still fresh on the minds of officials. Consequently, the government's new strategy seems to have been to locate an advanced school in the north to head off the school issue as a potential politically explosive threat.⁸⁴

At first, the Board in America refused to consider the request made by the government. The Board insisted that it was not ready to incur the extra cost of putting up new buildings in the

⁸¹ EAYM, Education Report, 1951.

⁸² KNA, DC/NN/1/34, North Nyanza District Annual Report of 1952.

⁸³ For complete details, see for example, Greet Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below*, Oxford: James Curry, 1997.

⁸⁴ KNA, DC/NN/1/35, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1952.

north. But under mounting pressure from colonial officials, the FAM missionaries, CCK and EAYM representatives, the Board agreed to reconsider its position. The question as to where the secondary school would be located was, therefore, submitted by AFBM to the Western Region Education Board (a creation of the Beecher Report similar to DEB, but responsible for secondary education and teacher training in Nyanza Province). In April 1952, the Regional Education Board voted to move the boys' secondary school from Kaimosi to Kamusinga, among the Tachoni and Bukusu, ironically, three months after it was opened at Kaimosi after a year's delay. However, it was not until 4th February, 1957, that the New Kamusinga Secondary School was opened, with 150 students and a staff of three Europeans, and four Africans.⁸⁵

In the USA, the Friends Board acknowledged the authority of the colonial government in regulating education, and reluctantly consented to move the secondary school, on condition that the cost borne by the AFBM would not exceed Sh.70,000. Later in 1952, representatives of the AFBM, the EAYM and the Friends Service Council of England met at a conference on World Quakerism in London and discussed having English Friends assist in the work at Kaimosi. But the American Board rejected the idea because it did not want to share administrative responsibilities with the Friends Service Council. The Board feared that the British Friends, who were liberal Christians and tolerated smoking and beer drinking, would dilute the American firm stance against such behaviour. As a consequence, the Board could neither finance nor staff the proposed school and had to inform colonial officials that it would no longer sponsor the secondary school, which was scheduled to move north.⁸⁶

The government's initial decision to move Kaimosi secondary school and the Board's subsequent inability to sponsor it, dealt a double blow to the southern Luhya. The Executive Board of the EAYM sent a protest message to the USA castigating the move. They then formed a special committee to lobby government officials to retain the school at Kaimosi and to retain FAM's sponsorship. But the Board maintained that it was financially incapable of sponsoring the school. This controversy split the EAYM into two embittered factions made up of the southern and northern Luhya Friends. While the southerners vehemently opposed either moving the

⁸⁵ EAYM, FAM, Annual Reports, 1952-53; EAYM, FAM Education Reports, 1957; and KNA, PC/NZA/3/14/170, Nyanza Province Annual Reports, 2/8/1957.

⁸⁶ EAYM, FAM, Annual Reports, 1952-53.

school or surrendering FAM's sponsorship, Friends from the north applauded the idea and demanded that the secondary school become non-denominational. The Maragoli, in particular, resented the decision to move the school and demanded to know "what else the mission will be helping with, if not giving higher education to our children".⁸⁷ The Maragoli elite thus accused the mission of holding back the development plans of the south, and warned that it was their right to have a senior FAM secondary school, since they were the pioneers of education in North Nyanza district.⁸⁸ The most telling criticism, however, was leveled at the government by Matthew Mwenesi, the chairman of the MEB. In a letter to a number of government officials and FAM missionaries, Mwenesi asked "how would the government convince the public that transferring an existing school, from Kaimosi to the Elgon Nyanza, is development?"⁸⁹

By mid-1953, the question was no longer about who would sponsor this particular secondary school, but whether any of the FAM's educational work could continue in Kenya and whether the EAYM would sever its ties with the American Friends. Questions surrounding FAM's educational future had also led to a new incident during 1953, which thoroughly exasperated government officials. For much of this period, the mission's educational secretary, Everett Kellum, had been taken ill, and the Friends' vast school network went largely unsupervised. Capital grants from the government for school construction also lay idle, since the mission had failed to submit any grant-in-aid estimates for 1954. Once again, government educational officials had found cause to criticize the quality of FAM's schools and the calibre of the new teachers sent to Kenya by the AFBM in the previous year. The missionaries at Kaimosi, who bore the brunt of government and Luhyia criticism, were also dismayed by the Board's refusal to consider recruiting better qualified missionaries from outside the narrow circle of the Five Years Meetings. The only non-American member of the Mission was one Horst Rothe, a new doctor, who had replaced Arthur Bond. On his appointment, though, the Board had warned that no "non-American would be accepted as a permanent head of a mission department".⁹⁰

⁸⁷ KNA, MSS/54/13, Report of the Special Delegation to FAM, 1953.

⁸⁸ KNA, Christian Churches Education Association (hereafter CCEA) 1/28; 'Mulima' a Luhyia Newspaper, 1953.

⁸⁹ KNA, PC/NZA/1/1/92, MES to Provincial Education Officer, Nyanza Province, 1952.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

Relations between the Luhya, the missionaries and the Board also seriously suffered. EAYM particularly resented the failure of the mission to undertake greater responsibilities for the development of education, their lack of consultation with the Yearly Meeting and the failure to replace Kellum, the educational secretary, despite the state of chaos in the FAM's schools. Correspondence continued appearing, levelling bitter charges at the mission. Consequently, the Maragoli location advisory committee asked the government for permission to plan its own secondary school, while the Chavakali school committee asked the FAM to relinquish the management of its school to the DEB. As the final straw, EAYM officials began to ask whether the local Yearly Meeting could hold the title of property and recruit its own European staff for educational and medical work.⁹¹ Both FAM missionaries and EAYM leaders were now raising fundamental questions on the very existence of the Friends mission, which now risked losing its entire investment - both material and spiritual.

By late 1953, the EAYM was preparing to act unilaterally in matters which it considered fundamental to African development. With the seriousness of the situation in Kenya, the Board in America began to review its commitment, making a reversal of its former stand and pledging to sponsor the boys' secondary school in the north. This was after consultations with a number of American Yearly Meetings, which agreed to fund the project.⁹²

5.2.4 Demand for Medical services

As was the case in education, demand for medical services among the Luhya also increased and in most cases "became too great for the mission to meet".⁹³ Between 1942 and 1943, the Kaimosi hospital, with a bed capacity of 97, had treated almost 28,000 patients and many more at the outstation clinics. This was a number that the mission doctors and their African assistants could hardly handle. As a deterrent to the large number, FAM authorized an increase in the medical fees, from 3 cents to 1 shilling for outpatients.⁹⁴ But "Africans often preferred to go to mission hospital even if they must pay. They feel that the mission hospital gives more personalized

⁹¹ KNA, PC/NZA/1/1/92, MES Society to Provincial Education Officer, Nyanza Province, 1952.

⁹² EAYM, Annual Report, 1953.

⁹³ EAYM, Medical Reports, 1943.

⁹⁴ KNA, PC/NZA/1/191, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1943.

care”.⁹⁵ The financing of mission-run medical training, consequently, became the subject of discussion at the 1945 Christian missions’ conference in Kenya. At this conference, the government suggested and instituted a grants-in-aid system to aid missionary bodies in the support of their medical work. For instance, in 1946, the North Nyanza LNC voted a sum of Sh. 3,000 towards FAM Kaimosi Hospital. But in the same year, FAM missionaries reported that,

Many Village Meetings in Elgon Nyanza area have been asking Friends to provide more adequate medical services. The people of the area are asking when they will have a hospital and doctors from America.⁹⁶

It was this persistent demand by the people of Elgon Nyanza that forced FAM to establish the Lugulu Health Centre in 1948. With the opening up of Lugulu Health Clinic, in 1953, EAYM leaders, asked for “additional doctors and the necessity for employing better trained hospital staff for the hospital, and for the supervision of the outlying Friends dispensaries”.⁹⁷ Since FAM remained unable to provide further funding, the central government and ADC were forced to intervene. Consequently, out of the 104 beds then at Kaimosi hospital, the central government supported “84, through funds to the Christian Council Medical Committee, while 14 beds are supported in part by ADC and the rest by the local church contributions”.⁹⁸ But as FAM had only one missionary doctor, Horst Rothe, stationed at Kaimosi, friction between the Luhyia and the missionaries continued to mount. EAYM leaders accused the mission of not doing enough to provide medical care, while the missions blamed the Board in the USA for not sending enough personnel and medical equipment to Kenya.⁹⁹ Thus, the problems arising from the increased African demand for education and health services and the inability of FAM to meet them led to the 1953 Special Delegation, sent by AFBM to Kenya.

5.2.5 The 1953 Special Delegation

On 1st September 1953, in a joint meeting of the executive committee of the AFBM and the central committee of the Five Years Meeting of Friends, a special delegation consisting of Charles A. Lampman, Administrative Secretary-elect of the Board of Missions and Errol T.

⁹⁵ EAYM, Medical Reports, 1946.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*

⁹⁷ KNA, MSS/55/13, Report of the Special Delegation to the FAM, 1953.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*

⁹⁹ Oral Interview, Josephat Kapino, Shikhomola, 2/6/2007.

Elliott, General Secretary of Five Years Meeting, was appointed and directed to visit FAM in Kenya,

To survey the work, discuss very urgent problems with the mission staff, with the officers and others of the EAYM, with representatives of the Kenya government and the educational officers who were concerned with our work, especially with our department of education and to make a report to the bodies sending them.¹⁰⁰

The Friends Service Council of London Yearly Meeting "had been asked whether they might name a Friends educator to be associated with our delegation".¹⁰¹ They agreed and appointed Walter Chinn, Director of Education in Coventry. In Kenya, the delegation was joined by Helen B. Neatby, an English Friends and an "experienced educator, who has been serving as Assistant Director of education for women and girls in Uganda".¹⁰² By asking the Friends Service Council to assist in the inquiry, the American Board was signalling its renewed willingness to recruit English workers for FAM work in Kenya.¹⁰³

The delegation first held discussions with a committee of eighteen African representatives, appointed by EAYM. Members of the committee included Benjamin Ngaira, EAYM presiding clerk, Samuel Imbuye, assistant presiding clerk, Jotham Standa, recording clerk and Simeon Sabwa, assistant recording clerk. Others, drawn from church elders were, Fred Kamidi, Thomas Lung'aho, J. Avugwi, B. Kaptan, H.T Bilindi, Nathaniel Siganga, Joel Litu, Yohana Lumwagi, Samuel Mwinamo, Johana Amuguni, Daudi Lung'aho, Peter Wanyama and Joshua Amuhandi. During the meeting, African Friends raised a number of concerns. On the deteriorating relationship between FAM and the EAYM, African representatives pointed out that before the establishment of EAYM in 1946, FAM had been responsible for all the Christian work among the Friends in East Africa. But when EAYM was established, the Yearly Meeting assumed some of FAM's responsibilities. But the leaders complained that,

Friends in East Africa have since felt uncertain, as to the division of responsibilities between the mission and EAYM. For example, it is not known whether it is the mission's or Yearly Meeting's responsibility to make

¹⁰⁰ KNA, MSS/55/13, Report of the Special Delegation to the FAM, 1953.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

decision regarding either the management of Friends schools, or disposal of Friends church plots.¹⁰⁴

Consequently, EAYM leaders demanded that “a clear definition of responsibilities between the mission and the Yearly Meeting be made”.¹⁰⁵

To help clarify the poorly defined relationship between the EAYM and the FAM, the delegation recommended the formation of a United Executive Committee for the church and mission. This body would share in making decisions affecting the two bodies. Subordinate to the Executive Committee was a similar joint committee to advise on educational matters; meaning that, for the first time, the EAYM was given a formal recognition in Friends educational policy proceedings. The delegates also urged for the strengthening of the office of mission secretary so that there would be one person responsible for coordinating all the mission’s varied programmes and interests in Kenya.¹⁰⁶

The second issue revolved around the relationship between the Five Years Meeting, the AFBM and EAYM. African church leaders argued that,

Since we are now an established Yearly meeting, we feel that time has come when the EAYM should, as an autonomous group of Friends, have direct access to the offices of the Five Years Meeting in America.¹⁰⁷

In its reply, the Delegation advised the Board to grant the missionaries greater freedom and provide the EAYM with more responsibility and authority in mission operations. The delegation also recommended that EAYM should have access to the Board and the Five Years Meeting offices in Richmond, USA.¹⁰⁸

On the thorny issue of education, EAYM leaders raised several issues. The first issue was on the management of FAM’s primary and intermediate schools. EAYM leaders had rejected the proposal by the mission education secretary to place the management of Friends church’s

¹⁰⁴ KNA, MSS/55/13, Report of the Special Delegation to the FAM, 1953.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Subsequently, Fred Reeve was appointed secretary of the mission in Kenya. See Harold Smuck, *Friends in East Africa*, Richmond: Friends United Press, 1987.

¹⁰⁷ KNA, MSS/55/13, Report of the Special Delegation to the FAM, 1953.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

primary and intermediate schools under the DEB – a government organization. Rather, they demanded that FAM's schools remain under mission-church influence which, they felt, would ensure an education appropriate to both the new economic opportunities and Friends church's values and beliefs. In its reply, the delegation affirmed that,

We have no plans to deliver the administration of the aided schools, either in total or in a large block to the administration of government. We are now trying to work out with the mission and government an understanding whereby schools may be linked with local government development in a gradual way as may be feasible and by consent.... the primary purpose of the mission's education should be to ensure that Friends' teachers and headmasters would continue to imbue Christian ideals in such schools.¹⁰⁹

In other words, the delegation recognized that greater control and eventual proprietorship of the mission's enterprise was to be laid upon the shoulders of the EAYM, and ultimately, that the Friends' schools would eventually be handed over to the state to become public schools.

The third request from EAYM leaders was for the mission to provide technical and practical training to Africans, since it was argued that the mission should take a definitive interest in the economic life of its members. The delegation, therefore, recommended that the mission implement "a strong school on a line of practical work closely related to African life and needs, in industrial crafts and agricultural advancement".¹¹⁰ The delegation also recommended the use of the mission land at Kaimosi for the benefit of African practical training programmes.¹¹¹

The fourth request was for the recruitment of Friends educational workers from Britain. EAYM leaders felt that,

Time has now come when an effort should be made to secure the services of the Friends educational workers from the United Kingdom. The British educational system as applied to East Africa differs appreciably from that of other countries, and educational workers from outside Britain are normally handicapped in their work.¹¹²

The delegation recommended that "British workers be used in the field". The presence of English teachers would then eliminate frequent government criticism that the FAM missionaries

¹⁰⁹ EAYM, FAM, Report of the Special Delegation, 1953.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

lacked knowledge about English educational practices being encouraged in Kenya, including the examination system, the inspectorate, teacher training methods and a curriculum with a heavy British content at the secondary level. The delegation further urged all the stakeholders in African education to cooperate in resuscitating FAM's school work. The delegation recommended (and the AFMB later approved) that FAM should sponsor four advanced schools and that staffing for the expanded operations would come from both America and England.¹¹³

The delegation thus provided a new beginning in education among the Luhyia and steps were taken to create an administrative structure, which would create a true EAYM- AFMB partnership in Friends Church's affairs in Kenya.¹¹⁴ Their recommendations - made in late 1953 - did not entirely resolve all conflict and controversy in the FAM's work, but at least the Friends had now adopted specific goals and an administrative structure, which would make resolutions and compromise far easier to implement than in the past.¹¹⁵

5.3 The Impact of the Church on the Community

The end product of the rapid acceptance of Christianity and education was broader economic transformation in the post-war period, particularly among the Maragoli, in the south and the Bukusu, in the north. The Maragoli, who had been affected by population pressure and scarcity of land, saw education as an venue for wealth accumulation, through employment as teachers and government officers and through involvement in commercial activities. The Bukusu and Tachoni, on the other hand, with much more land and experience of agricultural development in the settled area of Trans-Nzoia, took up education as a means of helping them to become commercial farmers, hence accumulate economic resources. All in all, therefore, education led to the emergence of a small but growing middle class, or *petite bourgeoisie*, who not only demanded the growing of high priced cash crops like arabica coffee, but also became entrepreneurs, leading to the emergence of social classes among the Luhyia. The growing of cash crops and entrepreneurship, thus, represented avenues for mitigating poverty and enhancing economic development for the educated elite.

¹¹³ EAYM, FAM, Report of the Special Delegation, 1953.

¹¹⁴ EAYM, FAM, Meeting Minutes, 5/1/1954.

¹¹⁵ EAYM, FAM, Report of the Special Delegation, 1953.

5.3.1 Initiatives in Agriculture

As in education, the FAM educated elite also increasingly began to challenge government policies on African agricultural development. For instance, during the early 1940s, the colonial government took a number of measures aimed at increasing African agricultural production. The first was the demand of World War II for greater production of foodstuffs by Africans, particularly in the fertile districts, like North Nyanza, in support of the war effort.¹¹⁶ The second was the need to avert food shortages that had been occasioned by the 1943 famine in western Kenya. The causes of the famine could be found in the limited access to adequate land which afflicted many households, particularly in the southern divisions of North Nyanza district, where population density per square mile had reached over a thousand people in some areas. On the ground, such figures translated into shrinking land holdings, soil degradation and decreasing yields.¹¹⁷ The government thus declared food security and soil conservation as the major priorities for North Nyanza district. Consequently, the agricultural staff - while advocating for increased food production - introduced an intensive soil conservation programme, warning that African farmers should not be allowed to imagine that government was no longer concerned how the land was treated, the food efforts of the war notwithstanding. Indeed, it was argued that increased production of foodstuffs and raw materials was not possible in the absence of measures aimed at promoting soil fertility.¹¹⁸

To achieve soil control and conservation in the district, H.E. Lambert, a retired administrator and Norman Humphrey, an agriculturalist, advocated using indigenous authorities - which had existed among the Luhya in the pre-colonial period and who were charged with regulating land use. Consequently, in 1945 the North Nyanza DC identified traditional clan institution of the previously neglected village elders, or *liguru* (plural, *Maguru*), in organizing communal labour for soil conservation.¹¹⁹

Among the Luhya, control over the allocation of land and its use had traditionally been vested in the *liguru*, whose powers included the trusteeship of unoccupied land and authority to

¹¹⁶ KNA, PC/NZA/3/1184, Acting Senior Agricultural Officer to PC, Nyanza, 1946.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*

¹¹⁸ Robert Maxon, *Going Their Separate Ways, Agrarian Transformation in Kenya, 1930-1950*, London: Associated University Presses, 2003, 153.

¹¹⁹ KNA, PC/NZA/3/2/98, North Nyanza District Minutes of LNC Meeting, 22/8/1945.

arbitrate over land disputes - both within the area of control, and with respect to boundary disputes with neighbouring clans.¹²⁰ Since he exercised traditional authority over a limited clan area, the *liguru*, as a possible agent for the dissemination of improved farming practices in the post-war years subsequently attracted the attention of the agricultural department.¹²¹ However, the conditions that had previously allowed for his intervention in the cycle of agriculture - as distinct from the allocation of land and the settlement of disputes - had long ceased to exist and attempts by local agricultural officers to revive and use the *liguru* (for the propagation of improved farming practices) proved a failure. This failure can be explained by two reasons. First, the traditional powers of the *liguru* had long been eroded by the gradual evolution of African local government structures (particularly the LNC), coupled with the capitalist transformation in rural Kenya. Africans were "more individualistic than ever before and would regard as an attempt to frustrate their individual enterprise, any communal or co-operative suggestion".¹²² Consequently, while village elders may have had control over land in the pre-colonial period, this was not the case in 1945 and most people no longer attached much importance to the authority of the *liguru*. Furthermore, the *maguru* were expected to offer their services voluntarily, though most of them turned their authority into money-making projects, through imposing a system of fines and punishments. Moreover, the insistence on government policy, which contradicted the emerging pattern of economic change and was backed by compulsion without offering rapid benefits, was simply untenable. Consequently, the continued emphasis on soil conservation as the Department of Agriculture's top priority resulted in militancy, particularly among African peasant farmers. This militancy took various forms, including mass resistance to agricultural policies and even political violence.¹²³

In the southern locations, the protests against these measures were mostly articulated by members of the NKCA leaders like Andrea Jumba, Joel Litu, Daniel Akelo, Matayo Esendi, Paul Agoi and Lumadede Kisala who opposed, or were wary, of the initial schemes undertaken in the late thirties and during the war. Their opposition was mostly due to the use of force in implementing soil conservation, the threat of being arrested for not doing so and the fear that the

¹²⁰ Fearn, *op.cit.*, p. 200.

¹²¹ KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/79, Minutes of North Nyanza District LNC, August 1945.

¹²² Quoted in Robert Maxon, *Going Separate Ways*, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹²³ KNA, AK/6/3, Senior Agricultural Officer, Nyanza Province to Director of Agriculture, 21/5/1946.

digging of trenches, planting of grass and construction of terraces were the prelude to the alienation of land to European settlers. Thus, they challenged the efficacy of the agricultural conservation policies, urged the Luhyia to ignore them, and called for the destruction of conservation works already put in place.¹²⁴ In the northern locations, Elijah Masinde, the leader of *Dini ya Musambwa*, led his followers in a protest against the harsh methods of enforcing soil conservation and burned down the agricultural officer's house in Kimilili in 1944.¹²⁵

In light of these protests, the government was forced to adopt a new policy which sought to encourage the improvement of agricultural techniques and prevent food shortages through diversification. Planting of cassava, sweet potatoes, sorghum and beans was also encouraged rather than maize alone.¹²⁶ The new policy also sought to increase food production through mixed farming with manuring.¹²⁷ Likewise, the basic aim of veterinary officers in North Nyanza became the introduction of good animal husbandry through the maintenance of healthy cattle in numbers appropriate to the carrying capacity of the land, whether for improved breeding or for sale of animal products, such as meat, hides and skins, milk and butter. But in order to ensure a healthy livestock population of the desired quality, the veterinary department had to take preventive measures against diseases endemic to the area – like rinderpest, pneumonia, anthrax, foot and mouth, fascioliasis and trypanosomiasis.¹²⁸ Consequently, agricultural officers argued that by combining animal husbandry and agricultural production, mixed farming would protect the soil while providing the farmer with improved standards of living.¹²⁹ And to realize the set objective in soil conservation and food security, the agricultural department adopted an individualist approach to agricultural development. This method attempted to introduce improved farming practices through offering rewards under the betterment fund to “progressive, or better farmers”.¹³⁰ The policy behind better farming “is to make use of progressive African farmers in the various parts of the district to initiate and demonstrate improved methods of

¹²⁴ KNA, AK/21/52, Vihiga Assistant Agricultural Officer, Safari Diary, 15/4/1940.

¹²⁵ KNA, AGR/5/1/280, Lambert to PC Nyanza Province, 23 March, 1945.

¹²⁶ KNA, DC/ NN/ 31, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1949.

¹²⁷ KNA, AK/4/6, General Agricultural Programme for Nyanza Province, 1941.

¹²⁸ KNA, DC/NN/1/31, North Nyanza Annual Report, 1949; and PC/NZA/1/37, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1942.

¹²⁹ Hugh Fearn, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹³⁰ KNA, DC/NN/1/31, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1949.

farming and the use of new crops".¹³¹ Consequently, to qualify for the betterment agricultural fund, a farmer had to demonstrate to an agricultural officer that he had incorporated soil conservation measures, adhered to a planned crop-rotation and exhibited good animal husbandry.¹³² On being awarded a certificate of good husbandry, a "better farmer" could obtain farming equipment, like the metal plough and wheelbarrows - that enabled him to apply compost to his land - from the ADC at subsidized prices, and he could also sell his produce directly to the Maize and Produce Inspection Centre. Other privileges available to better farmers included bonuses of Sh.2.10 per bag on maize prices and access to educational tours.¹³³ According to the agricultural department the aim behind the introduction of the betterment scheme was,

To make use of progressive African farmers, in the various parts of the district to initiate and demonstrate improved methods of farming and the use of new crops.¹³⁴

In 1950, for instance, the government disbursed Sh.76,030 toward the betterment fund in North Nyanza. These funds were distributed as follows - government loans, Sh.5,000; Agricultural Betterment Fund through agricultural officers, Sh.44,360; Agricultural Betterment Fund through livestock officers, Sh.23,600; and bonus payment through maize control, Sh.3,070. Among the main beneficiaries of these loans were African FAM educated farmers in the northern locations - where land for farming was still readily available due to low population density - who had responded to betterment farming incentives. Notably, farmers from both the northern and southern locations - such as Philip Mwangale, Zakayo Wasike, Hudson Sanja, Benjamin Kapten, Simeon Luvale, Samuel Imbuye, Luka Chekata, Benjamin Shikomera, Jeremiah Sejero, Samuel Mwinamo, Isaka Lucheti, William Shibadu, Andrea Jumba and Paul Agoi, who, through education, had gained the status of petite bourgeoisie - applied for betterment loans and began moving toward individual land holdings.¹³⁵ Even with the betterment funding, however, African farmers - particularly, the better farmers - still pressed for more government support, especially for the growing of the high yielding and more lucrative arabica coffee.¹³⁶

¹³¹ KNA, DC/NN/1/31, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1949.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, and Fearn, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

¹³⁴ KNA, DC/NN/31, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1949.

¹³⁵ Oral Interview, John Musundi, *op. cit.*

¹³⁶ Oral Interview, Augustino Khisa and Elisha Sitati, *op. cit.*

Africans had demanded the right to grow arabica coffee since the early 1930s. When the permission to start planting coffee was granted in 1935, it was for robusta coffee, which was lower in market value than the arabica variant. The latter variety was reserved for white settlers and Africans were discouraged by colonial agricultural officers.¹³⁷

There were several reasons for this negative colonial state attitude. For one, agricultural officers and administrative officials had come to believe that arabica coffee was not an appropriate crop for North Nyanza, particularly the southern locations which encompassed hilly terrain, had densely populated areas and had lost its soil fertility due to the inability of its residents to practise soil conservation measures. However, behind such concerns lay the even more pressing issue of food security. Households were encouraged to feed themselves and halt soil degradation. Consequently, the state gave priority to policies aimed at promoting food security, including soil conservation and land reclamation. No thought was given to innovations, such as the introduction of high-value cash crops, like coffee. Indeed, colonial officials did not wish to sanction the introduction of a high-value cash crop in North Nyanza, so as to ensure that the region was, and remained, a reservoir of cheap labour for the wider colonial economy. Furthermore, there was also the perennial hostility of European (settler) coffee growers to any planting of arabica coffee by Africans. Settler planters had monopolized the crop since its first planting in Kenya and they had successfully blocked any planting of it by Africans, even though the colonial state had neither enacted nor introduced any legal sanctions on coffee growing by Africans. But since the colonial government did not intend to provoke opposition from European coffee growers, it supported the settlers' views.¹³⁸

Several enterprising Luhya, who were mostly FAM educated, defied the government and without official sanction or assistance they went ahead and planted arabica coffee. Among the Maragoli, for instance, it was Friends who were the first to grow arabica coffee. Festus Lisomade, Andrea Agufana, Charles Kibarege, Joel Litu, Matayo Esendi, Daniel Akelo and Samuel Bulimu planted arabica coffee trees without the knowledge or sanction of the colonial

¹³⁷ Robert Maxon, *Going Separate Ways*, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

government.¹³⁹ And despite the lack of specialized technical support provided to state-sanctioned growers, “the coffee planted by these farmers did well”.¹⁴⁰ But without state support, the growing of arabica coffee was confined to a small number of individuals with the interest and wealth to obtain trees – through a black market, via Africans who worked on European farms – and who possessed the ingenuity to avoid possible detection by the colonial government.¹⁴¹

Consequently, most of the coffee produced in the 1940s was roasted and consumed by the owners, or sold in local markets. This situation defeated the objective of using coffee as a means of increasing household income. Moreover, during the war period, with its heavy demands on the production of food crops, the state was unlikely to reconsider its position on arabica coffee. Indeed, the famine of 1943 served to emphasize the primacy of food security in the minds of most Agricultural Officers. And thus, arabica coffee planting was not considered as a viable answer to agricultural problems mostly found in the southern locations. However, FAM educated Luhya elite continued to press the government to allow its growing by Africans.¹⁴²

In 1947 for instance, when Luhya Friends – who included Philip Mwangale, Benjamin Kapten, Andrea Agufana and William Shibadu – requested LNC councillors to ask for permission for Africans to plant arabica coffee, the North Nyanza agricultural officer, G. Anderson, reacted negatively. His position was supported by the DC and PC who both asked the Africans to drop the matter. But at the LNC’s meeting in the same year, councillors – like Paulo Agoi, William Mnubi, Hezron Mushenye, Jeremiah Segero and Lazaro Afwayi, all FAM educated – raised the demand to grow coffee and asked the North Nyanza Agricultural Officer to reconsider his position. However, simultaneously, a meeting of senior agricultural staff, with the Director of Agriculture, held in Nairobi began to consider the Africans’ demand. During this meeting, J.T. Moon, the Senior Agricultural Officer, Central Province, argued that the future of intensely populated areas lay in the establishment of higher-priced, permanent or semi-permanent crops like arabica coffee and not low price crops, such as maize and legumes. But the then Director of

¹³⁹ KNA, DAO/HD/KMG/14/1, North Nyanza District Agricultural officer to Nyanza Province Agricultural Officer, 7/5/1938.

¹⁴⁰ KNA, DAO/HD/KMG/14/1, North Nyanza District Agricultural officer to Nyanza Province Agricultural Officer, 7/5/1938.

¹⁴¹ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op.cit.*; and Robert Maxon, *Going Separate Ways, op. cit.*, p. 124.

¹⁴² Oral Interview, Andrea Isanya, Shivilanga, 5/5/2007.

Agriculture opposed Moon's view, arguing that the state was still not ready to introduce the growing of high value crops by Africans on a large scale.¹⁴³ When members of the North Nyanza LNC heard of Moon's proposal and the Director of Agriculture's refusal, they redoubled their demands for permission to plant arabica coffee.¹⁴⁴

With continued pressure from the Africans, and having the desiring to win the support of "better farmers" in implementing government agricultural policies, in February 1949, the Director of Agriculture announced that growing of arabica coffee by Africans should be allowed "in areas where coffee was known to grow well."¹⁴⁵ Consequently, the colonial agricultural officers initiated the growing of arabica coffee in North Nyanza District in 1951, though initially restricting it to better farmers with plots of at least seven acres.¹⁴⁶ This requirement was informed by the consideration that,

In order to grow coffee a farmer had to have more land for food crops, fodder and crops for compost. It was therefore necessary to put a minimum to the acreage necessary for a person to grow coffee. Another thing which made the minimum necessary was that if people were allowed to grow coffee, it would be impossible to carry out consolidation of farms later.¹⁴⁷

Agricultural officers in North Nyanza argued that most peasant farmers with low acreage had not adopted the improved farming methods, and risked producing low quality coffee. Indeed, strict regulations introduced regarding the planting, weeding, pruning and harvesting of coffee meant that only a few farmers benefited from its growing. Consequently, the 1950s saw strong opposition to colonial agricultural policies by peasants. This was particularly from Maragoli locations where high population densities had reduced the average land holding to less than two acres and where the land was susceptible to soil erosion due to the over-utilization. Such peasants were forbidden participation in the growing of the lucrative arabica coffee as a means of wealth accumulation.¹⁴⁸ Ironically most members of the ADC, who had each accumulated more

¹⁴³ KNA, AGR/4/80, Minutes of Meeting of Senior Agricultural Officers, 3-4/ 2/1949.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ KNA, DC/NN/1/37, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1955.

¹⁴⁷ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of Veterinary, Agriculture and Natural Resources Committee, 7/4/55.

