

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM IN KENDU-BAY FROM 1912 TO 1992

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

BY

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts of the University of Nairobi.

September 2002

2007 AFRICANA COLLECTION

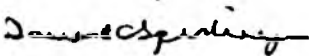
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

NAIGHA MILDREN ATIENO ODERO



This Thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University supervisor.



Dr. DAVID SPERLING

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study has been made possible by the concerted efforts of a large number of people. Foremost is my supervisor Dr. DAVID SPERLING whose assistance was invaluable. I would also like to acknowledge my respondents who took time to listen to and answer my questions to the best of their abilities. Specifically, I would like to mention Mr. Awadh 'Obilla' Ramadhan who was my guide, Maalim Aziz Odindo whose knowledge about Islam in Kendu-Bay was of great help, and Mr. Ahmed Salim Said who went out of his way to look for information for me particularly since his B.A. dissertation on the influence of Islam in Kendu-Bay had gone missing. I would also like to thank Saad Khairallah for allowing me to see old correspondences between the Muslims of Kendu-Bay as well as documents of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association.

A lot of gratitude also goes to Elizabeth Joan Akinyi for typing the initial drafts of this thesis and to Rosemary Akoth Odero for offering me a place to write the manuscript. I would also like to thank Ruphine Opondo and Caroline Buluma for effecting the corrections. I shall always be indebted to my husband John Victor Okoth Nyadida and children Stephanie Adhiambo Okoth, Cliff Ochieng Okoth and Adam Rao Okoth for being patient and encouraging. Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents, Joseph Odero and Ruth Odero, for their encouragement.

To all these and others whom I have not mentioned, I am eternally grateful.

DEDICATION

To my children

ABSTRACT

This study traces the development of Islam in Kendu-Bay from the beginning of the 20th century to 1992. The study argues that the establishment of the colonial administration and the building of the railway led to the growth of pockets of Muslim population in various areas in the interior of Kenya, and finally made it possible for Muslim traders to reach Kendu-Bay thus leading to the introduction of Islam in the region.

Conversion to Islam was not something orchestrated, it did not occur as a result of active proselytization on the part of Muslims, but as a result of close contact between Muslims and the Luo. The first Luo of Kendu-Bay to be converted to Islam were employed by Muslims. Later on other factors, for instance, marriage and the general Muslim way of life attracted people to Islam.

The establishment of an indigenous Luo Muslim community in Kendu-Bay led to major social changes. Indeed, some of these changes were like an invention of a tradition which is practiced up to date. This social change led Luo Muslims to look upon themselves with a sense of separateness, and so, to identify themselves more with Islam than with the clan into which they were born.

In this study, it is argued that missionary education led to the growth of the Luo Muslim Association, one of whose main aims was to build their own schools where their children would be given a western form of education without risk of conversion to Christianity. It is this Association that was later to give way to the Kendu Young Muslim

Welfare Association, which, more than any other group, has been instrumental in consolidating Islam, not only in Kendu-Bay, but also in other areas of Karachuonyo (Rachuonyo District).

GLOSSARY

<i>Nyasaye</i>	God
<i>Jachwech</i>	Moulder
<i>Nyakalaga</i>	The one found everywhere
<i>Jari</i>	Protector
<i>'Chieng'</i>	Sun
<i>Dwe</i>	Moon
<i>Jabilo</i>	A person who posses powerful magic
<i>Bilo</i>	Powerful magic
<i>Jadolo</i>	A person who offers sacrifices to appease ancestors
<i>Jadil</i>	A person who exorcises evil spirits
<i>Dilo</i>	To exorcise evil spirits
<i>Ajuoga</i>	Witch doctor
<i>Juogi</i>	Spirits(they can be good or bad)
<i>Ja-juogi</i>	A person possessed by spirits
<i>Ja-mwa</i>	Non-Luo
<i>Ogayi</i>	Judge
<i>Osumba mirwayi</i>	Army or warrior chief
<i>Ruoth</i> (singular), <i>Ruodhi</i> (plural)	chief, chiefs
<i>Riembo dhok</i>	Term used when cattle is taken to a prospective father in law as bride wealth
<i>Chodo Kode</i>	Ritual cleansing of widows

<i>Juro osuri</i>	Symbolic breaking of the pointed stick on a hut's roof to show that ritual widow cleansing has taken place.
<i>Nyaparua</i>	Supervisors
<i>Kanzus</i>	White flowing robes that are usually worn by Muslim men while praying
<i>Idd-ul-fitr</i>	Festival marking the end of Ramadhan
<i>Bem</i>	A dance imported from the coast
<i>Jamii</i>	Family
<i>Maurungi</i>	Khat
<i>Duka -ka-Nyasoro</i>	Dholuo for the place where Nassir has his shop
<i>Lesos</i>	Cotton cloth
<i>Din</i>	Religion
<i>Mahari</i>	Dowry
<i>Maurungi Miraa</i>	Khat
<i>Ajua</i>	A traditional game played with smooth pebblestones on a board
<i>Buibui</i>	Black flowing robes worn by Muslim women
<i>Hema</i>	A substance used mostly by women to decorate their hands and feet as well as their fingers and toe nails
<i>Muono</i>	Smoothing the walls of houses/hats
<i>Mond silam</i>	Muslim women
<i>Idd-ul-Haj</i>	The feast marking the end of Haj
<i>Dodo</i>	Luo traditional dance

<i>Kweche</i>	Taboos
<i>Ker</i>	A title given to a most honoured person in Luoland
<i>Baku</i>	Traditional salt
<i>Washenzi Kaffirs</i>	Non-Muslim
<i>Kungwis</i>	Old women who would give advice to young ones soon to be brides and be paid something in return.
<i>Maamri maandazi</i>	A kind of cake made out of wheat flour and baking powder
<i>Panyako</i>	Pioneer corps
<i>Pim</i>	An old lady
<i>Siwindhe</i>	An old lady's hut
<i>Hadith</i>	Sayings of the Prophet Muhammed
<i>Jomo-somo</i>	People who have gone to school
<i>Inshallah</i>	God willing
<i>Wallahi</i>	Swear word
<i>Jo-silam</i>	Muslims
<i>Jo-kristo</i>	Christians
<i>Mond wamubi</i>	Nubian women
<i>Mond wahindi</i>	Indian women
<i>Jachilo</i>	One who is not clean
<i>Dayo(singular)/ Deye(plural)</i>	Grandmother/Grandmothers
<i>Wele</i>	Relatives
<i>Piny</i>	Land

<i>Jopmy</i>	Owners of the land
<i>Jodak</i>	Settlers
<i>Zaka</i>	Alms
<i>Tero yuak dala</i>	Literally – to take mourning home
<i>Omena</i>	Small fish
<i>Goyo Dala</i>	Putting up a home
<i>Kwero</i>	Taboo
<i>Chiwa</i>	Our wife
<i>Hadith</i>	recollections of prophet Muhammed’s sayings traced back to a large extent on recollections of Muhammad’s sayings and doings traced through ‘attestors’ or ‘authorities’ to Muhammad himself or a companion.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Islam is a religion that has been practiced in what is now Kenya for a long time. Some scholars suggest that Islam was introduced to the Kenyan coast as early as the 7th or 8th century AD. However, it was confined to the coast up to the 19th century when Swahili (coastal people) and Arab traders organized trading caravans into the interior as far as Mumias and beyond, subsequently leading to the introduction of Islam in the western part of Kenya as far south as Kendu-Bay.

Long before the advent of Islam contact between the Arabian Peninsula and the East African Coast had been established. For centuries Arab traders used the monsoon winds which brought their dhows south to East Africa in December and a few months later took them back again.¹ Contact between the Arabs and the coastal people led to the development of trading centres along the East African coast at such places as Shanga, Manda and Pate.

The emergence of Islam in Mecca (in present day Saudi Arabia) in the 7th century AD brought changes whose repercussions were felt as far as the East African coast. "Disputes over the succession to the prophet Mohammed divided the Arab empire and caused some of those who had been on the losing side to take refuge on the present coast of East Africa, with which trade had already made them familiar."²

The refugees brought Islam to the East African coast, where it was introduced to the indigenous maritime people of the region, and from this assimilation of cultures, there emerged a language, culture and people known as the Swahili.

In spite of the fact that Islam had been present on the East African coast for many centuries, it remained confined to the coast until the late 18th century when it started penetrating into the interior.³ Long distance trade also helped in the expansion of Islam in pre-colonial Kenya. People from the interior, for example, the Kamba, came into contact with Muslims and Islam through trade connections. By the 1820's, the Kamba had set up settlements among the Mijikenda of the coast.⁴ There is a probability that the Kamba were influenced by Islam due to their early contact with the Muslims.

By the middle of the 19th century, trade on the coast had entered fully into a period of expansion. Stimulated by initiative from the town, contact between Muslim traders, and non-Muslim potential trading partners intensified and brought about the opening up of caravan routes, a classic example of economic penetration inland.⁵ There is no evidence that there was a deliberate attempt to spread the teachings of Islam inland. According to Abdalla (1971) Kabiri (1990), and Ikua (1992), contact between Muslims and non-Muslim traders led to the eventual conversion of members of various rural communities such as the Kamba, the Kikuyu and the Luhya respectively.

In Kendu-Bay the religion of Islam was first introduced in 1912 and has been practised since then. During this time Muslims built their own institutions, for example, mosques and schools.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study examines the historical factors that led to the development of Islam in Kendu-Bay. Islam in Kenya has mainly flourished in an urban setting. What is of interest here is that Kendu-Bay is a rural area and is predominantly Christian and therefore the continued presence of Islam over a long period of time poses an interesting problem

for study. The fact that Islam has spread in spite of Christian dominance is also an area of interest.

Thus it is a *micro* study of Islam in a rural setting. How for example, has Islam managed to entrench itself in an area inhabited predominantly by Christians? What changes were brought about in Kendu-Bay with the growth of Islam? What role has Kendu-Bay played in the spread of Islam into the surrounding areas of Karachuonyo which are predominantly Christian

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of this study were: 1) to examine the factors that led to the conversion to Islam of some of the indigenous Luo people in Kendu-Bay, 2) to find out what social changes occurred in Kendu-Bay as a result of conversion to Islam; 3) to assess the role played by the Kendu Muslims themselves in the growth and development of Islam in Kendu-Bay and other parts of south Nyanza; and 4) To understand how Islam has managed to entrench itself in Kendu-Bay and spread from there to outlying rural areas.

1.4 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study covers a span of roughly eighty years between the years 1912 and 1992. The date 1912 is significant because it is said that it was in this year that Nasoor Bin Ali, the first Muslim trader reached Kendu-Bay and established himself. 1992 is significant because it is the date that the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association, tabulated their membership in various towns. The time span of the study covers the growth of the Muslim community up to the 1990s. The time frame covered gives a long enough period to be able to document the establishment, acceptance and growth of Islam in Kendu-Bay

and surrounding areas. The main limitations to the study were the fact that most of the earlier converts had passed away and therefore most information obtained for the early years was second-hand, and the absence of written documents to corroborate oral evidence.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review for this study is divided into four parts. The first part deals with literature on Islam as a religion, the second part deals with Islam in Africa, in order to understand the advent of Islam in Africa and how it spread throughout the continent, the third part deals with Islam in East Africa, which gives an overview of how Islam was introduced in East Africa. Finally, we look at literature on Islam in Kenya, including literature about Islam in the Western part of Kenya. Literature on the Luo is included because Kendu-Bay is mainly inhabited by the Luo.

The understanding of the Islamic faith is an integral part of this study. Chris Horrie, in his work What is Islam? aptly terms it thus: "Unlike Christianity, Islam could never become a private religion of personal conscience and ethics. Rather, it is a complete way of life governing dress, economics, business, ethics, state of taxation, justice, punishment and many other activities. This book gives a brief history of Islam, its Judaeo-Christian heritage, the life of the prophet Mohammed, and the five pillars of Islam around which the faith revolves. This is important in trying to understand the integral part of the faith of the Muslims in Kendu-Bay, how they relate to it and put it into practice.

M. N. Nomani, in What Islam is gives an overview of Islam in general but he dwells more on what one must do in order to become a Muslim. He also points out what is to be done to reinforce belief in the Islamic faith. The text gives an insight into what a

convert has to go through to become a Muslim, making it a useful study for the understanding of the Kendu-Bay Muslim community

Syed Ameer Ali's book, The Spirit of Islam: A History of the Evolution and the Ideas of Islam discusses the rapid evolution of Islam as a world religion, its intellectual contribution to the development of human civilization, the status of women and the rationalistic and philosophical teaching of Islam. This book brings out the universalism of Islam very clearly and its contribution to civilization in terms of human dynamism and societal values.

Denise and John Carmody in their book Ways to the Centre:- An Introduction To World Religions discuss the ability of Islam to adapt itself to new geographic areas and gives the example of the Yoruba in Nigeria who have adapted Islam to their kind of life. The book's reference to Islam's capability to adapt according to geographic areas is also of interest, because it shows how different ethnic groups accept Islam, as shown by the parallel drawn by the authors about the Yoruba adapting Islam according to their own cultural environment and way of life. It is this parallel of an African ethnic group adopting Islam to their way of life that makes it quite relevant to the study.

The beliefs of the various branches or sects of Islam are discussed in Seyyed Husseem Nasr's Ideals and Realities of Islam, in which he explains that there is no fundamental difference between the Sunni and Shia sects, "that they are united in essential principles and that each presents an interpretation of the faith which is complete in itself". However, the main difference between the Shia and Sunni is that, a sunni is a follower of tradition. A Sunni is one of the path, a follower of tradition, and the name is usually applied to those who accept the first four rightly guided caliphs, and receive six authentic

books of traditional sayings of Mohammed and his followers, and the systems of law based upon them. The Shia or partisans of Ali, believe that he was the first legitimate caliph to be followed by his sons Hassan and Hussein. The Shia have particular Imams, spiritual leaders, a term they use in preference to caliph. It is held that there were 12 Imams, from Ali onwards for 228 years. The twelfth, the master of the Age was born in Samarra about 880 A.D. He is said to have disappeared in his youth, and so is the 'hidden Imam' who did not die and will come again to establish righteousness. It is believed that the 'hidden Imam' appears to men in prayer and strengthens their faith in persecution. The major division within Islam was over the succession of Ali to the caliphate. This is interesting because the book gives the impression that the two groups are not opposing each other but contributing to the richness of the Islamic faith by giving different interpretations of the key issues within the Islamic faith. This is relevant and useful to the study in that Islam in Kenya is made up of different sects. The Shia's and Sunni's are represented. Nyanza and Kendu-Bay are no exception given that the wide distribution of Muslims of Asian origin, particularly along the railway line, led to the introduction of Ismailism, a branch of the Shia Muslim sect, not only in Kisumu but also in Kendu-Bay.