¹⁴⁸ KNA, DAO/HD/KMG/4//1, Nyanza Province Senior Agricultural Officer to North Nyanza Agricultural Officer, 1/7/1949.

than seven acres of land, supported that administration's restriction on arabica coffee planting on small a scale. In 1953, for instance, it was reported that,

The ADC committee after hearing the views of the District Agricultural Officer and the President (of the ADC) agreed that farmers should follow the instruction of agricultural department.¹⁴⁹

Further, in 1953 the North Nyanza ADC introduced a new loan for a development scheme aimed at supporting coffee farmers. Under this "scheme better farmers with at least 15 acres would receive a maximum of Sh.2,000 and Sh.4,000 for farms above 15 acres".¹⁵⁰ Consequently, it was the better farmers and FAM educated ADC councillors - such as Jeremiah Sejero, Hezron Mushenye, William Mnubi, Thomas Lung'aho, Andrea Agufana, Charles Kibarege, Andrea Jumba, William Shibadu, Daniel Lyula, James Angote, Petro Wanyama, Samuel Imbuye, Benjamin Kaptan and Philip Mwangale - who spearheaded the introduction of arabica coffee growing and benefited from the new development loan schemes.¹⁵¹

5.3.2 Entrepreneurship

In areas like Maragoli, entrepreneurship represented another avenue for wealth accumulation among the FAM educated elite. Given limitations on capital accumulation inherent in the colonial economy, the main outlets for entrepreneurial initiation among the Luhyia was limited to produce buying, retail trade and the establishment of maize mills. The greater emphasis on production and sale of maize thus provided opportunities to enter produce buying and other forms of commerce.¹⁵² In the northern locations, emerging entrepreneurs in this period included Bukusu and Tachoni Friends like Petro Wanyama, Paul Mwangi, Tedayo Weudo, Philip Mwangale, Zacharia Wasike, Benjamin Kaptan, Ezekiel Wanyonyi, Elisha Wakhisi, Musa Wambuti, Stephen Ndong'a, Yakobo Sugura, Andrea Kilonyi, and Kabras Friends, like Joseph Ngaira, Samuel Imbuye, Isaac Wabuge and Zacharia Makhalan'gan'ga, Samuel Ashihundu, James Angote, Peter Wangaji, Jonathan Kulecho, Mark Weragogo and Musa Mazanza. All became commercial farmers specializing in extensive production and selling of maize. The southern locations, which were then experiencing scarcity of land, saw the emergence of FAM

¹⁴⁹ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of Veterinary, Agriculture and Natural Resources Committee, 7/4/55.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² Robert Maxon, *Going Separate Ways, op. cit.* p. 188.

educated entrepreneurs, like Andrea Agufana, Habil Ndagalu, Lumadede Kisala and Paul Agoi. In fact, despite the scarcity of land, Agoi used his entrepreneurial skills to acquire forty acres of land in the crowded South Maragoli. Others members of the gentry who were FAM educated - like Yohana Amugune, Joel Litu, Matayo Esendi, Daniel Akelo, Joshua Anusu, Solomon Adagala and Simeon Sabwa - all accumulated land holdings which, while smaller than Agoi's, were still quite sizable when compared to those of ordinary peasants.¹⁵³ These better farmers used their land to grow maize and they benefited from the booming maize prices, during and after the war. In Tiriki, Isukha and Idakho, there is evidence that settlement in relatively unpopulated land during this time was pioneered, not by the landless poor, but by enterprising farmers and teachers, like Andrea Jumba, William Shibadu, Benjamin Sangale, Elisha Mwashu, Yohana Lumwagi, Jeremiah Sejero, Samuel Mwinamo and Isaka Lucheti. All saw a chance to maximize their incomes through expanded production, trading in maize and general commerce.¹⁵⁴

However, African commercial entrepreneurs continued to face huge obstacles in the form of competition from Asian traders and a largely hostile colonial state. The state, as was the case in the 1930s, still limited the number of traders for the sake of reducing competition and improving the quality of produce. The latter was a concern deemed especially important in light of the export required for the war effort. To achieve and maintain these quality standards, closer control and supervision of the traders were required. What was much less pressing, though, was state assistance to African traders. Just as in the previous decades, the state was unwilling to provide loans to African traders.¹⁵⁵ Consequently, most African traders continually lacked access to credit facilities and even while the demand for goods grew in the post-war era, the colonial state and commercial banks still turned a deaf ear to most of African requests for credit. However, the Luhya - led by the FAM educated traders like Paul Amiani, Yohana Amugune, Joel Litu, Matayo Esendi, Daniel Akelo and Joshua Anusu - turned to other sources, particularly the Asian traders, for credit facilities. For example, Amiani used his land as collateral and borrowed almost Sh.8,000 from an Asian trader at Lunyerere.¹⁵⁶ Observing the success of the pioneer

¹⁵³ Bode, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

¹⁵⁴ EAYM, *History Ye Livugana Lya Valina (Friends Quakers)*, 1971.

¹⁵⁵ Robert Maxon, *Going Separate Ways, op. cit.*, p. 189.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

entrepreneurs, many more Africans in North Nyanza also applied for trading licences. For instance between 1944 and 1947, the LNC approved licences for more than 170 new shops in the district. Most of these licences were for general trade in goods, hotels, *posho* mills and carpenter shops.¹⁵⁷ Further, the ADC reports of 1953 indicated that most of the available spaces set aside by the council for the construction of shops in areas designated as markets in southern locations - particularly in FAM dominated areas like Maragoli and Tiriki - had already been allocated.¹⁵⁸

The table below illustrates this point.

Table 8: Number of Shops in Southern Locations in 1953

Location	Market	Licensed Permanent shop	Empty plots available for allocation
Maragoli	Mbale	72	nil
	Majengo	20	nil
	Kivagala	5	nil
	Bukuga	10	nil
	Magada	11	nil
	Mahanga	14	nil
	Mago	52	nil
	Chavakali	13	nil
	Kilingili	23	3
	Tiriki	Kinu	11
Hamisi		9	3
Boyani		2	nil
Tigoi		3	nil
Gambogi		13	nil
Musasa		6	nil
Mulundu		6	nil

¹⁵⁷ KNA, PC/NZA/3/79, North Nyanza District LNC Minutes, 10/3/1945.

¹⁵⁸ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Appendix A, North Nyanza ADC Meeting February Meeting, 1953.

	Cheptulu	6	nil
	Gisambai	6	nil
	Cheptech	5	nil

Adopted from KNA, CS/1/14/97, Appendix A, North Nyanza ADC Meeting February Meeting, 1953.

But as the number of those who entered trading increased, there was an increasingly limited chance for many to prosper in commerce due to escalating competition. Many individuals thus lost out in commercial capitalism, while the few that remained involved did so on a small scale, not for profit making but as a source of prestige - that of being a bourgeois, as opposed to a peasant.¹⁵⁹ Consequently, it appears that only the wealthy Luhyia - who were mostly FAM educated and whom the church had assisted with finances and training in organizational skills - succeeded in using entrepreneurship to accumulate wealth.¹⁶⁰

5.3.3 Social Classes

During the war period and thereafter, two distinct social classes emerged among the Luhyia as a result of Christian missions. First, there were the FAM educated elite who had increasingly attained the status of a middle class or petite bourgeoisie and secondly, there were the peasants. The educated elite were composed of African colonial officials mostly mission educated. Wielding political and social authority, administrative leaders - such as chiefs, ADC councillors and the educated elite - combined their salaries as chiefs, councillors, court clerks, school supervisors, teachers and evangelists, with incomes from extensive holdings of land and/or commercial enterprises. For instance, the lowest paid teacher - T4 - earned an average salary of Sh.1,800 per annum, a salary that set him/ her far above the ordinary urban worker and/or rural peasant.¹⁶¹ Such salaries not only provided them with the means to maintain and expand their holdings, but also allowed them to expand into agricultural production for the market. They also invested in business and trade, such as butcheries, *posho* mills and shops - which further contributed to their general wealth.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ KNA, DC/NN/1/37, North Nyanza District Annual Reports, 1955.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1954.

¹⁶² KNA, PC/NZA/3/79, North Nyanza District LNC Minutes, 10/3/1945.

Their new social status was reflected in accumulation of resources, the construction of large, European-style houses, ownership of cars and a demonstrated commitment to progress, through educating their children and taking advantage of the available economic opportunities in their areas.¹⁶³ There is also evidence that during this time, settlement in the relatively unpopulated areas was pioneered by enterprising FAM educated African government officials and teachers, who saw an opportunity to maximize their incomes through expanded maize and coffee production. In all locations, it was the elite who pressed most determinedly for more advanced schools for their children, better health care, and more government aid to finance African education and medical services.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, advantages enjoyed by the educated elite went beyond those flowing from their control of ample resources and/or their eagerness to use them. They were also capable of exploiting favourable government economic development programmes and policies. Up to 1953, for example, agricultural betterment loans, equipment, and technical support invariably went to teachers and local council members, rather than to the peasant farmers. For instance, ADC reports indicated that,

The committee had considered the application of Chief G.H Kerre – Deputy President of North Nyanza ADC - for a loan for animal and agricultural development on his farm. After careful consideration the District Agricultural Officer approved the loan arguing that Chief Kerre intended to purchase stock for Sh. 3,000, and with the balance he would purchase cement for improved spring and piping and wire fencing.¹⁶⁵

Further, the council considered,

The application by Chief H.B Mushenye, for a loan of Sh. 10,000, to purchase a tractor. It was noted that Chief Mushenye had a fairly big farm and the security he offered was a butcher's shop at Boyani market valued at Sh. 9,000. The council recommended that he should be given the loan.¹⁶⁶

Indeed, even when the government's agricultural policy was changed from emphasis on soil conservation measures and food security, to the advancement of African agriculture through the cultivation of high yielding crops like arabica coffee, the elite or "the better farmers" still

¹⁶³ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁴ KNA, DC/KMGA/1/49, North Nyanza District Minutes of Chiefs Meeting, 21/6/1951.

¹⁶⁵ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of North Nyanza ADC, 18/2/1955.

¹⁶⁶ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of North Nyanza ADC, 16th – 19th / 2/ 1954.

benefited disproportionately from the programmes. In fact, ADC councillors recommended that better farmers be trained abroad in modern farming. Councillor Chief Kerre argued that,

Part of the vote for educational tours should be spent on training better farmers abroad in specific courses like mixed farming, dairy farming, management of co-operative societies and forestry. The council agreed in principle with the proposal of sending better farmers abroad for specific courses and recommended that those who wish to be trained in modern farming abroad should apply to the council for consideration.¹⁶⁷

It appears, therefore, that far from encouraging the development of peasant agriculture, the government's intention was to assist the "better farmers", in order to create a stable rural middle class - which would perceive its own interests as paralleling, rather than opposing, those of the government.¹⁶⁸

The elite's dominance of local colonial institutions further reinforced the advantages accruing from government policies. Friends and relatives of ADC officials, or the officials themselves, were more often recommended for loans or licences to operate businesses, favourite among which were the transportation industry, distribution of sugar and expansion of agricultural production. Thus, the elite's positions in the ADC, or their friendship with councillors, gave them an edge over the peasants when it came to securing a loan or licence.¹⁶⁹

Having clearly enjoyed certain advantages over the ordinary peasants, the elite were beginning to pass these on to their offspring. The elite's wealth and education ensured that their children would receive a high level of training, which was increasingly becoming necessary if the African was to secure a well-paying position. For instance, Joseph Otiende, an ADC councillor and the son of pioneer FAM teacher-evangelist, Daniel Akelo, was promoted to the position of North Nyanza ADC's assistant secretary, thus taking over from Mr A.J. Awori, who became council's Executive Officer.¹⁷⁰ Other FAM educated councillors also chaired various ADC committees. For instance, Chief Matthew Mwenesi chaired the Education and Welfare Committee, J. Avugwi, the District Education Board Committee, S. Alusiola, the Public Health Committee and

¹⁶⁷ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of North Nyanza ADC, 16th - 19th / 2 / 1954.

¹⁶⁸ KNA, NN/1/30, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1948.

¹⁶⁹ Oral Interview, Ruth Kakai Inyanje, Lugulu, 18/9/2007. William Shibadu, Japheth Amugune, John Musundi and Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁰ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of the North Nyanza ADC held At Kakamega, 15th - 18th / 2 / 1955.

T. Kulecho the Joint Board (Traders Loans).¹⁷¹ Using these important positions, these councillors were able to influence the council to invest more in the education of their children and commercial businesses. Indeed, education was quickly becoming the critical avenue for securing not only formal employment, but also entrance into the elite class, especially through admission into the better and higher level learning schools. But for the poor, payment of school fees increasingly became difficult. For instance, by 1953 it was reported that,

Many pupils had been sent away and several schools closed as a result of the short period given to parents to pay fees. It was shown that parents found it very difficult to pay fees all at once for all their children and at the same time pay poll tax and licences.¹⁷²

At that time, it was reported that “the cost of keeping a pupil in a secondary boarding school for a year is Sh.1,000, an amount that most poor household could not raise in a year”.¹⁷³ This meant the poor families could not educate their children sufficiently so as to compete favourably in the colonial economic system. Consequently, it was the petite bourgeoisie that increasingly benefited from education during the colonial era.¹⁷⁴

Education also changed the status of women in the Luhyia society. In the period before 1940, a minority of women, particularly the wives of pioneer teacher-evangelists, had attended school. After their education, they became school matrons, teacher-evangelists and teachers, particularly at the GBS Kaimosi. The period after 1940 saw more educated women take up positions in various fields, including the male - dominated ADC. For instance, in late 1953 the Nyanza PC appointed two women to the North Nyanza ADC; namely, FAM educated Martha Nakhumija of Kimilili location and Loisi Shisia of Marama location.¹⁷⁵ In fact, Nakhumija became a member of the powerful education and welfare committee of the ADC.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, daughters of pioneer Friends - among them Dinah Hezekiah, Ester Olindo, Rachel Luvele, Maria Wekhui, Rasoia Litwaji, Elizabeth Gavala, Maria Lung'aho, Rhoda Gilwoni, Agnes Egesa, Zippora Abuba and Elizabeth Libumbatsi - were the first to be trained at the Kaimosi Boarding Intermediate

¹⁷¹ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of the North Nyanza ADC held At Kakamega, 1/1/1956.

¹⁷² KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of Education and Welfare Committee, 18/4/1955.

¹⁷³ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of Education and Welfare Committee, 6/11/1956.

¹⁷⁴ Oral Interview, Jothan Khaemba Nyongesa, Webuye, 21/9/2007, William Shibadu, Japheth Amugune and Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁵ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of the North Nyanza ADC, 24th - 72th August, 1954.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

School and later at Kaimosi Teacher Training College, from where they emerged as teachers.¹⁷⁷

The success of these female teachers made more parents begin to view girls' education as equally important to that of boys. Indeed, educated women attracted a higher bride price. This was because like men, educated women were employed in various sectors where they earned salaries and attained the status of the elite in their own right.¹⁷⁸

The advancement of girls' education was, however, not equally successful in all areas of the FAM's sphere of influence. In a number of locations, attitudes were mainly subjective, varying according to the impact of Western values in general and economic circumstances, in particular. For example, in the 1940s many Tiriki, Idakho and Isukha parents were still refusing to send their daughters to school. Similarly, in the northern locations, where wealth was still counted in terms of cattle and land, a woman was valued more for her labour contribution as a cultivator than as a teacher, and often became one of several wives in a polygamous household. In these areas, a large number of girls would complete the first two years of education but were almost completely absent from school thereafter.¹⁷⁹ In 1940, for instance, Munzatsi School in Tiriki had 45 girls in the first grade and none in the third, while in 1942 Chwele School had only one girl surviving to the third grade.¹⁸⁰

Furthermore, in 1952, Solomon Adagala, one of FAM's Supervisor of Schools, reported that "many girls leave school before end of the duration of either academic education or a course, in order to be married. This has discouraged the opening of more schools for them".¹⁸¹ Indeed, enrolment statistics for FAM schools showed that girls lagged behind the boys, in terms of numbers. In 1953, for example, out of the 2,958 pupils in FAM's intermediate schools, there were only 797 girls. At the same time, there were 144 male teachers compared to only 24 female teachers employed in FAM schools.¹⁸² Consequently, the majority among the women were peasant farmers largely depending on money sent by their husbands from urban centres for their subsistence. In essence, while the educated were prospering, peasants' households became

¹⁷⁷ Oral Interview, Ann Mgotu, Senende, 18/4/2007

¹⁷⁸ Oral Interview, Martha Khaemba, Kivaywa, 4/8/2007.

¹⁷⁹ Oral Interview, Netty Khisa, Chwele, 21/8/2007 and Mellap Wakube, Chwele, 12/9/2007.

¹⁸⁰ EAYM, Statistical Report, 1942.

¹⁸¹ EAYM, Education Reports, 1952.

¹⁸² EAYM, Education Reports, 1954.

remittance families, with male members living outside the region and earning money upon which the rural households were dependent.¹⁸³ Consequently, in contrast to the educated elite, the mass of the peasants, given their limited resources and their growing needs, had to struggle to simply maintain their standard of living at a minimum subsistence level.¹⁸⁴ Indeed, land pressure and lack of employment opportunities for the uneducated in most locations of North Nyanza district forced thousands of peasants, predominantly males, to seek employment in cities, towns and on European settlers' farms as migrant workers.

This migratory pattern mostly involved those with minimum or no education, and those with little or no land. This trend, characteristic of semi-proletarian conditions, had been stimulated by a practical consideration of economic necessity. Later, it would be greatly accelerated by the manpower demands of the Second World War.¹⁸⁵ With the start of World War II, the demand for manpower, both in the armed forces and in those sectors of the economy deemed most crucial to the war effort, rapidly rose. A labour census taken at the end of 1944 thus showed that about 48.89 percent or 46,952 Luhya males were employed as wage earners.¹⁸⁶

This heavy dependence on wage labour was due to a high population density resulting in scarcity of land and food shortages in most of the north Nyanza District, particularly the southern locations. Pressure on land, therefore, undoubtedly contributed to the high and probably expanding levels of wage employment, as fathers sought to meet their families' needs and sons sought an alternative source of livelihood because of insufficient land at home. These pressures also noticeably changed the character of labour migration. Before World War II, while the percentage of men working outside their locations had been high, the time spent away had been short, averaging six months to a year. In comparison, after the war men spent longer periods away from home and in some instances, took up permanent residence at their places of work. Others tried to make ends meet by setting up businesses. But the initial capital costs, subsequent operating costs and general low turnover of goods meant that few among the Luhya could

¹⁸³ KNA, NN/1/37, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1955.

¹⁸⁴ Oral Interview, Joseph Lugadiro, *op.cit.*

¹⁸⁵ Robert Maxon, *Going Separate Ways, op. cit.* p. 204.

¹⁸⁶ KNA, PC/NZA/3/13/15, Registrar of Natives to Labour Commissioner, 22/1/1945.

expect to meet all their needs from a shop or trade.¹⁸⁷ Migrant labour became a crucial activity for most peasants. Economic needs, particularly the inadequate returns from possible agricultural production and commerce, thus acted not only as necessary and sufficient propellants for massive involvement in migrant labour, but also spurred the motivation to acquire more education and hence attain better paying jobs.¹⁸⁸

Apart from migrant labour, peasants' households - particularly among the Maragoli - also sought to move out of the region in search for more abundant land elsewhere, for agricultural pursuits. During the war years, the spontaneous migration from Maragoli location was directed toward the neighbouring locations of Tiriki, and Nyang'ori, Isukha and Idakho; areas with relatively low population densities. But after the war increasing numbers moved to Gusii highland, Kanyamkago Location in South Nyanza, the Trans-Mara region and some even crossed the border into the neighbouring Tanganyika. In 1950, as part of a land distribution programme aimed at solving the problem of land shortage, the government also sponsored a settlement programme for Luhya peasants in western Uganda. In most cases, these migrants carried the FAM faith with them, resulting in the establishment of FAM Meetings in south Nyanza, Tanganyika and Uganda.¹⁸⁹

FAM Missionary education thus created two distinctive social classes among the Luhya; the educated elite, or petite bourgeoisie and the migrant labourers or the peasants. However, a full-fledged class conflict did not emerge in most areas. This was because, after the Second World War, the educated elite still remained guided by the same concerns for hospitality and generosity. Chiefs and ADC councillors, for instance, assisted in the construction of schools, the provision of education bursaries or fees payment for poor pupils. Moreover, the common bonds of church, kin and community were still alive and were one means of redistributing some of the wealth from the elite to the peasantry. To a large extent, therefore, the growing wealth of the elite did not always lead to resentment among the peasants but rather emulation, or a wish to attain the same income and status.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ KNA/NN/1/37, North Nyanza District Annual Report, 1955.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ KNA/PC/NZA/2/460. Nyanza Province Annual Reports, 1945-49.

¹⁹⁰ Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

The class tension that occurred among the Bukusu and Tachoni elite and peasants, however, proves that cooperation was not always the norm. The case study of *Dini ya Musambwa* illustrates this point. Among the Bukusu and Tachoni, while the elite were Christians and benefited - on the basis of their church affiliation - from church related programmes, much of the peasantry continued to reject the church and its influence, through adherence to *Dini ya Musambwa*. These conflicting aims demonstrate the degree to which differences in economic status limited cooperation, along social and ethnic lines. *Dini ya Musambwa* emphasized the importance of the Bukusu prophets and the religious practices of ancestors, in contrast to FAM teachings. Consequently, *Dini ya Musambwa* attracted many peasant polygamists, who had been expelled from the Friends Church, and drew its support mainly from the poorest and non-literate sections of the Bukusu society.¹⁹¹ Members of *Dini ya Musambwa* were thus “have nots, many of them having been born and brought up all their lives in the Trans-Nzoia settled area”.¹⁹²

Agitation by members of *Dini ya Musambwa* started in 1948, when about, 1,000 members of the sect, in their protest against Christian missions and schools,

Infested the mission grounds of the Catholic mission at Kibabii, singing, dancing and were unbalanced and disorderly, and they told the mission people that they were to leave, otherwise they would be killed. They left, however, without doing any material damage.¹⁹³

This threat was accompanied by an attempt to withdraw students from mission schools. These two events alarmed the colonial government and on the 8th of February 1948, the North Nyanza DC issued an order directing that,

No meetings of *Dini ya Musambwa* were to be held without written permission. Later that day information was received of a meeting at Sangalo. The DC and the police went there and with difficulty, dispersed a crowd of some 500. Men and women stripped and were rolling on the ground, in complete frenzy.¹⁹⁴

On the following day, the DC gave an order for the arrest of Elijah Masinde, the leader of *Dini ya Musambwa*, on the grounds that he was creating a public disturbance. However, Masinde

¹⁹¹ KNA, DC/NN/10/1/5, North Nyanza District Annual Reports, 1948.

¹⁹² KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/99, Elgon Nyanza District Annual Reports, 1956.

¹⁹³ KNA, DC/NN/10/1/5, North Nyanza District Annual Reports, 1948.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*.

escaped and went into hiding. It was during his period in hiding that the Malakisi riots of 1948 took place. On 10th February 1948, a big crowd estimated to be 5,000 arrived at Malakisi. According to the North Nyanza annual report,

They sang songs to the effect that Europeans have long bothered us; we have got our God. Let us go forward; we are not going to be stopped by these people, they are nothing. The Europeans are troubling us, it is better if we kill them.¹⁹⁵

“The police were forced to fire on this crowd and inflicted casualties, killing 11 and wounding 16”.¹⁹⁶ Following the Malakisi riots, the search for Masinde intensified and he was eventually arrested in 1948.¹⁹⁷

During Masinde’s trial, the Bukusu and Tachoni FAM educated elite, who had condemned the activities of *Dini ya Musambwa* as retrogressive, testified against him. For instance, Philip Mwangale, a pioneer Bukusu Friends, was one of the state witnesses. Indeed, the Friends Church had also taken an active part in the suppression of *Dini ya Musambwa*, by providing information to the colonial administration and by submitting lists of persons said to be associated with the movement. Petro Wanyama, another FAM adherent and a member of the Bukusu Union, also made himself a government propaganda agent among the squatters on the Trans-Nzoia farms, where he was constantly inveighing against the moral dangers that were propagated by *Dini ya Musambwa*. He advised the Tachoni to become Christians and be “civilized, as the government and missionaries had taught them”.¹⁹⁸ This case study thus shows that mission education had divided the society into two; those who had accumulated wealth and those who continued to sink deeper into poverty. Whereas the elite benefited and wanted to retain ties with western cultures, the disillusioned poor opposed Christianity and its influences by reverting to traditional cultural practices, as a way of mitigating their problems.

5.3.4 Conflict amongst Sub – Ethnic Groups

With the increasing acceptance of Christianity and the greater demand for secular services, tension developed among the various Luhyia sub-ethnic groups. Tension between the southern

¹⁹⁵ KNA, DC/NN/10/1/5, North Nyanza District Annual Reports, 1948.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, and Simiyu, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁹⁷ KNA, DC/NN/10/1/5, Annual Report North Nyanza District, 1948.

¹⁹⁸ Oral Interview, Rabbesa Nelima Kipapa, Mount Elgon, 27/9/2007.

and northern constituencies of the Friends church had flared up due to the relocation of Kaimosi secondary school to Kamusinga.¹⁹⁹ At the same time, the retirement of Jefferson Ford, a resident missionary at Lugulu, in 1948 increased tension between the south and north FAM spheres of influence. Ford's retirement raised questions on the future of the newly - established Bible School at Lugulu and indeed, the whole mission policy towards the Friends church in the north.²⁰⁰

Earlier, in 1941 Ford had proposed a plan for setting up a Bible School to train African evangelists. Each of the then eleven Monthly Meetings was asked to send two students to the school, when it was opened at Lugulu in 1942. By 1945, there were 25 students, four of whom were women. In the same year, the school was officially named the Friends Bible Institute and was supervised by Jefferson Ford until he retired in 1948.²⁰¹ But, even before his retirement, AFBM had suggested that the institute be moved to Kaimosi, where more part time teachers drawn from the FAM missionaries would be available to share in classroom instruction and where the concentration of educational resources would help avoid a separation of scholarship from religious devotion. When Ford retired, this move was made in 1949, with the approval of EAYM and the Mission Board. In making this decision, the mission argued for a continuation of the Concentration Policy based at Kaimosi, despite the fact that Kaimosi was poorly located to serve the areas of the greatest church strength, like the Maragoli and the Bukusu and the Tachoni.²⁰²

Predictably, in 1949 Bukusu and Tachoni Friends were less than enthusiastic in financially supporting the re-opening of the Bible School at Kaimosi.²⁰³ Further, Ford and wife, Helen, were replaced at Lugulu by two unmarried women missionaries - a nurse and a teacher - an act the Bukusu and Tachoni regarded as a downgrading of their mission station. The Bukusu and Tachoni claimed that the unmarried women "could not tackle family issues competently".²⁰⁴ In

¹⁹⁹ See p. 198, for this discussion.

²⁰⁰ See EAYM, FAM Evangelistic Reports 1941.

²⁰¹ Pinter, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

²⁰² For the discussion on the Concentration Policy, see chapter four, p. 115.

²⁰³ EAYM, FAM Evangelical Reports, 1950.

²⁰⁴ Oral Interview, Mellap Wakube, *op. cit.*

any case, African men had scant respect for unmarried adults, particularly women, whom they referred to as “children”.²⁰⁵

The Bukusu and Tachoni also resented the continued use of Luloogoli as the medium of instruction in schools because it was scarcely understood by the Luhyia of the northern locations.²⁰⁶ Consequently, the continued use of Luloogoli as a medium of instruction made the Bukusu and Tachoni to boycott teacher refresher courses. Further, the Bukusu and Tachoni became convinced that the Friends mission was favouring the Maragoli in the distribution of ADC education grants. The allegation made was that most Friends among the Bukusu and Tachoni were members of *Dini ya Musambwa*, which had not only destroyed Christian missions' properties, but had also led to a decreased Friends membership in the north. The Bukusu and Tachoni thus felt that their locations had been neglected both by missions and by the government and they were determined to change that policy.²⁰⁷ These feelings were openly expressed, following a dispute between Kellum and Hoyt, on one side, and the Bukusu Union, on the other, during a committee meeting at Nambami FAM School, on 21 January, 1940.²⁰⁸

The two missionaries were also accused of belittling the Bukusu and Tachoni, by telling them that “they liked being ruled by foreigners and strangers and that explained why the Maragoli were stationed at Lugulu to help evangelize them”.²⁰⁹ To the Bukusu and Tachoni, this was yet another serious insult and they demanded to know why Kellum threatened to beat them.²¹⁰ However, due to the lack of influence such as that enjoyed by the Maragoli in the Yearly Meeting, the Bukusu and Tachoni Friends, through the Bukusu Union, began to seek an alternative route to educational advancement. Through its leaders - notably Hudson Sanja, Jonathan Barasa, Benjamin Kapten and Hezekiah Ngoya, all teachers and elders of Lugulu Monthly Meeting - the Bukusu Union embarked on a programme of educational development, through establishment of Bukusu founded non-denominational, independent schools at Namilama, Chebukwa and Namang'ofulo, all in Chwele location. Bukusu Union leaders argued

²⁰⁵ Oral Interview, Mellap Wakube, *op. cit.*

²⁰⁶ Oral Interview, Elisha Masambu Wakube, *op. cit.*

²⁰⁷ J. de Wolf, *op. cit.* pp.135-6.

²⁰⁸ EAYM, FAM, Nambami School Committee Meeting Minutes to FAM, 20/1/1940.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

that the reason for establishing independent schools was to unite Bukusu and Tachoni pupils and reduce disputes on religious matters.²¹¹

An interesting feature of the Bukusu Union schools was their concern for the development of the community as a whole and their readiness to be innovative and flexible in organization and curriculum. Jonathan Barasa, for example, argued that he wanted the union to provide both academic and technical training, assist school leavers in finding employment and include women's education. In 1951, the union further proposed an independent mass practical secondary school in Kimilili, arguing that its chief aim was to have,

Our children trained in the line of making them better citizens. The students of this school at the end of their course will be encouraged to go back to their rural homes and work either as farmers, carpenters or builders. For this particular reason, it is hoped our children will have to set good examples to the communities amongst which they will have to reside. Boys who are below the age of fifteen years will not be granted admission in the above school because we shall not undertake the possibilities of training boys who are quite desirous of sitting for the government official exams known in this colony.²¹²

The Union also sent Bukusu and Tachoni students to Githunguri (the first full-time independent school and African Teachers' College in central Kenya) for higher education.²¹³ Pascal Nabwana, the chairman of Bukusu Union, had trained at Kabete Jeanes School. During his training, he had interacted with the Kikuyu members of the Kenya African Study Union (hereafter KASU) members, who introduced him to Githunguri ideas of independent schools. Bukusu Union also began to send promising students overseas - with the funds contributed through subscriptions to the Union - to acquire higher education. For instance, the Union sent Masinde Muliro, a Friends and a student in Uganda, for higher education at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. Muliro was proposed by Philip Mwangale and Pascal Nabwana for university education due to his keen involvement in the Bukusu union and his articulation of African land and political rights.²¹⁴ These efforts by the Bukusu and Tachoni show that

²¹¹ See Chapter Four, p. 157.

²¹² KNA, DC/NN/3/6/1, Senior Education Officer, Nyanza to DC, Kakamega, 17 April 1948, and EAYM, FAM Annual Report, 1951.

²¹³ KNA, PC/NZA/3/1/36, Nyanza Province Annual Report 1946, and Oral Interview, John Musundi, *op. cit.*

²¹⁴ Oral Interview, John Musundi, *op. cit.*

education had become the most critical desire among the Luhya Friends.²¹⁵ However, the educational initiatives of the Bukusu and Tachoni Friends, carried through the Union, did not receive sympathetic treatment from the Government. This was in contrast to the government's approval of Kikuyu independent schools and the willingness of the administration, in the 1940s, to allow the registration of schools under the management of African Independent Churches in the southern Luhya locations.²¹⁶

The government, like the FAM, was suspicious, on account of the Union's agitation against forced labour, land alienation and its alleged involvement in *Dini ya Musambwa* activities. For example, in 1945 the North Nyanza DC refused to approve any Bukusu Union school and warned Jonathan Barasa, a leader of *Dini ya Musambwa*, that,

His move to establish an independent school was badly timed and that he was asking for trouble by going against the wishes of the Friends mission, a powerful voice in educational matters among the Bukusu at that time.²¹⁷

However, continued political agitation by the outlawed *Dini ya Musambwa* and the demands of the Bukusu Union and Friends leaders, like Philip Mwangale, awakened the colonial administration to the need for greater development efforts in the Northern part of the district, leading to the transfer of Kaimosi Secondary School to Kamusinga.²¹⁸

Apart from the south-north conflict, tension also developed between the various Luhya sub-ethnic groups over the allocation and distribution of FAM secular resources. For instance, conflict increasingly began to manifest between the majority Bukusu and Tachoni in the north. Consequently, the Tachoni developed close working relations with the colonial government and FAM missionaries, in the hope that such alliances would act as a levelling factor against the Bukusu domination. With the formation and growth of *Dini ya Musambwa*, the Tachoni thus joined the government and Christian missions in opposing this sect. They opposed the sect mostly for its veneration of Bukusu ancestral spirits. And through their opposition to *Dini ya*

²¹⁵ Oral Interview, John Musundi, *op. cit.*

²¹⁶ For this discussion see for example, EAYM, Meeting minutes, 11/8/1951.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ See Chapter Four p. 158 and EAYM, FAM, Annual Report, August 1951.

Musambwa, the Tachoni demonstrated their loyalty to both the government and mission and were congratulated for their assistance in suppressing the movement.²¹⁹

To reward the Tachoni, in 1950 the government created the Ndivisi Sub-Location of Kimilili Location for them.²²⁰ However, the Tachoni rapport with the government aroused bitterness among the Bukusu. The Bukusu complained that the government had not only created a sub-location for the minority Tachoni in Kimilili Location, but it had also allowed "Tachoni rulers to give all departmental posts of judiciary, agriculture, veterinary and education to their own people".²²¹ The Bukusu - led by leaders like Khaemba Wabomba, Kerre Kituyi, Ainea Wekesa, Erasto Walukhu, Jotham Mulundu, Jesse Lutuli, Khamusini Nabwora, Lumuli Sifwabi, Joseph Nabukwesi and Francis Kapa - saw this as "oppression, since it was undemocratic for the Tachoni who are about 1,200, to rule 3,500 Bukusu."²²² When the government refused to reverse the creation of Ndivisi sub-location, the Bukusu leaders then accused the Tachoni of working with the colonial government and FAM to discriminate against them, especially in educational matters. Consequently, the Bukusu Friends leaders began to agitate for the creation of a Bukusu Monthly Meeting, which would take care of their educational development in Kimilili Location. The Bukusu leaders, like Philip Mwangale, claimed that,

They have built schools through LNC and FAM, they had more teachers than the Tachoni... There are people amongst the Bukusu with overseas education, Makerere diplomas, many with school certificates, while the Tachoni teachers are two with T2 and ten T3 only in the whole location.²²³

Further, the Tachoni were also accused of supporting the south in rejecting the establishment of another Yearly Meeting, since they feared being dominated by the Bukusu.²²⁴ Indeed, distribution of FAM secular resources, particularly educational facilities, had also earlier caused conflict between the Tiriki and the Maragoli. As already discussed, the Tiriki under Chief Mushenye had accused the Maragoli and FAM of discriminating against them in educational

²¹⁹ KNA, OP/1/111, DC, North Nyanza District to the Chief Secretary, 1960.

²²⁰ KNA, OP/1/111, Complaints and Petition, 19/9/1960.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ Oral Interview, Samuel Barasa Wekesa, *op.cit.*

development.²²⁵ Consequently, the allocation and distribution of FAM secular resources increasingly became a source of friction among the various Luhya sub-ethnic groups in the 1950s.

5.4 Conclusion

The chapter set out to examine the effects of the sustained and accelerated growth of the Friends Church in Kenya, and its effects on the Luhya. It has shown that the war years and the period thereafter proved instrumental in the increased acceptance and spread of Christianity among the Luhya. This increased acceptance was due to several factors. First, there was a desire to belong to a church that was increasingly becoming part of the Luhya culture. Christianity increasingly became the religion of choice and a dominant aspect of the Luhya culture. This led to a decline of traditional religious beliefs and practices. Secondly, after 1940s younger and better educated Africans assumed the leadership of the EAYM. To a large extent, they were replacing the ageing pioneer converts. At the same time, younger educated men became chiefs. These young leaders were more articulate in communicating with mission and government and were able to represent the views of the Church at large and to press for mission and Church support for education. These new elite were also responsible for starting many new Meetings in their locations. Consequently, FAM's Village (Weekly), Monthly and Quarterly Meetings multiplied and underwent sustained and accelerated growth. This necessitated the establishment of an independent EAYM, to take charge of the growing Friends Church in Kenya.

Acceptance of Christianity also led to increased demand for education. After the 1940s, education became increasingly universal and included a growing desire for secondary and even university education. But these increased demands led to a rapidly expanding school network that relied on poorly trained and lowly paid teachers. The FAM, like other missionary societies in Kenya, warned the colonial education officials about the deteriorating quality in African education. In response, the colonial government injected more substantial funds into African education. These funds had been made available by the 1945 Colonial Development and Welfare Act. With the funds, the government developed the TYP, which proposed substantial financial

²²⁵ KNA, OP/1/111, Complaints and Petition, 19/9/1960.

increment towards African education. Further, in 1949 the colonial government constituted the Beecher Commission. This commission recommended far reaching changes in the educational sector. For the FAM, the publication of the Beecher Report gave the mission substantial financial increment in the grants-in-aid system and permission to establish a government - funded secondary school. But the location of the secondary school was one of the factors that led to tension and conflict between the south and north FAM's spheres of influence. Tension within the EAYM and the inability of the FAM to meet African demands for education and health services prompted AFBM to send the 1953 Special Delegation to Kenya. The delegation's recommendations did not entirely solve all the conflicts in the FAM's work, but it provided for the establishment of EAYM-AFMB partnership in Friends Church's affairs in Kenya.

The chapter has argued that the result of the increased acceptance of Christianity and education was broader economic transformation among the Luhyia Friends in the post-war period. Education produced the commercial and agricultural elite. These elite began to challenge the colonial government policies on African commercial and agricultural development. In an attempt to win the support of the educated elite, the colonial government established the agricultural Betterment Fund. The fund gave loans and equipment to farmers who had incorporated mixed farming and soil conservation on their farms. The government further allowed the better farmers to grow the high yielding arabica coffee. Thus, the elite not only benefited from EAYM, but also from the colonial educational and agricultural policies. Increasingly, therefore, two distinct social classes emerged among the Luhyia. First, there were the FAM educated elite who attained the status of a middle class or petite bourgeoisie. Their new social status was reflected in the accumulation of resources and commitment to progress, through the education of their children.

Secondly, there were the peasants. In most cases, peasants had minimum or no education, and little or no land and thus they were forced to seek for wage employment outside the district, a factor that led to the development of remittance household families. While tension along class lines did not manifest itself in southern locations, the activities of *Dini ya Musambwa* in the northern locations demonstrated the degree to which differences in economic status limited cooperation. The chapter has thus shown that after the war the church increasingly became an arena of sectional economic interests, leading to tension along class, clan and sub-ethnic lines.

Chapter Six

EAYM Policies, Demands and the Devolution Period, 1953 – 1963

6.0 Introduction

In the period before 1953, the Friends Church had become an important agency of economic change among the Luhya. In this period, FAM leadership, like that of the colonial government, adopted an economic development policy that explicitly fostered and maintained western patterns of capitalism and elitism. Moreover, it reinforced the emerging post-war educational configuration, where the school was replacing both the church and the family as the dominant source of values and aspirations. And as the church tried to adapt and maintain its role in interpreting the educational experience of its members, it found itself facing two constituencies: namely, the educated elite and the peasants, which were drawing further and further apart. Subsequently, in the 1950s FAM largely seemed to interpret its role as one of supporting the new development policies of the colonial government, as well as the aspirations of its African middle class and church leaders.

Parallel to Kenya's progress from a colony to an independent nation, the Friends Church progressed toward full control by Africans. Two major themes dominated this decade of transition. The first was the devolution process, which ensured the creation of deliberate stages for granting EAYM African leaders increased authority and responsibility for the mission's operations.¹ The second theme was that of African initiatives to obtain greater post-primary education opportunities. As with African communities elsewhere in Kenya, the Luhya Friends also sought to expand secondary school development far beyond the Beecher Report's intentions.² In their clamour for more advanced education, African Friends leaders were aided by the strong partnership between the EAYM and the FAM.

EAYM had started the decade before national independence still heavily dependent on the FAM and the Board in America for administrative services and financial support, but emerged with complete administrative independence and far greater economic self-sufficiency. Friends missionaries also undertook to train EAYM leaders so that, gradually, Africans became

¹ KNA, MSS/54/13, A Report of the Special Delegation to the Friends African Mission, 1953.

² For this discussion, see Chapter Five p. 181.

responsible for all FAM departments. The absence of conflict between all the major participants during this decade of transition also confirmed that the guidelines set forth in the 1953 Report by the Special Delegation to the FAM had proved effective in devolving power from the missionary into African hands.³ This chapter thus examines the following issues: namely, FAM – EAYM partnership, demand for secondary education, the establishment of Chavakali School, overseas university education, development in agriculture, EAYM and sectional interests, EAYM leadership and conflict and transfer of FAM’s power and property. The main indicators of economic transformation during this period were the demand for overseas university education and government financial support to “progressive farmers” and entrepreneurs.

6.1 FAM - EAYM Partnership

Following the Report of the Special Delegation to the Friends African Mission in 1953, FAM became anxious to adjust its internal organization and programmes to fit into the new age of African elite nationalism and self-assertion. First, it made a more determined effort to establish an effective partnership between itself and the EAYM. This was due - in large part - to Fred Reeve, who emerged as the dominant figure among FAM missionaries in the 1950s.

The arrival of Fred Reeve from the USA, in August 1954, as the new mission secretary charged with coordination of the mission’s business matters, marked the beginning of strong, centralized leadership which the FAM had never enjoyed before. For the first time, individual missionaries and mission departments were made responsible to a central authority, as opposed to the previous system, under which each head of department enjoyed independence with minimal coordination between departments. Among the instructions given to Reeve was a new statement of mission policy, which stated that,

FAM work in Kenya has been going on for more than fifty years. It is time to make definite plans for the work to be taken over by EAYM. Give this matter careful study and send us your considered judgement on how quickly this can be accomplished, and by what means.⁴

³ For information on the 1953 Special Delegation to the FAM Report, see Chapter Five p. 201.

⁴ KNA, MSS/54/13, A Report of the Special Delegation to the Friends African Mission, 1953 and EAYM, FAM Annual Report, 1954.

With the support of the Mission Board, Reeve was able to push through a policy that emphasized partnership with the EAYM, through the development of new social and economic programmes. Indeed, the Board strengthened Reeve's hand in his dealings with government officials, by designating him as the Board's official representative in Kenya. As his first notable action, the new secretary obtained approval to establish a new department of administration, charged with the co-ordination of the mission's budgets, book keeping and programmes.⁵ Reeve also deliberately set out to implement the ideas contained in the 1953 Special Delegation's Report to the FAM, regarding greater African participation in the mission's affairs. His main strategy for achieving this goal was to merge FAM's departmental work with EAYM activities. He then encouraged EAYM to appoint committees that would work with each of the mission's five departments: namely, medical, education, administration, industrial and evangelism. As a result, Benjamin Ngaira was made the chairman of the Education Committee. Reeve also saw to it that a Permanent Administrative Advisory Council was appointed, composed of five EAYM and five FAM representatives. The EAYM Board was represented by Benjamin Ngaira, Fred Kamidi, Nathaniel Siganga, Jotham Standa and Benjamin Kapten, while FAM was represented by Horst Rothe, Everett Kellum, Louis Lock, Onni Rauha and Dorothy Pitman. The Advisory Committee was mandated to consult with the FAM's Executive Council on the implementation of all future policies.⁶ Through this Committee, Reeve was trying to ensure that there would be no repetition of secret decisions at the mission.⁷

In making these changes, Reeve faced opposition from some missionaries, who viewed the new parity between EAYM and the mission with disfavour. However, Reeve noted that those missionaries "who were more willing to take Africans into discussion, were the ones who were more acceptable to the EAYM". Indeed, in the preceding years FAM had experienced an ideological schism amongst its missionaries. One group supported a closer working relationship with Africans. The other group supported by European settlers called for segregation of Africans and the missionaries. The latter group thus opposed Reeve's close working relationship with EAYM leaders. But Reeve was particularly conscious of the impending independence from colonial rule and the importance of having an African-led church in the new nation. For instance,

⁵ See EAYM, FAM Annual Report, 1958.

⁶ KNA, MSS/54/13/2, Report of the Special Delegation to the FAM, 1953.

⁷ EAYM, FAM, Report of the Special Delegation, 1953.

Reeve and Allan Bradley, the principal of Kamusinga, never repressed political discussion in the school.⁸ Bradley reported that,

Sometimes political discussion expressed itself in formal debates. From quite an early stage photographs of Kenyatta appeared in the dormitories, sometimes alongside pictures of the Queen. Evidently, such freedom was not to be found in other schools. Some people found it a bit shocking.⁹

But the then Nyanza Provincial Education Officer, accused Bradley of, "encouraging the Kenyatta cult at the school, which was regarded as a security risk".¹⁰ The PEO, however, did not take any disciplinary action against Bradley.

Further, in 1961 FAM successfully appealed to Kenyatta, during his detention at Kapenguria, for a meeting. The Friends who met Kenyatta, on the 2nd of June, 1961, included three representatives from EAYM - Thomas Lung'aho, Hezekiah Ngoya, and Samuel Mwinamo. Reeve represented FAM, while two British Friends, Walter Martin and Bradley, represented the Friends Service Council based in London and British Friends in Kenya, respectively.¹¹ During the Meeting, Kenyatta is reported to have advised that,

It is important for young people to learn all things, including sex and politics, in a healthy atmosphere. Secondary school children should be encouraged to think about, consider and weigh up political questions, just as in other aspects of life. They should be on their guard against being moved by slogans. Young people's first responsibility, however, is to become well qualified to pull their weight when time for activity and service came.¹²

Similar views had been expressed by Bradley and other FAM missionaries. FAM reports thus indicated that listening to Kenyatta "is almost as if listening to Bradley or some Quaker headmaster expressing his view".¹³ Thus the Friends representatives joined those who called for the "complete release of Kenyatta". Indeed, Bradley wrote to the governor, Sir Patrick Renison, urging him to "meet Kenyatta for himself, so that he might have a chance to reconsider the unfortunate view that Kenyatta was a leader unto darkness and death".¹⁴

⁸ Allan Bradley, *One Man's Education: An Autobiographical Scrap-book*, New York: The Ebor Press, 1987, p. 157.

⁹ Bradley, *op.cit.*, p. 161.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.* p. 162.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Apart from leading the delegation that visited Kenyatta and calling for Kenya's independence, Reeve also urged the Mission Board to set in motion the transfer of property and full church responsibility to the EAYM, pointing out that this action had already been taken by both Anglicans and Presbyterians, without any ill effects on the relationship between the respective churches and missions. He further argued that African participation in the wider body of Friends should not be contingent on the financial contribution they could make and insisted that many missionaries had to radically adjust their thinking, owing to the impending independence. For Reeve, devolution of responsibility in the church was also to be accompanied by the development of a materially prosperous church membership.¹⁵

6.2 The Church's Impact on the Community

Under Reeve, the Friends church became noteworthy for its involvement in promoting economic change among the Luhya. Indeed, both the EAYM and mission leaders expected that the church would be responsible for improving the economic conditions of its members, particularly if the local church was to successfully assume financial responsibility for the institutions established by the mission.¹⁶ Consequently, the FAM educated elite continued to put pressure on the church to provide more education opportunities for children, including overseas university training and the building of more girls' secondary schools.¹⁷ In addition, the elite continued to put pressure on government to allow for the growing of arabica coffee on a wider scale, and to provide credit facilities to Africans to engage in commerce.¹⁸ At the same time, as the wealth of the FAM educated elite increased, the gap between them and the mass of peasants widened and the number of remittance families among the Luhya increased. Thus by the end of devolution period in 1963, FAM had played a crucial part in the transformation of the Luhya society.

¹⁵ The transfer of administrative responsibility from the colonial government took place on December 12, 1963, and the mission property was legally transferred the following February. See EAYM, FAM Annual Report, 1963.

¹⁶ Oral Interview, Henry Mugalo, Vihiga, 2/6/2007; Peter Muhando, Hamutua, 4/8/2007; William Shibadu and John Musundi, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/93, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1956.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

6.2.1 Demand for Secondary Schools

In the decade preceding independence, African Friends' key educational concern was the creation of greater opportunities for post-primary education. Once the Beecher Report had assured a large primary and intermediate school system, and with the Africans' manipulation of its guidelines into near universal primary education, the scene of the battle then shifted to secondary education. By 1953, for instance, FAM was either directly or indirectly involved in the education of 40,000 pupils. There were 92 aided primary schools, 20 aided intermediate schools, an embryo secondary school at Kaimosi and two teacher training centres. In addition, there existed between 200 and 300 unaided primary schools, all started by African Friends. The emerging picture, therefore, was that there was a large number of primary schools contributing pupils to a smaller number of intermediate schools which, in turn, contributed pupils to a smaller number of secondary schools.¹⁹ It was this situation that forced the Luhyia Friends to demand for more secondary schools, from both the government and the mission.

In acceding to African demands for an expanded secondary education programme, the Board revised its earlier objection over co-opting British Friends in its school system.²⁰ British teachers were also better suited to teach in Kenya, since the country's education system was woven into the educational patterns of Britain, through the influence of the Cambridge examination system that provided the terminal examination for the secondary school course. Consequently, an FAM report noted that,

Apart from the natural desire of the government to maintain a close association with the British system of education, there are several practical reasons which demand that the teaching in schools, and especially in secondary schools, should be undertaken to a substantial extent by those who are well acquainted with the British system. At present, there is no teacher with British experience working under the FAM.²¹

It was this requirement that forced the Board, while implementing the recommendations of the 1953 Special Delegation to FAM, to recruit British graduate teachers to the key posts of schools' supervisor and headmaster of the proposed secondary school. Consequently, in January 1955, Kenneth Goom, a former senior lecturer at Derby Training College, replaced Everett Kellum as

¹⁹ KNA, MSS/ 54/ 13/2, Report of the Special Delegation to the FAM, 1953.

²⁰ For this discussion, see Chapter Five, p. 199.

²¹ KNA, MSS/ 54/ 13/2, Report of the Special Delegation to the FAM, 1953.

the schools supervisor. In the same year, five additional English Friends graduate teachers were recruited by the Board, for service in Kenya. They included Fred Reader, a retired accountant, Allan Bradley and Helen Neatby. Reader was mandated to put the mission on a sound financial footing, while Allan Bradley, an experienced headmaster in England, became the principal of Kaimosi Boys' Secondary School. Helen Neatby, the former assistant director of women and girls' education in Uganda and who had been part of the 1953 Special Delegation to FAM, remained in Kenya and took up teaching duties at Kaimosi Teacher Training College.²² Along with Kenneth Goom, these new workers did much to "restore both government and African confidence in the FAM secondary school system".²³

However, the arrival of the British Friends missionaries led to disputes among the missionary staff, occasioned by a variety of issues. For example, there was an unwillingness by the British Friends to adhere to the American Friends' code of abstention from tobacco and alcohol. Thus there arose conflicts over religious beliefs, which divided the American and European missionaries. In spite of this, though, FAM Annual Reports of 1955-1957 described Goom's work as "outstanding". His achievements included persuading banks, including the Standard, National and Grindlays, and Barclays - all with branches at Kisumu - to set up a mobile banking system so that FAM's teachers could be paid by cheque rather than cash. He is also credited with putting greater emphasis on the education of girls, by reserving for them 25 per cent of the places in the intermediate schools. In addition, he worked for establishing greater cooperation with other Christian missions in western Kenya, in African educational matters. Consequently, in 1957 the government gave the FAM a grant of Sh. 740,775 which enabled the mission to establish a secondary school supervision committee and to pay teachers' salaries. Subsequently, Fred Kamidi, an Alliance and Makerere-trained teacher, was appointed to head the team supervising the southern locations. This effectively made him the first African member in the FAM's staff, while Goom continued to supervise the northern locations.²⁴ However, with increasing demands by Africans for secondary and university education, the colonial government faced a new dilemma.

²² See EAYM, FAM Annual Reports, 1955.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ EAYM, FAM Annual Reports of 1952-1957.

The first problem arose from the fact that Africans clearly wanted more secondary schools than the Beecher Report had recommended.²⁵ Educational officers, however, argued that African leaders had little regard for the economic consequences of creating more schools. The escalating educational expenses of the ADCs confirmed this fear. Furthermore, after 1953 funds for secondary school expansion became limited, largely due to the government's diversion of funds to combating the Mau Mau. The Mau Mau insurgency, seen as a Kikuyu revolt against the colonial government, was specifically blamed on Kikuyu independent schools, which were widely believed to have become centres of sedition. Consequently, during the emergency many independent schools were closed. But on the other hand, there were political implications to consider. Although the colonial government argued that uncontrolled and unsupervised expansion might breed a similar upheaval elsewhere in the country, it would be equally dangerous for the administration to appear to be deliberately blocking African educational progress.²⁶

Government officials were thus willing to lend a cautious ear to the proposals to establish new schools and even encouraged some independent schools to open, if they promised to avoid the alleged extremes of the Kikuyu independent schools, and if they desisted from asking for additional funding from the government.²⁷ Government officials further encouraged missions to tame political activism of the Mau Mau type, through instilling Christian spiritual development into the Africans' education. The Department of Education, for instance, asked FAM to reconsider establishing a technical school at Kaimosi, ostensibly to help counteract the undesirable effects that academic studies were alleged to produce in Africans.²⁸

FAM missionaries, particularly Fred Reeve, needed little encouragement to start thinking about revitalizing the FAM's long-standing preference for a practical education. Reeve's unquestioned acceptance of the government's line of reasoning was reminiscent of Everett Kellum's sentiments a decade earlier, when he observed "that trained minds without trained hands are

²⁵ The Beecher Commission had called for a maximum of 12 secondary schools in Kenya. See Beecher Report, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁶ See for example, Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *Education Department Annual Report*, 1953, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1953, p. 26.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ EAYM, Reeve's Education Report, 1954.

likely to become dangerous agitators".²⁹ Fred Reeve sounded a similar concern in 1954, by arguing that the idleness of youth, the growing demand for better things in life and the general political unrest were factors combining to show that technical training had to be immediately undertaken.³⁰ During the early 1950s, however, plans for technical training had to be momentarily put aside, as FAM continued to struggle to meet its school development obligations as outlined under the Beecher Report.³¹

Meanwhile, the southern Luhyia, particularly the Maragoli and the Tiriki, had their own thoughts about secondary education. Fred Kamidi, for instance, argued that,

Parents were willing to sacrifice all, in order to provide education for their children. Many boys and girls who complete standard 8 cannot all secure admission to secondary schools, because of the limited number of places available. In the whole of North Nyanza there is only one secondary school to cater for 50 intermediate schools.³²

Indeed, the decision to transfer Kaimosi Boys' secondary school to Kamusinga - about 100 kilometres away - increased the scarcity of secondary school places in the southern locations "if and when admissions to the secondary schools are zoned". For instance, there were a total of 15 intermediate schools in Maragoli, Tiriki and Nyang'ori locations, which alone produced "600 pupils. If half the places in Kakamega Government African School were to be made available, only 30 pupils from these schools could expect admissions".³³ There was, therefore, a strong case for the establishment of a secondary school for this area. Although FAM had boys attending Kakamega Secondary School and both Alliance and Maseno High Schools - through an agreement among the members of the Christian Council of Kenya, an umbrella body formed by protestant missions to promote Christian education and training, among other objectives - by 1955, there were still far more FAM intermediate school leavers who could not find a place in a secondary school. For example, of the pupils in the lower classes at Kaimosi's Secondary School - before it was moved in 1957 - two-thirds could not find a seat in a senior secondary school class. Consequently, the southern Luhyia, particularly the Maragoli, under the leadership of their

²⁹ EAYM, Kaimosi Monthly Meeting Minutes, 3/8/46.

³⁰ EAYM, FAM, Education Annual Report, 1954.

³¹ EAYM, FAM, Education Annual Report, 1956.

³² KNA, MSS/54/150, Fred Kamidi to the Secretaries of Locational Councils of North Maragoli, South Maragoli and Tiriki, 21/5/1957.

³³ *Ibid.*

chief Matthew Mwenesi, began to look for ways of establishing new secondary schools.³⁴ One of these schools was the Chavakali Friends Boys' Secondary School.

6.2.1.1 The Chavakali School

The Chavakali School was the culmination of Maragoli attempts, since the 1920s, to establish their own advanced school.³⁵ A change in leadership had brought the Maragoli a new chief, who led the drive for the establishment of a secondary school that would exclusively serve his area. Matthew Mwenesi was appointed the chief of North Maragoli location in 1956, when Chief Paul Agoi retired. At this time, the combined Maragoli Location was divided into two locations because government officials felt that its population of over 100,000 was far too large for one administrator.³⁶ A former Friends teacher and MEB Chairman, Mwenesi became the first Makerere College - trained teacher to be appointed a chief among the Luhya. He came to the job feeling that because he was well educated, he had to prove to both the colonial government and his constituency that he could do something more with his education. First, the new chief tried to encourage agricultural improvements, but when this proved unrewarding, due to small land holdings, he turned his effort to education. In 1957, Mwenesi initiated among the Maragoli the idea of establishing a day secondary school to serve their area - since the one at Kaimosi had been moved. His idea was picked up by the Maragoli Location Advisory Council, which resolved to build a day secondary school.³⁷ But Mwenesi, realizing that many independent school initiatives had failed in the past, sought the co-operation of the FAM.³⁸

At first, the colonial officials in Nyanza and Nairobi gave the proposal lukewarm support. The acting Senior Education Officer for Nyanza Province, A.F Bull, felt that the Maragoli could not possibly raise the large sum of Sh. 100,000 needed to start off the school, though he was impressed by their ambition.³⁹ Although EAYM and FAM officials strongly lobbied for the idea.

³⁴ KNA, MSS/54/150, Fred Kamidi to the Secretaries of Locational Councils of North Maragoli, South Maragoli and Tiriki, 21/5/1957.

³⁵ KNA DC/KMG/1/4/7, FAM, 1949, and see also the proposal to build the Mbale School, Chapter Four, p. 151.

³⁶ In south Maragoli, Meshack Agoi - the son of Paul Agoi - was appointed a chief, see for example, KNA, DC/19/8/55, DO Vihiga to DC Kakamaga 1956.

³⁷ KNA, MSS/54/150, Minutes of the Proposed Day Secondary School *Ad Hoc* Committee, 26/7/1957.

³⁸ KNA, MSS/54/150, a Letter Fred Kamidi to the Secretaries of Locational Councils of North Maragoli, South Maragoli and Tiriki, 21/5/1957 EAYM and FAM Kaimosi Monthly Meeting Minutes, 9/6/1957.

³⁹ KNA, DC/KMG/1/4/7, Nyanza Province Education officer to FAM Educational Secretary, 21/2/1949.

perhaps the most interesting tactic originated from Chief Mwenesi himself. While the governor of the colony was touring North Nyanza District, Mwenesi arranged to have all the Maragoli pupils in primary schools line up along the governor's route, and as the governor passed by, the pupils would shout "we want a secondary school". Whether as a direct result of this display or not, the proposal soon won approval in Nairobi and was next forwarded to the Colonial Office in London.⁴⁰

However, while Whitehall deliberated, the Maragoli acted. Chief Mwenesi first sought assistance from the North Nyanza ADC, but this body balked at providing funds for what they deemed to be a purely Maragoli venture, arguing that if the school was to be a day school, only the Maragoli children in its vicinity would be able to attend. Mwenesi then sought and gained permission from the ADC to levy an annual tax of Sh.12.50 from each family in Maragoli for four years, to raise a total of Sh 100,000. Chief William Shivachi, whose neighbouring Idakho location bordered North Maragoli, also agreed to have part of his location taxed to support the day secondary school.⁴¹

It was in this setting that the Friends Chavakali School began. Indeed, FAM missionaries were "conscious of the limited number of Africans who found their way to secondary schools and were doubtful about the strictly academic curriculum which these schools had adopted".⁴² Earlier, in 1956 Fred Reeve while on home leave had talked to Friends at Earlham College - a Quaker College in Richmond, Indiana, USA - about the need for technical and agricultural education in Kenya, rather than pure academic learning. Though interested, Earlham officials had neither the funds nor the staff to undertake an independent assistance programme. Consequently, Tom Jones, Earlham's President, approached the International Cooperation Administration (hereafter ICA) to secure funding for the Chavakali project.⁴³ ICA had been formed in 1953 by the USA government, as an independent government agency to consolidate the country's economic and technical assistance on a world-wide basis. The ICA administered aid for economic, political and social development purposes through the Development Loan

⁴⁰ Quoted in Kay, p. 276.

⁴¹ KNA, MSS/54/150, Minutes of the Proposed Day Secondary School *Ad Hoc* Committee, 26/7/1957.

⁴² Ernest Stabler, *Education Since Uhuru: the Schools of Kenya*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1969, p.120.

⁴³ EAYM, Landrum Bolling to FAM, 10/4/1960; and KNA, MSS/54/20, Report on Friends Primary and Intermediate Schools, 1959.

Fund (hereafter DLF), which acted as its (ICA) lending arm. The DLF's primary function was to extend loans for financing capital projects and technical assistance. Tom Jones also conferred with officials of the British Embassy in Washington and USA State Department, about funding of the Chavakali project. Reports indicate that,

Everyone expressed at least polite interest, but it was made clear that there were many difficulties. For one thing, all such projects had to be initiated inside the foreign country which would receive this point for aid as a request from that government to the USA government.⁴⁴

Secondly, it was clear that the USA government at that time was very hesitant about pushing too much into British colonial territories, for fear that American actions would be misunderstood. And thirdly, the USA government officials were afraid of the implications of getting involved with any undertaking related to a church mission or to a church college.⁴⁵ Fred Reeve, however, argued that there was,

Real interest among the British educational officials in Kenya in seeing some kind of ICA project worked out which will extend and strengthen the educational work done by Friends in Kenya.⁴⁶

But even with Reeve's strong support for partnership, it "seemed almost impossible to get any substantial and practical encouragement".⁴⁷

In July 1958, Landrum Bolling, the new president of Earlham College, visited Kenya, "for on-the-spot discussion with the British, the Africans and members of FAM". During his visit, Bolling conferred with FAM, EAYM and chief Agoi, about American assistance in African education. Bolling and Reeve then submitted a memorandum to the officials at Ministry of Education of their intention to set up a day secondary school. The plan, to establish the colony's first day secondary school in Maragoli, would blend features of the traditional secondary schools with those from American rural high schools. Specifically, the new school would teach agriculture and industrial arts, with emphasis placed on application and demonstration, rather

⁴⁴ EAYM, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, 10/4/1960.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

than on theory. The school would, therefore, be geared to training boys for a livelihood in the rural areas, rather than urban careers.⁴⁸

The government of Kenya approved the proposal and forwarded it to the Colonial Office in London. Then followed,

A long and exceedingly frustrating experience of confusion and delays while the wheels of administrative machinery ground away slowly in London, Washington and Nairobi. It was not until the end of June, that a contract was signed between ICA-London and British government to attempt this project. The contract between Earlham and ICA was signed in the middle of February 1959.⁴⁹

The terms of the contract provided that Earlham College would provide a headmaster, two teachers, each for technical and agricultural subjects, and facilities and equipment to conduct the practical course.⁵⁰ Consequently, with the availability of funding, Chavakali School was thus,

Opened as the first ever Day Secondary School in Kenya....Andrew Mukulu has the distinction of being the Headmaster. There are 36 students and two Makerere trained masters (Messrs J. Omuruli and Shisia Shiraho). Various members of the staff of the Chavakali Intermediate School take some subjects in the Secondary Class.⁵¹

Earlham College charged with the task to administer the school sent Rodney Morris, who replaced Andrew Mukulu as the headmaster in 1960.⁵² Chavakali struggled along during its first year and managed to recruit a second class in 1960 by borrowing staff from FAM. Finally, after receiving Colonial Office approval for the original proposal, in February 1960, the ICA signed a contract, granting Earlham College Sh. 2,174,795 to set up the pilot project in Kenya, which was designed to create a new pattern in African secondary education. Since admission to Chavakali was initially restricted "for children in the area whose parents had subscribed towards the school fund", the Maragoli had - in a real sense - earned a secondary school almost exclusively for themselves.⁵³

⁴⁸ EAYM, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, 10/4/1960.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ EAYM, Recent Development in Education by Fred Reeve, 1959.

⁵¹ KNA, MSS/54/150, Friends North Nyanza School Bulletin.

⁵² EAYM, FAM Education Reports by Fred Reeve, 1959-1965.

⁵³ KNA, MSS/54/150, Education Committee EAYM, 14/4/1959 and EAYM, FAM, Landrum Bolling to FAM, 10/4/1960.

However, a host of technical problems affected the Chavakali School. These included staffing difficulties and unclear financial obligations among the parties involved. A more serious hindrance was that all participants approached the Chavakali idea with different assumptions. While the initiative for the school had come from Maragoli Friends, the Earlham and Friends' missionary participants clung to the idea that the needs of rural Kenya could be fulfilled by transplanting American educational experiences and know-how, with little alteration. FAM also saw this as an opportunity to re-emphasise some of its earlier ideals of a community-based education. Reeve himself believed that such a secondary school would not only successfully teach practical skills to the students, but would also be a medium for promoting economic development in the community. In his view, the school would prepare students for careers in agriculture and local industries, and was to be linked to a village adult education programme.⁵⁴

The foundation of the agricultural programme was designed and laid out by Robert Maxwell, an Iowa Friends farmer and a teacher of agriculture. On his arrival, he at once entered into the life of the community, visited Maragoli farmers, and learned the ways of local agriculture. He sought the support of district officials of the Ministry of Agriculture and commercial firms that distributed agricultural machinery. Within a few months, he had removed stumps and planted an acre of maize as a demonstration plot. When he had a firmer grasp of community needs, his plans took shape in form of a school farm that would serve the dual purpose of a demonstration area for the community and a laboratory for students in agricultural courses. His objective was to teach and demonstrate to boys and their parents techniques of intensive cultivation, the use of improved varieties of maize, and upbreeding of farm animals.⁵⁵

Understandably, the Maragoli were less than enthusiastic about Maxwell's ideas. Chavakali students, and especially their parents, were more interested in establishing a secondary school than in launching an experiment. The local community was relatively uninterested in any form of education designed to keep school leavers toiling on the soil, or in small towns. The parents also intended their investment in taxes and school fees to serve their sons as a ticket off the land, into well-paying jobs in the cities. In a very real sense, education for their children was intended to be

⁵⁴ EAYM, FAM, Landrum Bolling to FAM, 10/4/1960.