Another useful book is Abdulati Hammudali's *Islam in Focus*, which touches on all areas of Islam, that is, the ideological foundation of Islam, basic concepts of Islam, the application of faith, the application of Islam to daily life and also distortions about Islam. The book simplifies the religion of Islam and makes it easy to understand what is expected of a Muslim person daily. The book's usefulness lies in its explanation on how Islam governs a person's daily life and how it influences the societal day to day affairs.

On the status of women in Islam, he argues that the rights and responsibilities of a woman

are equal to those of a man, but that they are not necessarily identical with them" This helps in understanding the role of women vis-a'-vis that of men as is expected of them in any given Muslim community.

Kausar Niazi, also gives interesting insights into the lives of Muslim women in his book Modern Challenges to Muslim Families. He gives an in-depth study of the challenges to Muslim women in this age of modern industrialization and discusses the problems that modernization has brought within Muslim society, for instance, women and family planning, as well as women and modern fashions. This gives an insight into the conflict that an individual or a Muslim society might go through while practicing the Islamic faith in a modern world. Modernization in this context is looked at in the Western sense. This book shows how change in any form can affect a person's social outlook, thereby creating a conflict within an individual and by extension society at large.

On the matter of Islam in Africa, J. Spencer Trimingham, in his work The Influence of Islam in Africa, touches on the influence of Islam as a religious culture upon Africans. It begins with an account of the penetration of Islam in Africa, citing the various phases of the spread, and assimilation of Islam in Africa. It gives an overview of how Islam inculcated a new attitude and outlook on life in Africa, how it influenced various aspects of African life, and the medium through which the influences were effected. Its relevance also lies in the argument that Islam flourishes in an urban environment compounded with trading relations. This is a general overview of Islam in Africa and not an indepth study.

Another author on Islam in Africa is I. M. Lewis, whose book Islam in Tropical Africa describes the various ways in which Islam was introduced in Africa and the agents

of its introduction. This study only touches on the East African Coast and hardly mentions the East African interior. His argument that different parts of tropical Africa can be divided into different Islamic cultural zones gives credence to Trimingham's theory of reciprocity in cultural contact where Islam is conditioned by the outlook and customs of the people adopting it, and these people are in turn influenced by Islamic customs, outlook and culture.

A historical overview of Islam in Africa is given by J. Kritzec and W.H. Lewis whose book Islam in Africa describes the historical perspectives, origins and growth of Islamic influence and the forces which give it impetus and meaning as well as the factors which have facilitated or impeded the spread of Islam through tropical areas. It discusses aspects of African Islam and the institutions which have shaped Islam in those regions. Some regional developments with internal influence of Islam in certain countries within Africa are discussed, for example, Nigeria and Sudan. In their study of the East African region, a lot is discussed about Islam in Tanzania and Uganda, but Islam in Kenya is hardly mentioned.

J. Spencer Trimingham's book, Islam in East Africa, which so far appears to be the only comprehensive book on Islam in East Africa dwells more on the coast of East Africa and only discusses Islam in depth in Tanzania. Islam beyond the Kenyan coast is only briefly mentioned. The relevance of the book is its thematic study of different aspects of Islam, which is essential for understanding the structure of the Islamic faith, and the impact of Islam on the coastal peoples of East Africa.

Another work of relevance is Islam In East Africa by Lyndon P. Harris, which gives an account of the past and the position of Islam at the time he was writing. It

touches on Islam as opposed to the work of Christian missionaries in East Africa and views Islam as a challenge that should be met after being clearly understood. The book gives a Christian missionary's view of Islam which is pertinent, given that the area of study is dominated by Christians

Text Book of Islam Book I is a book that was written for the syllabus of Islamic Religious Education in secondary schools. The author, M.A. Quraishy, gives the historical background of Islam as well as how the British unwittingly helped in the spread of Islam to the interior of Kenya. But the book lacks an indepth study of the spread of Islam to the interior of Kenya, which can be explained by the fact that it is written for Islamic religious study

Ngeta Kabiri's "Islam And Colonialism in Kenya: A Case Study of the Kenya African Muslims in Nairobi to c. 1939" discusses the role of colonialism in the expansion of Islam in Nairobi. He cites quite a number of reasons for the increase in the number of refugees in Nairobi, who were potential converts, for example, natural crises like famines, wage labour and the land crisis. But what is of importance to the study of Islam in Kendu-Bay is the role played by the colonialist government in the expansion of Islam

David Sperling's Ph.D. dissertation "The Growth of Islam Among the Miji-kenda of the Kenya Coast, 1826 -1933" looks at the conversion to Islam of the Miji-kenda. His conclusion is that conversion was more a result of fortuitous relations between individual Miji-kenda and Muslims than from concerted efforts by Muslims to spread Islam. This study, though based among the Miji-kenda, gives many insights towards a better understanding of the phenomenon of Islamization in Kenya. The problem of colonial

educational initiatives which were perceived by Digo Muslims to be of Christian influence is also discussed and indeed most Muslims had a problem with the introduction of education by the colonialists for fear that it would influence their children into accepting Christianity.

Ahmed I. Salim's, The Swahili speaking Peoples of Kenya's Coast, 1895 – 1965, offers a good historical background to Islam in Kenya, particularly on the coast. There are three periods which are discernible: - the coast during the nineteenth century; the encounter between colonial authorities and coastal Arab and Swahilis from 1885; and the conflict between western culture and coastal traditional Muslim culture and the political activities of the Arab Swahilis between 1945 and 1965. The introduction of western culture came at a time when Islamic culture was the way of life at the Coast.

In his Islamization Among The Upper Pokomo, Robert L. Bungee gives an account of the process of Islamization among the Pokomo. Bungee discusses the role of Arabs, Swahili and Bajunis in the Islamization of the Pokomo peoples. He argues how a combination of factors, which include economic hardships and lack of Muslim scholars led to the decline of Islam among the Pokomo. The role played by Muslim agents in the process of Islamization of the Pokomo people is of relevance to our study.

Margaret Strobel's book, Muslim women in Mombasa, 1890 – 1975, as the title reads, deals with Muslim women in the coastal town of Mombasa. It also examines how certain aspects of Islam are restricted more to certain classes of Muslim women than others. It examines how sexual segregation prescribed by Islam contributed to female interaction across class lines and thus favoured the formation of a female sub-culture. Dealing with male-female relationships, the book argues that the ideology of male

dominance in Swahili society cannot be understood outside the context of Islam. Sexual segregation as prescribed by Islam is relevant in order to understand the relationship between the women themselves on the one hand and the women and the opposite sex on the other hand in an Islamic set-up.

Janet M. Bujra's article "Ethnicity And Religion: A Case Study from Pumwani" argues that such entities as Islamic communities do not exist except in the ideological sense because people tend to be loyal to their ethnic groups first and second to their religion. This idea proved interesting and useful to this study in the process of trying to analyze how far the Luo people in the area of study tend to take themselves as members of the Islamic community as opposed to their ethnic community.

Ann Nkirote Maingi's, "The Diversity Factor in the History of Islam in Nairobi, 1900 - 1963", an M.A. thesis, is revealing because it argues that sectarianism is one of the most salient characteristics of Islam in Nairobi. It argues that Islam in Nairobi is organizationally fragmented along ethnic and sectarian lines. One cannot speak of a Muslim community in the strict sense of the word since it was the Islamic-Swahili culture which was later passed on to the ethnic communities which embraced Islam. The thesis's importance lies in its assertion that there is no such thing as a unified Muslim community in Nairobi since the members of that community have not managed to rise above ethnic and social bias. The fact that the Islamic Swahili culture is what was passed to other ethnic groups is also of interest because it shows that the Islamic culture that the up-country ethnic groups of Kenya have adopted is not purely Islamic per se but has tinges of Swahili culture.

Yusuf Nzibo's article on "The Swahili and Islamization in Nairobi, 1888-1945" argues that colonialism was really the catalyst which facilitated the expansion of Islam into the interior. He argues that prior to that, Muslims along the Kenya coast were not interested in spreading Islam anywhere beyond their urban settlements at the coast. The importance of this article to the study lies in its argument that Islam in Western Kenya, Nyanza and parts of the Rift Valley was first spread by Mrima traders from Tanganyika who penetrated western Kenya in the 1870's in search of ivory and other items of trade. They established themselves in Mumias among the Wanga and from there spread out to the Nyanza and Rift Valley regions of Kenya.

Rev. Johan N. V. Mruka's B.A. dissertation on Islam in Kisumu "Origins and Growth of Sunni Muslim Community in Kisumu town, from A.D. 1900-1964" is an in-depth study of the growth of Sunni Islam in Kisumu. Kisumu's proximity to Kendu-Bay makes the dissertation relevant. However, what makes it of far more relevance is the mention that the commonest way that Islam spread was through marriage. Given that there was no overt proselytizing on the part of Muslim clerics, say, in comparison with their Christian counterparts, marriage played a significant role.

"Some aspects of Coastal and Islamic influence In Mumias from the late 19th to early 20th century", a B.A. dissertation by Mohamed Ahmed Abdalla, gives an account of the origin of Islam in Mumias. He argues that the spread of Islam in Mumias was given impetus by intermarriage between the Swahili, Arab traders, and local women. As a result of this close social interaction, the Swahili culture and Islam were adopted by some of the indigenous people.

Janet Bujra in her article, "Women Entrepreneurs of Early Nairobi", argues that Nairobi was founded in 1899 as a bridge-head on the Uganda Railway, a node in the first modern communications networks of East Africa. Women left their homes because of various reasons like suffering and persecution. They came to Nairobi (Pumwani), adopted the religion of Islam and turned to prostitution and illegal brewing of beer in order to survive. Bujra argues that this is entrepreneurship because they put the money into property. It seems that Islam, contrary to its teaching, offered them a new found freedom.

Dr. Joseph M. Nyasani's book entitled The British Massacre of the Gusii Freedom Defenders is of interest because of its account of what happened after the attack on Mr. Northcote in 1908 when an expedition was sent to pacify the Gusii and a base camp was established in Kendu-Bay. The composition of the soldiers and the porters that the British used included Nubians, Swahilis, Zanzibaris and others from German East Africa, of Tanganyika who were mostly Muslims.

Nehemia Levtzion in his article "Rural and Urban Islam in West Africa. An Introductory Essay", in H. Fisher, and N. Levitzion, (eds). The Journal of Asian and African Studies Vol. 20, argues that in rural Islam there was a greater continuity with the local pre-Islamic culture and social organization. The Sharia made little progress at the expense of customary law. This article brings to the forefront the question of the conflict of cultures that results because of being a Muslim and following customary law.

Eric E. Barker, in his book, A Short History of Nyanza, has given, besides a general history of Nyanza, the effects of the completion of the railway, and the settlement of the Indians in towns like Kibos, Kisumu, Miwani and other areas. From it, one discerns that the railway unabatingly helped in the spread of Islam inland.

On literature regarding the Luo, the following books have been read because the area of study is predominantly Luo and because the various books and unpublished works read give an insight into Luo society in Islamic days:-

Bethwell Ogot's book A History of the Southern Luo, and William Ochieng's The Third Word More Essays on Kenya History 3 gives background information about the origins of the Kenya Luo, which is believed to be in Southern Sudan and their subsequent migration to Kenya, and settlement in various places. These books give good background information about the migration of Luo people into South Nyanza, the area where Kendu Bay is located.

Margaret Jean Hay's Ph.D. thesis "Economic Change in Late 19th Century K'owe, Western Kenya" discusses economic change among the Luo of K'owe. There are also certain interesting facts in this work about the Luo people, for example, their staple food, the kind of tools that they used in the late 19th century. K'owe can therefore be looked at as an example of economic change that took place in Luoland at that time and given that this was in the 19th century just before the coming of the Europeans, making the thesis becomes even more relevant for relevant for the study.

Michael Whisson Change and Challenge(Study of Social and Economic Change among the Luo) discusses the background of the Luo tribe, including an overview of traditional Luo religion and social aspects of the Luo society. It also gives a comprehensive overview of the major social problems which have developed as a result of rapid change, and he tries to offer some solutions to the problems. The same author in

his paper entitled "The will of God and the Wives of Men" discusses an aspect of Luo religious beliefs, that is spirit possession. His conclusion about spirit possession is that the Luo community deems spirit possession to be an honour.

A B C Ocholla-Ayayo's Traditional Ideology and Ethics Among The Southern Luo offers a very interesting discussion about the Luo. Their background is said to be basically pastoralist and then the environment that they found themselves in after migration into Kenya moulded them to practice both agriculture and pastoralism. Cattle are viewed to be central to Luo economic life in this book.

L O. Obudho, in his M A. thesis entitled "The Impact of Christianity on the Luo Traditional Marriage System", gives an overview of the Luo in every aspect. The most interesting one, however, is marriage. This thesis discusses different forms of marriage among the Luo. Given that we are looking at this study from the point of view of social change and marriage is a major social aspect of any society, this thesis therefore becomes a must for the study.

With reference to marriage, "The Luo Girl From Infancy to Marriage" by Simeon Ominde also discusses the social development of a Luo girl. This follows a progression from the time that she was born to the time that she attains adulthood. It discusses her upbringing as an individual and as a member of society and the kind of education that she undergoes.

Hauge Hans Egil divides his book Luo Religion and Folklore into two parts. There is a part that deals with folklore and one that deals with Luo religion. He also notes a few changes that have taken place as a result of the impact of European civilization.

These topics are quite relevant since the study is being done in an area that is mostly inhabited by the Luo

1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Little research has been done into Islam in western Kenya in general or in the areas of Kendu-Bay in particular. In the absence of Said Ahmed Salim's B.A. Dissertation on the "Influence of Islam in Kendu-Bay", which was written in 1969, but all copies of which have gone missing, what one can read are his interview notes. These seem to deal mainly with the historical origins of Islam in Kendu-Bay. Fundamental aspects of Islam that affected society are not discussed, for example, education, early Luo Muslim women and the role of Kendu-Bay in the spread of Islam to other parts of south Nyanza.

This study discusses all these issues and tries to give a systematic and comprehensive account of the changes brought about by Islam and its effect on society at large up to 1992. It sheds new light on the spread of Islam in Africa and especially, among people who do not practice circumcision as a rite of passage. Therefore, this study adds significantly to what is known about Islam in Western Kenya in general and Kendu-Bay in particular.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are a number of theories under which this study falls. One of these theories is that of social change, which Bethwell Ogot in Hadithi 6 defines as change within social systems. According to Ogot, "Scholars should refrain from using meaningless phrases like traditional society or traditional culture because it pre-supposes that before the advent of

colonialism, Africans experienced little or no change and therefore remained static". He argues that when talking about the traditional society of the Kikuyu, for instance, the assumption is that the Kikuyu had always had a static social system which was only disturbed by the onslaught of colonialism. He further argues that from the history of the Kikuyu, it is evident that the community and its society were changing all the time. To Ogot, all social systems are changing systems.

In this study, social change is seen as resulting from the contact between the peoples of Kendu-Bay and the Muslims who brought the religion of Islam to Kendu-Bay. This contact not only brought change to the individuals who adopted Islam but also to members of his family and by extension to the whole of Luo society.

This study was also carried out under the "reciprocity in culture contact" theory as explained by J.S. Trimingham, The Influence of Islam upon Africa(1968, 44). This theory argues that Islam has become an African religion. This is because Islam and African cultures have had a reciprocal influence on each other. The argument is that as Islam spread among Africans, it was conditioned by their outlook and customs and it in turn changed their outlook and customs.

This theory explains why different African communities which adopt Islam accept the basic tenets of the faith but continue being members of their societies. It appears that Africans have accepted Islam only to a certain extent and at the same time indigenized it so that the religion does not look wholly alien within the communities in which they live.

1.8 HYPOTHESES

The study set out to test the following hypotheses:-

- 1) That Islam was not introduced in Kendu-Bay through proselytizing, but rather through a series of coincidental political, social and economic factors.
- 2) That inter marriage helped in the spread of Islam in the area;
- 3) That the introduction of Islam in Kendu-Bay led to the acceptance of new ideas, thereby bringing about social change in Kendu Bay;
- 4) That the growth of Muslim institutions came about through the initiative of Luo Muslims, not foreign Muslims.

1.9 METHODOLOGY

The first part of the research was spent reviewing literature on Islam in general, its spread in Africa, East Africa and finally Kenya, with particular emphasis on Nyanza province. Libraries in Nairobi were visited for this purpose, and besides books, journals, dissertations, seminar papers and even newspapers were also reviewed.

Material was also consulted at the Kenya National Archives where documents relevant to the Kendu-Bay area were looked at. All kinds of correspondence from chiefs, District administrators and the Seventh Day Adventist missionaries were examined.

The second part of the research was spent in Kendu-Bay division, Rachuonyo District, conducting oral interviews. The oral interviews were based on open ended questions, and were done in Luo, Swahili and English. The informants were selected with the help of an elderly Muslim guide who picked informants from a cross section of the Muslim population and a few Christians.

Two Muslim research assistants were enrolled and trained by the researcher before embarking on the field work. They were people from the area who knew the locality and the people living there very well. They helped in introducing the researcher to the people

and also helped during the interviews because the people being interviewed considered them one of their own. The researcher was with them all the time in order to co-ordinate their activities.

The greatest problem I encountered during the field work was people wondering what they would gain from such interviews. Some felt that if there was no practical gain then it was a waste of time. Indeed, I was at pains to explain to them that this is an academic exercise and that I was doing it as part of my degree course. Others were also hostile wondering why a Christian would be interested in the study of Islam. Another problem I encountered was that of frequent revisits to be with the people during some of their festival celebrations. These were mainly because of distance and financial constraints.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LUO IN 1900

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the traditional culture, economy and socio-political organization of the Luo people between the time they began to settle in South Nyanza (which records show was from the 18th century) up to the time of their first contact with Muslims. It therefore provides background information about the Luo on the eve of the advent of Islam.

2.2 GEOGRAPHICAL AND PHYSICAL FEATURES

Kendu-Bay is located in present day Rachuonyo District in South-Western Kenya on the shore of Lake Victoria. According to the Homa-Bay District Development Plan 1994 - 96, the region can be divided into two main relief areas, namely, the lake-shore lowlands and the upland plateau. The lake shore lowlands lie between 1,163 - 1,219 metres above sea level. These lowlands comprise a narrow stretch bordering Lake Victoria, especially in the northern parts of the district. The district receives about 700 - 800 mm of rainfall annually. The rainfall received in the long rains season is roughly 60% reliable and ranges from about 250 to 1000mm, while some 500 - 700mm is received during the short rains. The long rains start in late February or early March while the short rains start as early as August and last to November⁶. The district receives varying

amounts of rainfall. The long rains are more reliable in the Eastern part of the district, and are less reliable near the lake.

2.3 LUO MIGRATION TO THE SOUTH NYANZA REGION 1590 – 1850 A.D.

The Luo of Kenya are a Nilotic-speaking people whose origin can be traced to the South Sudan. Today, they occupy most of Nyanza Province, inhabiting seven out of twelve districts of the province, leaving the rest to the Kisii, Kuria and Suba. In relation to other Nilotic groups, the Kenya Nyanza Luo represent the spear-head of the great southward movement in the history of migration and spread of the Nilotes⁷ in this region.

The first Luo to arrive in Nyanza Province were the Joka-Jok who settled in Yimbo under the leadership of Ramogi Ajwang'. They were later followed by the Jok-Owiny and later the Jok-Omolo. By AD 1700, the Luo had begun to expand to South Nyanza. This was due to congestion in the Northern part of the Nyanza gulf, forcing some of the Luo to cross the Kavirondo gulf into South Nyanza. "By about 1850 most of the areas of south Nyanza were permanently settled"⁸.

There are three major divisions of the Luo people in South Nyanza and any history of migration and settlement must be related to the histories of these three groups. The three major divisions are:-

1. Joka-Jok;
2. Other Luo groups such as Kochia, Sakwa, , who do not belong to Joka-Jok;
3. The large heterogenous groups usually referred to as Suba⁹. The Suba are Bantu who migrated from Uganda to Kenya

The Jok divisions of the Luo today occupy Karachuonyo where Kendu-Bay is situated. It is mainly inhabited by the Karachuonyo sub-clans of Kanyango and Kakwajuok, while the Luo divisions of Jok-Omolo occupy Kochia, Kagan and Gem.

2.4 THE LUO TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

The Luo were initially a pastoralist group of people whose migration into present day Western Kenya, and settlement there, led them to adopt a mixed farming economy. This could have been as a result of their contact with the Bantu who were their immediate neighbours.

..... The Luo were basically a pastoral society since originally they were members of the Nilotic pastoralist society. Although the Luo now cultivate more and some less according to their present ecological setting, soil conditions and rainfall, as well as to population densities which in some regions regulate cattle wealth, they still regard that agriculture must be mixed with cattle raising."¹⁰

There were three ways to acquire cattle: one, in exchange for maize, millet and other animals; two, as bride price; and, three, through raids and inter-tribal wars between the Luo and their neighbours¹¹.

Cattle were and are still of great importance to the Luo economically. This is because cattle produced meat, milk, ghee and blood which formed an important part of their diet. Their bedding and clothing were also made of hides while their huts were plastered with dung. Cattle also played a crucial role in marriage ceremonies because cattle were used as bride-wealth. A person could pay compensation in the form of cattle for causing the loss of life or injury of limb to another person. Cattle also played a central part in Luo traditional religion because they were used for sacrifice.

" The Luo were to a large extent pastoralists with a very strong attachment to cattle which played a very significant role in the sacrificial life of the "12

The cattle also were of ritual importance in matters concerning religion

"Oxen were the means by which communication with ancestors was made possible through sacrifices. "13

Cattle were the main source of wealth and therefore the more cattle a person owned the more prestigious he became. Such a person was respected in society and ranked highly among his peers. Such a wealthy person was also very powerful and in most cases could ascend to the most powerful office in the land, for example, being *Ruoth* (chief). Cattle wealth, therefore, was usually synonymous with political power.

"Cattle not only dominates the activities of men in the economic and ritual spheres, they also dominated the political sphere. Cattle were a key to political power and a man's prestige and standing were closely linked to the number of his cattle "14

It is not known when exactly the Luo started attaching great significance to land economically, but it must have been after their settlement in what is today Nyanza Province because most authors insist that the Luo were basically pastoralists before the Land, however, was of great economic importance because grains, vegetables and root crops such as cassava were obtained from the land. There was no individual, however, who could claim ownership of a piece of land. Land belonged to the clan in the past.

The amount of land a person used to farm depended on his status in society and the extent of his household. If he had a larger household, he got more land and at the end of the year would get more produce. In these tracts of land the labour was basic

supplied by the household members both women and children. Obudho argues that, besides procreation, polygamy was a result of the need for human labour.

"..... in cultivating the large tracts of land, work force was required and it could only be obtained from human labour. This demand for large work force necessitated the marriage of many wives, so wives apart from the cardinal need to procreate, formed a strong work force to work in the fields to produce grain."¹⁵

Fishing was also a great economic activity among the Luo. Besides being consumed locally, fish was also an item of trade and was often exchanged for other food items. This happened among the Luo and their neighbours and also among the Luo themselves since not all the Luo lived within easy reach of fishing waters.

Hunting was also a favourite past time of the Luo. They hunted antelope, bush-buck, birds, leopard and many other animals. Antelope, bush-buck and birds supplemented their diet, but leopards and monkeys were basically hunted for their skins which were worn by chiefs and elders.

There were a number of market centres which came up and thrived as a result of trading among the Luo themselves and between the Luo and the Abasuba. Examples of such markets are Mirunda in Gembe, Waganda in Mfangano, Asego in Kanyada, Kendu in Karachuonyo, Naya in Uyoma. Ayot argues that markets such as Waganda and Sena in Mfangano, Sindo in Kaksingri, Mirunda in Gembe, Asego in Kanyada and Kendu in Karachuonyo connected traders in South Nyanza with those of the Northern side of Winam Gulf and present-day Tanzania and Uganda."¹⁶

There were a number of items which the Luo traded in. These included spears, axes, cattle, fish, grain, skins, baskets, hoes and drums. An item of great importance was salt which was mined at Sindo in Kaksingri. As Ayot puts it:

"From Sindo in Kaksingri, the traders obtained salt which they took back with them to the Northern side of Winam gulf. They served the present Siaya and Kisumu districts and also Baluhya country."¹⁷

2.5 LUO TRADITIONAL RELIGION

The Luo believed in Nyasaye(God) as the one who had created everything and everybody. Nyasaye, like the Christian and the Muslim God, was the creator, omnipotent, omnipresent and possessing all the other characteristics that the Muslim and Christian God has. Ogotu has this to say about Nyasaye:

"The Luo conception of God was that of Jachwech (moulder), Nyakalaga (the one found everywhere), and Jarit (protector)."¹⁸

The Sun and Moon were among the natural objects that were deeply revered. The wonder of the sun and moon was the fact that each had specific times in which to appear and to disappear, and that the moon assumed different shapes and sizes during particular months. Mental disturbances were also associated with the moon. The sun helped the Luo, especially during the day, with perceiving time. There was therefore a feeling that there must be some divine work at hand, especially where the sun and moon were concerned. Hans-Egil has this to say about the awe with which the Luo regarded the sun and the moon:

"The Luo used to worship a God called Nyasaye. He is associated with the Sun (chieng) and the moon (dwe) because he dwells in the sky."¹⁹

The sun was so revered that people would wake up in the morning and spit towards it asking it to rise well for them and asking for a good day without a bad thing like sickness happening in the homestead. It was also considered a bad omen for a Luo

elder to die during the day when the sun was out. They were supposed to die during the night or very early in the morning. Whisson has this to say:

"It was well for all people to be out of bed by dawn, when prayers, mainly of simple supplicatory nature, would be offered individually to the rising sun. Nyasaye was not only perceived in the sun, however, but in other large and extraordinary things; in the moon, in large rocks, in big snakes, in elephants, in all the miracles of nature which fill men with awe."²⁰

Mboya's comment about the Luo veneration of the sun is as follows:

"Because of the size of the sun and its awfulness, the elders worshipped it. No elder remained asleep up to sunrise when the sun arose, the elders worshipped it spitting towards it and saying; Thu! rise well so that my body may have peace. May the bad winds by-pass me."²¹

Sacrifice was an integral part of Luo religion. It was intended as a form of thanks to Nyasaye and the ancestors for whatever good there had been in society. It was also used by the community to ask the ancestors to intercede on their behalf with Nyasaye in cases of natural calamities like drought, sickness, epidemics. At the individual level sacrifices were offered in order for one to have a child in cases of barrenness, to avoid a difficult birth, and as cleansing ceremonies.

Obudho says that sacrifices for cleansing as purification ceremonies,

".....were rituals of reconciliation meant to restore the individual into the society and also to restore human dignity which would otherwise not be possible after breaking a taboo like incest, insulting elders or one's parents or marrying one's close relative or killing a person or a member of the same household or community."²²

At a national level sacrifices served as an insurance against natural calamities, like famine and against man-made ones, like war. Ocholla-Ayayo argues that:

"Sacrifices were for national interest, for example, before and after a war, for rain, epidemics, good harvests etcetera."²³

Sacrifices were conducted by a *Jabilo*, *Jadol*, *Jadil* or *Ajuoga*. All of these people had 'bilo' or magic. The difference between them is that a *Jabilo* is popularly believed to have powerful magic and is generally held in awe because of that, while *Jadolo* is somebody who offers sacrifices to appease dangerous spirits, ask for the ancestors' intervention and, asks or thank *Nyasaye*(God) for something. At times they could also exorcise evil spirits. An *Ajuoga* is a person who cures victims of witchcraft and is capable of seeing the past and predicting the future. However, in practice there was no clear distinction between a *Jabilo*, *Jadolo* and an *Ajuoga*. A person could combine the duties of the three without any problem. There were also people known as *Jodil*(plural), *Jadil*(singular) who exorcised evil spirits.

Ancestors were of great importance in the Luo traditional religion. The ancestors had the capability of wreaking havoc or sustaining good within the society. The ancestors were people who had died within the community and whose spirits were believed to be hovering around, and as a result they were believed to be part and parcel of the community. The ancestors also acted as intermediaries between the living and *Nyasaye*. The observance of the taboos and the maintenance of communal laws as given by the departed fore-fathers was of paramount importance lest the ancestors get annoyed. Ogutu, aptly puts it thus:

".....they could become angry because of bad behaviour of their children and happy when customs and social interdictions were being observed. The maintenance of social sanctions was regarded as obedience to the ancestors and to God, and any violation had to be corrected by way of sacrifice."²⁴

Spirit possession (*Juogi*) was another aspect of Luo traditional religion. A person with *Juogi* was given respect and such a person's moods were explained as being the result of spirit possession. For example, if a person went to talk to a *JaJuogi* (a person who is possessed by a spirit), and the *JaJuogi* refused to talk to him or answered him/her rudely, he/she would dismiss it saying '*Juoke ok dhara*' (his spirits do not like me). Mboya argues thus:

"*Juogi* (spirits) were also revered like Nyasaye. If one was spirit possessed, people did not laugh at the person even when he spoke in tongues nor did people look down upon a person with such a problem. A belt was made from the skin of a white goat and given to the person to wear across the body. The blood of a white chicken was spilled for it was said that the spirit were white. For a spirit-possessed person speaking in tongues, the rattle was played."²⁵

The people who were possessed also viewed themselves as the honoured few, as those who have been granted a place of honour by the ancestral spirits. Whisson has stated

"Those who were non-possessed feared the community of the possessed but the *Ja-Juogi* (spirit possessed) were very happy about their condition."²⁶

2.6 THE LUO INITIATION RITE

The Luo initiation rite was a rite of passage which meant to draw a distinct line between childhood and adulthood. All the initiates believed that immediately after the rite they became adults, with responsibilities, and could henceforth join the rest of the adult members in the community. "Luo initiation started by the knocking out of the six lower teeth of the initiates. If the initiates were both boys and girls, their ages were not necessarily the same. It could be between 15 - 20 and 13 - 18 respectively."²⁷

Whereas the rite of passage of the Bantu-speaking neighbours of the Luo involved circumcision, the Luo believed that the knocking out of six teeth was a better test of courage and also made them look different from their neighbours. Any adult, therefore, who did not have his six teeth knocked out was considered to be a '*Jamwa*' (a non-Luo).