⁵⁵ Ernest Stabler, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

their social security. At first, therefore, there was strong local opposition to the Earlham instructors in agriculture and industrial arts.⁵⁶ Indeed, FAM reports indicate that,

After watching Maxwell at work on his demonstration plot, a few parents approached the headmaster and told him that unless the new teacher stopped working in the field and wore better clothes, they wouldn't let him teach their sons.⁵⁷

The boys, too, were reluctant, particularly as agriculture was not a recognized School Certificate subject. But Maxwell assured them that it would soon become a Cambridge Certificate subject. Indeed, in 1962, the Cambridge syndicate approved the Chavakali agriculture syllabus, and in November 1963, Chavakali students sat for the first examination in agricultural principles and practices.⁵⁸

During Maxwell's time, Chavakali was a day school and boys walked varying distances, some up to 16 kilometres each way, everyday. With seed supplied by the school, they started demonstration plots on their home *shambas* and practised the crop husbandry and farm management methods that were now a part of the agricultural course. The result was often impressive enough to persuade parents to change over to hybrid seeds and more modern methods. To supplement the course work, Maxwell also took his boys on field trips to well-run farms in other districts and agricultural centres, like the Bukura Agricultural College. During vacation, he also arranged to have some of the boys employed by European farmers. In all these ways, he made an impact on the boys and the community. Maxwell left Chavakali School and the country in 1962, but came back two years later to head a USAID mission and to continue on a national scale the work he had begun at Chavakali.⁵⁹

The influence of the Chavakali experiment on secondary education in Kenya was deep and lasting, because it revealed what local self-help could achieve and it made a major breakthrough in curriculum reforms. Indeed, in 1964 the Kenya government requested the expansion of agricultural teaching to other secondary schools. At the local level, the Chavakali education system became widely accepted in the community. Its boys were providing leadership in the

⁵⁶ KNA, MSS/54/20, Kaimosi Mission Documents, 1959-1960.

⁵⁷ Ernest Stabler, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

local Friends Meetings, apart from also engaging in community service projects within the Chavakali Monthly Meeting. While it remained under FAM management, the school had demonstrated not only the strength of community self-help, but also the possibility of continued school participation in the life of the community. Eventually, though, ten years after its inception, Chavakali would become an academic secondary school almost indistinguishable from any other in rural Kenya, with its primary purpose being "to get the secondary school certificate", and proceed to university.⁶⁰

By the early 1960s, the day-school aspect of the Chavakali idea had quickly bred imitators. Local communities throughout North Nyanza and elsewhere besieged officials for day secondary schools of their own. Faced with the growing need to provide more African secondary schools, the government adopted the day secondary school idea for future development plans, in the hope that it would reduce costs. Significantly, the impetus for this change had originated within an African community - the Maragoli- collaborating with the FAM mission, and it was neither a Nairobi Legislative decree, nor a London decision.⁶¹

By 1960, the colonial government was using the day-school idea, in an effort to immediately provide facilities needed to meet both African demands and the government's own manpower requirements. With independence on the horizon, British officials wanted; first, an educated citizenry for an independent nation and secondly, educated Africans to replace colonial administrators and expatriate members of the civil service, which had been opened to Africans for the first time in 1955. Thus, both the government and Africans began the push to expand post-primary education as quickly as was possible.⁶² For example, in 1961 the Maragoli further requested for a second secondary school to be based at the Vihiga FAM intermediate school, a request that the government assented to. Consequently, J.B Mujumba, an FAM educated teacher, on behalf of the South Maragoli *ad hoc* committee wrote that "the permission to open a secondary school at Vihiga has been received with great pleasure by the people of Maragoli and

⁶⁰ EAYM, Education Annual Report, 1964.

⁶¹ EAYM, Everett Kallum Report, 15/5/1951.

⁶² On the discussion of providing African manpower, see for example, "The Economic Development of Kenya", A Report Prepared for the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1963.

we request FAM to help.”⁶³ In the same year, the Tiriki, in a memorandum presented to the Provincial Education Officer - by the Tiriki Location Education Board members, led by FAM educated, John Khadambi and Japheth Ludenyo, Chairman and Secretary of the committee, respectively, also expressed their desire to build a secondary school.⁶⁴

It can be observed that the clamour for secondary schools was made in a sub-ethnic context. The early 1960s, therefore, witnessed increasing competition among communities, manifested in efforts over the establishment of secondary schools in their locations. This competition meant that over a three-year period, the government had added 52 new secondary schools to its grant-in-aid list, so that by time of Kenya’s independence in 1963, the total stood at 85. In addition, higher school certificate classes (Forms 5 and 6) were started, for the first time, at fourteen African schools. The EAYM, too, shared in these developments. Three more mission schools, including the FAM’s Girls’ School at Kaimosi and the Friends’ secondary school at Kamusinga, began to offer higher school certificate classes.⁶⁵ But this progress did not come rapidly enough for many Africans, whose children still could not find a place in a secondary school.

The thirst for secondary school places consequently led to the dramatic development of independent secondary schools. Communities, through ADC councillors and church leaders, showed their determination in providing educational facilities beyond those which the government and missions could support. District reports of 1956, for example, indicated that “the demand for all type of schooling is loud and insistent. The lack of trained teachers rather than buildings or funds, is the limiting factor in extending facilities”.⁶⁶ But by adopting the new slogan for pulling together, “*Harambee*”, self-help schools became a vital addition to Kenya’s secondary school system.⁶⁷ For example, by the 1960s Friends among the Luhya had established 11 such *Harambee* schools under Friends’ sponsorship, including three in Maragoli, two in Bukusu and Tiriki, and one each in Idakho, Isukha and Kabras.⁶⁸ In the 1960s, the demand for

⁶³ KNA, DC/KMG/2/8/8, North Nyanza, Administration: Education, Schools and African Education General 1959-1962.

⁶⁴ KNA, DC/KMG/2/8/8, North Nyanza, Administration: education, schools and African education, 1959-1962.

⁶⁵ Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *Ministry of Education Triennial Survey, 1961-1963*, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1963, p. 22.

⁶⁶ KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/93, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1956.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*.

⁶⁸ EAYM, FAM, Primary and Intermediate Schools Report, 1964.

more secondary schools would again witness the establishment of secondary schools at a pace faster than what the government had anticipated.⁶⁹

6.2.2 Girls' Intermediate and Secondary Schools

In the period between 1953 and 1963, the most notable development in the changing status of women was the interest on education for girls, a development in which the Friends church took the lead. Friends, particularly those among the Maragoli, emphasized that education for their daughters was not only a sound financial investment, but also an investment in the family's social security. This is because evidence found among the Maragoli indicated that a high proportion of girls tended to use their education to help parents and siblings and were more concerned with contributing to siblings' school fees than were boys, who tended to emphasize acquiring capital to buy land and cars. These attitudes clearly reflected the new, contrasting roles of Christian women and men, in the new economic situation of the 1950s.⁷⁰ However, the development of girls' Friends secondary education was considerably slower than that of the boys. By 1959, at a time when there was a rush to establish boys' secondary schools, there was only one girls' intermediate school at Kaimosi and no girls' secondary school in the Friends sphere of influence. Girls who had passed the intermediate examination were forced to find secondary education in other mission schools, like Butere Girls' Secondary School or African Girls' High School (Kikuyu). A few joined either teacher training or nursing colleges, which were then ranked lower than secondary education. The "rest are either married or are with parents".⁷¹ Consequently, in 1959 FAM women leaders, led by Salome Nolega, began to argue that "unless opportunities are found for more of the girls to be trained, the interest in education for the girls will decrease".⁷² It was such prodding that led to the establishment of more intermediate primary schools and one secondary school for girls.

6.2.2.1 Girls' Intermediate Schools

By 1959, girls made up 42 percent of the enrolment in FAM's aided primary schools, although they tended to drop out earlier than boys. This phenomenon could be partly explained by "lax

⁶⁹ EAYM, FAM, Primary and Intermediate Schools Report, 1964.

⁷⁰ Oral Interview, Florence Gamusa, Vokoli, 28/4/2007; Alice Khakasa Khaoya, Chwele, 21/3/2007; Selina Liambila, Lugulu, 23/9/2007; Sarah Litu and Ann Mugutu, *op. cit.*

⁷¹ EAYM, Education Committee, Shamberere, 14/4/59.

⁷² *Ibid.*

moral standards in the community and lack of control over their offspring by parents” which made attempts to educate girls “difficult and frustrating”.⁷³ Indeed, FAM reports, indicated that,

Headmasters don't give girls as many opportunities as boys, for instance teachers let girls go cook or make tea while boys are learning or when boys go to physical education the girls stand by doing nothing. Parents too give girls too much work more than boys.... Parents and church elders should control their daughters during holidays.⁷⁴

But the greatest educational bottleneck for girls was at the upper primary schools level.⁷⁵ In 1953, for instance, there were 229 girls attending mixed intermediate schools, a mere handful compared with more than 4,000 boys in North Nyanza district.⁷⁶ Consequently, both EAYM leaders and FAM missionaries were concerned about,

The small number of girls who complete the 4 year course in our mixed intermediate schools. Very few of those who do manage to survive as pupils in the mixed intermediate schools achieve good results in the final examinations. The results in the girls' intermediate school are much better. This has led to more demand for more intermediate schools for girls, particularly at Malava and Lugulu in the north.⁷⁷

Indeed, out of the 32 FAM intermediate schools existing in 1958, only one, Kaimosi Girls' Boarding School, was for the girls. This meant that a Friends girl seeking education above the elementary level, particularly in Elgon Nyanza district, had to convert to Catholicism in order to enter the girls' school at Misikhu, which was opened in 1955. Consequently, FAM and EAYM became “deeply concerned with girls' education”.⁷⁸ Thus in 1958, FAM converted the Lugulu mission house into a Girls' Boarding School.⁷⁹ An appeal was then made to all the Friends of Elgon Nyanza to raise Sh.100, 000 to enable the school build dormitories for the girls. The appeal was largely ignored, except for contributions of Sh.300 from the Kimilili Location Council and Sh.590 from the Women's Conference of EAYM. Considering the huge shortfall, the school opened in January 1959, as a day intermediate school.⁸⁰ In May 1959, the mission converted the domestic science room into a dormitory. Consequently, 40 girls out of the enrolled

⁷³ EAYM, Friends' Elgon School Bulletin, August 1957.

⁷⁴ KNA, MSS/54/150, Minutes of the Education Committee, Shamberere, 14/7/1956.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ KNA, DC/NN/1/34, Annual Reports, North Nyanza, 1952.

⁷⁷ KNA, MSS/54/150, Minutes of the Education Committee, Shamberere, 14/7/1956.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ EAYM, Lugulu Girls School, Annual Report, 1959.

80 were admitted as boarders, while the rest continued as day scholars.⁸¹ In the following year, the mission also opened Malava Girls' Intermediate School.⁸² With the establishment of these two girls' intermediate schools, FAM now turned its attention to the provision of girls' secondary schools.

6.2.2.2 Girls' Secondary Schools

Along with the demand for more intermediate girls' schools, Luhyia Friends began in the 1950s, to agitate for the establishment of a secondary school for their daughters at Kaimosi. This demand arose from the fact that most of the girls who had sat for the standard VIII government examinations could not find secondary places. For instance, in 1959 it was reported that,

36 girls sat for the examination and 22 passed. Five of those who passed would be accepted into high schools; seven into teacher training; two have been accepted into nurses training. The remaining eight will probably not be able to find places for further training.⁸³

Consequently, The Women's Association of the Southern Division of North Nyanza, through Elicca Adagala and Bernice Mululu, Chairman and Secretary, respectively, wrote to FAM missionary secretary, Fred Reeve, stating that,

As you are with (sic) no doubt aware that there is a great need for secondary education for girls in this area, and as from time to time we have asked about it; and as the members of the women's Association of Southern Division of North Nyanza we have been asked from time to time, by the parents of the girls as to when will Kaimosi girls boarding school develop to secondary status. We therefore ask you kindly to consider this request of converting Kaimosi into Kaimosi Girls' secondary school.⁸⁴

FAM missionaries, however, argued that the Luhyia demand for a girls' secondary school was misplaced, pointing out that "passes of girls are not high enough for secondary school. The only protestant secondary school at Kikuyu is half full – no competent girls to fill it".⁸⁵ The missionary also argued that "it was not possible to begin a secondary school now, because the

⁸¹ EAYM, Lugulu Girls School, Annual Report, 1959.

⁸² KNA, MSS/54/150, Report of FAM School Supervisors, August 1958.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ EAYM, FAM Education Report, 1959.

⁸⁵ KNA, MSS/54/150, Minutes of the Education Committee, Shamberere, 14/ 7/ 1956.

number of the existing intermediate schools for the girls was quite inadequate".⁸⁶ Consequently, the mission had no plans of "considering promoting Kaimosi GBS to secondary school", even though the CMS mission was planning to open a girls' secondary school at Butere.⁸⁷ But the Luhyia, led by Salome Nolega and supported by Pearl Spoon, the headmistress of Kaimosi Girls' Boarding School, maintained that,

We see the need for a high school here at Kaimosi and we hope to be able to take a first class in 1961. There is a great need for women leaders in Kenya who can take their places in the church, in the community and in the political and social life of this country.... In order for the Friends to meet this need, we must give these girls a higher degree of education.... We feel that there is a great urgency in making the necessary preparation to provide the high school.⁸⁸

It was these persistent demands that forced the mission, in 1960, to "upgrade Kaimosi Girls' Boarding School to secondary status."⁸⁹ Kaimosi Girls' School thus became the first girls' secondary school in the FAM sphere of influence. In January 1964, the school "became a full four year high school, with more than 140 girls".⁹⁰

6.2.3 Overseas Education

Africans and colonial officials also sought to expand opportunities beyond secondary education. As early as 1950, the Luhyia, led by Simeon Sambwa and Matthew Mwenesi, began to argue that,

Time was ripe for the Yearly Meeting, in collaboration with the mission to award scholarships for overseas education and that our Friends in America should open ways for capable and promising students with the required qualification to go there for higher education.⁹¹

Indeed, if trained African men and women were to operate the independent government, many more persons would need additional training, more than the facilities then available in East Africa could provide. Consequently, the colonial government began "awarding bursaries to

⁸⁶ KNA, MSS/54/150, Minutes of the Education Committee, Shamberere, 14/ 7/ 1956.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ EAYM, Kaimosi Girls School Report, 1959.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ EAYM, Kaimosi High School Report, 1963.

⁹¹ KNA, MSS/54/150, Friends Yearly Meeting Education Committee, Kaimosi, 23/6/1950.

students, whose missions recommended them as suitable for overseas education".⁹² But Joseph Adede, speaking on behalf of the Luhyia Friends, accused FAM missionaries "as being customarily behind. It is clearly seen that only those who work in the FAM are the unfortunate ones".⁹³ And although Everett Kellum, insisted that "it was not the intention of the mission to disregard students who possessed certain qualities, as far as he was aware there were no funds in the FAM for overseas education". Benjamin Ngaira, however, differed with Kellum. Ngaira argued that while in the USA, he visited several colleges - including Friends University, Earlham College and William Penn College - and he was told that "every year 7 vacancies are allocated for students from other countries. Friends in America were also willing to help Friends students, by paying part of their fees".⁹⁴ Ngaira further revealed that "anyone going to America would be required to pay not less than Sh. 3,000 for one year".⁹⁵

It was this prodding by the Luhyia Friends that made FAM in 1959 agree to "begin an Overseas Education Fund, in preparation for sending suitable students for overseas education".⁹⁶ Members of the committee included, Simeon Sabwa (convenor), Nathan Luvai, Benjamin Kaptain, Jotham Standa, Thomas Lunga'ho, Everett Kellum and Pearl Spoon. The committee members with the assistance of Fred Reeve also began writing to Friends' colleges in England and the USA, for places and scholarships for the Luhyia Friends. Further, in 1959 the EAYM's Administrative Secretary, Thomas Lung'aho, and Solomon Adagala, who was EAYM Board member and then government education officer for Western Kenya, were invited to USA, where they presented their case for more overseas university places for Kenyan Friends in American colleges.⁹⁷ In response, the Board grudgingly agreed to help at least 12 Friends - mostly the children of the pioneer Friends - from Kenya to go to USA for university education. Among these were Jedidah Khivali Ngaira, John N. Roman, Fred Egambi Dalizu, Filemona F. Indire, Nathan Luvai, David Ogesi, Francis Mwashu, Jeremiah Lusweti, Erastus Waliaula, Elisha Wakube, Ezekiel Lugulia,

⁹² KNA, MSS/54/150, Friends Yearly Meeting Education Committee, Kaimosi, 23/6/1950 and KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/27, Annual Reports, Nyanza Province, 1959.

⁹³ KNA, MSS/54/150, Friends Yearly Meeting Education Committee, Kaimosi, 23/6/1950.

⁹⁴ KNA, MSS/54/150, Friends Yearly Meeting Education Committee, Musingu, 30/6/1951.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ See KNA, MSS/54/52, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Nyanza Area, 11/12/59.

Gerisham Muguheli Manani, Elijah Mwangale, Joshua Angatia, Noah Wekesa, George Kaptain and Salome Nolega.⁹⁸

In 1962, Lung'aho again wrote to the American Board to report that 20 EAYM members were now studying abroad in Friends institutions (15 in the USA, 4 in England and 1 in Canada).⁹⁹ By late 1962, the combined efforts of the EAYM, the American Board, sympathetic foreign governments, various foundations and Kenyan politicians had enabled 56 Friends to study in the USA alone. The Friends' cause was given an additional boost when Solomon Adagala was made Secretary of the Kenya Government's Overseas Scholarship Advisory Committee. These successful efforts in securing additional training and overseas study opportunities meant that when independence came to Kenya (in late 1963), both the new government and the EAYM would have the services of a growing list of highly educated persons.¹⁰⁰

6.2.4 Development in Agriculture

The permission to grow the high priced cash crops, particularly arabica coffee, given in 1951 did not bring to an end the controversy between agricultural officers and Africans. Arabica coffee-planting was initially restricted to farmers with plots of at least seven acres. But due to protests from better farmers the minimum acreage was reduced to four acres in 1954.¹⁰¹ But four acres was still a large acreage in densely populated locations like Maragoli, and as a result protests to further reduce the acreage continued, mainly among the peasant farmers with smaller land holdings.¹⁰² Consequently, the mid 1950s witnessed many protests against colonial agricultural policies. These protests, together with the emergence of the Mau Mau, made the government become more responsive to the Luhya's agricultural needs. For instance, in light of the disturbances caused by *Dini ya Musambwa*, the provincial administration applied more efforts towards African agriculture, as a means of "improving the colonial state's position".¹⁰³ Subsequently, the colonial government renewed systematic efforts to develop African

⁹⁸ KNA, MSS/ 54/37, EAYM Annual Reports, 1958- 1960 and also Oral Interview, Francis Mwashu, Jeremiah Lusweti, Erastus Waliaula, Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*, Egambi Dalizu, Nairobi 12/ 1/2007, and EAYM. FAM Education Reports, 1959.

⁹⁹ EAYM, FAM Kaimosi Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/15/1961.

¹⁰⁰ EAYM, FAM, Kaimosi Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/15/1961, 7/2/1962.

¹⁰¹ KNA, CS/1/14/97, Minutes of Veterinary, Agriculture and Natural Resources Committee, 7/4/55.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ KNA, DAO/HD/KMG/4//1, Nyanza Province Senior Agricultural Officer to North Nyanza Agricultural Officer, 1/7/1949.

agriculture. These efforts were given a major boost, through the £5 million made available by the Swynnerton Plan of 1954.¹⁰⁴

The plan drawn up by the Deputy Director of Agriculture, R. J. M. Swynnerton, took advantage of the availability of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. It represented an abandonment of the earlier efforts to constrain the development of African commodity production of coffee and tea, among other crops. Along with the land consolidation and registration campaigns, the Plan was to provide the essential elements of African agricultural development. It sought to consolidate and enclose land holdings, establish individual land tenure systems, provide capital and services, encourage extended production of cash crops and improve livestock, to enable farmers derive income from their land holdings beyond subsistence. Indeed, Swynnerton had argued that as a result of the Plan "able, energetic or rich Africans will be able to acquire more land and bad or poor farmers less, creating a landed and a landless class".¹⁰⁵

The intention here was to create a stable African landowning class, with access to capital and income to be derived from the growth of cash crops hitherto preserved for white farmers. Consequently, the plan aimed at creating a new class, a rural-based middle class, that would undermine African peasant opposition that had been manifested by the *Dini ya Musambwa* and Mau Mau.¹⁰⁶ And the long term - and greatest gain - that the colonial government could expect from the participation of Africans in running their own agricultural industries, would be a politically contented and stable African community.¹⁰⁷

The Plan thus encouraged and depended upon the co-operative effort of Africans in adopting new patterns of land tenure, farm planning and new intensive methods of farming.¹⁰⁸ It set targets for farm incomes and in pursuit of these targets, it sought to co-ordinate assistance at each stage of farm layout, through providing water and credit facilities, markets for farm outputs, safeguarding the long-term needs of soil conservation and concentrating on raising the

¹⁰⁴ For details, see Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *A Plan to Intensify the Development of African Agriculture in Kenya*, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1954, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, and also see Wunyabari Maloba, "Nationalism and Decolonization, 1947-1963", in W.R Ochieng', *A Modern History of Kenya, 1895-1980*, Nairobi: Evans Brothers Limited, 1989, p. 190.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ For the discussion of better farmers see Chapter Five, p. 203.

productivity of existing farms in areas where pressure on the land had limited potentialities for high productivity in agriculture. Consequently, in western Kenya,

Emphasis once more is to be laid on general improvement of farming methods by the peasants. Efforts are no longer solely to be directed towards the few so-called better farmers. In the northern locations emphasis is placed on land enclosure and farm planning, whilst in the south the effort of all concerned is to be directed on soil conservation and the introduction of cash crops.¹⁰⁹

The Swynnerton Plan thus prompted agricultural officers to adopt a new approach to farming techniques, aimed at developing production of export crops by African farmers.¹¹⁰ Notably, for the Africans, the Swynnerton Plan permitted more African farmers to grow the high priced cash crops - particularly arabica coffee. And for the first time, Africans were allowed to grow tea after 1954.¹¹¹ For instance, it was reported that,

There is a fervent desire to plant more cash crops. The demand for both coffee and tea has outstripped the accelerated cash crop programme. It's unfortunate, however, the same desire for improvement in land usage as such has not been apparent and again, as in 1961, there has been a sad deterioration in soil conservation.¹¹²

Consequently, the introduction of coffee and tea did not solve the problems created by population growth in the southern locations. In fact, far more beneficial for ordinary peasants was the introduction of new hybrid maize towards the end of the colonial period. Offering considerably higher yields, this maize helped offset the shrinking size of the average holding and provided the assurance of subsistence.¹¹³ The earlier better farmers, though, benefited from the new government initiative in agriculture. For instance, government reports indicated that, "there has been a general awakening amongst farmers in their desire to consolidate and enclose their land, a trend which is spreading throughout the district".¹¹⁴ Through the consolidation and enclosure of their lands, large scale FAM educated farmers in the north, like Philip Mwangale and Zacharia Makhalan'gan'ga, accumulated more land and turned more efforts toward

¹⁰⁹ KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/93, North Nyanza Annual Reports, 1956.

¹¹⁰ Kenya Colony and Protectorate, *A Plan to Intensify the Development of African Agriculture in Kenya op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹¹¹ KNA, AGR/KMG/11, Kakamega District Agricultural File, 1958.

¹¹² KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/115, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1961.

¹¹³ KNA, DC/NN/1/36, DC/NN/1/37 and KNA/NN/1/39, North Nyanza Annual Reports for 1954, 1955 and 1957 respectively, and Oral Interview, Joseph Otiende, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁴ KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/115, Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1961.

commercial farming, thus becoming the leading African farmers in Kenya. In the southern location, Friends farmers like Festus Lisomade, Andrea Agufana, Charles Kibarege, Joel Litu, Matayo Esendi, Daniel Akelo, Charles Kibarege, Andrea Jumba and William Shibadu, apart from growing coffee also began to grow tea, thus allowing the accumulation of more land and resources, well above what their peasant neighbours could achieve.¹¹⁵

In line with the colonial government's support for agricultural development, FAM recruited Rodney Morris as an agricultural missionary in 1955, to initiate the planning and development of the Kaimosi farms - with the view of using them to demonstrate to African farmers new farming techniques. In 1959, Morris became convinced of the need for programmes working directly with and in the community, to be centred on the community rather than the school, encourage self-support in the village churches and teach church members both stewardship and the management of church finances. Consequently, Morris proposed the Lord's Acre Programme to teach both the progressive and peasant farmers Christian stewardship and methods of increasing agricultural productivity, without initially involving the farmers in risking their subsistence needs.¹¹⁶ Many progressive farmers in the southern divisions, like William Shibadu and Andrea Jumba, began to implement the new farming methods as demonstrated at Kaimosi Farm. The new farming methods increased their maize yields, a factor which pulled more farmers to the "better farming practices".¹¹⁷

In April 1962, the operation of the Lord's Acre Programme was expanded to cover medical and sanitation and it was consequently renamed the Rural Service Programme (hereafter RSP). RSP organized agricultural demonstrations, supplied free hybrid seeds and fertilizers, and also gave advice and instruction on a variety of agricultural and health problems.¹¹⁸ FAM's agricultural field reports indicated that,

By demonstrating the concern of the EAYM and mission leadership for the welfare of the church members as a whole, RSP performed an important role

¹¹⁵ EAYM, *History Ye Livugana Lya Valina (Friends Quakers)*, 1971; and Oral Interview, John Musundi, *op.cit.*

¹¹⁶ EAYM, FAM, Report of the Stewardship Advisor, 1963- 64.

¹¹⁷ Oral Interview, Christopher Wanyama, Lugulu, 18/9/2007; Esther Welanga, Lokhokho, 5/8/2007; Peter Lunani Werasuswa, Chevaywa, 13/8/2007; William Shibadu and John Musundi, *op.cit.*

¹¹⁸ EAYM, FAM Agricultural Field Reports, 1960.

in the life of the church. It demonstrated the spirit of self-help, along with the sense of the role that the church could play in community development.¹¹⁹

6.2.5 EAYM and Sectional Interests

By the time of the devolution period, the Friends church no longer encompassed a single community, but rather, a series of interrelated though increasingly separate communities comprising of the elite, urban, rural, women and the youth. Thus, its programmes tended to serve sectional interests. In the 1950s, FAM and EAYM's support became increasingly directed towards the concerns of its own middle-class leadership's concerns that were based on education, business ventures, urban employment, the acquisition and use of land, and domination of the positions of economic and political influence among the Luhya.¹²⁰ But in so doing, the church neglected the rural peasants, particularly women, who formed the majority of the church membership. This group faced more serious economic problems, like shortage of land and lack of educational advancement, but lacked the power of influence to draw the attention of the church towards their plight. Indeed, by largely serving the economic interests of the middle class, the church promoted patterns of inequalities and differentiation along gender, class and ethnic lines, resulting in the division of its members into a number of different constituencies each with different competing demands.¹²¹

6.2.5.1 The Elite and EAYM

For the educated elite, the church had provided a vehicle, not only for economic development but also for political gain. Consequently, they represented the new economic order in their communities. For instance, just as Friends like Benjamin Kapten, Philip Mwangale and Petro Wanyama had been the first Bukusu to become commercial maize farmers in the 1930s and coffee farmers in 1950s, many Maragoli Friends - like Mathew Mwenesi, Paul Agoi, Andrea Munubi and Andrea Agufana - were among the first to plant coffee in the 1950s.¹²² Among the

¹¹⁹ EAYM, FAM Agricultural Field Reports, 1960..

¹²⁰ Oral Interview, Koki Wambulwa, Malava, 3/8/2007; Lawrence Wakube, Chwele, 12/9/2007; Japheth Vidolo, Musembe, 18/8/2007; Hezron Soita, Lugulu, 19/9/2007; and Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

¹²¹ EAYM, FAM, Annual Report, 1957.

¹²² Oral Interview, Nathan Sakari, *op. cit.*, and Hezekiah Nagosa, Mbale, 26/5/2007

Kabras, Friends such as Samuel Imbuye and Benjamin Shikomera also pioneered the sugarcane and jaggery industry in Malava.¹²³

In Tiriki, Friends like William Shibadu and Andrea Jumba were the first to have their lands surveyed, issued with title deeds and were also the first to plant coffee and tea.¹²⁴ Church membership, therefore, not only provided the elite and their children with access to higher education, but also practical experience in public speaking, administrative procedures and behaviour according to new social norms - important skills for holding responsible positions in local government. For instance, in many locations, administrative leaders were recruited from men who had regularly attended mission schools for several years, and since most primary education was exclusively in the hands of FAM, education and Christianity inevitably became linked.¹²⁵ Thus, among the Maragoli, an early monopoly of mission education had assured Friends a dominant role in local political institutions. Similar advantages were also held by the Bukusu and Tachoni Friends in the new Elgon Nyanza District.

By the 1950s, when the second generation of Friends was completing its education and coming of age, it became clear that the first African Friends were able to pass on a very real advantage to their sons. For example, Fred Kamidi, Thomas Lung'aho and Benjamin Ngaira, the principal leaders in the EAYM, were also sons of the first Friends' church leaders. Similarly, the early African Members of Parliament (hereafter MPs) for North Nyanza were the sons of pioneer Friends leaders. For instance, Joseph Otiende, the first MP for Vihiga and also first minister of education in independent Kenya, was the son of Daniel Akelo, a pioneer Maragoli Friends convert. Others included Masinde Muliro, the first MP for Kitale, and who was supported by the Elgon Friends converts for further studies in South Africa; Jonathan Muruli, the first MP for Ikolomani, the son of Musa Shihichi; Seth Mwinamo Lugonzo, the son of Samuel Mwinamo and the second MP for the same area; and Harry James Onamu, the son of James Liani and the

¹²³ Oral Interview, Joshua Wanja Makhalan'gan'ga and Rogers Katamu Wambia *op.cit.* ; Baptist Tande Luva, Malava, 11/8/2007; Margaret Luvonga, Shivotio, 7/8/2007; David Barasa, Bukhaywa, 3/8/2007; and Jonah Chengoli, Lwandeti, 14/7/ 2007.

¹²⁴ Oral Interview, William Shibadu, *op.cit.*

¹²⁵ Notable among them was Chief Hezron Mushenye. See Chapter Five, p. 181.

second MP for Hamisi.¹²⁶ The rest include, Werangai Masinde, the son of Yohana Werangai, and the first MP for Lurambi North; and Joshua Angatia, the son of Thomas Mulanda, the second and third MPs for the area, respectively. In Bungoma, Nathan Munoko, the son of Samuel Munoko, was the first MP for Sirisia and was succeeded by Joseph Muliro, the son of Nathan Masolo and Peter Kisuya, the son of Ellam Maina. Joseph Khaoya the First MP for Kanduyi was the son of John Meolo, and was succeeded by Lawrence Sifuna, the son of James Sifuna. Elijah Wasike Mwangale, the son of Philip Mwangale, was the MP for Kimilili and was succeeded by Mukhisa Kituyi the grandson of Peter Makari. In Kwanza, George Kapten, the son of Benjamin Kapten, was the first MP of the area and was succeeded by Noah Wakesa, son of Zacharia Makhalang'ang'a. Other sons of pioneer Friends converts, who vied for various public offices at independence, included John Musundi, Musa Shimejero Amalemba, Peter Kibisu, Esao Omido, Mark Barasa, Peter Sifuma and Wakhisi Wafula.¹²⁷

Luhya Friends also held various positions in the emerging bureaucracy. In January 1957, Fred Kamidi became the first African to head the FAM's schools supervisory team. His duties included the inspection of all the FAM's aided schools in North Nyanza District. Joseph Lijembe, a Makerere graduate, became the principal of Kaimosi Teacher Training College. Filemona Indire, an Indiana University graduate, was employed to work in the Ministry of Education in Nairobi, while Simeon Sabwa and Solomon Adagala began serving in Western Province as government Education Officers. Others were Jotham Standa, Jonathan Mukoro, Benjamin Ngaira, Salome Nolega, the first woman Principal of Kaimosi Teachers College, and Eunice Nambiro, who became the first woman District Officer among the Luhya.¹²⁸

6.2.5.2 Peasants, Urban Migrants and Women

The wealth and influence of the elite was, however, based on a highly selective education system, and on an economic system that encouraged the concentration of land and capital in the hands of a minority. The converse was an increasing impoverishment of the mass of rural

¹²⁶ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune *op. cit.*; Jedidah Mwinamo, Nairobi, 14/6/2008; Hudson Liyai, Nairobi, *op. cit.*; and Herman Manyora, Nairobi, 13/6/2008.