The significance of the rite of passage was the pain that the initiates underwent. It was meant to prepare the men for the pain that was inflicted in battlefields, and women for labour pains. Initiation, therefore, served three purposes:

1. Upgrading youths to adulthood,
2. To prepare them psychologically for whatever painful trials were to come ahead.
3. Instruction in tribal history, customs and lore.

2.7 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The different clans among the Luo were independent of each other politically. Every clan had its clan head or chief. In most cases chiefs (*Ruodhi*) were chosen by the elders of the clan and it was only in rare cases that chiefs came from one single family, as Ayot states.

"The development of political institutions in South Nyanza established some form of village democracy. There were certain areas where leadership came from one family as was the case of the *Kanyanwa* until the colonial period. In other places, leaders came and went according to the need of the people."²⁸

Chiefs ruled with the help of other elders who held positions of responsibility for example, *Ogayi* (Judge), *Osumba Miruayi* (army or warrior chief), and *Ajuoke* (medicine-

men) The result was that there was no absolute authority vested in one man. "Within each recognized political administrative unit, there was a council of elders. There was no definite membership. At the village level all adult heads of household or homestead had the right of attendance."²⁹

Each clan leader, or leader of several clans, became a dominant political and social head. Usually, he was a strong *Ajuoga* (medicine man) who was known for his magical power. In some cases the leader of the clan or group of clans was not the medicine-man himself, but a person who became the leader because of his wisdom. In such cases, whenever there was a crisis, he consulted with his best known *Ajuoga* (medicine man) who usually gave him full support and respect.³⁰

2.8 THE LUO WOMAN

The Luo woman was brought up from childhood knowing what her place in society was. At an early age she would accompany her mother to the river or lake to fetch water and to collect firewood in the forest. If she had younger siblings, she would often stay with them at home, thereby learning how to nurse children and how to feed them. In cases where there were no siblings to be taken care of, she would accompany her mother to the farm and learn how to sow, plant, weed and harvest.

After initiation, the girl was married off to a person outside the clan. According to Obudho, there were different types of marriages among the Luo, for example:

Where the husband paid bride wealth and the girl is given permission to go and stay with him by her father; where a wife died, a sister replaced her so that the bride wealth does not change; where marriage was necessitated by

barrenness of a wife, such a wife could ask her sister to get married to her husband and procreate. In such a case the husband had to pay additional bride-wealth, where there was no need for previous arrangements, men could go to the market place and choose a girl they wished to marry and drag her to her husband-to-be's house. Once her virginity was broken, it was a taboo for her to go to her father's home; elopement, for example, a girl going to visit a relative and finding a man she likes and deciding to live with him; There were particular homes where people wished to marry from for reasons of bravery. In such a home, if there was a young girl, the suitor would start giving cattle to the father (*Riembo dhok*), in anticipation of the girl growing up.³¹

The person marrying her would give her people a number of cattle as dowry. Ocholla-Ayayo says that:

"Luo marriage is exogamous and involves asymmetrical exchange, a woman for a number of heads of cattle"³²

Once the asymmetrical exchange had taken place, the women henceforth belonged body and soul to her husband's clan. She transferred her labour to her husband's homestead, using the skills she had been taught as a child and a youth in her home, for example, farming, cooking, nursing children, fetching water and firewood. Women were always dependents. Until they married they were the responsibility of their clan for care and protection. After they married they became the responsibility of their husband and his clan.³³

Adequate payment of bride-wealth was vital in establishing the bond in marriage between the partners and their families. It strengthened the marriage and acted somehow as a marriage seal before the women bore her first child. It also acted as a compensation to the girl's family because their daughter was no longer going to be with them.

A widowed woman would be taken in levirate marriage by anybody in her husband's clan whom she could refer to as a brother-in-law. She had freedom to choose an in-law of hers whom she could cope with most.

All widows in Luo society were to be inherited. This custom is termed *chodo kode*. All widows were supposed to refrain from any sexual contact with anybody after the death of the husband until she chose one of the brothers of the deceased and make it public that she wished to cohabit with him. Then a day of ceremony of *turo osuri* was fixed. This was the day that, after elders had drunk beer, a brother of the deceased spent the night with the widow and had ritual sex with her.³⁴

Traditionally women could not inherit plots of land that their fathers or husbands used to farm. Among the Luo, land belonged to the male members of the clan. The female members of the clan would own land through their husbands in whatever clan they had married into. In the event of her husband's death, a woman would continue farming a piece of land with the knowledge that it now belonged to her son who was her husband's rightful heir. G.S. Were states that:

"Among the Luo, land was owned communally through male lineages either by right of first settlement or conquest or inheritance or by affiliation. In monogamous families sons inherited their fathers land while in polygamous ones, they inherited their respective mothers plots. Traditionally, Luo women could not inherit land though they acquired land rights to use their husbands (or father-in-laws) land at marriage."³⁵

However, in governance, women were not entirely excluded. Elderly women who were known to have wisdom would be consulted for their opinions during policy making. Women could also be important sing. *Ajuoga* pl. *Ajuoke* 'medicine women', who could treat people for various ailments, and diviners who could consult with ancestors.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GROWTH OF ISLAM IN WESTERN KENYA AND ITS INTRODUCTION IN KENDU-BAY, 1850 - 1920

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the introduction of Islam in western Kenya. In the pre-colonial era caravan trade played an important role in the spread of Islam. During the colonial era, there were other factors that led to the expansion of Islam in that area. They include colonialism and the railway. Within this framework the beginnings of Islam in Kendu-Bay are also discussed in this chapter. The aim of the discussion of these factors is to show that colonialism unwittingly led to the general expansion of Islam throughout western Kenya, and in the process Muslim traders arrived in Kendu-Bay.

The chapter also examines the factors that led to conversion to Islam in Kendu-Bay, as well as factors that hindered conversion, in the period before 1920. There are a number of factors that made Islam attractive to the non-Muslims of Kendu-Bay. Any single one or a combination of these factors could have made a person convert to Islam. In general it seems that it was mainly the Muslim way of life and how the Muslims related to each other that convinced many people to become Muslims. It should also be borne in mind that the initial converts were not literate people and so their conversions did not require processes such as the study of the Quran prior to conversion.

3.2 TRADE AND THE INTRODUCTION OF ISLAM IN PRE-COLONIAL WESTERN KENYA

For some years prior to the arrival of the Europeans, Swahili and Arab traders and caravans had been visiting parts of Kavirondo and are known to have had trading camps at Mumias. Swahili and Baluchi traders had preceded Joseph Thomson to this town which they had given the name of Kwa Shiundo.³⁶

Islam, therefore, seems to have been first introduced in Western Kenya in general, and in Mumias in particular, during the second half of the 19th century when caravans from the coast visited the area frequently. The caravans were led by various merchants who ventured there in search of trade. They brought necklaces, cloth, salt and other articles of use in exchange for ivory.³⁷

In pre-colonial western Kenya, the influence of Islam was first felt in Mumias which was used as a staging post for caravan traders going to Uganda and to Turkana country to the North. Most of the early traders originated from the Mrima coast opposite Zanzibar and travelled through Chagga country to the shores of Lake Victoria.³⁸

The pioneer Muslims arrived in Mumias around 1870. They came in four groups. The leader of the first caravan was Mwinyi Mshima and his brother Sudi Mshima, who is said to have converted chief Mumia. In the second group, which arrived in Mumias in the 1880's, there was Idi Rajab, who is said to have gone further north to Turkana country and from there to Ethiopia. In the third group were Mwinyi Kambo, Wazonzo, Mwinyi Amazu, Juma Amanga of Segeju and Shariff Hassan Abdallah al Mahdally.³⁹

At the time of the arrival of the first Muslims in Mumias, the Wanga people of the area were in conflict with their neighbours who were the Luo. The Wanga chief, Nabongo Mumia asked for help from the Swahili. This early contact with Swahili Muslims led to the conversion of Nabongo Mumia and some of his brothers to Islam. Prolonged contact, therefore, gave impetus to the spread of Islam in Mumias and far beyond. One trader, Shariff Hassan, who hailed from Pangani in Tanganyika and had established himself in Mumias, took it upon himself to spread the faith. He is said to have sent Islamic missionaries to other areas. Quraishy states that

"He (Shariff Hassan) sent missionaries to different areas of Western Kenya and Uganda. Gazidi was sent to Sheywe which is now Kakamega. Hamisi to "Kwa Hamisi", Mwingi Akida Jeshi to Kisumu, Msangeni to Kisii, Mvita to Lumbwa, Shariff Abubakr to Bungoma and Maalim Mtondo to Kabete (Nairobi)."⁴⁰

This shows that Mumias was an active base from which at least some Muslim traders saw the need to spread Islam in the region and surrounding areas, even venturing southward as far as Nairobi.

Trade does not seem to have been confined to Mumias only. According to Nkirote, Tilalwa in Nandi country became a stopping centre during the caravan trade. In 1885, the traders built a temporary mosque at Tilalwa. Later, Muslims settled at centres like Kaptum and by about 1900, the Tilalwa and Kaptum Muslims had made Kapsabet their religious centre.⁴¹

Though there is no firm evidence, it has been argued that Islam was introduced to Kisumu by Muslim traders using the Mrima route which used to pass through the Mrima coast, Chagga, Maasai and Kikuyu country to the eastern shores of Lake Victoria, and that Muslim soldiers from Egypt, Sudan and Somalia also reached Kisumu via Uganda.⁴²

Given the proximity of Mumias, Kapsabet and Kaptum to Kisumu and Kakamega, it is possible that some Muslims in search of trade wandered forth to these areas, and even as far south as Kisii and Kendu-Bay, as early as the last quarter of the 19th century.

Brooks, in *The conquest of The Abagusii* argues that the Kisii had already made outside contact with non-Africans, in particular with Arab traders, in pre-colonial times. In these encounters they had been treated with respect, as they understood the term; such was not the case when confronted by the British and their Nubian soldiers or askaris.⁴⁸ The argument that Muslims were in Kisii before the arrival of the British is also given credibility by Nkirote who argues that;

"Kisii seems to have had a different story. Islam was taken there by the Nubian soldiers who accompanied the Germans in 1901. These Nubians settled there and erected a temporary mosque and began to teach Islam to those associated with them."⁴⁹

Thus, by the time of the arrival of the first British in Western Kenya, that is, Jackson and Dick, who came as representatives of the Imperial British East Africa Company in (IBEAC) in 1889, Muslim traders had already established several bases in the region. As explained below, colonization and the building of the Uganda railway led to an increase of Muslims not only in the British East Africa Protectorate, but also in the Eastern Province of Uganda (which was later incorporated into present day Kenya).

3.3 COLONIALISM AND THE SPREAD OF ISLAM

The extension of Pax Britannica into the interior of East Africa after 1888 led to the rapid expansion of Islam. Before this, Islam had been confined along the coastal belt and to a few areas of the interior as mentioned above. It was, therefore, colonialism that

was to act as a catalyst in the spread of Islam towards the end of the 19th century for, up to then, the coastal Muslims had remained largely indifferent towards spreading their faith beyond the confines of their urban settlements. As for those who had any interest in the peoples of the interior, this did not extend beyond commercial relations, the only exception being the Mrima caravan traders who had established themselves among the Wanga and used Mumias as a 'spring board' to send "missionaries" to spread the Islamic faith in Nyanza and the Rift Valley.⁴⁵

The penetration of the British into the interior of what is today Kenya under the (IBEAC), the establishment of colonial rule in 1895 and the emergence of administrative and commercial centres that followed thereafter gave the spread of Islam new impetus. In the process of establishing colonial rule in Kenya the British enlisted Muslims as porters, askaris, guides, cooks, housekeepers, *Nyaparas* (supervisors), scribes, craftsmen, interpreters, tax-collectors and court and administration clerks. They initially preferred to hire Muslims because of their knowledge of the interior and their literacy, and the British considered Muslims civilized as opposed to 'pagan raw natives'. Early administrators, therefore, sought to use the Swahili as a model of 'civilized natives' to be emulated by the peoples of the interior.⁴⁶ Colonialism, therefore, greatly contributed to the expansion of Islam in the interior and as a result, helped increase contact between non-Muslim natives and Muslims.

Other Muslims also penetrated into the interior in large numbers in search of new fortunes, trade and employment. Wherever the British erected administrative posts, these eventually developed into urban centres where Muslims established settlements popularly known as Majengo or Swahili villages. It was in and from these villages that Muslims

established contact with migrant labourers and the people of the surrounding rural areas, some of whom eventually converted to Islam

In the early administration of the colony, the colonial service depended heavily for its expert personnel on Indians imported for the purpose from India.⁴⁷ When the British decided to set up the East African Rifles, the British Treasury sanctioned the recruitment of Punjabis from India for the force. This recruitment led to the formation of the first East African Rifles, which was later transformed into the King's African Rifles (KAR). The Indian recruits were joined by three hundred Swahilis and some one hundred Sudanese. After the conquest of Uganda, this force was used to subdue and colonise other tribes in what is today known as Kenya.⁴⁸ The Indians who helped the British set up the colonial administration and the army were of different religions. They were Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and even Christians, particularly from Goa. The presence of Indian Muslims also had a bearing on the conversion of some of the local people who, because of their frequent interaction with the Muslims adopted Islam as their religion. This was mainly due to constant daily contact because of employment. The Indian Muslims hardly intermarried with the Africans

3.4 THE RAILWAY AND THE SPREAD OF ISLAM

Before the railway, the mode of transport used was caravan parties which were mostly made up of porters. "Porterage was a lucrative profession before the advent of the railway. The demand for porters was high, especially after the 1850's when the ivory trade reached its zenith when the Sultan of Zanzibar's informal empire was extended to the Congo"⁴⁹ in the interior of the African continent.

Nzibo says that

"Porterage was lucrative to many coastal people in search of paid employment. A porter drew a monthly wage of Rs. 10 plus posho whereas a nyapara was paid between Rs. 20-50, wages were often paid several months in advance. In the 1890's due to the urgency of sending supplies to Uganda, as many as 350 porters were recruited for each journey. In 1894 as many as 2,800 were recruited to carry a special load of arms and ammunition, stationery and provisions."⁵⁰

The railway industry was a further agent of Islamic expansion into the interior, particularly in Nairobi and Kisumu. Its first impact was felt during actual construction. At the coast, large numbers of ex-slaves left such islands, as Zanzibar for Kenya to find work on the railroad. Others ran away from plantations in Lamu and Mombasa. They were joined by ex-slaves from Malindi who in turn had been joined by free but poor Bajuni farmers. Some of these worked in railroad yards or followed the railway upcountry working for wages.⁵¹ Most of these people, particularly those from the coast, were Muslims.

According to Ngeta Kabiri, "As the railway work advanced, interior people came to join the industry in the building of the railway. By 1896, the Kikuyu and the Kamba were being taken down to Kibwezi to do the jungle clearing work between Kibwezi and Tsavo. As a result, there was more contact between the coastal peoples and the interior ones hence the latter being exposed to Islam."⁵² The railway led to the growth of Kisumu (then Port Florence) into an important town, both administratively and commercially. There was need to maintain security in the area, and so some soldiers of the mixed Swahili, Somali, Sudanese and Indian regiments were taken to Kisumu to help in policing the area as well as keeping the natives in the area in check.

Most of the African Muslim soldiers, who were unmarried, took local girls in marriage after converting them to Islam, as Miruka says:

"Perhaps the commonest way that Islam gained converts was through matrimony. The first settlers in Kisumu came unmarried. They had no marriageable women from their own tribes or ethnic groups and so naturally turned to the local girls and women."⁵³

The need to recruit soldiers among the natives in order to have a composition of native soldiers among the ranks of the KAR was also another way in which colonialism led to the spread of Islam. Nzibo writes that:

"Many of the new recruits embraced Islam as days went by. A few admired the new religion but many were conditionally converted. The senior askari treated the new recruits with contempt and like the Arabs referred to them as Kafiri Washenzi."⁵⁴

The growth of Islam in Nyanza was also given impetus by the settlement of a number of Muslim Indians and Arabs in the area. Hill says:-

"When the building of the railway was finished, some of the Indian coolies who remained in East Africa became market gardeners in and around the towns: about thirty settled near the Kibos river in Kavirondo and grew rice, cotton, linseed, sim-sim and later sugar."⁵⁵

Some of the Indian and Arab settlements along the railway were encouraged by the administration who felt that they were good for security and also to have people to use the train as Matson says:

"...The settlement of the Indian farmers along the railway line from Kibigori to Kibos was being discussed in the early part of 1902, as a means of safe guarding the line and of providing some traffic for the railway."⁵⁶

The Indian farmers were mostly Sikh. However, there were some Indian Muslims among them. This shows how the British Government was encouraging Indian settlements.

Once settled, some of the Indian and Arab Muslims requested that their kin be permitted to come and join them. This is one way of explaining the continued presence of Muslims in and around Kisumu. For example, an Arab trader from Yala, whose name was Saleh Ahmed, requested the Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza Province to "allow his brother, one Ahmed bin Ahmed Yaman, who resided in Tavahi Market in Arabia to be allowed to join him [Saleh], in Yala so that he the [brother] could take care of the shop while Saleh was away"⁵⁷

Another example is from Kibigori where one Abdulla Mohammed, an Arab trader, with two shambas averaging 700 acres, and also trading in hides, maize and other native produce, requested that two male assistants from Aden [Arabia] be allowed to join him in the Kenya Colony. The assistants were Mukbit Kassim [Arab] and Aklan bin Said [Arab].⁵⁸

From Kisumu, Din Mohammed, a carpenter with the engineering department in Kisumu, requested a permit to allow his son Feroz Din from Punjab [India] to come to Kenya also to work as a carpenter. A railway contractor also requested permits for Mohammed Ali, son of Ahmed Bux, a mason from Punjab India, to come to the Colony and join him.⁵⁹ These requests were made to the colonial authorities who in most cases accepted them. The given examples show how the number of Muslims of Indian/Arab origin tended to increase steadily, as those who were already established invited their kinsmen. Secondly, the economic activities in which they were engaged in, for example, trading, meant increased contact with the local people. Even though one cannot use this to explain the growth of Islam in Kisumu, it definitely contributed.

To the colonialists, the railway meant increased control of the country by the government and the opening up of the sparsely populated highlands to some adventurous settlers.⁶⁰ However, while helping in controlling the country, the railway also played an important role in the expansion of Islam as it brought closer contacts between those at the coast and those in the interior. It facilitated the settlement of the Swahili, Arabs and Indians in the interior as new opportunities opened up for the first time.⁶¹ According to Uraishy -

"The arrival of the Asian Muslims as railway employees in 1901 acted as stimulus to further activity in the area, that is, in addition to the Missionaries Shariff Hassan sent there in the closing years of the 19th century. The Asians first built the railway mosque, then in 1924 completed the Jamia Mosque, with a madrassa attached to it."⁶²

3.5 THE EARLY COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN NYANZA

The colonial history of present day Nyanza, like the rest of Kenya, is intertwined with the early history of Buganda. What is today Western Kenya was regarded merely as a supply zone for the route to Buganda. To bring it under control Colonel Calville, who was in charge of administration in Buganda, dispatched a colonial officer, Spire in 1894 to establish an administration post in Mumias. In the same year, Buganda was declared a British Protectorate. In the following year C.W. Hobley the first sub-commissioner of Eastern province, was instructed to build a permanent station at Mumias and gradually establish administration over the various sections of the turbulent collection of tribes who were collectively known as the Kavirondo.⁶³

Initially the most important centre for the British within what was then Nyanza, was Mumias, which was the last place of call before they embarked on their final journey to Buganda. The administrative headquarters of Nyanza was not transferred to Kisumu until 1899 barely in advance of the Railway working parties proceeding down the Nyando Valley.⁶⁴ Nyanza province and parts of the Rift Valley then known as Kisumu and Naivasha districts respectively, became known as the Eastern province of Uganda in 1900. Until 1900, if not later, the administration of Nyanza was sub-ordinate to the British presence in Uganda.⁶⁵ By 1901, the Uganda Railway reached Kisumu on Lake Victoria. The following year, in 1902, the present country of western Kenya, previously known as the Eastern province of Uganda was transferred to the British East Africa Protectorate (present day Kenya).⁶⁶

3.6 THE SPREAD OF ISLAM IN SOUTH NYANZA

In South Nyanza, known then as South Kavirondo, the European presence was not felt until 1902, the same year that "south Nyanza, Kisii, along with all those areas which had been amalgamated to form the Eastern Province of Uganda were placed under the British East Africa Protectorate (that is Kenya)."⁶⁷ In 1903 a station was opened in Karungu, mainly to prevent German encroachment.

The name of the District, at first Ugaya, then Kisii, was changed to South Kavirondo in September 1909. Ugaya was the name given to the District by Stanley who named it Ugaya, Wagaya being the name given to the Luo by the Bantu clans, through whom Stanley, coming from the South, passed through to Kaluo.⁶⁸

Kisii station was chosen by Mr. R. W. Hemsted and Mr. Northcote in January 1907. In March 1908 Karungu was finally abandoned and the headquarters of the District

transferred to Kisii. In June 1908 the locations of Karachuonyo, Mumbo and Kabondo, hitherto part of the Kisumu District, were included in the District. The Homa-Bay road was completed in 1909. The Homa-Bay port was also opened in the same year.⁶⁹

On the establishment of Kisii as District headquarters, the colonial administration introduced a money economy to the Abagusii, thereby prompting the arrival of Muslim traders from other centres like Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu. As Nyasani says:-

"With the insistence that the Hut tax should be paid in money,, this was considered as the last straw as far as the Getutu were concerned. For this meant that the Getutu and indeed all the affected Gusii had to sell their most prized possession, namely, cattle, goats and sheep, in order to obtain the necessary cash for the purpose of hut tax payment. Then the cheap cattle sale quite naturally attracted traders from urban centres. These included Swahilis, Nubians and Somalis."⁷⁰

Because of friction among the Getutu (Kitutu) section of the Abagusii community and the European colonizers, Northcote was speared in January 1908 by a fellow called Otenyo. This prompted a punitive expedition against the Abagusii "under the command of Lt Colonel J.D. Mackay and general supervision of the Kisumu Chief political officer, John Ainsworth. By January 21, 1908, a base camp had been established at Kendu-Bay, and the morning of January 22, the entire expedition of 14 officers, 340 N.C.Os, one doctor, 50 Nandi levies and some 500 porters entered Gusii and by the end of the day many villagers along the route had been "driven away and cattle seized."⁷¹ During such military expeditions the colonial administration unwittingly kept Muslim people, or people already exposed to Islam, into contact with natives in the course of its administrative duties. This being done unwittingly, a mushrooming of Muslim communities sprang up.

Perhaps this explains why the South Kavirondo District Commissioner, in his annual report of 2nd January 1909, made the following observation.

"A very large settlement of aliens, Swahilis, Nubians, Wanyamwezi and Waganda sprang up on the opposite hill. A large number of these are, I feel sure, of very undesirable kind but it is impossible to keep them out if they behave themselves well."⁷²

In 1908, about forty Swahilis, Nubians and Nyamwezi settled in Kisii town and were given one acre plots each.⁷³ Even though there is no strong evidence, one can argue that this was the beginning of actual settlement of Muslims in the area from where they spread their religion to the neighbouring Luo groups.

3.7 THE ADVENT OF ISLAM IN KENDU-BAY AND THE FACTORS THAT LED TO CONVERSION

There were a number of ways in which Islam was introduced to Kendu-Bay. The first and most obvious way was through Nasir bin Ali or Nasoor bin Ali, as most of the interviewees prefer to call him, an Arab trader who first landed in Mombasa from Arabia and after some time established himself in Kisumu from where he found his way to South Nyanza.

The first place Nasoor is said to have set foot on in South Nyanza is a place known as Wagwe. He is said to have landed at Wath Bala or Miti Mbili. He stayed at Wagwe for some time before proceeding to Kendu-Bay. While at Wagwe, Nasoor had Nyaliang'a son of Omole as his house boy. Nyaliang'a was converted to Islam and from then on he was known as Ramadhan Nyaliang'a.⁷⁴ Among the people who worked for Nasoor were Ng'wara Ka Julu (Ng'wara son of Julu).

After trading in South Nyanza for some years, Nasoor bin Ali settled at Kendu-Bay, then a small fishing port on Lake Victoria, in 1909. As the first Muslim to settle

there he can be said to have laid the foundations of Islam in this place, ably assisted by several other earlier Muslim Arab traders who followed him.⁷⁵ This is the account of how Islam was introduced in Kendu-Bay.

After accompanying Nasoor to Kendu bay, Ng'wara went back home, married and had a son whom he named Julu. This son, Julu went to Kendu-Bay after his lower six teeth had been removed when he was around 13-14 years and was converted to Islam by Masood Ouya. Julu was given the name of Suleiman, and after a while he went back to Wagwe and converted his father and other paternal uncles to Islam.⁷⁶

The first converts to Islam were all from Wagwe, for example, Ramadhan Nyaliang'a, Islam Ododo, Khairalla Madoro, Masood Ouya and Suleiman Brouk. After their conversion, they had to be circumcised. After healing, Khairalla Madoro became the circumciser.⁷⁷

At Kendu-Bay Nasoor and his workers used to buy animal skins from Kanyaluo. He was given land to settle on by Onditi Soko Woun Onduto. Onduto was later converted and became a Muslim. He was thenceforth known as Maftah Malindi Onduto. Onditi was from the Konyango Majjeri clan of Karachuonyo. After the settlement of Nasoor and his workers, the place became known locally as Kanyasoro (Nasoor's place).

Nasoor bin Ali was soon joined by other Arabs whose names were Ahmed Saleh and Nasoor Bukhet. They also traded in skins and built small shops. Soon Kendu-Bay became known as Duka-ka-Nyasoro or Nasoor's shopping centre.⁷⁸ Because of the trading activities that were going on, Kendu-Bay soon got a pier at Wath Obariah. The Muslims used to pray at Wath Obariah, as the pier was known until they built their mosque in 1918.⁷⁹

Another circumstance which promoted the introduction of Islam into Kendu Bay was the construction of the Kendu road from Kisii to the port which was embarked on at the same time that the construction of the port was taking place.⁸⁰ The construction of the road and the port contributed directly to the growth of the Muslim population in Kendu-Bay because the Europeans who supervised the building of the road and the port had porters, house-boys and askaris with them, who were, more often than not, Muslims of either Swahili, Nubian and even Indian descent, thereby contributing to the introduction of Islam in the area. Kendu-Bay became a focal point for aliens, some of whom were Muslims⁸¹

Kendu-Bay therefore came into contact with Muslims in different ways, through the presence of traders, like Nasoor bin Ali and through contact with porters and soldiers who accompanied Europeans during the construction of roads and ports and also during expeditions.

The number of Muslims in Kendu-Bay grew gradually. They leased plots of land and built the trading centre. In 1917 there were 6 Indians and 12 Arabs⁸² and 6 plots were already leased to Indians and 4 plots to Arabs. In 1918 a flour mill belonging to an Indian was built at Awach. There was also one Indian who was a fisherman with dhows

FACTORS THAT LED TO CONVERSION

There were various factors that led to conversion up to 1920. First and foremost was employment. According to Suleiman Julu, the first generation of Muslims were converted to Islam because of their contact with Muslims through employment. He gives examples of people like Ramadhan Nyaliang'a, Islam Ododo and Khairalla Madoro.

"The Muslims were very kind to their employees. They gave them clothes, head dresses and they also taught them about a new religion. This is because they felt that they would live more like brothers if they shared the same religion."⁸³

Marriage was another way in which quite a number of people were converted in the early years of Islam in Kendu-Bay. This still remains an effective way of conversion.

"It is note-worthy that most of the early Arabs who settled there had no wives. As time went on most of them married the local women, for example, Nasir Bin Ali married a Nubian from Kisii, and Nasir bin Bukeith was married to a Luo girl. The spirit of real integration was one of the factors which contributed to the earlier conversion of the local people to Islam, which teaches human equality."⁸⁴

Halima Okoth says that she used to be a Seventh Day Adventist and was married to Okumu who was also a Christian. However, Okumu was converted to Islam and died immediately afterwards during the days of Nasir Bukeith, before Halima was converted. However, she had to convert first to Islam before re-marrying because she remarried a Muslim called Almas Opondo.

Amina Oyaya was a Catholic before she met Bilali Marega. She says that "My sister was married to a Muslim and I was Catholic. I went to visit them in Kendu Bay one day, and I was introduced to Bilali Marega. I liked him and he insisted that before we get marriage, I would have to be converted to Islam". This was during the "Bita" period, "Bita" is the corrupted word for the Kiswahili 'vita'.

Over the years, marriage has continued to be among the main reasons why certain people have converted to Islam. Rukia Anyango, Zena Osewe, Asha Oluoch, and many more, are examples of people who have been converted to Islam through marriage, thus widening the circle of people who got exposed to Islam.