¹²⁷ Oral Interview, Hezron Soita, Lugulu, 19/9/2007; Samuel Wakesa Barasa, Lugulu, 12/9/2007; Mameti Shaviya, Matsakha, 7/6/2007; Christopher Sayeni, Timbito, 11/8/2007; Muliro Ngoyomali, Kamukuywa, 15/9/2007; Joska Njeka, Lukova, 3/8/2007; Jostone Buyela, Chwele, 19/8/2007; and John Musundi, *op. cit.*

¹²⁸ FAM Annual Reports, 1957-1963 and L. K. Painter, "Opportunities for Friends in Kenya", in *Friends Journal*, 15/4/1966, pp. 200-201 and EAYM, FAM, Primary and Intermediate School Reports, 1957-1962.

peasantry, particularly in areas such as Maragoli, which were already subject to land pressure and high labour migration. In the 1950s, there was cash crop boom that temporarily moderated this pattern of inequality, as coffee became a viable small-holder crop, even in Maragoli. But the principal effect of sustained emphasis on the production of export cash crops was the increase in rates of land fragmentation - among sons - which increased shrinkage of land and negatively affected soil fertility. Consequently, the southern Luhya peasants turned away from agriculture except as a means of subsistence, and this in turn forced more than 45 per cent of the adult males to seek employment outside the district.¹²⁹ The administration, anxious to enlist the support of the Friends church in remedying the situation, asked the missionaries to suggest ways of alleviating the problems caused by land pressure. Fred Reeve, who was likewise concerned about the land pressure in the southern locations following the end of the emergency in Kenya, suggested training in handicrafts and small-scale industries. He also believed that FAM missionaries should emphasize certain business ethics, such as the responsibility of the producer and the businessman to society. Reeve also offered to co-operate with the government whenever possible in adult education programmes and the development of coffee and tea as African cash crops.¹³⁰ But still, the majority of young men among the southern Luhya continuously flocked to the urban areas to seek a source of livelihood. Consequently, the burden of coping with the difficulties of peasant farming and responding to new demands of the changing rural economy largely fell on the women, who were forced to experiment and innovate in order to surmount accumulating problems.¹³¹

The fact that most husbands were employed elsewhere and were absent from home for much of the time, and in addition provided irregular financial support, forced wives to work for their families' economic security. For instance, a 1956 survey of Vihiga division showed that in some locations, over 50 per cent of adult males were working away from home and most households were 'remittance families'. For instance, among the Maragoli, men returned home for one month every year, bringing money for domestic sustenance.¹³² With the continuous absence of men,

¹²⁹ EAYM, FAM Agricultural Annual Reports, 1955-1957.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² KNA, DC/NN/1/37, North Nyanza Annual Report for Southern Division, 1955 and Oral Interview, Rita Atema Shikhuyu, 14/4/2007, Judith Khamasi, Shagunga, 3/6/2007, Julie Mambile Waronya, Kitale, 25/9/2007, Rose Nechesa, Manda, 2/8/2007; Sarah Litu, Japheth Amugune and Selina Adema Deya, *op.cit.*

many women acquired more responsibilities in order to contribute to the family financial kitty. These responsibilities demanded new initiatives, like applying new methods of farming and formation of women's co-operative groups within the church. These cooperative groups pooled resources together and engaged in commercial activities like pottery making, provision of commercial labour services and buying and selling of agricultural produce, not only to feed their families, but also to safeguard the education of their children, as insurance for their old age.¹³³

As these new economic patterns developed, women and children increasingly dominated church membership among Friends, except in the churches in urban areas. Yet, the male educated elite still controlled the most influential positions in the EAYM and directed its attention to the needs of the educated and the labour migrants in the towns. For instance, although there were 120 qualified Friends women teachers in 1958, none of them was heading a school.¹³⁴ In 1959, the Friends School Bulletin argued that, "Ours is the largest management in North Nyanza, but we have never really had a woman heading a school".¹³⁵ Indeed, "there is an acute demand for teachers in Elgon Nyanza and yet women from the south are unwilling to part with their homes to teach in the North".¹³⁶ Moreover, although women could preach or lead prayers and hymns in the church at the local level, they rarely sat on the important finance or nominating committees. For instance only one woman - Neddy Kamidi - was elected as one of the trustees of the EAYM Board. One major limit to the power of women, though, was the dissent among themselves, especially on their views about women exercising leadership over men. In this conflict, EAYM did little to serve the needs of women, whose role was seen by the African leadership as one of performing a supportive role in church development.¹³⁷

In the north, where agricultural production played a primary rather than a secondary role, Bukusu Friends had expressed their desire to improve the lives of women and their families through education, and had recognized that without female education, progress would be hindered.¹³⁸ Friends' leaders, notably Benjamin Ngaira and Rasoia Mutuha, strongly supported increasing the

¹³³ Oral Interview, Elizabeth Yano, Kaimosi, 23/4/2007; Selina Nyongesa, Webuye, 18/9/2007; and Peter Musalagani, Senende, 20/4/2007.

¹³⁴ EAYM, Annual Report, 1959.

¹³⁵ KNA, MSS/54/150, Friends North Nyanza School Bulletin, 15/5/1959.

¹³⁶ KNA, MSS/54/150, Friends Education Committee, Shamberere, 28/6/1958.

¹³⁷ EAYM, FAM, Herbert Kimball Report, 1956.

¹³⁸ EAYM. Lugulu School Annual Reports, 1959.

responsibility of women in church affairs. Bukusu Friends like Hezekiah Wahuyile, Simon Marango, Jonathan Baraza and Andrea Chemiati were also notable for encouraging greater equality between husbands and wives in the home, insisting that domestic decisions be made jointly, or even that certain decisions be delegated to the wives.¹³⁹ Despite such progressive ideology, women leadership roles did not increase to any greater extent in the church, schools, or local politics.¹⁴⁰

6.3 EAYM Leadership and Conflict

As the younger, better educated sons of pioneer teacher-evangelists took control of the church, their views regarding the role of the church in the society contrasted with those held by their fathers. This generational conflict had a significant impact on the Weekly and Yearly Meetings. At the outset, while the leading positions in the Yearly Meeting were increasingly coming under the control of the younger, better educated men, most of the leaders in the Weekly or Village Meetings were the elderly men who had pioneered the church in its earliest years - men who had achieved a new legitimacy and status through the church. Many continued to give dedicated and selfless service to the church without derailing from the principles laid down by the first missionaries, and were responsible for the continued outreach of the church into towns and to new areas of Friends settlements.¹⁴¹ However, the older leaders were increasingly getting out of step with the views and aspirations of younger members of the church. While the older leaders insisted that only those who had received the "Inward Light" were called to leadership and could exercise such leadership on a voluntary basis, the younger leaders saw their positions in church as a form of salaried employment.¹⁴²

Tension between the older leaders and the younger men in the Friends church developed and increased. The arrival of the more liberal British Friends further encouraged the younger African Friends in attacking the moral attitudes of their conservative elders as reactionary. British Friends, also, had a strong influence in the Friends' Teacher Training College and secondary schools and used this influence to encourage a more liberal attitude towards contact between the

¹³⁹ Oral Interview, Mellap Wakube, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁰ EAYM, FAM, Education Annual Reports, 1959

¹⁴¹ They were epitomized by Yohanna Amugune, who died in Kampala in June 1960 at the age of 81, while visiting the Friends church in Uganda. See Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op. cit.*

¹⁴² Oral Interview, Peter Musalagani, *op. cit.*

sexes, through school drama and school dances. A conscious attempt was being made to give more attention to the needs of young people in the church. In 1960, a full-time missionary youth worker was appointed and the first Friends' youth camp was organized, where boys and girls were allowed to meet and discuss issues affecting young Kenyans in the church and school. In the urban churches, where there was younger leadership, elders were discouraged from preaching against the habits of the youth and social contact between the sexes was increasingly tolerated.¹⁴³

The elders were shocked by what they regarded as a lack of spirituality in younger Friends and their deviation from the principles laid down by the early missionaries. They accused the British missionaries of introducing evil practices – like dancing during worship - in the church that Africans had only recently began to lead. Consequently, a schism developed between the younger, better educated Africans and the elders, who had less education. Some of the latter even began to openly preach against the educated. The reaction among the more educated was to avoid attending the churches where these elders were in charge. But with many more pastors graduating from the Friends Bible School at Kaimosi, Weekly Meetings increasingly came under the control of younger pastors, who saw the church as an avenue for employment. And with the transfer of power from FAM to EAYM, Weekly, Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings all came under the management of the younger, better educated African leaders. These younger church leaders used the church to propagate their economic interests and the philosophies of the pioneer elders, concerning the spirituality of the church, increasingly became irrelevant¹⁴⁴

6.4 Transfer of FAM's Power and Property

By the time of transfer of power from FAM to EAYM in 1963, the Friends church in Kenya was managing over 1,000 acres of agricultural land at Kaimosi, smaller plots of a few acres at Lugulu, Kamusinga, Chavakali, Malava, Lirhandu, Lugari and Vihiga, 250 primary schools, 16 secondary schools and a teacher training college. There were also several *harambee* schools, whose management was shared by FAM and their respective communities. EAYM also received the Friends Bible Institute, the Friends Kaimosi Hospital, Lugulu Health Centre, 11 dispensaries

¹⁴³ EAYM, Annual Report of Adrienna Reber, 1981.

¹⁴⁴ Oral Interview, Helen Musonye, Itenyi, 2/7/2007, Jane Mwando, Hamutua, 2/8/2007, Diminah, Mukoshi Mugomari, 3/7/2007, Simon Katamo, Kivaywa, 4/8/2007, Jackson Buleti Sore, Kimangeti, 15/5/2007, Elisha Wakube and Japheth Amugune, *op. cit.*

and the Rural Service Programme, which encompassed the agricultural and industrial departments. Handing over these properties - from FAM's to EAYM management - had its difficult moments, but the overall process proved relatively smooth because both the AFBM and the FAM had been preparing for it since late 1953. With the end of the emergency period in the same year and the movement toward Kenya's independence gaining momentum faster than expected, the FAM missionaries also accelerated the transfer of power From FAM to EAYM.¹⁴⁵

The 1953 report of the Special Delegation to the FAM, had noted that,

It is generally understood by the Christian Churches who conduct missions that it is their responsibility to develop talents and essential strength on the field and ultimately retire, leaving the nationals in control. This is also the policy of the FAM. It is especially important, therefore, for our mission staff to review continually the ways in which responsibilities can be turned to Africans.¹⁴⁶

Consequently, after this report, FAM Missionaries began to share more administrative responsibilities with the leaders of EAYM. EAYM leaders were incorporated in FAM and began working with the mission' departments to learn about their administrative machinery. In 1956, for instance, two EAYM leaders, Benjamin Ngaira and Fred Kamidi, were invited to participate in the discussions and decisions of the mission executive committee meeting. In the following year, Kamidi was appointed as FAM's first African school supervisor. Before the enactment of the EAYM constitution, an interim board to oversee the transfer of property was also formed. Members of the board included Solomon Adagala, Jonathan Barasa, Filemona Indire, Neddy Khamidi, Benjamin Ngaira, Andrew Simiyu, Jotham Standa, Daudi Mwengu and Jotham Mukoro. All these FAM leaders, among many others, participated in making various constitutional amendments, which saw the EAYM acquire the FAM's property and begin to serve African interests.¹⁴⁷

Before turning over all mission holdings to African leadership, the Board faced two thorny problems; namely, the control of the secondary schools and teacher training college, and the

¹⁴⁵ For the details on decolonization in Kenya, see for G. Bennett, *Kenya: A Political History*. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

¹⁴⁶ EAYM, Special Delegation to the FAM, 1953.

¹⁴⁷ See EAYM, FAM to AFBM, 10/1/1957.

transfer of all the mission property. The institutions at Kaimosi were still under FAM management and were aided by Advisory School Committees. But as independence approached, some EAYM leaders and local Luhya politicians wanted these institutions to be placed under African managed boards of governors, as public institutions. These sentiments were probably motivated by both the sincere desire to see all colonial institutions swept aside as rapidly as possible, and some element of independence fever. The American Board, however, would not compromise on this issue and insisted that the schools be turned over intact to the EAYM, due to the following reasons,

Education is linked up with evangelical work in this country; Friends wish to maintain and extend Christian education among the young generation under Friends influence and Friends schools were started by the Friends themselves and it will be a sad thing for these schools to be given away.¹⁴⁸

To resolve the impasse, in 1961 the Board sent Willard Ware, a lawyer and Chairman of Executive Committee of Five Years Meeting. This was the organization of member American Yearly Meetings overseeing the work of the AFBM and it carried the power of attorney to deal with property transfer and other legal matters necessary to effect the transition to independence for EAYM.¹⁴⁹ In the following year, Fred Reeve, the Secretary of FAM, invited Thomas Lung'aho, the Administrative Secretary of the EAYM, to become assistant secretary.¹⁵⁰ This was a new position created for the purpose of inducting Lung'aho into FAM operations and devolving power from FAM to EAYM.

In his first report to the Board in 1962, Ware proposed, and the AFBM agreed, to the following - to transfer all land and property titles to EAYM; to reorganize the mission to operate in a new era; to encourage all overseas personnel to join EAYM and thus become eligible to serve on its committees; to integrate EAYM into the Five Years Meeting (now Friends United Meeting, hereafter FUM);¹⁵¹ and to commit the Board to continue furnishing personnel, financial aid and advice. A year later, with the impending resignation of Fred Reeve, the Board chose Harold Smuck and Thomas Lung'aho as co-administrative secretaries of the FAM. The two then set

¹⁴⁸ EAYM, FAM, Meeting Minutes, 11-14/4/1959, 3-6/4/1962, 23-24/1/1963.

¹⁴⁹ EAYM, FAM Harold Smuck Reports, 1961.

¹⁵⁰ This position was a sort of apprenticeship before Lung'aho would assume total administrative responsibility for FAM's affairs. See Harold Smuck Report, *op. cit.*

¹⁵¹ FUM was the main sponsor of FAM.

about the process of drafting a constitution for the EAYM to enable it carry out all the FAM's diverse responsibilities. After much deliberation, a satisfactory document emerged proposing a single general board, made up of Quarterly Meeting representatives, with two equal executive committees in EAYM. One of these was for the church programme, later renamed Spiritual Life, and was to oversee the evangelical work. The other was for institutions and projects and was to manage education, medical, industrial and agricultural programmes. Jotham Standa and Thomas Lung'aho became executive secretaries for church programmes and institutions and projects, respectively. Members of the committees included Solomon Adagala, Jonathan Barasa, Filemona Indire, Neddy Kamidi, Benjamin Ngaira, Andrew Simiyu, Daudi Mwengu and Jonathan Mukoro¹⁵² The constitution was finally ratified on September 21, 1963 and FAM's final minute read,

With a sense of gratitude for the small part we have in the work of Friends in East Africa we adjourn this final meeting of FAM and look forward to the parts we as individuals may have as members of the larger community of East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends.¹⁵³

With this minute, all FAM administrative duties and properties were then formally transferred to EAYM Board of Trustees, on October 1, 1963.¹⁵⁴ However, FAM's 493 schools with their 69,000 pupils were turned over to the government and they became public institutions. But even though the independence of EAYM was acknowledged in the ceremony of February 9, 1964, there still existed a significant level of financial dependence and a large presence of overseas workers in professional and administrative roles, particularly in institutions. This arrangement meant that FUM and EAYM had achieved a new kind of relationship, which saw aid from America supporting Friends programmes.¹⁵⁵ For instance, after 1963 aid from the Board, in addition to the provision of personnel, remained steady at around \$25,000 annually. Most of this amount went to medical services and agricultural development. The year 1964 also saw the introduction of a significant amendment in the EAYM constitution. This amendment provided for a single executive committee and one executive secretary. As a result, Thomas Lung'aho then became the EAYM's executive secretary.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² EAYM, Herold Smuck Annual Reports, 1962.

¹⁵³ EAYM, FAM, Monthly Meeting Minutes, 21/9/1962.

¹⁵⁴ EAYM, FAM Primary school report, 1964.

¹⁵⁵ See EAYM, Harold Smuck, Annual Reports, 1964.

¹⁵⁶ EAYM, Monthly Meeting minutes, May, 1964

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter set out to examine the role of the Friends Church during the decolonization period in Kenya. It has observed that following the implementation of the 1953 Special Delegation Report, EAYM leaders were given widening powers in the FAM. This led to FAM-EAYM partnership in the administration of the Friends Church in Kenya and several Africans became members of the FAM's Board.

The Chapter has also shown that during this period there was increased demand for secondary education. These demands were exemplified by the establishment of the Chavakali Day School by the Maragoli. With the establishment of the school, demands for day secondary schools began to be made along sub-ethnic lines. This led to competition among the Luhyia sub-groups for the establishment of secondary schools in their areas. There was also an increasing demand among the Luhyia Friends for university education, particularly overseas training. In response to these demands, the FAM in 1959 established the Overseas Education Fund to assist qualified Friends students get placement in European and American universities. Consequently, by 1960 a total of 12 Friends students had been admitted in overseas universities.

As in education, the Luhyia Friends also increasingly made new demands in the agricultural field. It has been shown that the permission to grow arabica coffee was initially restricted to better farmers with at least seven acres of land. Consequently, the 1950s witnessed protests from farmers with small acreage of land who also wanted to benefit from growing the high yielding arabica coffee. These protests, together with the threat of Mau Mau and *Dini Ya Musambwa*, forced the colonial administration to undertake more efforts towards improving African agriculture. Government efforts were given a major boost through the Swynnerton Plan of 1954. The Plan sought to encourage cash crop production among African farmers to enable them derive substantial income from their land holdings. In line with the government renewed efforts in African agriculture, FAM enlisted the services of Rodney Morris, an agricultural missionary. Morris helped Friends farmers in planning and management of their farms.

The 1950s also witnessed a further consolidation of social classes. The elite continued to benefit from the church and the church directed programmes. Indeed, with the transfer of property from

FAM to EAYM, the Friends church incrementally came under the control of the educated elite. These elite, who had monopolised access to higher education and the new economic opportunities, increasingly used the church as a vehicle for economic gains and drew upon their own ranks to determine the future role of the church. Yet, the church continued to draw the majority of its membership from the underprivileged, particularly the women, whose future remained that of peasant farmers. To some extent, though, they shared in the general economic prosperity of the 1950s. But still they had a limited voice in many decisions that affected them, as the bureaucracy of both the EAYM and the government came under the control of the better educated Luhyia. Consequently, the chapter argues that the 1950s saw the church increasingly reflecting the interests of a minority, who saw their future as part of westernised elite. But as the control of the church came under these elite class, tension and conflict along clan and/or sub-ethnic continued to mount.

Chapter Seven

Estrangement in the Church, 1964-1988

7.0 Introduction

As seen above, EAYM was established in 1946 and given power to administer Friends church work in East Africa. After the period of devolution and the enactment of the EAYM constitution in 1963, the entire property of the Friends Church, then registered under FAM, was gradually transferred to the care and management of an African leadership. With the transfer of power and property from FAM to EAYM, many among the Luhyia Friends expected the church to continue being a leading agent of change in western Kenya. This is because apart from preaching, FAM missionaries had developed a secular policy which included education, health, agricultural and industrial departments meant to entice Africans into Christianity. But it was the provision of western education that proved most crucial in transforming the Luhyia society. It not only produced the commercial and intellectual elite, but also provided the first African officials of EAYM. At Kenya's independence, the Friends church surrendered 250 primary and secondary schools and the Kaimosi Teachers Training College to the government and they became public institutions. EAYM, however, remained the manager of several harambee schools, the Kaimosi hospital and several medical clinics, the Bible Institute, College of Science and Technology, several farms and rural development programmes.

Under African leadership, however, these properties increasingly became a source of conflict. Many Friends educated elite, who took over the management of the church, began to fight over the control of the church and its property. The result of these conflicts within the EAYM was that the church disintegrated into small, autonomous Yearly Meetings, based on regional, sub-ethnic, group and/or clan affiliations. This chapter examines the economic causes and impact of the disintegration of EAYM.

7.1 The Disintegration of EAYM

The conflict in EAYM initially manifested itself along regional lines; the south and north and eventually, along clan and/or sub-group lines.

7.1.1 The South-North Divide

Western province, where Friends missionaries had begun their work and which today still has the largest concentration of Friends church members, had been initially divided into three administrative districts: Kakamega in the south, Bungoma, in the north and Busia, in the west.¹ To the Friends, the terms 'south' and 'north' have always carried geographical, ethnic and religious significance. The 'north' referred not only to the former Elgon Nyanza district, but mainly also to the Bukusu sub-ethnic group, although the Tachoni and the Kabras too reside in the region. The 'south' principally referred to the dense Maragoli population in the southern part of Western Kenya. The Tiriki, the Isukha and the Idakho were also located in the south. In the late 1960s, however, the Isukha, Idakho and the Kabras began to think of themselves as the 'central Luhya'. To the Bukusu, however, all the southerners were generally perceived to be Maragoli. Essentially then, the south-north divide pitted the Maragoli, in the south, against the Bukusu, in the north; the two communities among whom the Friends church had, and still has, its largest following.²

Since the 1920s, the Bukusu Friends had felt that their efforts were largely subsidizing development among the southern Friends, particularly the Maragoli, and that their interests and needs were being neglected. Indeed, a history of various development projects show that there had been symptoms of a deepening schism between the north and south. For instance, in the early 1920s the AFBFM launched a fund raising campaign called the 'Forward Movement', to support the expanding operation of the Friends church in Kenya. At first, the campaign raised a substantial amount of money toward FAM work. But due to the economic depression in America, which began in 1921, the campaign collapsed. Subsequently, the AFBFM sought to minimize the operational expenditure of FAM, through the 'Concentration Scheme'. This scheme revised the original strategy of creating smaller stations in favour of concentrating all the mission work at Kaimosi, in the hope of reducing operational costs.³ This decision implied that all missionaries - except one who remained at Lugulu - were withdrawn from the other stations and redeployed to Kaimosi. The Concentration Scheme also led to the transfer of the Bible School, which had been started at Lugulu in 1942, to Kaimosi. The effect of the Concentration

¹ Harold Smuck, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*

³ For this discussion see Chapter Four, p. 119.

Scheme thus aroused a feeling of discrimination by FAM converts, against the Bukusu Friends. The Bukusu, through their Quarterly Meeting leaders - like Petro Wanyama, Jeremiah Lusweti, Philip Mwangale, Benjamin Kaptan and Elisha Wakube - argued that the scheme had downgraded the Lugulu station and robbed them of many of its facilities. Moreover, to the Bukusu Friends leaders, Kaimosi was poorly located to serve their interest.⁴ Thus, in 1949 the Bukusu refused to contribute financially to the reopening of the Bible School at Kaimosi.⁵

Apart from the effects of the Concentration Policy, the Bukusu Friends leaders also complained over the distribution of Monthly Meetings. They pointed out that while the south had one Quarterly Meeting and 5 Monthly Meetings, the north had only two Monthly Meetings, for the Bukusu and Tachoni, and for the Kabras. It must be noted here that in the Friends church organization, the establishment and growth of Quarterly and Monthly Meetings was concomitant with church support, through the establishment of primary schools, medical clinics, agricultural and industrial aid. For example, even though the Bukusu had, in the 1940s, established more out-schools than the Maragoli, there were no primary schools in any of the northern locations, compared to a total of four located at Kaimosi, Kakamega, Yala and Maseno, in the southern locations. Similarly, the north did not have any hospital, while the south had several. The south also possessed Bukura, the only agricultural training centre in North Nyanza district.⁶ It was largely due to these feelings that the Bukusu formed the KES, as an instrument for addressing Bukusu concerns and to put pressure on the FAM to prioritise the Bukusu development agenda. Although KES was later proscribed by the government, at the instigation of the FAM missionaries, disquiet among the Bukusu over allocation of mission resources continued to escalate.⁷

In the late 1940s, the proscribed KES was revived as the Bukusu Union, and it continued to demand more educational and agricultural development from the government and the FAM. From the FAM, the Bukusu asked for the second Monthly Meeting and the establishment of a

⁴ Oral Interview, Jeremiah Lusweti, *op. cit.*

⁵ For this discussion see Chapter Five, p. 224.

⁶ For this discussion see Chapter Four, p. 157.

⁷ *Ibid.*

secondary school.⁸ Further, Bukusu educated Friends elite embarked on not only establishing non-denominational independent schools, but also on sending students as far away as Githunguri, in Central Kenya, for higher education.⁹ It was also during this time that *Dini ya Musambwa*, an organization that opposed everything European or American emerged.¹⁰ The colonial government, in an attempt to control *Dini ya Musambwa* and address the agitation by members of the Bukusu Union for more development in their region, asked FAM to relocate some of its educational facilities to the north. In complying with the order, FAM relocated Kaimosi Secondary school to Kamusinga, among the Bukusu, in 1952.¹¹ However, this move by the government and FAM to appease the Bukusu only increased feelings of estrangement between the north and the south. Although the northerners applauded this move, the southerners - led by Joel Litu and Andrea Agufana, Maragoli Monthly Meeting leaders - while arguing that, "the thought that the school should be moved from Kaimosi to some other Friends centre was most unfortunate" also demanded to know from both FAM and the government whether transferring a secondary school from the south to the north meant "increasing development among the Luhya".¹² Consequently, when the school was moved there occurred "a rather sharp division among the Friends, thus doing a great deal of harm to the Yearly Meeting".¹³ Indeed, in 1959 it was partly due to this frustration, particularly among the Maragoli, that the Chavakali secondary school idea was mooted and implemented by the Maragoli with the support of the FAM.¹⁴

The transfer of the secondary school did not, however, end the Bukusu struggle for greater allocation of FAM resources to their area. The Bukusu Friends leaders continued to argue that the southerners did not understand the unique problems of the north. They pointed to the fact that the secular departments with their headquarters at Kaimosi tended to serve the particular needs of the southern Monthly Meetings. Consequently, in 1953 Bukusu Friends - led by church elders such as Daniel Khaoya and Simon Marangu, and younger leaders such as Hezekiah Ngoya and Benjamin Kapten - demanded the establishment of a second Yearly Meeting, which would cater

⁸ For this discussion see Chapter Five, p. 226.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ For the discussion on the activities of *Dini Ya Musambwa*, see Chapter Five, p.223.

¹¹ KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/99, Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1956.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ KNA, MSS/ 54/ 13/2, Report of the Special Delegation to the FAM, 1953.

¹⁴ Oral Interview, Anduate Salano, Chavakali, 5/6/2007; Aggrey Shamala, Madala, 8/6/2007; Manasseh Lugadiru, Mbale, 12/5/2007; Joram Mwondi Kuzuhu, Kegoye /Vihiga, 16/4/2007; and Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

for the educational and agricultural concerns of the northern Monthly Meetings.¹⁵ However, both the EAYM leadership and the mission opposed the proposal to establish a second Yearly Meeting in Kenya, arguing that the church “saw no reason to warrant such a move”.¹⁶ Despite this setback, the desire by the Bukusu to establish a Yearly Meeting remained constant throughout the 1950s.

In 1956, the creation of Elgon Nyanza District was yet another event that exacerbated the antagonism between the north and the south, and increased tension in EAYM. The Elgon Nyanza District “came into being in accordance with the decision taken in minute 839 of 1955, of the Council of Ministers”. The minute noted that,

It has been long clear that the old North Nyanza District, with its population of three quarters of a million and area of 2,500 square miles, could not be effectively administered from Kakamega. More especially was the attempt to do so rendered undesirable by the progressive outlook and huge agricultural potential of the 140,000 Bukusu. It was thought imperative that closer administration must be effected over this fertile and sometimes turbulent area.¹⁷

The creation of this new district gratified the Bukusu leaders, led by Friends educated elite and ADC members like Nathan Munoko, C.C Makokha, B.O Wambayi, and Joseph Khaoya, who praised the colonial government for this move. But as the 1956 Annual Reports noted,

This desire was not shared by the southern locations of north Nyanza who were well aware of the considerable contributions of the revenue which the Bukusu made through the ADC.¹⁸

Indeed, with the subsequent division of ADC funds between North and Elgon Nyanza Districts, it was confirmed that the agricultural prosperity of the north had been subsidizing education and other forms of development in the south. North Nyanza was asked to pay Elgon Nyanza, £12,000 on “account of undercapitalisation of the latter district”.¹⁹ Equally, with the establishment of the Elgon Nyanza District, North Nyanza ADC immediately experienced financial difficulties, with

¹⁵ Oral Interview, Fred Maaya Munyore, Chwele, 26/ 9/2007; Festus Fukunya Muanga, Mount Elgon, 27/9/2007; Metta Munyole Nanjala, Busakala, 26/9/2007; and Manyasi Waliula, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/99, Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1956.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

educational recurrent costs absorbing almost seventy percent of its budget.²⁰ Following this evidence, the Bukusu Friends became dismayed by what they termed as inequality in the distribution of FAM resources. They argued that, although they were financing most of the EAYM's educational, medical and agricultural projects through maize cesses, all the secular departments were located at Kaimosi, hence supporting the southerners' interests.²¹

This discovery led the Bukusu to reinforce their demand for the establishment of a Yearly Meeting, which would support their economic interests. In 1960, Hezekiah Ngoya, one of the Lugulu Monthly Meeting clerks, wrote to the planning committee of the Lugulu Monthly Meeting, urging them to set up a second Yearly Meeting. The Bukusu Friends were, however, dissuaded from doing so by EAYM because the Friends World Committee was going to meet at Kaimosi in the following year. This triennial gathering, of some 150 Friends from all over the world, was the first of its kind to be held in Kenya. No internal quarrels "would be allowed to threaten its coming to Kenya since it had never in its forty-year history met outside Europe and North America". But at the triennial gathering, the leaders of Elgon Quarterly Meeting stepped up their requests for a separate Yearly Meeting.²²

During the conference Bukusu representatives, who included Hezekiah Ngoya and Philip Mwangale, specifically mentioned their desire for teacher and technical training programmes and argued that the single Yearly Meeting was incapable of meeting their demands. Immediately after the conference, Thomas Lung'aho, EAYM's Executive Secretary, wrote to the Lugulu Quarterly Meeting regarding the question of a second Yearly Meeting and warned them against their threat to withhold their Quarterly contributions to the EAYM. FAM, too, opposed the Bukusu demands on the grounds that one split would encourage others and that it was not "true to assume that a new Yearly Meeting would automatically attract financial support from the United States for institutions similar to those at Kaimosi".²³ In August 1962, Thomas Lung'aho visited Lugulu in order to deal with the agitation, only to be dismissed by Lugulu Quarterly Meeting leaders - such as Ngoya, Mwangale and Elisha Wakube, Daniel Khaoya and Benjamin

²⁰ KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/99, Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1956.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Smuck, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

²³ *Ibid.*

Kapten - and told that he did not work for the Yearly Meeting. Reference was being made to him having moved from the position of EAYM presiding clerk to that of assistant secretary of the mission, an intentionally created interim post to be held while EAYM was being restructured to take over the mission responsibilities of FAM. On that basis, the Bukusu Friends leaders, accused Lung'aho of imposing his leadership on them and subsequently intensified their agitation for a Yearly Meeting.²⁴

Between 1963-1964, during the various meetings held at Kaimosi to finalize the transfer of power and property from FAM to EAYM, the Bukusu representatives continuously seized the opportunity to table their grievances. One of the items on the agenda of the June 4, 1964 meeting was the application made by the Elgon Quarterly Meeting to be made into a Yearly Meeting. However, the matter was not discussed; rather, it was referred to EAYM's Executive Committee for Church Programmes. In March 1965, Thomas Lung'aho then wrote to Bukusu Friends leader, Philip Mwangale, affirming that the Executive Committee for Church Programme would study the application for a second Yearly Meeting for due consideration. But even before EAYM Board could meet to discuss the application for a Yearly Meeting, Elgon Friends leaders extended their clamour for a Yearly Meeting abroad.²⁵

Correspondence between Elisha Wakube, Elgon Quarterly Meeting clerk, Eugene Coffin, FUM's secretary of evangelism and church extension, and Glenn Reece, general secretary of FUM, indicates that the Elgon Friends wanted recognition as a Yearly Meeting. However, Thomas Lung'aho was "convinced that most of the north was quiet on the issue except for a few educated elite who wanted to use the church to accumulate wealth for personal glorification."²⁶ He pointed out that the Tachoni, through their leaders like Jonathan Mukoro, did not support the Bukusu demands. Indeed, during the EAYM board meeting held at Kaimosi in 1965, Mukoro contacted many Tachoni delegates, warning them to stay at home if the Bukusu planned to table the agenda of the creation of a second Yearly Meeting.²⁷ A restraint on Bukusu demands was, therefore, provided by the Tachoni Friends, who continued to view affiliation to Kaimosi as a buffer

²⁴ Oral Interview, Jeremiah Lusweti, *op. cit.*

²⁵ Gilpin, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-329.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/99, Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1956.

against Bukusu dominance. Indeed, this was the same reason why the Tachoni had opposed the creation of Elgon Nyanza District. The Tachoni argued that the Bukusu, who were the majority in the area, intended to use the new district to promote their development agenda at the expense of other groups.²⁸ Despite all this opposition, the Bukusu Friends leaders still insisted on the demand for their own Yearly Meeting. In 1966, these demands eventually forced the EAYM leadership to appoint a committee under the chairmanship of Samson Marani, from Malava Monthly Meeting, to examine the Bukusu demands.²⁹

In its report presented to the annual conference held at Malava in August 1971, the task group recommended the establishment of a second Yearly Meeting in Kenya, in order to cater for the interest of the Bukusu and reduce the growing tension between the south and the north. But in a strange turn of events, the annual conference - under the chairmanship of Lung'aho who opposed the creation of a second Yearly Meeting in Kenya - did not discuss the report, and instead referred it to the next annual conference. In the subsequent annual conference, held at Kamusinga in August 1972, the EAYM Board decided that it was not "ready to weaken" the EAYM by creating another Yearly Meeting. The Board thus appointed yet another committee tasked with the responsibility of making recommendations on how the Yearly Meeting could be reorganized and restructured to meet the emerging needs of its members.³⁰

The formation of yet another commission was rejected by the Bukusu Friends. Under the leadership of Philip Mwangale and Philip Munyole, the Elgon Friends met at Lugulu in September 1972, where they established a committee to draft a constitution for the registration of Elgon Religious Society of Friends (hereafter ERSF). Then on the first of January 1973, members of the Elgon Monthly Meeting gathered for the north's annual prayer conference and reaffirmed their desire for their own Yearly Meeting. At this meeting, officials were appointed to the ERSF Board with Jeremiah Lusweti as chairman, Philip Mwangale as the presiding clerk and Elisha Wakube as the executive secretary.³¹ Philip Mwangale argued that once established, "ERSF will comprise of 150,000 members, 230 Weekly or Village Meetings, 26 Monthly

²⁸ KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/99, Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1956.

²⁹ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1966- 1973.

³⁰ *Ibid*

³¹ *Ibid*

Meetings and 6 Quarterly Meetings, as well as 110 primary schools, 18 government-aided secondary schools and about ten *harambee* (self-help) secondary schools".³² These numbers were exaggerated for political mileage. At that time, records show that there were about 150,000 Friends in Kenya and Elgon Friends could only account for 6 Monthly Meetings, at the most.³³

Through the political support of Elijah Mwangale, the Member of Parliament for Kimilili and the son of Philip Mwangale, ERSF applied for and received a government certificate of registration, on the 19th of April 1973. The law at the time required that all voluntary associations, including churches, to be registered with the Attorney General's Office. As a politician, Elijah Mwangale had canvassed for the registration of ERSF because many of his constituents were Bukusu Friends, who favoured the establishment of a new Yearly Meeting.³⁴ Thus, in order for Mwangale to survive politically, he had to support the Elgon Friends cause.

Once the ERSF was registered, it became an independent church organization, recognised by the government, though rejected by the EAYM. In June 1973, Philip Mwangale addressed a letter to EAYM, informing its leadership that ERSF, as a duly registered Yearly Meeting in Kenya, was in the process of "applying to FUM - a board that had replaced AFBM - for membership, and that we want to discuss the Friends' affairs in Kenya with EAYM as equal, but independent Meetings."³⁵ The following month, ERSF leaders wrote a letter to FUM's general secretary, inviting him to come to Kenya and launch the new Yearly Meeting. He declined, pointing out the need to consult EAYM. Thus FUM also declined to recognise the independence of ERSF.³⁶

FUM opposed the creation of a second Yearly Meeting in Kenya on the grounds that the Friends church in Kenya was a still small enough group to be effectively managed by one Yearly Meeting. Reacting to this opposition, Elisha Wakube wrote a letter to FUM's General Secretary, Lorton Heusel, condemning him for asserting that his organization would not be involved in the

³²EAYM, Annual Reports, 1966 - 1973.

³³ See for example, EAYM, Annual Reports, 1972.

³⁴ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1973.

internal affairs of EAYM. In his response, Heusel reiterated that he hoped for a United Yearly Meeting in Kenya "since it was still in embryonic stages and it should be allowed to grow".³⁷

It was in this tense and turbulent time that on May 12, 1973 the EAYM's executive committee decided that every employee of the Yearly Meeting and its institutions would have to sign a statement of loyalty. This requirement, however, forced the resignations of Daniel Khaoya, one of EAYM clerks, and assistant Literature Secretary, Elisha Wakube, both from the north. Those who refused to sign the statement or resign were forcibly evicted from Kaimosi. Consequently, there was eviction of all Bukusu EAYM officials.³⁸ At the same time, EAYM appointed yet another commission to resolve the dispute between the two Yearly Meetings. The commission was chaired by Francis Shiverenje Mwashu, a trained lawyer, from Kaimosi. Its secretary was George Sawyer, a Black American Friends and also a lawyer on an educational assignment to EAYM under the sponsorship of Earlham College.³⁹

The commission recommended that EAYM be divided into new nine dioceses, or regions, based on geographical location, each having a degree of autonomy. These nine regions were named as, Kaimosi, Bware, Chavakali, Vihiga, Malava, Lirhanda, Lugulu, Kitale, and Nairobi. In line with the recommendation, the first EAYM regional office was opened in Lugulu, on June 30, 1973, just five days after ERSF had opened its office at Kamusinga, a few kilometres north of Lugulu. Indeed, the attempts to adopt an EAYM structure that would ensure more local responsibility was rejected by Elgon Friends, as being too little and coming too late.⁴⁰ But efforts to keep the door open continued. For instance, in September 1973, Thomas Lung'aho addressed a letter to ERSF presiding clerk, Philip Mwangale. In his communication, he expressed the hope of a time when the two sides could talk. The reply from Mwangale simply observed that individual Elgon Friends had "attended several such conferences and would continue to do so. EAYM Friends are welcomed at Elgon conferences, too".⁴¹ But nothing was said about the possibility of talks.

³⁷ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ EAYM, Annual Report, 1973. For discussion on Earlham College assistance to FAM, see Chapter Six, p. 238.

⁴⁰ Oral Interview Francis Shiverenje Mwashu, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

At the same time, ERSF board chairman, Jeremiah Lusweti, criticised both EAYM and FUM for their stance against ERSF. But in response, Herold Smuck, the FUM Board secretary, noted that "when two sons quarrel, a father cannot acknowledge one (ERSF) at the expense of rejecting the other (EAYM)."⁴² In defiance, Lusweti addressed a response to Smuck, making two requests. First, he wanted ERSF to be allowed to send two representatives to FUM's triennial session, which was to be held in July 1978, at Oskaloosa, Iowa. Secondly, he also wanted ERSF's long-standing membership application to be considered. FUM board, however, still declined to meet any of the two requests insisting that it recognized only one Yearly Meeting in Kenya. Consequently, tension between EAYM and ERSF intensified. With increased tension in the Friends church in Kenya, the effective administration of the church was compromised and more cracks began to appear in the EAYM.⁴³

7.1.2 A Multitude of Yearly Meetings

When the first crack in a hitherto monolithic Yearly Meeting appeared, others followed more easily. Starting with the establishment of EAYM (south) to serve the Maragoli Friends, EAYM and later ERSF, quickly disintegrated into several tiny, autonomous Yearly Meetings. Apart from the south-north rift, tension was also developing along clan and/or sub-ethnic lines, especially over the location of schools. The Tiriki, the Isukha and the Idakho began to accuse the Maragoli of monopolizing FAM schools. For example, the Tiriki through Chief Hezron Mushenye accused the Friends missionaries of favouring the Maragoli in school development and employing Maragoli teachers in Tiriki schools. Consequently, the southern Luhyia sub-groups began to clamour for the establishment of Monthly Meetings which, as already indicated, were seen as concomitant to school development. Wherever a Monthly Meeting was established, a primary school followed shortly thereafter. Indeed, when the Maragoli taxed themselves Ksh.12.50 per person over a period of four years to build Chavakali Day Secondary School in 1959, other Luhyia sub-groups were initially denied the chance to send their children to the school. Consequently, the Tiriki, the Isukha and the Idakho sought FAM support in financing the establishment of day schools in their own areas. This situation inevitably led to competition

⁴² Smuck, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

among the southern Luhya in seeking financial support from FAM, and tension between the various sub-groups began to be manifest.⁴⁴

The 1950s also witnessed increasing tension between the Bukusu and the Tachoni in the north over the control of resources accruing from the Friends church. On one hand, the Tachoni had always opposed what they termed as the Bukusu domination in political and economic matters of the Bungoma area. In the same vein, the Tachoni also opposed the perceived Bukusu domination of the Lugulu Monthly Meeting and Friends schools. Consequently, the Tachoni requested for a Monthly Meeting that would serve their interest. The Bukusu, on the other hand, accused the Tachoni of working with the southerners to block educational and economic development of the north. The 1960s were thus times of intense struggle over the control of EAYM property by the various constituencies of the Friends church. Consequently, with the registration of ERSF, various sub-groups among the Luhya Friends - starting with Maragoli - began to explore means of establishing their own Yearly Meetings.⁴⁵

In the late 1970s, the Maragoli increasingly began to argue that EAYM's problems were due to the financial mismanagement and inept leadership from Lung'aho. At the same time, the central Friends' areas, which comprised of Malava and Lirhanda Monthly Meetings, also began to harbour thoughts of advancing their own interests. They had long felt that they were neglected, being only the connecting rod between the two heavyweights - the south and the north - and they now wanted to have a Yearly meeting devoid of squabbles. Consequently, there was restlessness in all areas of Friends' influence.⁴⁶

In August 1979, the EAYM leadership called for an annual conference to resolve the simmering tension in the Church. The conference, held at Kidundu in Maragoli, had on its agenda the question of recognising ERSF as a second Yearly Meeting in Kenya. However, the idea of a third

⁴⁴ Oral Interview, Eliam Muhalule, Milimani, 10/7/2007; Emily Mito, Chepkayo 17/8/2007; Priscillah Mukangai, Chepsaita, 14/8/2007; Peter Wanyonyi Mulari, Mukhonje, 3/7/2007; and William Shibadu, *op.cit.*

⁴⁵ KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/99, Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1956.

⁴⁶ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1979.

and a fourth Yearly Meeting, in Maragoli and in the central areas, sprung up prior to the conference.⁴⁷

At the conference, the EAYM executive board held at least three long sessions, much of them devoted to the ratification of a second Yearly Meeting. But what finally emerged was a proposal to have three Yearly Meetings; ERSF, EAYM, (Kaimosi) and EAYM (South). On August 26, 1979, Hezekiah Ngoya, the Recording Clerk, introduced the board's recommendation. It was read by board member Filemona Indire and was briefly discussed under his *de facto* clerkship. It was approved by acclamation by the assembled group of some 5,000, half of whom were outside the building, listening through the public address system. As ratified, the proposal included a planning committee of eighteen members, who were to organize the Central Council, an umbrella office that would oversee all Friends church activities in Kenya. The council was to have equal representation from the three Yearly Meetings. It was to be the committee which would relate with international Friends bodies, including FUM and the Friends World Committee, as well as with other ecumenical bodies. It was also to oversee church institutions and programmes, such as the Friends Bible Institute, which were intended to serve all Friends in East Africa. It would also receive and disburse funds from abroad, as well as funds contributed from its three constituent Yearly Meetings.⁴⁸

One thorny question was how to deal with the town and urban Meetings outside western Kenya, if EAYM was to become permanently divided into three. These urban Meetings had members from different sub-ethnic areas of Western Province. They had been united and established Weekly and Monthly Meetings in the urban areas. Consequently, such Meetings could not easily identify exclusively with the new arrangement (whether Elgon or any of the EAYMs). However, the Maragoli representatives, the majority at the Kidundu conference, forced the conference through their voting power to assign Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Thika, Kericho and Kisumu to EAYM (south), on the basis that the majority of the urban dwellers in these regions were the Maragoli.⁴⁹ That decision aroused disputes. Friends adherents from the other sub-ethnic groups

⁴⁷ EAYM, General Secretary's Report, 1980.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

objected to this arrangement. They argued that their families in rural areas belonged to different Yearly Meetings".⁵⁰ Such concerns were all referred to a tribunal.

To ratify the creation of three Yearly Meetings, a planning committee, headed by Solomon Adagala, was formed. This committee was to amend the 1963 EAYM constitution, in regard to the creation of three Yearly Meetings. It was necessary to do this because the constitution of EAYM, adopted in 1963 and registered with the Registrar of Societies, had stated that there would be only one Friends Yearly Meeting and that,

The Yearly Meeting shall divide the entire membership into Quarterly Meetings, normally on the basis of geographical areas. Each Quarterly Meeting shall include two or more Monthly Meetings. New Quarterly Meetings shall be established by the Yearly Meeting upon recommendation of the Permanent Board.⁵¹

Adagala reported to the Central Council meeting of December 1979, that his planning committee foresaw serious problems with establishing three separate Yearly Meetings, each with its own constitution. One problem was the government's reluctance to register new religious groups with similar names - although politicians like Elijah Mwangale and Moses Mudavadi had indicated that there were ways around this hurdle. Consequently, the Adagala committee proposed the establishment of three branches, or dioceses, under a single Yearly Meeting with a single constitution, the existing one being appropriately amended.⁵²

It was during this constitutional crisis in the EAYM that in January 1980, the Kenya Police ordered and supervised the eviction of Thomas Lung'aho, the General Secretary of EAYM, from his Kaimosi office and the installation of Japhtha Jumba Chunguli, an elder of Vihiga Quarterly Meeting. Chunguli, who was opposed to the creation of the three Yearly Meetings, had led many delegates at the Kidundu Conferences into signing a petition that made him the chairman of EAYM, Jackton Omido and Frederick Zebeedi as secretary and treasurer, respectively.⁵³ Chunguli and his associates then presented a set of minutes to the Registrar General, as proof of this change. The three then,

⁵⁰ Oral Interview, Francis Shiverenje Mwashii, *op.cit.*

⁵¹ EAYM, Constitution of Friends Church in Kenya, 1963.

⁵² EAYM, General Secretary's Report, 28/10/1980.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

Came to Kaimosi with CID (Criminal Investigation Department) officers from Kakamega and evicted the General Secretary - Thomas Lung'aho - from his office and his house.⁵⁴

Chunguli had thus succeeded in getting himself and his two associates officially recognised by the Kenyan government as office holders of EAYM. Since the registration of societies and reports to the Registrar were then legal processes, the only recourse for EAYM officials led by Lung'aho, was to approach the courts. Legal action was taken and, within a few weeks, Thomas Lung'aho was reinstated. The court, however, ordered a special meeting of the representatives who had been named to the August 1979 Yearly Meeting conference. These representatives assembled at Kaimosi on March 8, although Maragoli representatives declined to attend. The Registrar General's representative, who was in attendance, noted that the then officers had taken advantage of the confusion in the church to serve longer than the six-year maximum period specified in the constitution. Consequently, the Registrar General ordered for the election of new officials.⁵⁵

The EAYM (South) Friends, who boycotted the election, organised a separate meeting on the first of January 1980, in which they adopted the 1979 decision on restructuring EAYM. They claimed that EAYM had "become too big and unwieldy and that the three divisions are the only way to attain progress in the church".⁵⁶ In August of 1981, EAYM (South) held its annual conference at Bware, in Nyanza Province. Bware is an area in southern Nyanza mainly inhabited by Maragoli immigrants. Moses Mudavadi, Vihiga Member of Parliament and Minister of Water Resources, who was not a member of the Friends Church (since he was a polygamist, which was against Friends beliefs) was in attendance and assured the gathering that their application for registration would be approved. Indeed, the certificate of registration was issued the following month. Also in attendance as a guest of honour was Elijah Mwangale, Kimilili Member of Parliament, Minister for Tourism and the one who had helped ERSF obtain its registration. Although Mwangale was the son of ERSF presiding clerk Philip Mwangale, he was a nominal Friend since, like Mudavadi, he was also a polygamist. With the southern defection added to the earlier northern departure, the Yearly Meeting was already truncated. This division was

⁵⁴ EAYM, General Secretary's Report, 28/10/1980.

⁵⁵ KNA, OP/1/111, Complaints and Petition, 1980.

⁵⁶ EAYM, General Secretary's Report, 1980

accentuated by the fact that EAYM (South), ERSF and the remains of EAYM held their annual conferences concurrently in August of 1981. There was further erosion when the strong group of Kitale Friends led by Ezekiel Wanyonyi, who had hitherto supported EAYM, decided that they would not, until changes were made, be participating in the EAYM meetings. Members of the Kitale Monthly Meeting were thus divided between supporting EAYM and ERSF.⁵⁷

With this kind of confusion in EAYM, coupled with sporadic eruption of fighting between rival groups in cosmopolitan area like Kitale, Lugari, Malava and Mbale, and the closure of some churches in these areas - by the police to stop the in-fighting - Smuck appealed to the Kenyan President, Daniel Arap Moi, to help solve the crisis in the church. Towards the end of 1979, Smuck addressed a letter to President Moi, inviting his intervention in Kenyan Friends divisions, stating that "while we were keenly concerned for unity in the church, we felt that unity could come from within the country far more effectively than from the outside".⁵⁸ In defending his action, Smuck argued that he invited government intervention in the affairs of East African Friends for two reasons. First, there was the need to preserve unity in Kenyan society. And second, he was seeking the involvement of a President, who was an active Christian himself. Reacting to the letter, President Moi directed J.K Kobia, the then PC Western Province, "to call together Friends of the three parties and to work actively with them to achieve a united organization".⁵⁹

In February 1984, the PC asked each of the three Yearly Meetings to send ten representatives for a meeting in his office. From EAYM came Jafferson Wabwoba, Francis Mwashu, Henry Mayabi, Eli Ogola, Zablon Ochwaya, Thomas Munyasa, Peter Tembe, Joseph Makindu, Ezekiel Wanyonyi and Thomas G. Lung'aho. ERSF was to be represented by Jeremiah Lusweti, Jestimoa Webi, John Lusweti, Dinah Khayota, William Yiminyi, Philip Musungu, William Chiuli, Timothy Bilindi, Aineah Wanyonyi, and Alexander N. Masika. From EAYM (South) came Joseph G. Kisia, Herbert Asava, F. F. Indire, Ezekiel Muzame, John Majani, Jothan Sande, Solomon Adagala, Salome Nolega, Johnstone Buhavi and Mathew Mwenesi. Under the chairmanship of the PC, the thirty representatives constituted themselves as the Friends Central

⁵⁷ EAYM, General Secretary's Report, 1980.

⁵⁸ KNA, OP/1/111, Complaints and Petition, 1980.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Council.⁶⁰ The Central Council then voted to amend the EAYM constitution to allow for three Yearly Meetings in Kenya. Consequently, a drafting committee of nine members was selected and mandated to write a new constitution. Members of the drafting committee included Ezekiel Wanyonyi, Francis Mwashu Shiverenje, and Thomas Lung'aho from EAYM (Kaimosi); Jeremiah Lusweti, John Mwangale and Alexander Ndemaki from ERSF; and F. F Indire, Solomon Adagala and Herbert Asava from EAYM (South). George Kaptan and Samuel Kivuiti were chosen as lawyers for ERSF and EAYM (South), respectively, while Francis Mwashu was the lawyer for EAYM (Kaimosi).⁶¹ In its first meeting, the committee elected John Majani as interim chairman, while John Mwangale and George Kamwesa were elected as interim secretary and treasurer, respectively. The committee was to co-opt the provincial administration. Consequently, District Officers were to attend committee meetings "to ensure and maintain peace".⁶²

Apart from revising the EAYM constitution, the drafting committee was also to determine the boundaries between the three Yearly Meetings. But several complex situations existed. Nairobi and other urban Meetings included members from all three groups and could not be identified with any one Yearly Meeting. Some members of major rural centres, such as Chavakali, Mbale and Lugulu, were also split in their support to the three groups. Indeed, there were situations where village meetings aligned with different groups were intermingled, and where people in the same village could walk past one Meeting on a Sunday to another, due to their preferred clan and/ or sub-group, alignment. Drawing boundaries thus meant more conflict. Other challenges included how to assure financing for the central council and how to apportion leadership positions in the council so that it could be seen to be fair and satisfactory to all sides. In addition, there still was the question of fighting and closed churches.⁶³

After hours of negotiations on the cooperative structure, a compromise was reached. According to the agreement, common institutions such as the Teacher Training College, the Bible School, hospitals and the Kaimosi farm were to be run by a board of trustees because such properties

⁶⁰ KNA, OP/1/111, Complaints and Petition, 17/2/1983.

⁶¹ *Ibid*.

⁶² KNA, OP/ 1/111, Complaints and Petition, 7/2/1984.

⁶³ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1984.

were common to all the three Yearly Meetings and were to serve all Friends indiscriminately. It was also agreed that urban and town Meetings were to be put under EAYM (south). The Central Committee was to be the vehicle for relations with government, ecumenical and international Friends agencies, as well as for action on common concerns. Finally, the committee agreed that reconciliation meetings were to be held in areas that had experienced conflict, such as Lugulu, Kitale, and Chavakali, with “a view to explain to the ordinary members of the church that a new unity and reconciliation has taken place” and also appeal to the provincial administration to open the closed churches.⁶⁴ This agreement, together with a draft constitution, were then presented at the three Yearly Meetings’ conference session that was held in August 1984 for ratification.

With the ratification of the agreement and draft constitution, on July 14, 1984 FUM, at the triennial conference held on the campus of Chapman College in Orange, California, adopted the recommendation to recognize the three Yearly Meetings in Kenya. Further, the three Yearly Meetings were also recognised by Friends World Committee for Consultation (hereafter FWCC), based in London. Thus, the three Yearly Meetings were officially established in Kenya.⁶⁵

The official establishment of the three Yearly Meetings did not, however, end wrangling within the Friends church in Kenya. On the 25th March 1985, members of Mbale Monthly Meeting refused to join EAYM (south) and wished to remain loyal to EAYM. This situation was mainly due to political differences between the clans in Vihiga Constituency. The clans of Vihiga west (Mbale area) opposed Mudavadi’s leadership, while those of Vihiga east (Sabatia area) supported him.⁶⁶ Through Gerishom Majani Litu, members of Mbale Monthly Meeting wrote a letter to N.K. Mberia, DC, Kakamega, accusing the PC of Western Province of misusing his authority to interfere in the Friends affairs in Kenya by covering and supporting individuals whose,

Motive is to continue to exploit EAYM funds through splinter groups of EAYM (south), based in Vihiga/Maragoli and ERSF, based in Bungoma/East. Some Friends leaders who have refused to vacate their offices for others to participate in the church affairs are the ones seeking

⁶⁴ EAYM, General Secretary’s Report, 1984.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ This hostility among the clans of Maragoli west and east, partly explains why Vihiga constituency was divided into Vihiga and Sabatia in 1988. See Oral Interview, Zebedee Ambura Musudia, Iduku, 2/6/2007; Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

support from Friends in America through the Western PC. Most of these officials deserted Kaimosi after they had failed to present to the meeting financial reports. After running away from Kaimosi these officials decided to start their own autonomous Yearly Meetings.⁶⁷

To a large extent these accusations were true because Indire, who was also the treasurer of EAYM, had by the time of the division not accounted for Ksh.250,000 grant from FUM, meant for Kaimosi hospital. But at the same time, the acting PC Western province, S.K Tororey, wrote to N. K. Mberia, DC Kakamega, over the two Friends societies operating in Maragoli, "a factor that was causing tension and a breach of peace in the church". The PC further noted that the two factions were not working together, although they both professed to be Friends. He directed the DC to,

Call the officials of the two bodies to appear before your District Security Committee and caution them to operate peacefully. It should be made clear to them to see that their followers conduct themselves in a responsible and peaceful manner.⁶⁸

The DC then asked Thomas Lung'aho, the General Secretary of EAYM, for a brief on the conflict in the Friends church. Lung'aho responded on the 26 June, 1985 arguing that members who had refused to recognise the three Yearly Meetings were the ones causing trouble in the Friends church. For instance, Lung'aho accused former EAYM officials, Jamin Mwavali and Javan Mirembe of Mbale Monthly Meeting, and Ezekiel Wanyonyi of Kitale Monthly Meeting, of causing trouble in the Friends church, after they had lost their positions in church as a result of the reorganization of EAYM. Lung'aho further stated that,

Ezekiel Wanyonyi is causing problems in Lugari and Malava regions. These regions are within EAYM (Kaimosi) area of influence. Wanyonyi is no longer our officer. He should be working to bring reconciliation up north, instead of coming to be a problem.⁶⁹

But Ezekiel Wanyonyi wrote to Simeon Nyachae, the Chief Secretary and Head of Civil Service, on 28 November, 1985, complaining that the Friends Church of Kenya had been "invaded, broken into, locked up and forcefully taken over by followers of splinter groups,

⁶⁷ KNA, DX/ 21/9/3, Religious Societies Disputes and General Correspondence, 25/3/1985.

⁶⁸ KNA, OP/4/16, EAYM to Chief Secretary, 28/11/1985.

⁶⁹ KNA, DX/ 21/9/3, Religious Societies Disputes and General Correspondence, 26/6/1985.

ERSF and EAYM (South), assisted by the Provincial Administration". Wanyonyi further argued that members of the EAYM were,

Frustrated, ordered and chased out of their worshipping houses (churches) on Sunday...the move by splinter groups has very much disturbed and denied EAYM members freedom of worship in western and parts of Rift Valley Provinces. Through provincial administration staff, splinter groups are encouraged to encroach upon EAYM legally registered property. We appeal to you to help us and stop this type of security risk.⁷⁰

Members of the Kitale Monthly Meeting also supported Wanyonyi and wrote to Nyachae complaining that the PC was forcing them to be members of ERSF against their wishes. They, therefore, wanted either to have their own Yearly Meeting, or to revert to one Yearly Meeting in Kenya.

When Nyachae asked the PC, Western Kenya, to explain the state of the Friends church, the PC informed the Chief Secretary, on 23rd of June 1986 that Friends had agreed to split the church into three Yearly Meetings and to establish a Central Council to oversee the activities of the Friends church in Kenya. He concluded his letter by stating that,

A few characters of the formerly EAYM of Friends may not be happy with the new set-up, merely because they missed leadership positions. If they want a Yearly Meeting they should apply to the Friends Central Council for consideration.⁷¹

The PC's assertion is to a large extent true because Ezekiel Wanyonyi, who had been a member of EAYM Board, had lost his position after the split. But following the advice of the PC, Kitale Monthly Meeting applied to the Central Council for recognition as a Yearly Meeting, independent of ERSF. The Central Council, however, took time to consider the Kitale Monthly Meeting request. This led to uncertainty and conflict not only in Kitale, but also in EAYM and ERSF. Neither of the Yearly Meetings wanted Kitale Monthly Meeting to become a Yearly Meeting. At the time when the boundaries of the Yearly meetings were drawn, Kitale had belonged to ERSF. But Kitale, being a cosmopolitan area, had divided loyalties. Most of the Bukusu wanted to join ERSF, the Tachoni were in favour of EAYM, the immigrants - mostly the

⁷⁰ KNA, OP/4/16, EAYM to Chief Secretary, 28/11/1985.

⁷¹ KNA, OP/ 1/111, Complaints and Petition, 23/6/1986.

Maragoli – wanted to join EAYM (south), while a small group wanted an independent Yearly Meeting.

After a confrontation among the members of the Central Council, at Kaimosi, over the registration of Kitale as a Yearly Meeting, N. K. Mberia, the DC of Kakamega, on the 14th of August, 1987 appointed a commission to run the affairs of the Friends church in Kenya, so as to forestall further “breach of peace that church members were causing in Kakamega district”.⁷² However, Friends members, led by EAYM Presiding Clerk, Peter Dembede and Ezekiel Wanyonyi, wrote to J. N. King’arui, the Registrar of Societies, demanding to be told why the “provincial administration was interfering in the running of the Friends church”.⁷³ It was this petition that compelled the Registrar to write to J. Kobia, PC, Western Province, on the 9th of September, 1987 asking to be informed why the Kakamega DC had appointed a commission to run the affairs of the Friends church in Kenya. The Registrar pointed out that he was not aware of any powers that the DC used to appoint a commission to run the affairs of church, and argued that,

Since it was quite clear that all registered societies were controlled under the Societies Act, and if there was a dispute among members of a registered society, the matter should be referred to the Registrar of Societies.⁷⁴

In the circumstances, the Registrar argued it would appear that the action taken by the DC might “embarrass the government because his action was not taken under either the Societies Act or the registered constitution of the Church”.⁷⁵ The Registrar, therefore, advised that the “members of the church be allowed to sort out their dispute amicably, otherwise the Government may be accused of unnecessary interference”. He directed that if members of the church could not resolve their disputes amicably, then “other ways, like reference to the high court, should be considered for dealing with such and that EAYM should be compelled to hold an annual general meeting”.⁷⁶

⁷² KNA, OP/ 1/111, Complaints and Petition, 23/6/1986.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ KNA, DX/ 21/9/3, Religious Societies Disputes and General Correspondence, 4/ 12/1986.

Responding to the Registrar of Societies' directive, on 23rd September, 1987 the PC, Western Province, argued that the problems facing Kaimosi could only "be solved if the registrar intervened and organised the election of EAYM office bearers".⁷⁷ But before the Registrar of Societies could intervene, the Central Council convened a peace meeting at Kaimosi Friends Bible Institute, on 8th April, 1988 to reconcile the warring groups. The meeting resolved to amend the 1984 constitution to accommodate more than three Yearly Meetings in the Friends church of Kenya.⁷⁸ This constitutional amendment was designed to ease tension by allowing any dissatisfied Monthly Meeting to establish a Yearly Meeting. Article 8 of the new constitution provided that a Yearly Meeting could be established when,

A region makes a formal written application through the host Yearly Meeting; a constituent Yearly Meeting having been satisfied that there is need to establish such new Yearly Meeting provided always that such intended Yearly Meeting has the requisite leadership base and sound resources for effective running of its pastoral programmes in accordance with Quakers Faith; on being satisfied with the application, the Central General Board shall, with its recommendation annexed, forward the same to the next triennial for consideration at its next business session.⁷⁹

The consequence was that by the 2006 EAYM had split into 16 autonomous Yearly Meetings, as shown by the table below.

Table 9: Friends Yearly Meetings in Kenya, 2006

Yearly Meeting	Year of Establishment
Bware	1994
Central	1988
Chavakali	1997
Chwele	2003
EAYM (Kaimosi)	1946
EAYM North	1988
EAYM South (Vihiga Yearly Meeting)	1979
Elgon East	1993

⁷⁷ KNA, OP/ 1/111, Complaints and Petition, 23/9/1987

⁷⁸ EAYM, The Friends Church in Kenya (Quakers), The Constitution of the Friends Church, 1988.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

ERSF	1973
Kakamega	1993
Lugari	1992
Malava	1992
Nairobi	1988
Tongaren	2006
Tuloi	1996
Vokoli	1996

Adopted from EAYM, Friends Church in Kenya (Quakers), Annual Report, 2006.

7.2 Causes of the Splits

A number of Friends, Luhya politicians and government administrators have argued that the splits in the EAYM were and are still caused by a number of factors, not all related to theological differences as has been the case in churches experiencing schism. The first factor that has been cited is the large number of Friends in Kenya. For example, in 1960 Salome Nolega, EAYM board member, had argued that “we should begin to think of more than one Meeting, because we are growing very fast”.⁸⁰ But most FAM missionaries did not see any reason to divide EAYM, which had only been in existence for less than fifteen years. FAM missionaries further argued that the population of Friends in Kenya at that time - about 70,000 - was too small to be split into more than one Yearly Meeting and the church could effectively be administered through Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. Indeed by 2008, the estimated number of Friends members in Kenya was 240,000.⁸¹ Such a figure does not necessarily warrant any division. Furthermore, the PAG, SA and COG, all with similar characteristics to the Friends church, had not faced comparable problems. For instance, PAG, SA and COG, like the Friends church, all originated from the USA. Likewise, all the four churches have their largest following in western Kenya. They also have nearly the same number of members. Consequently, the argument that the Friends church was too big to be effectively managed by one Yearly Meeting is not convincing.

⁸⁰ Smuck, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁸¹ EAYM, Friends World Committee For Consultation, 2008.

The second reason which allegedly led to the split in the Friends church was the argument by the Bukusu Friends elite, led by Philip Mwangale and Elisha Wakube: namely, that geographically, the church covered too wide an area. Thus it was argued that the distance from the church's headquarters at Kaimosi to various points of its sphere of influence was too long. In reality, however, EAYM has most of its followers living in the Western Province, geographically, the second smallest province in Kenya, with an area covering only 8,264 square kilometres.⁸² In any case, later splits of the 1990s cannot be attributed to distance. For instance, by 1979 the average distance between most of the Yearly Meetings was about 30 kilometres - a walking distance. Furthermore, the Nairobi Yearly Meeting, which covers areas of Nairobi, Rift Valley, Central, Eastern North, Eastern and Coast Provinces, has not experienced any problems with the distances between its various Monthly Meetings. Indeed, many other churches in Kenya, like the Catholic and Anglican churches, with headquarters in Nairobi and with members drawn from all over the country, have had no problems with the locations of their headquarters. This clearly shows that distance cannot be a valid cause of the splits in the Friends church of Kenya.⁸³

The third explanation that has been put forward by the Bukusu Friends elite, like Elisha Wakube, to explain the splits in EAYM encompasses cultural and historical differences. Differences in culture and history, including language, among the Bukusu and the Maragoli have thus been cited by the Friends as a factor that led to the splits. But in Western Province, dialects and cultural differences among the Luhya are not very acute. And even if the Bukusu and the Maragoli were far removed geographically, the same argument cannot be used to explain the splits that have occurred in the EAYM (South) or ERSF and why Nairobi Yearly Meeting with members from different historical and cultural backgrounds has not experienced similar problems.⁸⁴

⁸² See for example, Government of Kenya, *Statistical Abstract, 2007*, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Nairobi: Government Printer, 2007, p. 4-5.

⁸³ Oral Interview, Newton Muyira, Lwandeti, 2/8/2007; Eunice Matinyi Mutali, Malava, 4/8/2007; Jane Mwando, Hamutua, 2/8/2007; Andrew M Murunga, Chepsaita, 12/8/2007; Wilfred Agesa, Amalemba, 5/6/2007; and Francis Mwashu, *op.cit.*

⁸⁴ Oral Interview, Rita Atema, Shikhuyu, 14/4/2007; Oscar Mmayi Luhombo, Lirhanda, 7/6/2007; Peter Musilwa, Madala, 2/7/2007; Welangai Masinde, Lukhono, 11/8/2007; Jethro Kimathi Bulokosi, Shivilanga, 5/5/2007; and Francis Mwashu, *op.cit.*

7.2.1 Economic Inequality

These three reasons advanced by Friends Church members, and other observers, cannot therefore adequately explain the splits within the Friends Church, without due reference to economic factors. Such economic explanation is associated with perceived uneven development, ownership of EAYM property, church leadership and political expediency.