Marriage appears to have been one-sided in the sense that it was mostly Muslim men who would convert women to the faith. On being questioned about this, Suleiman Julu argued that Muslims accepted a person fully once that person stopped being a Kaffir and so there was no need for any Muslim to revert to their traditional religion or to convert to Christianity - the implication being that there is no need for a Muslim woman to marry a non-Muslim man. Maalim Aziz Odindo agrees with him and says that the integrative nature of the faith as taught by the Arabs and the initial converts was such that all Muslims were considered equal. But was this really equality considering that Muslim women were hardly allowed to marry outside the Muslim religion. Maalim Odindo argues that equality can best be shown by the fact that the Arabs even married from among the Luo, something which the Christian missionaries could not do. The argument, therefore, is that the teaching of Islam and the treatment created a bond that was difficult to break in order to convert to another religion. Another reason which has been put forward for Muslim women not marrying non-Muslim men was that if a Muslim convert joined any other religion, for example, Christianity, he/she would be ostracized by his/her family and peers from the Muslim community. However, nobody seemed to have evidence of any Muslim girls who had been ostracized by the community or family for marrying a non-Muslim.

Dressing, cooking and the Muslim way of life were other factors which fostered conversion to Islam. Most people argue that the Muslims used to dress quite well and that even the first converts, among whom were Islam Odolo, Ramadhan Nyaliang'a and others would dress quite smartly in white *kanzus* white flowing robes that are usually worn by Muslim men while praying complete with caps. Suleiman Julu says that:

"The Muslims were the smartest people I had ever seen. They were neat and they had lovely clothes. I also felt that I should strive to be one of them. But, it was not only the dressing, the religion too taught of the one and only God and it also stated that a Muslim should be smart..."⁸⁵

Muslim festivities like *Idd-ul-fitri* festival marking the end of Ramadhan, during which a popular dance called *Beni* was performed, also contributed largely to conversion.

Beni is a very interesting dance, it is still being performed today. According to Samabu Awadh, wife of the late Awadh Ogot:

"*Beni* was an occasion when everybody dressed in their very best costumes. The dance was quite an event and after it you just felt like being part of the community."⁸⁶

Muslims brought about a new style of cooking, particularly since they introduced aromatic spices. These were new things to the villagers and quite interesting, particularly to the women. The Muslim brotherhood and the way they took care of each other during illness or even when one had a problem was also attractive to a number of people: closeness and feeling of being a member of a *Jamii* (family).

3.8 THE FACTORS AGAINST CONVERSION

There were also a number of factors that discouraged the people from conversion.

Circumcision was one of the main factors that prevented most Luo people from converting to Islam. This is because circumcision was not part of the Luo initiation rite. Most of the non-Luo communities surrounding the Luo were circumcised and the Luo used to refer to them as Jomwa (foreigners). Anybody who was circumcised was, therefore, looked upon with contempt by the Luo. Mama Isabella Ouma says that

"When people realized that the Muslims were circumcising people, most of the people decided not to join the religion because circumcision was only done by foreigners not by the Luos. Henceforth anybody who was circumcised was ridiculed and eventually most of them decided to settle in Kendu, rather than in the villages among their peers."⁸⁷

Mzee Yason Osumba also agrees with Mama Isabella. He says that "The Muslims should have realized that the Luo do not circumcise. It was like an insult to ask us to circumcise."

Another factor was the arrival of the Christian missionaries. "The Seventh Day Adventists began their mission at Gendia Hill in Kendu Bay, South Nyanza in 1906."⁸⁸ The religion of Christianity acted as a point of comparison. The Christians brought a new religion but they did not force the people to circumcise. The Christians also brought the school system, and many of the people who became Christian got some form of education and were employed by the Christians to work within the mission. According to Mama Nerea, the only thing that the mission insisted on was the idea that a man should have one wife, stop drinking traditional brew and keep the Sabbath. This was attractive to the women who began going to the church in droves. Also, unlike Muslims Christians were proselytizing very actively.

3.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has shown that the spread of Islam was not something premeditated or organized. It was spread through association. In Kendu-Bay, this seems to be the case because employment, marriage and the Muslim way of life are remembered as the main reasons for its spread. The Muslims did not seem to be as interested in spreading their religion as they were in trading. The initial conversions occurred more as a result of the need for the Muslims to have their close associates, or people they came into contact with

more often, as their brothers in Islam rather than any active need or desire to Islamize. But the impact of the coming of the Christian missionaries should also not be underrated. Christianity acted as a religion of comparison and indeed as a check to the growth of Islam, particularly as Christian missionaries began to increase the number of schools. The Christian schools offered education which many people hungered after as it was a passport to getting jobs (in the lower rungs of the ladder of course).

The Christians were also active more than Muslims in spreading Christianity. This active proselytizing more than anything else prevented the spread of Islam.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF ISLAM IN KENDU-BAY, 1920 -1945

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes how the establishment and growth of Islam in Kendu-Bay precipitated a number of changes that revolutionized the way of life of its people. Indeed, some of the changes were felt beyond the Muslim enclave. The impact of Islam in Kendu-Bay and the resultant changes, led to the coming of a new way of life among the recently established Muslim community and hence the beginning of emerging new customs and traditions

To understand the extent of the changes that occurred, we must look at Muslim social life, the introduction of new ideas, such as the chewing of *Mairung* or khat, *Beni-* a dance imported from Coast and even decorum and etiquette. A combination of new political awareness and economic change brought about new circumstances that have existed to this very day. These changes also created a distinct people with their own customs and traditions. This peculiarity set the Muslims apart from others and helped to consolidate Islam in Kendu-Bay.

Although Christianity is not a subject of this study, it is mentioned in this chapter because of its relationship to Islam and its impact. In the previous chapter, the agents of the introduction of Islam in Nyanza and Kendu-Bay were discussed. In this chapter the various social and cultural changes brought about by Islam, and how this led to the consolidation of Islam, are discussed.

4.2 THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN KENDU-BAY BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS, 1919-1939

By the 1920's there was an established Muslim population in Kendu - Bay. By then the town had earned the name of *Duka-Ka Nyasoro* or in Dholuo for "the place where Nasir has his shop".

There were also people from Kendu-Bay who got employed outside Kendu-Bay were Islamized, and eventually went back to settle among the Muslims of Kendu-Bay. Saleh Omuai wuod Gworo or Saleh Omuai son of Gworo was initially a Christian, who went to work at the Railway Headquarters in Nairobi and was converted to Islam while living at Landi Muthurwa.

"There were quite a number of Muslims to be found Kareru [at the Railway Headquarters] in Nairobi. My uncle Nasoor Otieno had also converted to Islam so I too became a Muslim in 1940. And finally settled in Kendu-Bay in 1945."⁸⁹

Mohammed Hassan, an Arab from Yemen, says that he first went to Kendu-Bay as a young man of around twenty years. He had uncles, Abdul Saleh and Aziz there who used to trade in various items, for example, skins and beads. He says that during the time that he has been in Kendu-Bay, quite a number of people converted to Islam as a result of working for his uncles. He argues that:

"Islam is a good religion and we treat people like brothers and so they come to like and admire us. That is why our workers have joined us. I have managed to convert four people in my career as skin trader and lorry transportation business."⁹⁰

Zainabu Awadh was initially a Seventh Day Adventist(SDA) She says that her husband was also an SDA, who really admired the Muslim manner of dressing, especially for the

women. Zainabu says that she was in agreement with Awadh that women should dress well with *lesos* or cotton cloth used as wrappers and also to cover their heads. After her husband Awadh converted to Islam, she also converted and has remained a committed Muslim ever since.

Life in Kendu-Bay at that time revolved a lot around the shops. It was not only Nasir who operated a shop in the town. He had been joined by other Arab shopkeepers from his country of Yemen. Among these were Nasir Bukheit, Ahmed Swaleh, Islam Abdu, Mohammed Khan and others.

Most of the people who had converted to Islam settled in Kendu-Bay and built their homes at *Duka ka Nyasoro*. Many of these early Muslims were from Wagwe which was the first place that Nasir bin Ali had settled in. Within a short time, the whole of *Duka ka Nyasoro* had become a kind of established village which was wholly for Muslims, since most of the Christians were to be found at and around Gendia Hill at that time.

The fact that the Wagwe were the first people in Karachuonyo to be converted to the *Din* (an Arabic word borrowed from Muslim traders meaning religion, in this case Islam) in large numbers, earned them respect because they were seen to have a closer relationship with the Arabs. The Wagwe also felt that they were owed great respect for bringing the *Din* to the people of K'Onyango Majieri, Kakwajuok and parts of 'Kanyadhiang'.

According to Maalim Aziz Odindo, an incident in 1920 shows the kind of respect the Wagwe were given because of being the first converts to the *Din*. Ibrahim Kasera, Ismail Okelo, Bruk Omolo, Taufik Odongo, Saidi Mbuya, Omar Wakayo and Musa Awiti had converted to the *Din*. As is the Muslim custom they were supposed to be

circumcised. On the circumcision day, they all refused to undergo the operation until a Wagwe convert first went through the operation. This was to them their way of showing respect to the Wagwe for bringing the *Dim*⁹¹.

There were quite a number of social highlights in the community. These included marriages, deaths and births and even initiation. According to Maalim Aziz, it was difficult to find many Luo girls who were Muslim, unless one was willing to marry one of the Nubian girls from Kisii, or even to go to Central Kavirondo now Kisumu to get a bride. In most cases, even if a man was lucky to get a first wife who was a Muslim, at one point or the other before he married the maximum of four wives (Islam permits polygamy with men allowed up to four wives) he would have to marry a non-Muslim. In this case the bride-wealth in the form of cattle would be taken to the girls' parents. Later the girl would be escorted to the man's home. She would be instructed about matters concerning Islam, and she would then be required to say the Shahada, the Muslim profession of faith; saying it was a necessary requirement for the marriage to take place. This shows a mixing of Luo and Muslim customs, a blending of the traditional culture and the new religion. It suggests reluctance to dismiss the traditional tribal beliefs wholesale and a willingness on the part of the Muslim party to accept such practices. After a period of instruction of between one to two weeks, the marriage would be presided over by the Sheikh, after which it would be consummated. If the girl was a virgin she would be given *Mahari*, (Arabic word for dowry that is given to the bride in appreciation for her being a virgin). This was a Muslim practice which was borrowed by the Luo Muslims. The mahari was hers and she would not be required to return it in case of a divorce. On such occasions there was a lot of feasting and dancing.⁹⁶

4.2.1 Mairungi

The origin of the word *Mairungi* or *miraa* is obscure. What is clear is that the term *mairungi* or *miraa* (khat) was used by Muslim traders who introduced it to the people of Kendu-Bay.

The chewing of *Mairungi* was also part of the new change. Most people argued that the chewing of *mairungi* gave one acute concentration and that one tended to work better after chewing it. This habit was introduced by the Arabs and most of the people who chewed it were Muslims. It was chewed while watching sports like *Amen* (traditional wrestling), *Ajua* (a traditional game played with smooth pebbles on a board) and generally when people were just relaxing.⁹³

Mairungi is still chewed widely among Luo Muslim men. It is taken as the most natural thing to do for a Muslim man from around the age of fourteen onwards. It is so ingrained in their social activities that it has become in effect a way of life for them. *Mairungi* has the distinction of being associated with Muslims in Kendu-Bay. Drinking alcohol is unacceptable behaviour for a Muslim from a religious and social point of view. *Mairungi* seems to be the only intoxicant allowed. Suleiman Julu argues that *mairungi* helped in keeping alcohol out of Muslim society and it came to be viewed as an alternative stimulant for Muslims.⁹⁴

4.2.2 Initiation

The Luo traditionally used to initiate the youth, both male and female by extracting six of their lower teeth. Islam brought about a change in this traditional practice among

the people who had converted to Islam. Extraction of teeth gradually lost its importance among Muslims. The only Muslims with their lower teeth extracted were those who had joined the religion after initiation or those, (especially women) who had been converted to Islam because of marriage.⁹⁵ The discontinuation of teeth extraction among the Muslim Luo group had a general social effect among other Luo of Kendu-Bay. People no longer regarded the removal of the lower front teeth as a must before crossing the borderline between youth and adulthood⁹⁶. They realized that Muslim men and women lived normal lives as adults without going through the initiation ceremony.

It took time before the removing of teeth as a rite of passage into adulthood was discarded by the Luo people. What is of interest is the fact that this custom was not seen as barbaric by the Arabs whose religion was adopted by a number of Luo people. Indeed, nobody seems to remember an incident where the Arabs or any other Muslim crusaded against the removal of teeth among the Luo. Abdallah Onditi Obuya argues that:-

"As time went on people simply stopped having their teeth removed. It was a gradual process amongst us Muslims but I seem to remember the Christians having a difficult time in school on account of this rite of passage which was looked down upon as backward and barbaric."⁹⁷

The practice of female circumcision was practised briefly in Kendu-Bay, between the late 1920's and early 1930's. This was introduced by a number of Nubian Muslims who worked on the Kisii-Kendu-Bay road projects. The practice was not happily welcomed by the Muslim community and very few women or girls were circumcised. The practice died a natural death because it was un-Islamic and uncultural though other Muslim communities had been practising it even before Islam. It was frowned upon culturally

because the Luo did not practice circumcision of either sex. This is a clear example of the cultural values of the Luo impeding the introduction of alien cultural values by Muslims from another community.⁹⁸

4.2.3 Islamic Religious Prayer

Prayer was part and parcel of Muslim social life and religion in Kendu-Bay. The new religion of Islam meant a new way of worshipping. It brought new ideas about morality and decorum and even etiquette, for example, the manner of dressing that is women in *Bui Bui's* (black flowing robes worn by Muslim women) while men in *Kanzus*, (white robes worn by male Muslims) the separation of females from males at worship, young girls not being allowed to talk to young men, unless they were their immediate family members unchaperoned. Initially, before building their first mosque, the Muslims used to pray by the lakeshore. At sunset people would go and pray on the veranda of the house of an Arab called Ahmed Swaleh who was a trader in Kendu-Bay⁹⁹. In the early hours of the morning and during rainy days, people would pray in their houses. The construction of the first mosque in Kendu-Bay began in 1918. The initiative to build the mosque was taken by the Arab traders, among whom were, Ahmed Swaleh and Nasoor Bhukeit. The land was donated by Ibrahim Kasera. The money to buy the building materials was raised by almost all the Muslims who could afford to spare some money. There was no organized group through which the money was collected, each person brought what he could. What existed was a loose informal association known simply as *Jaamiya Islam*¹⁰⁰ (the Muslim community). Since the traders had links all over what was

then known as South Kavirondo and Kisumu, it was easy for them to solicit funds, not only from among themselves (in Kendu-Bay) but from other Muslim traders within South Kavirondo. The Muslims who were not able to help financially helped by providing labour and eventually in 1926 the mosque was complete and people started using it for prayers.¹⁰¹

4.2.4 Muslim Women

Muslim women also had a bearing on social change. They used to walk about in beautiful *Lexos* cotton cloth that is usually tied as a wrapper around the waist and over the shoulders and the head and slippers. Their idea of beauty was also different, for instance, they used *henna* (a substance used mostly by Muslim women to decorate their hands and feet as well as their fingers and toe nails).¹⁰² The first Luo women to be seen with their hair braided beautifully were Muslim women.¹⁰³ They would also decorate themselves with bangles of beautiful shades and colours.

The Muslim women used to gather together as a group and help each other with the work that was considered exclusively for women, such as *Muono* (that is, using mud and cow dung to smooth the walls of a house or hut), fetching water for mixing both the mud and cow dung, and cooking for everybody involved in *Muono*.¹⁰⁴ *Doyo* (weeding) was also another activity for which the Muslim women would gather. Mama Amina explains

"Most of our husbands were traders, tailors, and some were even working in the Arab and Indian boats. It was left to women therefore to find a way of weeding. We would organize ourselves into groups and work in one shamba and then move to another one."¹⁰⁵

This, of course, did not endear them to their fellow clan women. If anything, their grouping up together alienated them from their clanspeople. To the Muslim women, their religion, identifying the fact that they were Muslims, transcended their clan affiliation. The women identified themselves as Muslims and anything they did together, they did as *Mond Silam* - Muslim women. This was a break from the normal practise of women married within a certain clan identifying with that clan. This shows clearly that identifying themselves as Muslims was more important to these women, and as a result they socialized among themselves more, considering their religion to be more binding than their clan. What is intriguing here is that there is no evidence of anything similar happening among the early Luo Christian women. The Muslims differed from the Christians in that they congregated in Kendu-Bay from their different clans and formed a community. The early Luo Christians, on the other hand, never left their rural homes to congregate in a particular place and form a community.

Muslim women were looked at as a different breed by their fellow Luo women. They were referred to collectively as *Mond Silam* or Muslim women and their general different way of dressing made them to be looked at in awe by their fellow women whom the Muslim women in turn looked down upon. One of the elder Muslim women had this to say

"We had reason to feel superior to the other women. You see they did not know how to maintain their beauty and generally how to make themselves beautiful. We (Muslim women) knew how to. We also know how to cook. We would use different spices in our food and in the end the taste between what we cooked and what the women who were not in the Din cooked was very different. We were indeed superior."¹⁰⁶

In spite of this feeling of superiority, Muslim decorum was gradually picked up by other non-Muslim women who learnt how to use *lesos* and, with time, other things like ear piercing were also accepted by some non-Muslims. *Lesos* are now accepted by women of all the religions just as ear-piercing is. This is a clear example of a socio-cultural change introduced by Islam.

4.2.5 Beni

Ranger (1975) places the origins of *Beni* in the Swahili Coastal towns of Mombasa and Lamu in the late 1890's, where the first *Beni* associations were developed pioneered by young Swahili Muslims. He also argues that *Beni* associations preserved and sprang out of some of the deeply rooted assumptions of Swahili urban life and that factionalism in Lamu and Mombasa expressed itself in dance competition.¹⁰⁷

Beni [Band] was an amalgamation of different modes of dance:

"During the 19th century dance society of the Kenyan Coast had reflected an intensive Arabization, experienced the spread of the influence of Zanzibar, with its strong Indian overtones, new instruments, new costumes, new weapons for display, new dance forms were constantly being incorporated, modes of dance and display brought by slaves from the interior were picked up and made use of by the dance societies of the Swahili town."¹⁰⁸

Beni seems to have been transported to Kendu-Bay from Nyang'ori and Mumias in western Kenya. Its introduction to Western Kenya must have been as a result of the interaction between Muslim traders from the Coast and the rural peoples of the interior who later on embraced Islam. In fact a parallel can be drawn with Ranger's argument that:

"...As *Beni* spread into the countryside it was often made use of to meet a kind of Islamic need. The years after the first world war witnessed an expansion of Islam in many Tanganyikan rural areas, which in some cases confirmed and in others produced a communal tribal Islam which was very different from the Islam of the Coast. These tribal Islamic communities showed an admirable independence of mind maintaining many of their own customs and repudiating any idea of the infallibility of Coastal law and culture. But there were some aspects of 'traditional' cultures which a devout Muslim might feel uncomfortable with and among these were traditional ritual dances. *Beni* seemed satisfactorily Islamic with its Swahili songs, but not expressively so. As a result there seems to have been a connection between the expansion of rural Islam and the spread of *Beni*. The rise to power of *Beni* coincides with the increase of Islam."¹⁰⁹

The above quotation most probably explains the reasons for the adoption of the *Beni* dance by the rural communities. But one thing is certain that it became a social phenomenon. It replaced the traditional dance modes of the rural Muslim communities and gave them an acceptable alternative which was identified with Islam because it was introduced by Muslims.

It was and still is performed in Kendu-Bay during certain occasions such as *Idd-Ul-Fitr* and *Idd-Ul-Haj* (that is, feasts to mark the end of the Ramadhan and the end of the Mecca pilgrimage). Indeed, *Beni* became an institution in itself with its own dancers and singers. *Beni* would also be held as a competition between different areas, for instance, Kendu-Bay could invite *Beni* dancers from Kisumu, Kericho, Mumias and Kisii to come for a competition. Instead of competing associations with many branches, each village would have its own dance group known simply as *Beni*, headed by vigorous young men but to some extent representing the village community as a whole. These groups would then dance against the groups of other villages.¹¹⁰

According to Ahmed Salim Said, *Beni* was such that the best dancers were almost revered. He gives an example of Islam Ododo whom he calls the 'Prince of Beni' and says that anytime he entered the arena to dance the crowd would be hushed.¹¹¹ The following is an example of a *Beni* song as recited by Rehema Ibrahim and Salama entitled "Mshahara Ongeza"[increase the salary]:

Ikiwa kazi ni hii	-	If this is the work
Na mshahara huo	-	And that's the salary
Mimi siwezi jamani	-	Oh I cannot do it, my friends
Katafute awezaye	-	Look for him/her who can. ¹¹²

Indeed, any Idd-UI-Fitr celebration without *Beni* was simply unheard of. This was a new social phenomenon among the people of Kendu-Bay and it is true to argue that *Beni* dances on certain occasions have become a tradition. *Beni* was and still is something to be looked forward to. Among the Luo Muslims of Kendu-Bay, *Beni* has become a cultural heritage and has taken the place of Luo songs sung during occasions, such as *Dodo* (a Luo traditional dance). Indeed during Muslim celebrations even non-Muslims came to watch the dancing. *Beni* met the general needs of providing a dance suitable for rural Islam, allowing for the expression of the aspirations of young men and articulating village rivalry and interaction.¹¹³

In 1926 Kendu-Bay and Homa-Bay were granted police posts of two (2) men each¹¹⁴ This presupposes that before 1926 there may have been a policeman or administrative *askaris* but no police post. The purpose of the police post was to combat any criminal activity and to keep the natives in check. The colonial government's force and might were vested in the presence of policemen. This manner of controlling people was a new thing in Kendu-Bay. Previously, there were *kweche* (taboos) and certain laws that kept people in check. There was no such thing as a unit that looked out for law breakers and acted as law enforcers. The police post, of course, meant the taking of law-breakers to court and a custodial sentence if found guilty. The incarceration of offenders in prison was an entirely new thing to the Luo who did not have prisons. This brought about a big change in the people's way of life and also led to resentment on the part of the local Muslims who regarded it as a method the government used to oppress them.

In 1927, the Kisii District Commissioner, Mr. Anderson, gave an order that all roads in the district should be renovated.¹¹⁵ The road work was supposed to be done by Africans for free. The African Muslims in Kendu-Bay felt that it was not fair for them to do road work without payment. Some of them had another grievance which was that they were traders, for example, Khairallah Madaro like the Arabs and Indians, and so they felt that they should be treated like Arabs and Indians. Some of them had learnt tailoring and were earning a living out of making clothes for example, Ramadhan Nyaliang'a. The Luo entrepreneurs, most of whom were Muslims, felt that it was not fair to pick on the Africans to work on the roads while the Arabs and Indians continued with their trade.¹¹⁶

Among the people who refused to go and work on the roads were Ramadhan yaliang'a, Khairalla Madaro, Masood Ouya, Saidi Aoko, Ismail Opar, Ibrahim Kasera, Abdallah Owuor and Gideon Achieng. They were then arrested, fined and taken to jail in Kisii town. On hearing about this, the Arabs, Asians and other African Muslims collected some money¹¹⁷ and also went to ask for help from a wealthy Somali called Egel Bad¹¹⁸. Eventually they collected about 800/- with which they paid the fine, after which the people who had been arrested were released¹¹⁹. These people were the first Luo Muslims of Kendu-Bay to resist racial inequality as propagated by the colonialists.

During that time there were some Christian educated Africans who felt that what had been done to the Luo Muslims was not fair. Among these was one Daniel Ojijo who opted to take the Muslims who had refused to work on the road to Archdeacon Owen who represented African Native Affairs. Through the young Kavirondo Association (YKA), later the Kavirondo Tax-payers Welfare Association, the Archdeacon agreed to present their grievances to the authorities and it was later decided that traders should not work and those people who worked on roads were to be paid about 8/= per month.¹²⁰

Owen must have been chosen by the Luo Muslims because of his insistence on fighting for the welfare of the black man. He is said to have gone on leave in 1921 and in January 1922 he visited America at the invitation of Dr. Jesse Jones to study the position of the coloured people there. On his return to Kavirondo in 1922, he found himself in the thick of controversy in his efforts to establish a Christian view of the British Nation's duty to "backward" races. He wrote weekly articles for the East African Standard in which he advocated reforms in such matters as Hut Tax collection, forced labour on roads and unpaid labour in government camps. In those articles, he stressed the need for

consultations with Africans in order that they might be given an opportunity to voice their own opinions as to where the laws and regulations were harsh and resulted in unnecessary limitations to their freedom.¹²¹

Owen's fight for native rights was such that Richards says

On June 16th, 1922, Owen preached a sermon in all Saints Cathedral, Nairobi urging the application of the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you" to native policy in Kenya. The way in which Owen thought this should be put into practice raised a storm of criticism in the colony and brought Owen into prominence as a spokesman of the many grievances and aspirations which were occupying Africans' mind."¹²²

According to Mzee Maftah Kharalla, the refusal to provide free labour for road construction led to various repercussions, which included the forceful eviction of African Muslims from where they were staying to another plot within Kendu-Bay.¹²³ The land that the Muslims were being forced to go and settle on belonged to the Konyango clan. One of the Konyango people, a certain Jaduong' Owino Aguda, tried to protest in vain. The Muslims, however, refused to go and settle in that particular area of Kendu-Bay, and so in January 1928 they were forcibly evicted by the police and forced to settle on the land allocated to them by the DC¹²⁴

In the Annual report of 1927 there is mention of a few "Mohammedan natives" being given permission to build on some properly laid out plots and the rest being returned to the reserve.¹²⁵ The reserve that is mentioned in this Annual Report could possibly be the one to which the native Muslims were forced to go and settle in by the DC. Unfortunately, the annual report does not give more information, for instance, no names are shown.

In spite of the fact that there was so much intermarriage and interaction among Muslims who settled in and around Kendu-Bay, there was also much covert discrimination by non-African Muslims against Africans. The Arabs, and later Indians, would not do any manual work even for themselves. It was left to the Luo Muslims and the local people to do whatever manual labour there was.¹²⁶ This discrimination also highlighted their political awareness - the fact that they were being discriminated against because of their skin. The political awareness came about as a result of social discrimination because of skin colour. This realisation dawned on them after observing the behaviour of their Arab and Indian Muslim brethren who considered certain jobs to be beneath them but worthy of their African Muslim brothers.

4.4 MUSLIM - CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

In 1906 the pioneer Seventh Day Adventist missionaries acquired the site of Gendia Hill, located about two miles from Kendu-Bay.¹²⁷ During the First World War, Gendia Mission was used as a camp site for the KAR.¹²⁸ This led to Muslims living in a Christian enclave in Kendu-Bay for the first time and thereby leading to a situation that sometimes created conflict between the KAR members of the two religions. This almost spilled over to the local community who also embraced the two religions but was arrested on time after permission was granted for the Muslims of the KAR to go down to the Mosque at Kendu-Bay for prayers.

Other than this one incident there has never been a major prolonged conflict between the Christians at Gendia Hill and the Muslims of Kendu-Bay. This was mainly because:

The headquarters of the Mission station was on Gendia Hill, while the Muslims were on the Lakeshore five kilometres away, so they were not close neighbours, the Muslims, unlike the Christians, were not spreading their religion by proselytizing, so they were not viewed as a big threat to Christianity and there were cases of relatives belonging to each of the two religions; in such cases harmony in the family was seen to be of great importance.

Negative conflict arose mainly when two persons of different religions, that is, Christianity and Islam, were getting married. Then the issue of religion would come up, thereby raising a few problems in the marriage negotiations. For example, willingness to convert, acceptance by either the groom's family or the bride's family of the marriage, and usually biases which one religious group harboured against the other. But, such differences were not usually a hindrance. In most cases the overriding factor was the background of the bride and the groom, and the willingness (usually of the bride) to convert to the others religion.

Children would sometimes antagonize adults by reciting something which they had learnt from a child of another religion, Christian or Muslim. This would lead to a parent asking his child or children to play only with those of their own religion but this was short lived as children would always go back to play with one another again.¹²⁹

Among friends and relatives of the two new religions, another issue that brought about conflict was food. The Muslims would not eat meat from the house of a Christian, if they were not sure that the animal was slaughtered by a Muslim. They also had a problem with Christians who ate pork, which is meat that Muslims are forbidden to eat. Such differences were minor, however, and did not prevent generally friendly relations between Christians and Muslims.

Only one major problem occurred, during the First World War, when the Seventh Day Adventist followers accused Khairallah Madaro of obstructing the spread of Christianity. This led to Khairallah being detained at *Ruoth* (Chief) Onindo's home for some time¹³⁰. However, this did not prevent him from later having SDA friends and by 1925 among his notable friends who would visit him at his home, were people like Isaac Okeyo, Paul Mboya, Joel Omer, Elijah Owino, Mariko Otieno and others.¹³¹ These were very influential people. Isaac Okeyo later became a pastor, Paul Mboya and Joel Omer were later bestowed with the title of *ker* (a title given to a most honoured person in Luoland). This shows that individual friendships were not affected by religion. At another level it is possible to argue that given Khairallah's prominence, particularly because of his business, and because of his being the circumcisor for the Luo Muslim population, it was fitting for him to keep company with other men of influence regardless of their religion.