For instance, with the transfer of power and property from FAM to EAYM in 1964, Bukusu leaders intensified their demand that some of the EAYM departments, projects and institutions be moved to Lugulu. They also demanded equitable distribution of EAYM financial resources, including educational scholarships, jobs at the various Kaimosi institutions, and more leadership positions in the church. Their demand for a Yearly Meeting that would serve their economic development agenda also aroused similar aspirations from other communities among the Luhyia Friends. Consequently, the establishment of a Yearly Meeting was, and still is, perceived as being concomitant to economic development of any given area. Thus, their quest to establish Yearly, Monthly and Quarterly Meetings were often supported by politicians, like Mwangale and Mudavadi, who wanted to use the church to acquire a following and therefore obtain votes and become MPs.⁸⁵

7.2.1.1 Grants

With the transfer of power and property from FAM to EAYM, which was completed in 1964, the Friends church in Kenya began to depend on grants from abroad and on church's contributions, through offerings and tithes, to run its secular programmes. Grants to support the Friends church in Kenya came from Friends in USA, Britain, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. For instance in 1980, FUM gave a grant of Ksh. 302, 845.05 to support EAYM secular departments budget of Ksh.518, 142.60 for that year.⁸⁶ But it was the control of these grants that partly led to splits and counter splits in the EAYM, starting from 1973. Each of the new Yearly Meetings essentially wanted to control a lion's share of the grants, leading to confrontation and conflicts among the Yearly Meetings.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ KNA, DX/ 21/9/3, Religious Societies Disputes and General Correspondence, 4/ 12/1986.

⁸⁶ EAYM, Treasurer's Report, 1982.

⁸⁷ EAYM, General Secretary's Report, 1984

As early as 1962, FAM Mission Secretary, Fred Reeve, had bluntly stated that there was no hope of preventing a split in Friends church. One of the reasons he cited was that a Friends missionary from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Marjorie Fox, had promised Elisha Wakube - her close associate and a proponent of ERSF - that she could solicit for funds for Elgon Friends if they established a Yearly Meeting. Only months later, Wakube in an EAYM Executive Committee meeting confirmed this hope of money from abroad. On his visit to the United States, Wakube also sought funds for the Lugulu Development Project which had interest in health care and education. Harold Smuck, the co-secretary General of EAYM, then wrote to America suggesting that in the "event of EAYM's split into two Yearly Meetings, FUM should send funds to one place, Kaimosi, though for the benefit of both groups".⁸⁸

The hope for money from abroad persisted into October 1972, when a letter from Elisha Wakube stated that "as we have previously noted, any one who denies there is funding from abroad is a liar."⁸⁹ In this letter, Wakube was referring to the stand taken by FUM and EAYM that the American Friends would not financially support any new Yearly Meeting in Kenya. In addition to money from abroad, other economic considerations were also apparent, in the establishment of ERSF. Many of the northerners - and later other groups - wanted donors to fund the building of projects like hospitals, schools and community development projects in their areas. For instance, in 1979, Lung'aho, announced during the Kidundu Conference, that the government of Netherland had sent financial assistance through EAYM to two schools;

Igunga in West Maragoli and Mukhonje in West Isukha. And as part of the community Based Health Care Project, we are to receive Ksh.557, 584, from World Council of Churches for lunches in 120 primary schools.⁹⁰

Consequently, foreign aid in form of grants for the development of particular Friends' regions, can explain the sporadic establishment of Yearly Meetings. Once a Yearly Meeting was established, a request was sent (mainly to USA and European countries) for financial aid. Indeed, leaders of ERSF and the subsequent Yearly Meetings frequently accused the EAYM leadership at Kaimosi of mismanagement - diverting grants from foreign donors to personal use - and therefore, opted to establish their own Yearly Meetings to source and manage foreign aid by

⁸⁸ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, *op.cit.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ EAYM, General Secretary's Report, 1980.

themselves. For instance, in a letter written to the DC Kakamega on 25th of March 1985, Gerishom Majani Litu, an official of EAYM (Kaimosi), claimed that the conflict among the Friends in western Kenya was due to grants from abroad. He accused Filemona Indire and Herbert Asava, Solomon Adagala and John Majani of mismanagement of grants meant for Kaimosi by diverting them to personal use. He asserted, "they then ran away from Kaimosi without giving their reports. After running away from Kaimosi, they decided to start their own autonomous Yearly Meetings in Maragoli".⁹¹

Litu further accused Filemona Indire and John Majani of planning to transfer a donation of Ksh. 250,000 meant for Kaimosi to EAYM (south). Since Filemona Indire was then a nominated MP and a close confidant of president Moi, he regularly used his influence to divert most of the foreign aid sent to the Friends church in Kenya to support EAYM (South) in general and his village Meeting in particular.⁹² Many elite among the Luhyia Friends thus thought that they could persuade FUM to support their economic activities, if only they established their own Meetings. Consequently, the establishment of Yearly Meetings was based on the hope of soliciting and controlling grants from abroad.⁹³

7.2.1.2 Church Contributions

In addition to grants, EAYM depended on members' contributions given through their respective Weekly, Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, to meet its recurrent expenditure like staff salaries and provision of services by various departments. For instance, by 1980 member donations and other income was Ksh.108, 662, while special collections and offerings totalled Ksh.16, 614.60 monthly.⁹⁴ But the management and use of church contributions quickly led to conflict. The Bukusu Friends leaders continually argued that their church contributions were mainly benefitting the southerners. For instance, when Elgon Nyanza district was created in 1956 and it became apparent that the maize cesses formed the main generator of income in western province, Bukusu Friends leaders argued that the largest share of church contribution came from the north.

⁹¹ KNA, DX/ 21/9/3, Religious Societies Disputes and General Correspondence, 25/ 3/ 1985.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ EAYM, Annual Report of 38th Session of East African Yearly Meeting of Religious Society of Friends, 6/12/ 1983.

However, church records indicate that the Maragoli contributed more than 40 percent of the local church revenue.⁹⁵

To the Bukusu Friends leaders, however, EAYM was mainly serving the southerners' interests since all of the church projects' headquarters were centred in the south. The Bukusu, without any proof, thus began to argue that "they were getting very little in return for their massive support to the church and its secular institutions".⁹⁶ The Bukusu Friends leaders also accused the officials at Kaimosi of misappropriating church contributions. For instance, in 1971 when the Lugulu Monthly Meeting asked for funds to equip the Lugulu health Centre, EAYM treasurer, Simeon Sambwa, sarcastically told Elisha Wakube, one of the Bukusu Friends leaders, that "their money had been eaten by rats".⁹⁷ The Bukusu thus decided to agitate for a Yearly Meeting, which would finance their own secular programmes.

The split of the EAYM into EAYM (Kaimosi) and EAYM (south) can also be attributed to disputes over the control of church contributions. For instance, in a letter to the manager, Barclays Bank of Kenya, on the 16th June 1982, Filemona Indire, Treasurer of EAYM (south), noted that "there have been several attempts to change signatories to the account number 23-1072-268 belonging to EAYM (south)". Indire accused EAYM (Kaimosi) of trying to change signatories, yet when EAYM had been split into three, Kaimosi ceased to be a parent organization and therefore "should not interfere with other Yearly Meetings' accounts".⁹⁸ This, coupled with the statement earlier made that Indire had diverted most of the grants to serve his Weekly/Village Meeting, shows that the control of church's money has always been at the centre of the various splits in the Friends church.

7.2.1.3 Scholarships

With the establishment of EAYM in 1946, African Friends began to request FAM for opportunities for overseas college training. Due to increased pressure from Africans, the AFBM

⁹⁵ EAYM, Annual Report of 38th Session of East African Yearly Meeting of Religious Society of Friends, 6/12/1983.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, *op.cit.*

⁹⁸ KNA, MSS/54/20, EAYM (South), 16/6/1982.

began to organize scholarships for African Friends to study overseas. From 1959, the Friends church sponsored at least 10 students every year for study overseas.⁹⁹

With the transfer of power and property from FAM to EAYM, FUM continued to offer scholarships to qualified Friends church members. But the provision of scholarships began to create problems. Increasingly, the Bukusu through church elders, like Philip Mwangale, began to claim that the Maragoli, who dominated the leadership positions at Kaimosi, were denying Bukusu applicants opportunities to study abroad. This is true to some extent, since in the late 1960s, the leadership at Kaimosi argued that most of the Bukusu who applied were “not true Friends since they either were associated with *Dini ya Musambwa*, came from polygamous families, or had children out of marriage”.¹⁰⁰ This accusation against the Bukusu seems to have been influenced by a report that indicated that, “a much greater percentage of Bukusu men were polygamists, than was the case in the south. Whereas, 85 percent of Maragoli married men had only one wife, 40 percent of Bukusu married men were polygamous”.¹⁰¹ Polygamy thus had led to the exclusion of a larger proportion of the Bukusu from the church and hence education scholarships than the Maragoli. This reality limited the northerners’ share of scholarships. It also led the Bukusu to demand for the establishment of another Yearly Meeting, with the hope that “such a Meeting would secure scholarships for our children to study abroad”.¹⁰²

7. 2.1.4 Secular Departments

Kaimosi, the first mission station opened by FAM, was virtually in the south and so were Lirhanda and Vihiga in the southern heartland. Later came Lugulu in the north, followed only by Malava, in the central area. Thus, it is not surprising that Kaimosi, being settled first and having abundant water for power as well as for other uses, was developed earlier and more extensively than were other areas, and that it hosted most of the secular departments.

⁹⁹ EAYM, Education Departments Reports, 1980; EAYM, FAM education reports, 1959; KNA, MSS/ 54/37, EAYM Annual Reports, 1958- 1960. See also Oral Interview, John Kwitsuli, Luchina, 12/6/2007; Julius Marani, Malava, Kivaywa 12/8/2007; and Francis Mwashii, Jeremiah Lusweti; Erastus Waliula; Elisha Wakube; Egambi Dalizu, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ Oral Interview, Reuben Masitsa, Muigai, 12/8/2007; and Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

¹⁰¹ KNA, EN/8 USAID, Elgon Nyanza Survey, 1956.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

A) Medical Department

FAM missionaries started a medical department at Kaimosi with the establishment of Kaimosi hospital in 1903. The hospital grew quickly, with a dispensary and a maternity unit following quite soon after its establishment. Lugulu Health Centre, on the other hand, only acquired rudimentary health services shortly before 1920, and did not have a resident doctor for fifty years. This meant that, for the most part, Lugulu Health Centre was considered an out-station of the Kaimosi Hospital.

Following Kenya's independence, on 12th December, 1963 most of the work of the Friends Missions in Kenya, including the hospitals, was gradually transferred to local management. The Bukusu Friends leaders, led by Philip Mwangale and Jeremiah Lusweti, complained about the management of the hospital and distribution of medical grants from abroad. They specifically observed that most of the managers and workers at the hospital were from the south and that aid meant to develop the medical department was mainly diverted to Kaimosi, with almost nothing being given to the Lugulu Health Centre. For instance, in 1965 President Jomo Kenyatta visited Kaimosi hospital to preside over the opening of a new building block. During his visit, Kenyatta donated Ksh. 21,000 as a government contribution towards the capital development of the hospital.¹⁰³

The Bukusu Friends leaders wanted some of the monies to be allocated to Lugulu Health Clinic. When this was not done, they began to agitate for a Yearly Meeting which would have its own hospital. Indeed, throughout the 1970s, Kaimosi hospital continued to receive grants from the government and FUM, among other donors. For instance in 1981, Kaimosi Hospital received Ksh.546, 292 as a government grant and over Ksh. 105,000 from FUM.¹⁰⁴ It was such continuous grants from the government and FUM that made the Bukusu to believe that if "they set up their own Yearly Meeting they could also acquire grants which would help them develop the Lugulu Health Centre into a fully fledged hospital".¹⁰⁵ This was the reason why Lugulu Clinic was gazetted as a hospital in the Kenya Gazette of 1st of April 1977, a few years after the registration of ERSF. However, with the establishment of ERSF, and the confusion surrounding

¹⁰³ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1965.

¹⁰⁴ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1982 and 1983.

¹⁰⁵ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, *op.cit.*

EAYM medical department administration, medical aid from FUM was discontinued, effectively meaning that neither of the hospitals could continue to count on aid from abroad.¹⁰⁶

With no aid forthcoming, the Bukusu Friends then demanded that the properties of the Kaimosi hospital be equally divided between Kaimosi and Lugulu. This demand led to confusion in hospital management, with workers supporting either of the factions. In 1984, the problems of Kaimosi hospital were further compounded by the registration of EAYM (South). Initially, the Maragoli Friends through their leaders - who included Filimona Indire, Solomon Adagala and Salome Nolega - demanded that the hospital be placed under their Yearly Meeting, and not EAYM (Kaimosi). The Maragoli Friends leaders were basing their argument on the premise that they were the majority in the Friends and not the Tiriki, among whom the hospital was located. The Tiriki objected to the “idea that a Maragoli should head” Kaimosi hospital. However, the Maragoli, under the leadership of Moses Mudavadi, converted the Sabatia Health Centre into a Friends Hospital.¹⁰⁷ And most of the government funding meant for Kaimosi hospital was subsequently diverted to Sabatia hospital. The 1980s were, therefore, years when the Bukusu, the Maragoli and the Tiriki fought over the control of the Kaimosi hospital, accusing each other of mismanagement of the hospital.¹⁰⁸

The net result was not only the establishment of new Yearly Meetings, but also the competition for funding between Lugulu, Sabatia and Kaimosi hospitals. Consequently, by 1987 Kaimosi Hospital the only referral hospital in western Kenya, became prone to petty thievery, mismanagement by the hospital staff and lack of funding, factors that diminished the hospital’s capacity to provide adequate medical care. This situation forced the government to appoint a Commission to run the hospital. But by 1994, the hospital had been further run down and the Commission was dissolved and control returned to EAYM (Kaimosi). Under the new agreement, the hospital retained some government seconded staff, whilst EAYM appointed a Board of Governors. But the Nursing School, founded in 1953, could not be saved and by 1996, it had to

¹⁰⁶ Oral Interview, Ainea Matasi, Chegulo, 11/8/ 2007, Elisha Wakube, *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁷ KNA, CS/1/14/96, ADC, North Nyanza Minutes, 1956.

¹⁰⁸ Oral Interview, Japheth Amugune, William Shibadu and Leah Ganira Lung’aho, *op.cit.*

be closed. At that time, the physical structures at Kaimosi had deteriorated so much that the “site did not look like a hospital at all”.¹⁰⁹

B) Colleges and Community Service Programmes

FAM had started from very early to establish primary schools, secondary schools and one Teachers’ Training College. At Kenya’s independence, about 250 primary schools, 16 secondary schools and the Teachers’ Training College were handed over to the Government to be administered by Boards of Governors. EAYM, however, continued to manage several colleges and community development programmes.¹¹⁰

i) Friends Bible Institute

The Friends Bible Institute was founded in 1942 in order to train the spiritual leadership of EAYM. Originally established at Lugulu, the college was moved to Kaimosi in 1949.¹¹¹ During the clamour for the establishment of ERSF, Bukusu staff at Kaimosi was forced to resign on the pretext that they were supporting the formation of ERSF. A good example was Elisha Wakube, the then acting principal of the institute.¹¹² With this sort of harassment, the Bukusu Friends increased the pressure for a second Yearly Meeting, so as to develop their own Bible training school. Additionally, the conflict over it meant that the school lost FUM sponsorship and consequently, the institute underwent a steady decline in the 1980s. It was not until 1995 that steps were taken by FUM to revive the college as an independent institution, free of interference by any Yearly Meeting. In that year, board members of the institute and representatives of FUM discussed the future of the school. Consequently, the Friends Bible Institute was renamed Friends Theological College, and plans were put in place to upgrade the facilities and curriculum. To avoid further deterioration, FUM also agreed to hire and pay the teaching staff.

ii) Rural Service Programme

The RSP was started at Kaimosi in 1962 as a church-based development organization. The programme was intended to facilitate community development in health care, agriculture,

¹⁰⁹ EAYM (north), Annual Report, 1994.

¹¹⁰ EAYM, 38th Session of East African Yearly Meeting of Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), 6th December 1983.

¹¹¹ For this discussion see p. 210 and EAYM, Annual Reports 1982 and 1983.

¹¹² Oral Interview Elisha Wakube, *op. cit.*

appropriate technology and savings and credit schemes. RSP was designed to be jointly funded by EAYM and Friends in America, Britain, Germany, Switzerland and Sweden. For instance by 1972, foreign partners were contributing nearly a half of the programme's annual budget of Ksh, 233,174.80.¹¹³ The establishment of RSP, however, increasingly became another source of tension between the south and the north. Centred in the south, RSP concentrated on vegetable growing, increasing maize production and using the Kaimosi farm for training seminars and demonstrations to farmers. But the Bukusu, led by large scale farmers like Philip Mwangale, increasingly began to demand that the programme include the concerns of the north. These concerns centred on mechanized commercial farming and animal husbandry, and not the growing of vegetables. Although Rodney Morris, a director of the programme, on occasion used the Kaimosi tractor to plough the farms of some Bukusu Friends, the northerners did not generally share in the rewards associated with the scheme.¹¹⁴ This, plus the establishment of Lugari Christian Training Centre in the north, encouraged the Bukusu to push for the establishment of their own Yearly Meeting in the belief that such a meeting would be receptive to their needs.

iii) Lugari Farmers' Christian Training Centre

The Lugari Farmers' Christian Training Centre project began in 1961, "when the Friends church learned of the resettlement programme by the Kenya government".¹¹⁵ In May 1963, the Settlement Department, the Christian Council of Kenya and FAM began negotiations to establish an agricultural and church development programme in Lugari. A final agreement between the three parties was reached in September 1963 and it provided that,

The Christian Council of Kenya, with funds obtained from Freedom From Hunger Campaign, will provide funds for a four year development programme; the Department of Settlement will provide one staff and some loose assets. EAYM, in cooperation with AFBM will provide the principal and take over the responsibility for the programme at the end of the four years.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ EAYM, Annual Reports 1982.

¹¹⁴ EAYM, 38th Session of East African Yearly Meeting of Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), 6th December 1983.

¹¹⁵ KNA, MSS/54/25, Kaimosi Mission Documents, 1963.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

After this agreement, the centre was inaugurated on the 6th of January, 1964. It soon became an adult education venture, with instruction in animal and crop husbandry and soil conservation. But the announcement that EAYM planned to help the Maragoli - who had been affected by scarcity of land due to population pressure - to settle in farms vacated by white settlers in the Lugari area, was quickly opposed by the Kabras led by Samuel Imbuye and the Bukusu led by Philip Mwangale.¹¹⁷ The northerners regarded the settlement of the Maragoli in their area as the thin veil of undermining them in their own sphere of influence. Consequently, the opening of the Lugari Farmers Training Centre was regarded as another Yearly Meeting project aimed at supporting Maragoli interests.¹¹⁸

With the Registration of ERSF as a Yearly Meeting in 1973, a tug of war between EAYM and ERSF ensued over the ownership of the centre. The conflict caused not only confusion and mismanagement - as the staff were divided in their support for one or the other groups- but also made FUM withhold their support to the centre.¹¹⁹ On 4th April, 1978 the Bukusu, through Elijah Mwangale, then a government minister asked the government to step in and save the centre from collapse. Consequently, in a letter to the Deputy Director, Ministry of Agriculture, on the 2nd August, 1978 R.M Isiaho, the Principal of the Centre, argued that due to financial and managerial problems, EAYM was requesting the government, through the Ministry of Agriculture, to assume “full financing and managerial responsibility of the centre as soon as it is possible”.¹²⁰ The government, however, did not take over the centre, but offered a grant “to fill the gap created by withdrawing overseas donors, who have hitherto channeled their assistance through EAYM”.¹²¹ With little financial aid and conflict over the centre’s management, it soon ceased to play an active part in Friends’ agricultural development. The centre would, however, be partly revived after the establishment of Lugari Yearly Meeting in 1992, which began to fund it.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Oral Interview, Masoni Mutali, Lukhono, 16/8/2007.

¹¹⁸ Gilpin, *op.cit.*, pp. 326-327.

¹¹⁹ EAYM, Lugari Farmers Training Report, 4/8/78.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

iv) Friends College of Research and Technology

This institution was launched in 1971 to cater for what was termed “Youth in the Gap”, or young people who had obtained 4 years of secondary education but, for many reasons, could not go further in their education. To fill this gap, the Friends College of Research and Technology was established to provide training in tailoring, carpentry and joinery, home economics, auto mechanics and book keeping.

The college was entirely the responsibility of EAYM, but it received financial support from the government as well as the World Vision International and Equator Community Education, both based in the USA. For instance in 1972, the college received Ksh.210,000 from the two USA-based organizations to finance its budget of Ksh. 219, 906.50 for that year¹²³. But hosting of the college at Kaimosi upset the northerners, particularly the Bukusu, who continued to complain about the concentration of EAYM institutions at Kaimosi. Moreover, in 1980 the Maragoli demanded that the college be made the property of EAYM (South). For instance, on August 8th 1981 the DC, Kakamega, wrote a letter to the PC, Western Province, over ownership of the college. In the letter, the DC noted that;

There appears to be two groups in dispute over this college. The first group consists of Hon. M.B. Mudavadi, Hon. H.J. Onamu, Salome Nolega and their supporters. The second group consists of Mr. Thomas Lung'aho, Hon. J.M. Angatia, former MP, Hamisi constituency, Mr. Samson Mmaitisi, Mr. F.Mwashi Shiverenge, Chairman of the Board of Governors and their supporters. These groupings have also affected the running of the EAYM. The first group is in favour of a breakaway from the main group, i.e. Kaimosi.¹²⁴

Although James Onamu was the MP for Hamisi, a predominantly Tiriki constituency, he was one of the Maragoli who had settled in that area and thus supported Mudavadi on many issues. Francis Mwashi Shiverenge, a Tiriki, and Angatia, a Kabras, were opposed to the relocation of the college to Maragoli, a proposal that Mudavadi and Nolega were pursuing.¹²⁵ The result of this conflict was that funding from government and other donor agencies was suspended and the college could not offer most of its services. It was only in the late 1990s that the college was revived, through the support of the government and EAYM (Kaimosi).

¹²³ EAYM, Annual Reports, 1972.

¹²⁴ KNA, HB/27/7/4, Western- Education General File, 8/4/1981

¹²⁵ Oral Interview, Francis Mwashi, *op. cit.*

7.2.1.5 Church Leadership

Church leadership struggles took place at two levels; clan and/or sub-group, and at personal level, especially among the Friends educated elite. For instance, when Elisha Wakube, a proponent of ERSF, was asked why he vigorously fought for the establishment of a second Yearly Meeting in Kenya, his reply was a single word, 'jobs', suggesting that many northern Friends did not have leadership positions at Kaimosi.¹²⁶

A) Clan and/or Sub-group

In 1962, Thomas Lung'aho was appointed as EAYM General Secretary. As EAYM General Secretary he became a FAM official, with a full missionary status and paid directly from Richmond. As the process of devolution of authority slowly became eminent, many suddenly realized "the potential in the money, property, and positions, which were being given over to the Yearly Meeting".¹²⁷ By 1962 for instance, EAYM reports indicated that, "except for certain inapplicable fringe benefits, Lung'aho's salary was set at the same level as a missionary's salary – Ksh. 7,200 and the Mission Board in the USA paid it".¹²⁸ This salary was equivalent to that earned by a Permanent Secretary (hereafter PS) in the government. Beside the high salary, Lung'aho had an official chauffer-driven car. Other officials of the Yearly Meeting, like the Recording Clerk and the treasurer, also earned over Ksh. 4,000, which made them stand apart from others in their villages. Indeed, these officials also used their positions to secure overseas education scholarships for their children and close relatives.¹²⁹ Consequently, with Africans assuming the church leadership in 1964, the church's concept of service was increasingly defined in terms of how such leadership benefited an individual clan, village or region. Since 1964, the Bukusu Friends, - who referred to Thomas Lung'aho, the General Secretary of EAYM, as a "Maragoli" (though he was an Isukha), - increasingly claimed that the Maragoli had taken the lion's share of the economic benefits that accrued from the church leadership. The Bukusu elite, led by Lusweti, Philip Mwangale and Wakube, also rightly complained that the church leadership was giving more scholarships to students from the southern locations and that all church contributions and grants from abroad were directed towards the development needs of the

¹²⁶ Oral Interview, Elisha Wakube, *op.cit*

¹²⁷ EAYM, General Secretary's Report, 1984.

¹²⁸ Smuck, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

south.¹³⁰ Thus, throughout the 1960s, the Bukusu Friends leaders intensified their demands for the establishment of ERSF.

With the establishment of ERSF, it was the turn of the Maragoli to try and wrestle church leadership from Lung'aho. When Lung'aho and his supporters refused to call for the election of new office bearers as demanded by the Maragoli, they left EAYM to establish EAYM (South). Lung'aho was left to lead EAYM, but not for long. The Tiriki, through Dembede, immediately asked for Lung'aho's resignation and the appointment of one of their own as the leader of EAYM. Since Lung'aho was now left with few supporters, he abandoned EAYM and went on to establish the Central Yearly Meeting in his home area. Subsequent splits in the church, in certain cases, can also be attributed to leadership. Most of the Luhyia sub-groups, who felt their regions were being denied leadership positions in the church, broke away from the parent Yearly Meeting. In some cases, church leadership also stimulated clan rivalry and hence the establishment of Yearly Meetings. Such was the case in Maragoli, where rivalry between clans led to the establishment of Vihiga Yearly Meeting, in the west and Vokoli in the east. Consequently, the splits in the Friends church can be explained by the urge to lead the church and the perceived economic benefits that could accrue from such positions for the clan, sub-group or region.¹³¹

B) Friends Educated Elite

Since the 1950s, FAM had begun to sponsor children of pioneer Friends for college training overseas. By the 1960s, many of these students began to come back home equipped with various qualifications. Once back in Kenya, some of the Friends educated elite assumed salaried positions in EAYM. For example, Lung'aho became the General Secretary of EAYM. Other like Solomon Adagala, Jonathan Barasa, Filemona Indire, Neddy Khamidi, Salome Nolega, Elijah Mwangale, Elisha Wakube and Hezekiah Ngoya, apart from being members of the EAYM Board in charge of different departments, also held various positions in the civil service. Notably, it was these educated elite who began to struggle amongst themselves for the executive and well paid positions - particularly, the Secretary General's post - in EAYM. For instance, many of the

¹³⁰ Oral Interview, Leah Ganira Lung'aho, *op.cit.*

¹³¹ EAYM, General Secretary's Report, 1984.

northerners, led by Wakube, wanted to wrestle the position of General Secretary from Lung'aho. When Wakube failed to get the position, he campaigned for the establishment of ERSF, where he became its General Secretary. The same applies to Indire and Adagala who, became General Secretary and Treasurer of EAYM (South), respectively. Among the women elite, Neddy Khamidi became the Treasurer of Central Yearly Meeting while Dinah Khayota became the recording clerk for ERSF.¹³² Consequently, it was the fight for the lucrative positions in EAYM that led the Friends educated elite, who had benefited from church scholarships, to agitate for the establishment of Yearly Meetings where they hoped to fulfil personal leadership ambitions and obtain economic leverages associated with such offices.

7.2.1.6 Political Expediency

Politicians also exacerbated conflicts and divisions in EAYM. "Politicians entered the situation in hope of reaping political credit by seeming to have helped their people in their demands for a Yearly Meeting".¹³³ For instance, in his letter to the Chief Inspector of Schools, on the 6th of November, 1981, S.K Tororey, the acting PC, Western Kenya, argued that "senior political leaders feature very prominently in the dispute and therefore complicate the issues. In fact, their aim is to use the breakaway organizations as their political vehicles".¹³⁴ Indeed, Elijah Mwangale, the son of ERSF's presiding clerk, was instrumental in the registration of ERSF in the 1970s. Moses Mudavadi, a minister in President Moi's government and MP for Vihiga Constituency, was also instrumental in the registration of EAYM (South) in the 1980s. Joshua Angatia, at one time the MP of Malava, was instrumental in the registration of Malava Yearly Meeting in the 1990s, while Mukhisa Kituyi, former MP for Kimilili and a minister in president Kibaki's government, was instrumental in the registration of Tongareni Yearly Meeting, in 2006. On the other hand, Samson Mmaisti, a Tiriki and at one time MP for Hamisi, was against the split of EAYM into various meetings. Thus, politicians were either for or against the creation of Yearly Meetings in their respective areas, for political expediency. Mwangale, Mudavadi, Angatia and Kituyi supported the demands by Friends members in their areas for creation of Yearly Meetings in the hope that Friends church members, who were in most cases the majority in their constituencies, would back their political aspirations. On the other hand, since most

¹³² EAYM, Annual Reports, 1983.

¹³³ Oral Interview, Hudson Liyai, *op. cit.*

¹³⁴ KNA, HB/27/366, Western Educational File, 1976-1982.

Tiriki people were opposed to the splits in EAYM and transfer of Kaimosi property to other regions, Mmaitisi had to follow their inclination and thus oppose the other politicians. Consequently, MPs from Friends church-dominated areas either supported or opposed the splits in the church for their political survival. No doubt, therefore, "if it were not for a couple of members of parliament, many Yearly Meetings could not have been registered".¹³⁵

With the help of the elite, the politicians increasingly used the church as a launching pad for personal political ambitions or the maintenance of their political seats. Consequently, Luhyia politicians and the Friends educated elite developed a symbiotic relationship, when it came to church matters. The politicians helped the elite to have their Yearly Meetings registered, while the elite helped the politicians to retain or gain power. In the 1970s through to the 1990s, therefore, the church increasingly served sectional economic interests of mainly the elite and politicians.

7.3 Effects of the Splits

Under African leadership, EAYM split into 26 small Yearly Meetings that were formed along sub-ethnic and/ or clan lines. Up to 1963, the Friends church had been one of the dominant agencies of change among the Luhyia of western Kenya. The church's secular departments of education, health, agriculture and industry had worked, in various ways to transform the economic organization of the Luhyia society. Education, in particular, was crucial to the formation of the Luhyia elite who, in turn, used it to transform themselves, their people and localities. Indeed, when EAYM took over the responsibility of FAM, it was largely expected that the Friends educated African elite, who had assumed the leadership of the church, would maintain the image of the church as a leading agent of change. This was, however, not to be.

Immediately after the hand-over, EAYM became engrossed in internal wrangles over the control of its property. The Bukusu in the north and the Maragoli in the south increasingly quarrelled over leadership positions, employment positions and distribution of the church's properties and income. This conflict led to the formation and registration of ERSF as a Yearly Meeting to serve

¹³⁵ Oral Interview, Hudson Liyai, *op. cit.*

the Bukusu. And once the EAYM was split, more divisions quickly followed, such that by 2006, the Friends church in Kenya could boast of 26 Yearly Meetings.

The split of the church into small Yearly Meetings resulted in conflict over the church's property in Kenya. Each of the Yearly Meetings wanted to control the church's hospitals, colleges and rural development programmes. With this struggle, most of the church's secular departments not only lost sponsorship from abroad, but were also mismanaged, leading to their collapse. For instance, EAYM colleges and all the rural programmes that were meant to alleviate poverty in western Kenya also collapsed. The Kaimosi hospital, which in 1981 had a bed capacity of 120 with over 6,437 admissions, underwent decay and collapse.¹³⁶ For instance, in March 1981 the Ministry of Health threatened to close the Hospital because of its state of,

Poverty in all fields. It had broken pipes, sinks and beds. Mattresses, blankets, bed sheets and some medical equipment had been stolen. Besides, it had accumulated over Kshs.600, 000 debts.¹³⁷

Under African leadership, the Friends church has lost its image as a health provider and community-based church. Moreover, the church has become a divisive factor among the Luhya, since Yearly Meetings are created along sub-ethnic and, in some cases, clan lines and have become occasions of conflict, sometimes resulting in police intervention.¹³⁸

With the persistent wrangling in the Friends church, FUM has declined to financially support any of the Yearly Meetings, and has instead directed its efforts to supporting community-based projects in Turkana and Samburu. FUM work in Turkana and Samburu began in 1995 and concentrated on the spread of Christianity, provision of education, water and veterinary service. The relocation of the FUM financial and technical support to northern Kenya denied the Luhya of western Kenya these services. In summary, therefore, the establishment of several Yearly Meetings in Kenya has not only caused strained relationships between them, but has also weakened the church's role as a transforming agent among the Luhya. In fact, the "NCKK and

¹³⁶ EAYM, Kaimosi Hospital Annual Reports, 1980.

¹³⁷ EAYM, Kaimosi Hospital Reports 1981.

¹³⁸ Oral Interview, Francis Mwashu, *op.cit.*

other religious organizations have found it difficult to address Quakers (Friends) in Kenya, because of lack of clear leadership.”¹³⁹

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter set out to examine the causes and effect of the disintegration of EAYM. It has been shown that in 1964, FAM transferred all its properties in Kenya to EAYM. Under African leadership and management, however, EAYM began to experience protracted conflicts, especially over leadership and the control of its property. This conflict that had developed since the 1920s, initially manifested along regional lines, the north and south. For the Friends the terms ‘north’ and ‘south’ carried geographical, ethnic and religious significance. The ‘north’ referred mainly to the Bukusu and the south to the Maragoli, the two dominant Friends groups in western Kenya. After the 1960s, the Bukusu Friends leaders began to agitate for the establishment of a second Yearly Meeting in Kenya. They argued that EAYM was only serving the interest of the south at the expense of the north. The Bukusu Friends leaders thus desired to establish a Yearly Meeting that would articulate their aspirations. When efforts of reconciliation between the south and the north failed, in 1973 Bukusu Friends leaders registered ERSF as a second Yearly Meeting in Kenya.

Once ERSF was registered, more cracks appeared in the hitherto monolithic EAYM. Conflict that now developed was between the various sub-groups and/or clans within the church. In 1979, EAYM leadership called for annual conference to resolve the tension in the church. But during this conference, EAYM was formally divided into three Yearly Meeting, EAYM (Kaimosi), EAYM (south) and ERSF. However, this division did not end the conflict within and among the three Yearly Meetings. With the continued conflict and breach of security in western Kenya, the government through President Daniel Arap Moi intervened. The president directed the PC of Western Province to work closely with Friends Church leaders, to resolve the problems afflicting the Church. In 1988, after several meetings, Friends Church leaders agreed to amend the church constitution to provide for the establishment of more Yearly Meetings in Kenya. With this provision, Friends leaders with the help of politicians began to establish Yearly Meetings on sub-ethnic, clan and/or family lines. Consequently, by 2006 there were 16 Yearly Meeting in Kenya.

¹³⁹ EAYM (North), Annual Report 1994.

The chapter has argued that the splits in the Friends church can be understood in relation to economic factors: namely, the role of the church in economic development, ownership of EAYM property, control of the church finances, church leadership and political expediency. Church leaders and politicians demanded for the establishment of Yearly Meetings, which would serve their economic and political interests. The church thus became an arena of competition, conflicts and divisions. The establishment of a multitude of Yearly Meetings, however, has meant that the Friends Church has not only ceased to be a leading agent of change in western Kenya, but also all its properties - including hospitals, colleges and community service programmes were mismanaged, vandalized and destroyed. The history of the Friends Church in Kenya under African leadership and management is thus one that is bedevilled with leadership wrangles, splits in the Yearly Meetings and lack of a clear secular policy.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

This study, on the role of the Friends Church in economic transformation among the Luhyia of western province, represents an attempt to assess the correlation between Christianity and economic change in rural Kenya. While intended as a recovery of the recent history of the Friends Church in Kenya, the central purpose of this study was to examine the role that the secular policy of the Friends Church played in achieving economic transformation among the Luhyia. Digressions, especially in chapter two, were intentional and meant to stimulate and assist in the understanding of the subject under inquiry. This study obtained several findings when considered in light of its objectives, hypotheses and conceptual framework. Several aspects deemed pertinent to the study were unravelled.

The study has shown that in 1902, three Friends missionaries - Willis Hotchkiss, Arthur Chilson and Edgar Hole - arrived in Kenya from USA to found the FAM station in Kenya. After trekking in western Kenya for several days, the missionaries chose Kaimosi as the area to establish their first station. The well populated Kaimosi was chosen because it was found to have productive soil, abundant springs of fresh water, river falls, and a forest with good indigenous trees for timber. All these were important for the establishment of an industrial mission. Through Charles Holey, the District Commissioner, the Friends obtained from the government about 1,000 acres of land for use as a Christian mission. The significant question that the study intended to answer at this stage was whether indigenous social structure and/or historical events had influence on the responses the Luhyia made to FAM's innovations, especially those of evangelism and education.

During the pre-colonial period, the Luhyia had already developed complex economic, social and political institutions, which were all cemented by traditional religion. Indeed, there was no aspect of community life that could be removed from the context of religious beliefs. Such beliefs also permeated the thought and conduct of individuals. An individual had to abide by the community's religion, since there was no life outside the community. Thus, when the Friends missionaries arrived in 1902, they encountered a society that had placed obedience to societal laws above any other virtue. At the time, the Luhyia had not yet been significantly affected by colonial rule, which had been established in Kenya from 1895. To the Friends missionaries,

however, the lack of European influence represented a “great and urgent need” for introducing western civilization to this region through Christianity. But even though the Friends encountered a society that had been governed by similar traditions, there was no uniform pattern of responses, among the Luhyia, towards Christianity. For each group, both structural and historical forces were important to individuals and their respective societies formulated their unique responses towards the colonial and missionary challenge.

The Tiriki, among whom the Friends established their first station, initially rejected FAM’s innovations. The traditional social structure of Tiriki society and its inherent values definitely weighed more heavily in shaping their reactions to Christianity, than elsewhere among the Luhyia. With their strong age-grade system and elaborate initiation rites, both embodying important identity and integration functions, the Tiriki long remained aloof from the economic and educational forces accompanying Christianity and colonial rule. Furthermore, instead of trying to outflank Tiriki hostility or allay their fears, the fundamentalist missionaries launched frontal assaults on the society’s secret, male circumcision rituals. In response, the Tiriki withdrew even more and further ignored the mission’s presence.

It was this reluctance and in some cases hostility, shown by the Tiriki towards Christianity, that partly forced a change of strategy among the missionaries. First, the missionaries intensified the notion that the preaching of the gospel alone could not transform the Africans into Christians. What was required in addition was a total transformation of the African culture. The missionaries, therefore, introduced the concept of an industrial mission, which combined the conversion of Africans with the secular goal of “raising their material standards of living” through the provision of western education, medical facilities, and industrial and agricultural transformation.

Secondly, FAM missionaries sought to expand their stations to other Luhyia sub-groups. For instance, FAM missionaries opened up their Vihiga station, among the Maragoli in 1906. It was among the Maragoli that the missionaries had their largest following. This was because among the Luhyia, the Maragoli were the least inhibited by their social structure and traditions in adapting to new situations. Moreover, their positive response to the new opportunities provided by the FAM were aided by geographical factors, demographic pressures, the mission’s language

policy and preferential treatment by the Friends missionaries. The success of the Vihiga station then influenced the missionaries' decision to establish the Lirhanda station among the Isukha and Idakho in 1909, the Lugulu station among Bukusu in 1914 and the Malava station among the Kabras in 1918. The response shown by the Idakho, Isukha Bukusu and Kabras lay in between the two extreme poles represented by the Maragoli and Tiriki. In their moderate reactions, these societies neither demonstrated the enthusiasm found in Maragoli, nor the protracted resistance characteristic of the Tiriki. It is possible that their very gradual acceptance of new opportunities and institutions represents a more even balance of the positive and negative impacts emanating from both structural and historical forces. It is certain, however, that for all the groups under study, how a society initially responded to the mission's overtures greatly influenced its subsequent rate of school development and the resultant economic transformation.

Initial responses did not, however, automatically determine all future developments. Rather, they did establish patterns, which later events generally reinforced and made extremely difficult to alter. Within a decade, each group was established in a position that remained unchanged throughout the entire colonial era. For instance, the Maragoli quickly adapted to the "colonial situation" and adopted many of its innovations.¹ Educationally, they raced into the lead in western Kenya, and never relinquished this position. By all yardsticks of educational development – financial support, enrolments, levels of schooling, local initiatives – the Maragoli consistently took the lead. The fact that the first Minister of Education in independent Kenya was a Maragoli symbolized all their educational acumen. The Bukusu, who were to a large extent influenced by what they saw on the European farms in the neighbouring Trans-Nzoia district, also used the Friends Church to acquire education, consequently becoming the leading commercial farmers in Western Kenya. Thus, Bukusu Friends like Philip Mwangale, the father of Elijah Mwangale and Zacharia Makhalan'gan'ga, the father of Dr Noah Wekesa, were among the leading commercial farmers in Kenya. Coincidentally, both Elijah Mwangale and Noah Wekesa were sponsored by the Friends Church to study agriculture and veterinary science in the

¹ For further readings on the concept of the Colonial Situation, see for example, Georges Balandier, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

USA and British universities, respectively. The Idakho, Isukha and Kabras trailed somewhere behind the Maragoli and the Bukusu, while the Tiriki consistently finished last.

Thirdly, FAM missionaries also sought the help of the colonial government to recruit Christians and pupils. The colonial government, like the missionaries, believed that European colonialism and imperialism presented the channel for acquiring the most advanced forms of human civilization and that it was the right of the “higher civilizations to conquer the lower civilizations in order to bring prosperity and progress”.² Missionaries thus had no difficulty collaborating with colonialists in trying to mould “the African in the White man’s image”.

Through the colonial government, the missionaries increasingly began to use chiefs and headmen to force Africans into the mission stations and schools. Colonial chiefs and headmen were put under pressure by the government to assist the missionaries in getting converts. Consequently, the chiefs and headmen, for fear of losing their jobs if they failed to implement government directives, rounded up many young men and delivered them to the mission stations. Some headmen also allowed FAM missionaries to set up preaching stations near their compounds. Taking advantage of this, the missionaries began to expand their area of influence in the neighbourhoods of the five mission stations. It was from these stations that the Friends missionaries hoped to transform the Luhyia society. In sum, therefore, the first converts to Christianity among the Luhyia were either young men, who had been forced into the mission stations by their chiefs and headmen, or orphans and other disadvantaged youth who wanted an alternative route to fame and riches. It was on this nucleus that the missionaries thought they would reach other members of the wider community. However, these early converts found themselves forced to stay at the mission stations, not only for fear of retribution from their clan members, but also as a means of keeping them shielded from traditional influences.

The study also sought to unravel the factors that led to increased African conversion, increased demand for FAM secular services - education, health, agriculture and industry - and the response of missionaries to this new situation during the inter-war period. Throughout the colonial period, African Friends assumed a number of important positions, which fell into one of three categories; catalyst, partner or critic. One persistent theme in this respect was the appearance, at

² See for example, Sheldon Gellar, *op.cit.*, p.141

each stage of development, of a select group of Luhyia Friends who provided leadership and support for more provision of secular services. For a variety of reasons, successive elite groups found advantage in being allies of the Friends mission in promoting their communities' secular concerns, especially education. Indeed, it was through education that the Luhyia would embrace, and then demand, for the provision of medical, agricultural and industrial services from FAM.

Initially, the educational leaders among the Luhyia were the colonial-appointed chiefs and headmen. These officials agreed to help establish and maintain local schools. Once started, the idea of formal education spread quite rapidly among the Luhyia. Local youths began to take advantage of new opportunities through attending the schools, a process repeated in each succeeding Luhyia generation. Together, the chiefs as sponsors and the youths as enthusiasts helped to lay a firm foundation for education among their own people. After the First World War, when the Friends mission and the schools temporarily lost the chiefs as allies, the schools gained a new group of supporters. Christian villages became the patrons who built schools, supervised their operations and in the process provided compelling proof that the Luhyia could profit from the innovations that accompanied colonial rule. As more and more Luhyia youths were attracted to the schools operated by local Christian communities, pressure was put on the mission and the government to expand the upper levels of education. Thus, Luhyia Friends elite played a prominent role, as partners and/or critics, in shaping the FAM secular policy. Indeed, the elite were essential in getting the government to build a school at Kakamega and in persuading the Friends Africa Mission to prepare Luhyia boys and girls for secondary education elsewhere in the colony.³

The study has revealed that at about the time of the Second World War, a new alliance emerged between the mission and two new Luhyia elite; educated chiefs and well-educated Luhyia Friends. These new elite began a renewed promotion of education throughout the Luhyia region. Under their prodding and direction, schools and enrolment grew at a quickened pace. Eventually, their pressure forced both the mission and colonial government to expand all levels of education, far faster than any of the planners had originally intended. Thus, at various stages of the history of FAM, there appeared a select group of Luhyia who assumed the role of leaders

³ For this discussion see, for example, Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

in promoting education in alliance with the Friends mission and the government. This personal force complemented other impersonal forces, such as finance and technology, also associated with the development process.

The partnership that grew up between the pioneer Luhyia elite and FAM missionaries was clearly a two way process. The missionaries came to rely heavily on the Luhyia teacher-evangelists to spread the Christian message. FAM missionaries also depended on local communities to build and maintain the network of out-schools, to pay the teachers, and to oversee many of the routine operations of the out-schools, often for months or years, with little or no missionary intervention. In turn, the Luhyia depended on FAM missionaries for services and support. The Luhyia sent their best out-school pupils to the mission's aided elementary and station schools, sought trained teachers from FAM and channelled their requests for grants-in-aid through the Mission's Education Secretary. In addition, the missionaries and the Luhyia Friends had strong religious ties, which encouraged their mutual co-operation in education.

The Luhyia were, however, hardly passive partners in education matters. As critics, they promoted the types of education they favoured and resisted the programmes they disliked. Their strong financial support, local initiatives and repeated requests, were ways through which they demonstrated their concern for accelerating educational progress. In their eagerness to found and fund educational institutions, the Luhyia brought pressure to bear on both the mission and government to respond with similar efforts. On the other hand, Luhyia petitions were instruments to indicate which practices and programmes they strongly opposed. These devices also served as levers used to pry changes and concessions out of conservative missionaries, American Board members, and reluctant government officials. Thus, as partners and critics, the Luhyia Friends elite not only shared in shaping the development of education, but also in the economic transformation of their areas.

FAM missionaries had arrived in Kenya intent on providing both literacy and vocational training in order to realize religious goals. Five decades did little to alter this "Christian" end in their educational thinking, whether it was in converting a "heathen", training a carpenter, or in producing a headmaster. The Luhyia converts also came to share the missionaries' concern for

making the schools the agent of the church, though they increasingly held other ideas about education. Any Luhyia youth or parent, with aspirations for mobility in colonial Kenya, perceived that certain kinds of education were essential. For them, industrial training, adaptation schemes, vernacular learning, and agricultural studies were only revolving doors, leading back to the very situations they sought to escape from. They realized that if education were to open to them the doors of opportunities, they must have academic studies, be taught English and even higher levels of training, including university education. These different educational perspectives meant that clashes would occur over the nature of education. However, it was these clashes that produced interaction, bargaining and compromises among the three participants in the educational development in Western Kenya.

Education, thus, became an important transformative force among the Luhyia. One major result of this transformation was the creation of Friends educated elite, who used the church to pursue their economic interests. Throughout the study, it has been shown that most of the Luhyia elite - including civil servants, commercial farmers, traders, church ministers and politicians - were products of the Friends education system and beneficiaries of church's scholarships. In the 1950s, this emerging middle class was able to monopolize access to the higher levels of education and new economic opportunities, which the colonial government provided. The educated elite also used their influence in the church to ensure that the privileges of their group were passed on to their children. Furthermore, with the transfer of power and property from FAM to EAYM, it was the same elite which became leaders of the Friends Church. The elite thus began to use church leadership as a spring board for economic accumulation and consolidation of political power.

Yet, the church continued to draw the majority of its membership from the underprivileged, particularly the women, whose future very clearly remained that of peasant farmers. To some extent, they shared in the general economic prosperity brought about by church. But they had an increasingly limited voice in many of the decisions which most affected them as the bureaucracy of both government and church became more complex and centralized, a development which increased the advantages of the better-educated Africans. Modern institutions ceased to reflect, or respond to, the needs of the village and effective communication, even between the educated

African and the peasant, became more difficult. Yet, the church had developed sufficient roots to enable it to remain a vital part of the rural life. Women, in particular, still valued the church as a vehicle for wider contact and communication, as a stimulus to self-help and as a source of support in times of hardship or need. And often, the church was still the only form of community organization in the rural areas and the only institution capable of bridging the gap between the village and the outside world.

With completion of the transfer of power and property from FAM to EAYM in 1963, tension and conflict between the southern and northern Friends educated elite intensified. This tension eventually led to the establishment and registration of a multitude of Yearly Meetings. It has been shown that in the incipient years of the Friends Church, its founder, George Fox, established Weekly, Monthly and Yearly Meetings, as organs to govern the church. Consequently, from the 1600s the British Friends have been governed under the British Yearly Meeting. In Kenya, EAYM was established in 1946, as the highest and all-powerful decision-making body of the Friends Church. However, due to differences between the southern and northern educated elite, in 1973 the Bukusu registered ERSF, as a second autonomous Yearly Meeting in Kenya, to serve their interest. Once the monolithic EAYM was divided, other splits quickly followed. Consequently, by 2006 EAYM had been split into 16 Yearly Meetings, all based on clans or sub-ethnic affiliations. But with the splits occurring regularly, the church has ceased to be one of the leading agencies of economic transformation among the Luhyia. The various colleges, medical facilities and rural development agencies that the missionaries had established all underwent decay and subsequent collapse, due to conflict over their control by the various Yearly Meetings, and the resultant withdrawal of funding from development partners. Consequently, the elite, whom the church created through its education system, have in turn - due to the capitalistic urge of economic resource accumulation - undermined the church's role and image as an agent of rural economic transformation by sub-dividing the church into tiny Yearly Meetings.

From the research findings on the history of the Friends Church in Kenya and the economic experience of the Luhyia, proponents of modernization theory would find ample material to support their contention, that FAM secular policy led to a significant 'modernization' among the

Tiriki, the Maragoli, the Isukha, the Idakho, the Kabras and the Bukusu. The term "modernization" has been used in the study to explain the economic transformation that occurred among the Luhya as a result of FAM's secular policy. It has been shown that the missionaries wanted to change the Luhya society from the traditional African setting to a Christian, westernized one through the process of modernization. The most active ingredient in the process was the creation of Friends educated elite who, in turn, were to wean their people away from their traditions and haul them into the western type of culture by actively diffusing the ingredients necessary for economic transformation, especially 'modern' values, such as technology, expertise and capital.

Consequently, when the Friends arrived in western Kenya, education was set forth as a means of not only gaining adherents, but also of changing the society. Through education, FAM missionaries hoped to produce a band of Christian Africans who would, in turn, convert their fellow Africans. As education produced the first modern elite among the Luhya, many families began to see the advantage of education in the colonial situation and, consequently, sent their children to school. Ultimately, it was missionary education that produced the educated elite (the advocates of modernity) among the Luhya. These elite, who were driven by capitalistic tendencies of accumulation, worked hard to transform their communities. However, it was also the elite who were responsible for the estrangement which occurred in the church.

The splits that occurred in the Friends Church in Kenya can be explained by the social exchange and conflict theories. Social exchange theory assumes self-interested actors, who transact with other self-interested actors in order to accomplish individual goals that they cannot achieve alone. Self-interest and interdependence are central properties of social exchange. In the case of EAYM, the educated elite and the politicians depended on each others' and that of their communities (clans and/or sub-ethnic groups) to split the church into units which would serve personal and/or clan or sub-ethnic economic interest, at the expense of the unity of the church. Finally, social conflict theory assumes that social behaviour can best be understood in terms of tension and conflict between groups and individuals. This theory thus explains the conflict that arose in the EAYM leading to its disintegration.

In sum, therefore, the study of the Friends Church in Kenya represents an attempt to reintegrate religious history into the mainstream economic history of Kenya, in general, and of the Luhya of western Province, in particular. What had begun in 1902, as an effort to build a self-supporting African Christian church, has over the years developed into an arena of elite personal economic aggrandizement and competition, through the establishment of Yearly Meetings. Indeed, the Friends Church's long-standing niche as an advocate of peace has been destroyed in Kenya. Instead, it has become a source of conflict among the various Luhya sub-ethnic groups and/or clans.

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Akeyo Margaret, Madala, Teacher, 8/ 6/2007, 58 years.

Amudavi Marita, Senende, 11/6/2007, farmer 68 years.

Amugune Japheth, Bukhulunya/Chavakali, 10/5/2007, Chavakali Yearly Meeting elder, 80 years.

Anyanje Samson, Bushigunga, 18/4/2007, retired civil servant. 75 years.

Asamka Hesbon, Kegoya, 3/6/2007, farmer, 67 years.

Atema Rita, Shikhuyu, 14/4/2007, business person, 56 years.

Atsiaya Samson, Kilimani, 15/5/ 2007, 67 years.

Atsyaya Esther, Senende, 16/ 4/ 2007, retired teacher, 65 years.

Barasa David, Bukhaywa, 3/8/2007, farmer, 69 years.

Buleti Jackson Sore, Kimangeti, 15/5/2007, Farmer/Treasurer, Kakamega Yearly Meeting, 62 years.

Busolo Charles, Kaimosi, 3/4/2007, retired Teacher, 60 years.

Buyela Jostone, Chwele, 19/8/2007, church elder Chwele Yearly Meeting, 63 years.

Chemiatu Henry Simuyu, Chwele, 19/9/2007, pastor - Chwele Yearly Meeting, 52 years.

Chengoli Jonah, Lwandeti, 14/7/ 2007, farmer, 71 years.

Deenambo Henry, Malakisi, 1/4/2007, retired teacher, 57 years.

Deya Selina Adema, Iduku, 21/5/2007, 70 years.

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Khaemba Jothan Nyongesa, Webuye, 21/9/ 2007, farmer, 79 years.

Khaemba Martha, Kivaywa, 4/8/2007, farmer, 60 years.

Khamasi Esther, Madioli, 3/6/2007, retired nurse, 79 years.

Khanjira Agnes, Chepsai, 5/8/2007, 91 years.

Khaoya Alice Khakasa, Chwele, 21/3/2007, farmer, 60 years.

Khaweli Beatrice, Webuye, 22/9/ 2007, retired teacher, 65 years.

Khisa Augustino, Chwele, 21/8/2007, retired civil servant, 83 years.

Khisa Netty, Chwele, 21/8/2007, Chwele Yearly Meeting Leader. 81 years.

Kigada Evans Jumba, Mbihi, 4/6/2007, business person, 74 years.

Kimathi Bulokosi Jethro, Shivilanga, 5/5/ 2007, court clerk, 60 years.

Kipapa Rabbesa Nelima, Pastor, Mount Elgon Monthly Meeting, 85 years.

Kisangi Japheth, Kaimosi, 3/4/2007, 88 years.

Konzolo Ephraim, Kaimosi, 2/4/2007, General Superintendent EAYM (Kaimosi), 44 years.

Kuzuhu Joram Mwondi, Kegoye /Vihiga, 16/4/2007, 56 years.

Kwitsuli John, Luchina, 12/6/2007, farmer, 74 years.

Liambila Selina, Lugulu, 23/9/ 2007, business person, 64 years.

Litu Sarah, Mbale, 5/5/2007, teacher, 55 years.

Liuva Elikah, Musingu, 4/6/ 2007, Friends Church Store keeper, 51 years.

Liyai Hudson, Nairobi, 2/6/2008, University of Nairobi Librarian, 54 years.

Liyela Reuben, Madioli, 5/6/2007, Kakamega Yearly Meeting Clerk, 52 years.

Ludeshi Abraham, Senende, 11/ 4/ 2007, retired civil servant, 63 years.

Lugadiro Joseph, Gavudunyi, 20/4/ 2007, retired schools' inspector.

Lugadiru Manasseh, Mbale, 12/5/2007, Teacher/Pastor, Mbale Yearly Meeting, 54 years.

Luhombo Oscar Mmayi, Lirhanda, 7/6/2007, Kakamega Yearly Meeting pastor, 54 years.

Lung'aho Leah Ganira, Madioli/Musingu, 3/6/2007, 81 years.

Lusangalu Jones, Senende, 16/4/2007, 85, years.

Lusweti Jeremiah, Chwele, 12/9/2007, retired teacher, 78 years.

Lusweti Namarome Recho, Chwele, 12 /9/2007, retired teacher, 78 years.

Luva Baptist Tande, Malava, 11/8/2007, sugar farmer, 65 years.

Luvonga Margaret, Shivotio, 7/8/2007, farmer, 66 years.

Mahalan'gan'ga Joshua Wanja, Lukhokho, 12/8/2007, retired teacher 75 years.

Mahasi Joseph, Mbihi, 4/6/2007, Vihiga Yearly Meeting Advisor, 73 years.

Malongo Pius, Senende, 24/4/2007, traditional circumciser, 90 years.

Mambile Julie Waronya, Kitale, 25/9/2007, farmer. 68 years.

Manyasi Erastus Waliaula, Mount Elgon, 11/9/2007, farmer, 80 years.

Manyora Herman, Nairobi, 13/6/2008, Lecturer-University of Nairobi, 55 years.

Marani Julius Malava, Kivaywa, 12/8/2007, retired teacher, 56 years.

Masinde Michael Namurwa, Nzoia, 15/9/2007, wildlife officer, 54 years.

Masinde Welangai, Lukhono, 11/8/2007, farmer /politician, 72 years.

Masitsa Reuben, Muigai, 12/8/2007, farmer, 75 years.

Masitsa Sarah, Shivanga, 11/8/2007, farmer, 85 years.

Matasi Ainea, Chegulo, 11/8/ 2007, businessman, 68 Years.

Matiti Sebastian, Vihiga, 18/5/ 2007, farmer, 78 years.

Mbere Thomas, Senende, 16/4/2007, retired chief, 70 years.

Miroyo Desy Ligwisa, Mbale, 16/ 5/ 2007, farmer, 69 years.

Misigo Abraham, Senende, 10/4/2007, retired teacher, 77 years.

Misigo Grace, Senende, 10/4/2007, 69 years.

Mito Emily, Chepkayo, 17/8/2007, Malava Yearly Meeting Recording Clerk, 53 years.

Mmboga Chunguli, Vihiga, 18/5/2007, business person, 62 years.

Muanga Festus Fukunya, Mount Elgon, 27/9/2007, farmer, 60 years.

Mufoyongo Samuel, Madioli, 15/ 6/ 2007, farmer, 76 years.

Mugalo Henry, Vihiga, 2/6/2007, Vihiga Yearly Meeting Assistant General Superintendent, 65 years.

Muhalule Eliam, Milimani, 10/7/2007, farmer/businessman, 62 years.

Muhandu Peter, Hamutua, 4/8/2007, teacher, 52 years.

Mukangai Priscillah, Chepsaita, 14/8/2007, farmer, 67 years.

Mukhembu Thomas, Shamakhokho, 3/4/2007, EAYM (Kaimosi), RSP employee, 69 years.

Mukoshi Diminah, Mugomari, 3/7/2007, 84 years.

Mulari Peter Wanyonyi, Mukhonje, 3/7/2007, retired police officer, 53 years.

Munyole Henry, Busakala, 26/9/2007, ex-chief, 70 years.

Munyole Metta Nanjala, Busakala, 26/9/2007, retired teacher, 64 years.

Munyore Fred Maaya, Chwele, 26/ 9/2007, Local Government employee, 44 years.

Murunga Andrew M., Chepsaita, 12/8/2007, Malava Yearly Meeting Record Clerk, 70 years.

Musilwa Peter Madala, 2/7/2007, Kakamega Yearly Meeting, Pastor, 58 years.

Musonye Helen, Itenyi, 2/7/2007, farmer, 72 years.

Musonye Margaret, Madioli, 2/7/2007, farmer, 47 years.

Musudia Zebedee Ambura, Iduku, 2/6/2007, Vihiga Yearly Meeting Pastor, 59 years.

Musundi John, Kitale, 15/9/2007, farmer, 2/9/2007, 80 years.

Mutali Eunice Matinyi, Malava, 4/8/2007, retired civil servant, 60 years.

Mutali Masoni Lukhono, 16/8/2007, businessman, 55 years.

Muyira Newton, Lwandeti, 2/8/2007, retired civil servant, 60 years.

Mwando Jane, Hamutua, 2/8/2007, teacher, 65 years.

Mwanga Charles, Wa Mulume, 2/6/2007, farmer, 77 years.

Mwanga Elisha, Mbihi, 4/6/2007, Vihiga Yearly Meeting Presiding Clerk, 82 years.

Mwashi Rasoha, Jeptulu, 17/4/07, retired teacher, 70 years.

Mwinamo John, Lirhembe, 14/6/2007, retired civil servant, 65 years.

Mwinamo Jedidah, Nairobi, 14/6/2008, University of Nairobi Employee, 54 years.

Nagosa Hezekiah, Mbale, 26/5/2007, Mbale Monthly Meeting elder and farmer, 64 years.

Nakome Philip Misiko, Chwele, 27/7/ 2007, teacher, 77 years.

Nandi Elijah, Kakoi, 2/8/2007, farmer, 85 years.

Nayele Isaac, Kitale, 18/9/2007, Elgon East Yearly Meeting Presiding Clerk, 42 years.

Ndinyo Wellington Mikisi, Lugulu, 23/9/ 2007, retired teacher, 82 years.
 Nechesa Rose, Manda, 2/8/2007, retired teacher, 60 years.
 Ngoyomali Muliro, Kamukuywa, 15/9/2007, 70 years.
 Njeka Joska, Lukova, 3/8/2007, farmer, 73 years.
 Nyaranga Joseph Kituyi, Chwele, 19/9/2007, retired civil servant. 73 years.
 Nyongesa Selina, Webuye, 18/9/2007, Webuye Monthly Meeting Women leader, 67 years.
 Otiende Joseph, Mbale, 2/5/2007, former minister, 82 years.
 Sagide Mathew, Kitale, 26/9/2007, farmer, 83 years.
 Sakari Nathan Wekesa, Lugulu, 13/9/2007, farmer, 71 years.
 Salano Anduate, Chavakali, 5/6/2007, Chavakali Yearly Meeting Youth Co-ordinator, 47 years.
 Sapiri Joseph, Lukhokho, 5/8/2007, Lugari Yearly Meeting pastor, 82 years.
 Sasita Wesley Harun, Kakamega, 4/7/2007, Kakamega Yearly Meeting General Secretary, 65 years.
 Sayeni Christopher, Timbito, 11/8/ 2007, former Malava Yearly Meeting General Secretary, 69 years.
 Sejero Teina, Musingu, 8/6/2007, 80 years.
 Shaviya Mameti, Matsakha, 7/6/2007, retired teacher, 65 years.
 Shibadu William, Senende, 16/4/2007, farmer and EAYM (Kaimosi) Friends church elder, 99 years.
 Shitsinzi Fred, Lugala, 3/8/2007, retired teacher, 72 years.
 Shivachi Teina, Eregi, 3/6/2007, 95 years.
 Shivairo Johnstone, Senende, 16/4/2007, retired teacher, 85 years.
 Shivairwa Johnstone, Bamunyange, 17/4 2007, farmer, 80 years.
 Shiverenje Francis Mwashu, Jeptulu, 17/4/2007, retired magistrate. 80 years.
 Silunga Sarah Ofuwa, Lukhokho, 12/8/2007, 84 years.
 Sitati Elisha, Chwele, 13/9/2007, retired teacher 64 years.
 Situma Elijah, Malakisi, 28/9/2007, farmer and ex-soldier, 67 years.
 Soita Hezron, Lugulu, 19/9/2007, Pastor Lugulu Monthly Meeting, 72 years.
 Tsimbagi Mathew, Munzatsi, 20/4/2007, former Recording Clerk EAYM (Kaimosi), 78 years.
 Vidolo Japheth, Musembe, 18/8/2007, farmer, 72 years.
 Wakesa Samual Barasa, Lugulu, 12/9/2007, ERSF pastor, 61 years.

Wakube Elisha, Chwele, 12/9/2007, retired teacher, 76 years.

Wakube Lawrence, Chwele, 12/9/ 2007, pastor Chwele Yearly Meeting, 53 years.

Wakube Mellap, Chwele, 12/9/2007, retired pastor, 74 years.

Waliaula Erastus Manyasi, Chwele, 18/9/2007, retired teacher, 80 years.

Wambia Rogers Katamu, Maturu, 13/8/2007, farmer, 57 years.

Wambulwa Koki, Malava, 3/8/2007, retired Assistant Chief, 65, years.

Wamukune Wellington, Lukusi- Lugulu, 18/9/2007, pastor Lugulu region, 65 years.

Wamunyokoli Timoteo, Chwele, 22/3/2007, retired personnel manager-Post Office, 70 years.

Wanyama Christopher, Lugulu, 18/9/2007, farmer, 72 years.

Wanyona Dinah, Silungai, 2/8/2007, treasurer-Lugari Yearly Meeting, 86 years.

Watila Walter Chelekesi, Malakisi, 28/9/2007, retired inspector of schools, 60 years.

Webi Susan, Chwele, 19/9/2007, farmer, 62 years.

Welanga Esther, Lokhokho, 5/8/2007, retired teacher, 67 years.

Wepukhulu Diminah, Kitale, 18/9/2007, farmer, 77 years.

Werasuswa Peter Lunani, Chevaywa, 13/8/2007, retired civil servant, 65 years.

Yano Daniel, Kaimosi, 23/4/2007, retired teacher, 56 years.

Yano Elizabeth, Kaimosi, 23/4/2007, teacher, 54 years.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule

Personal Details

Name

Year of birth

Place of birth

Clan/Subgroup

Level of education

Occupation

Church affiliation

Yearly Meeting

Contact address/ Telephone Number

Issues of Discussion

1. Characteristics of the traditional Luhyia society
2. The coming of FAM missionaries
3. First contact with the Luhyia
4. Formulation and implementation of FAM's, education, medical, agricultural and industrial policies
5. The impact of these policies on the Luhyia society
6. The development of EAYM
7. The secular policies of EAYM
8. The transfer of power and property from FAM to EAYM
9. EAYM under African leadership
10. The causes of the splits in EAYM
11. Effects of the split in the EAYM
12. The unity of the Friends church in Kenya