4.5 ECONOMIC LIFE

Kendu-Bay (earlier known as Kendu) had been a market centre in Karachuonyo long before the arrival of the Arabs and Indians. According to Ayot, markets such as Kendu in Karachuonyo, Asego in Kanyada and Sindo in Kaksingri

connected traders from the whole of South Nyanza with those of the northern side of Winam gulf and present day Tanzania and Uganda.¹³²

By the time the Arabs and later the Indians arrived in Kendu-Bay, it was already an established market centre, with regular market days which served the Karachuonyo clans, particularly the Konyango, Majieri Kotieno Magumba, Kakwajuok, Karabondi and Kadwet. Others clans who were not from Karachuonyo but who used to go to Kendu market to trade were the Kagan, Kochia, Kanyada and some of the Nyakach. Foodstuffs such as millet, sorghum, fish and *bala* (traditional salt) were bartered for farming implements, cattle and even foodstuffs that were not grown in the locality.¹³³ The Arabs promoted the idea of money in the economy of Kendu.¹³⁴ They and the Indians also opened shops in Kendu-Bay. The use of money increased with the introduction of taxation in the East Africa Protectorate which later become Kenya Colony.

The Hut Tax Legislation of 1897 and 1902 quite soon became a vehicle consciously used by the colonial officials to draw labour out of the African reserve. No better summary exists of the official view on the purposes of African taxation than a dinner speech of the then governor of the Protectorate.

“We consider that taxation is compelling the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of seeking work. Only in this way can the cost of living be increased for the native and it is on this that the supply of labour and the price of labour depends.”¹³⁵

The remuneration for the African ensured that they learnt the use of money because it was used to pay taxation and also for purchasing goods.

The use of money led to the decline of bartering as a means of acquiring goods that one needed. The presence of shops brought about change, not only for the

Muslim people, but for the local Africans as well by introducing new exotic goods that were not known earlier, such as soap, paraffin, cooking utensils, clothes, buckets, salt, sugar and tea.

Trade was good business, and quite a number of the Arabs, Indians and Luo Muslims grew rich as a result of trade. Some of the Luo Muslim traders were the initial converts who had learnt a new trade, for example, selling skins and using money as the medium of exchange from the Arabs and Indians. Their background afforded them an advantage because of learning by observation from their masters. Some of them like, Ramadhan Nyaliang'a, had moved with his master (Nasir) from Wagwe to Kendu-Bay where he established a shop. He helped his master by keeping house and also helping out in the business. With time he decided to start his own business. Most of the traders have a similar background but differed in the trade that they undertook. They traded in beans, ghee, simsim, *bala*. A number of them, like Khairalla Madoro and Masood Ouya, became quite prominent as a result of trade.

Indeed, in the process of trade Muslim traders gained converts in places like Nyakach. Mohammed Hassan, an Arab who came from Yemen, argues that "trade was beneficial to the Muslim religion. We not only got converts in Kendu-Bay and Karachuonyo, but in places like Nyakach and Ahero too."¹³⁶ The Luo Muslims (especially men), were at an advantage because they learnt the ways in which the trade was conducted and what was required for export to Kisumu. Their close contact with the Arab Muslims made it almost impossible for other Luo in the region, particularly the Christians and others who followed the Luo traditional religion, to join them. The first generation of Christians also felt that mixing with the Muslims, simply because they

wanted to learn and break their monopoly of trade, was not good for their faith. Mzee

Yason says this:

"My father Kisiara Osunga was told by pastor Carscallen that Muslims did not believe in Jesus Christ and so, for a long time he was always suspicious of them because according to him they did not believe in Jesus Christ."¹³⁷

This statement speaks volumes of what must have been the reason why the early Luo Christians did not try to join the Luo Muslims in their trading activities which took them to various places. On the other hand, the Muslim attitude to non-Muslims - that is *Washenzi* or *Kaffirs* (non-Muslim) could explain why Muslims were dominant in this field, thus creating an advantage over others, even though they did employ and actually traded with the *Washenzi*. However, shops were still concentrated in Kendu-Bay. Perhaps that can explain why Kendu-Bay is referred to as *Duka* to this day.

The initial reluctance of most Luo Christians to join the Luo Muslims in trade can be explained by the fact that they had an "attitude" problem. Perhaps this was because of the education they had received which prepared them for 'white collar jobs. So in spite of the fact that they related well, the religious barrier was consciously or unconsciously in the background

For sometime the Indians and Arabs ran dhows that plied the water routes between Kendu-Bay and Kisumu. They used the dhows to transport people, mail and even agricultural products to Kisumu. However, their monopoly of lake transport between Kendu-Bay and Kisumu ended in 1925 when Messrs Gethin and Dawson installed a motor boat and lighters to carry traffic and goods between Kendu and Kisumu several times a week.¹³⁸ This helped the traders because they spent less time enroute to wherever they

were going to trade. Masood Ouya was one of the traders who became wealthy because of the efficiency of the lake transportation system.

In lake transport the Annual Report of 1925 and 1926 for South Kavirondo claimed that Kendu-Bay was rapidly gaining importance because of the tendency for goods to be exported more and more through Kendu-Bay, and Homa-Bay rather than Karungu. Homa-Bay held the premier position as regards exports but this was possibly due partly to the fact that practically all natives going out to work from the African reserves to the plantations and towns passed through Kendu-Bay thereby taking up space on lighters and dhows that would have otherwise been used for produce. Mails and government cargo also passed through Kendu-Bay.

In 1927 a government owned motor-boat was introduced in Kendu-Bay¹³⁹ and this gave a lot of impetus to trade, given that Kendu-Bay was second only to Homa-Bay in the export of agricultural products. The installation of a government labour camp in Kendu-Bay in 1929¹⁴⁰ to accommodate all the labourers on their way from the reserves to the plantations and towns where they were working from also led to the expansion of Kendu-Bay economically. More shops were built because there were more people to buy the goods, for example, the labourers who were coming from work with money in their pockets. Clearly Muslims in Kendu-Bay benefited and were able to occupy plots of land as the Annual Report for South Kavirondo in 1927 states.

"...A few Mohammedan natives have been given permission to build on some properly laid out plots..."

In 1930 it was reported that the government labour camp was largely in use and that it is undoubtedly of benefit to natives proceeding to and from work. It was reported

that about 4,686 natives slept there during the year 1930.¹⁴¹ Mohammed Hassan, a Kendu-Bay resident of Arab descent, said: "Before I settled in Kendu-Bay in 1947, I stayed for a while at Karatina in Nyeri, and my uncle Abdul Saleh, who was a resident of Kendu-Bay would visit me on his way to Mombasa with some Luo friends. On their way, they would have items like dried fish, which uncle said they would sell to the Luo population in Mombasa who did not find sea fish palatable. They would also carry skins to be sold in Mombasa. Among the people I saw him with were Khairalla Madoro and there was a time they travelled with Masood Ouya".¹⁴² This quotation shows that trading was not only continued in Kendu-Bay but went further afield as far as Mombasa.

By 1945 Kendu-Bay was host to all forms of economic activities, for example, fishing, farming, trading and salaried employment. Kendu-Bay was wholly integrated into the monetary economy as was the whole of Kenya. Money became the medium of exchange in the acquisition of goods and services. Indeed, fixed shops that did business practically everyday without need to wait for market days were introduced into the lives of the people. These new modes of economic activity first begun by the Muslims of Kendu-Bay changed the socio-economic profile of the area. The Muslims role in this transformation began with the Arabs who established Kendu-Bay as trading centre by settling there and basing their trading activities there. The help they got from the early Luo Muslims who acted as their houseboys, commercial assistants and sometimes translators, cannot be downplayed because it led to the success of the traders and gave impetus to trade in the centre. The Luo Muslims later started trading after learning their masters specialities. trading in skins, ghee and many other commercial items. Some of them even established shops like Ibrahim Okelo for instance.

Muslim women also had a lot to contribute in the economy of Kendu-Bay at that time. Quite a number of them became important entrepreneurs, and collectively they practiced certain arts, which they had learnt as Muslims, to make money. They still do that up to today.

Among the important female entrepreneurs were Rama Masudi, Halima Ramadhan and Mariam Omar, who besides making money as *Kungwis* (old women who would give advice to young women who would soon be brides and be paid something in return), were also market women selling fish and making things like *Maamri* or *maamlazi* (a kind of cake made out of wheat flour and baking powder) which were certainly new things. They also sold things like *lesos* and *sandals*.

The art of making prayer mats had also been taught to the Muslim women, and they made beautiful mats, not only for themselves but also for sale to other Muslims. Later they made bigger mats that were sold to the local populations. In this way they earned some money which they used to buy things that they needed in their houses, and in some cases they even built homes.

Muslim women formed a collective women's group that helped them to make money. The women's group was initiated by Halima Okoth and Amina Bilali. It was created with the realization that money would help to meet their needs and the fact that the women had realised that their services could be bought. According to Amina Bilali, they started it during the days of *Panyako* (pioneer corps) which was between 1939 and 1941. On occasions like funerals and weddings, and in cases where there were a number

of visitors in a particular home, this collective women's group was, and still is called upon to go and cook dishes like pilau (a mixture of rice, meat and spices) and *maandazi*. They would be paid a prior agreed sum of money and they would later divide it among themselves. This shows how the money economy brought about change. It was previously taken for granted that women within the clan would help out in funerals and other occasions, but the Muslim women took it as a business whose service was paid for.

This business of selling mats and maandazi sustained a number of women who had absentee husbands. It also acted as a supplement to the food crops that were grown locally which sometimes were usually not enough to last for the whole season until the next harvest time. Amina Bilali said

"Women who previously sat and waited for their husbands to bring food were forced to work hard and sell things like *chapati* (flat unleavened bread made of wheat flour) and *maandazi* to get enough money to take care of the children, especially during the months after the food that was in the granary had all been eaten."¹⁴³

The women obviously decided to take up small-scale businesses to supplement their harvest and the incomes their husbands brought home from their places of work or trade in the centres in the region.

4.7 SUMMARY

Social change can either be progressive or retrogressive. It can be either way because of a movement of ideas or lack of the same. Some new ideas that are accepted within a society with time become part of that society and are considered part of their tradition. And indeed it can be argued conclusively that the introduction of Islam has led

to the emergence of new traditions in Kendu-Bay, for instance, celebrations like Idd-ul-Fitr, the month of Ramadhan, the chewing of *mairungi* or *miraa*, and the Beni dance.

The promotion of the use of money by the Arab Muslims revolutionized the peoples' thinking. Wealth was henceforth looked at in terms of monetary gains other than the number of cattle and granaries that a person had in his home. This prompted the Luo Muslims, both men and women, to engage in trading activities that would give them money to meet their needs. Of course, trading activities had involved barter trade but now money had taken the place of barter trade. This brought change to the peoples economic and social lifestyles. Economically because the medium of exchange was no longer barter but money, and socially because having money became a status symbol. Fixed shops alongside new consumer goods was also a new phenomenon not only among the Luo Muslims but also among the Luo Christian populace as well.

The size of the Luo Muslim populace, however, has not expanded much. But this can perhaps be explained by the fact that whilst the Christian missionaries were actively proselytizing, the Muslims did not go out of their way to do the same, instead the Luo who converted to Islam did so by association with Muslims. The Luo Muslims perhaps because of their close association with the Arab Muslims which led to a feeling that they are equal, refused to be discriminated against. This is demonstrated by their agitation against an order given by the Kisii District Commissioner that the Africans should work on the roads for free. The Arab and Indian Muslims acted as points of comparison to them and so their political agitation stemmed out of the fact that they were being treated inhumanly and actually went further and demanded for pay for the work done. Change here can be seen in two ways:- the Luo Muslims encountered discrimination on account of

their colour and (ii) they learnt that they had to fight for their rights. This chapter has been about the coming of new ideas, particularly from the Muslim Arabs and the acceptance of the same by the Luo who converted to Islam, and the resultant socio-economic changes that emanate from their acceptance of the aforesaid religion of Islam. It has also shown that the religion of Islam gave the Luo Muslims a new identity which transcended their clans and from then on they looked at themselves as a community of Muslims, distinct from other Luo.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM IN KENDU-BAY, 1946-1963

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks briefly at Luo traditional education before the arrival of Christianity and Islam. It progresses to the beginning of Islamic religious education in Kenya with the establishment of Quran schools and then examines the work of Christian missions and the development of western education in Kenya, including Nyanza and southern Kavirondo, and how the domination by Christian missionaries in the area of education led to the need for Muslims to build their own schools in order to keep their children from coming under Christian influence.

By the end of the Second World War education was becoming a sensitive issue in Kendu-Bay. Even though the idea of getting formal education for their children was uppermost in the minds of Kendu-Bay Muslims, they had problems with missionary schools. They realized that their children would come under the influence of Christianity, even being forced to pray the Christian way as long as they went to Christian schools. The African Muslims, therefore, decided that the only way to get formal Western education and at the same time avoid the influence of Christianity, was to build their own schools.

5.2 EDUCATION BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM FORMS OF EDUCATION

Traditional Luo education aimed at enabling individuals to become useful members of the society in which they lived. It was the same for all African societies.

".....It prepared everyone for his or her part in society. There was nobody 'idle' or 'unemployed'. Although some tribes were more closely knit than others, everyone of them seems to have had very rigid rules and regulations governing the lives of its members. There was seldom any question of individual freedom."¹⁴⁴

As in all pre-literate societies where the art of writing and reading had not been learned, the traditional Luo way of educating their children was through oral instruction. The children and the other members of society learnt whatever they were taught by heart, and they, in turn, would teach the next generation the same way. There was no set age to begin education, nor was there a formal institution only meant for learning.

There were quite a number of ways through which the society at large learnt. Story telling was a very important forum for educating the young. Through it, children and even adults learnt what things were not accepted in society, for example, stealing, lying, greediness. Virtues that were appreciated by Luo society were learnt through praise song and dance. Boys and young men learnt the art of fighting, hunting, trapping and tracking cattle raiders by sitting with older men around a fire in the evening while girls and young women learnt cooking and taking care of children from their mothers. When they reached a mature age, they would get instructions from an old lady (*Pim*), in her hut

(*Sowndhe*). There were other things that both sexes learnt, for example, history, customary law, religious beliefs and practices and social taboos.

Abreu sums it up very well thus:-

"Conformity was the key word because only then could society ensure continuity and permanence. A deliberate effort was, therefore, made to instruct the young not only to preserve the cultural heritage but also to make sure succeeding generations benefitted from it. Society developed and progressed along established lines."¹⁴⁵

Indire argues that the contents of traditional education usually depended upon a tribe's environmental conditions. The main occupations of the tribe were the determining factors.¹⁴⁶ This quotation is very true for the Luo, whose occupation was a mixture of fishing, hunting, herding and agriculture.

5.3 THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN KENYA

Long before the beginning of colonial rule and before Europeans had established formal schools, the Muslim communities at the coast had their Quran schools. The aim of these schools was very much like that of the African traditional 'homestead', to teach and perpetuate the Muslim faith and culture. Children, boys and sometimes girls, entered quran school at the age of six or seven. Education lasted for several years. Classes were held in the morning and in the afternoon. A child had first to learn the Arabic alphabet and then to read and write in monosyllables. The text of the Quran had to be read and learnt by heart without necessarily understanding its meaning. The children hardly learnt any vocabulary. The Quran school was purely religious and not meant to train youth for future occupation.¹⁴⁷

The basis of all teaching and learning was the Quran and the *Hadith* (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad). These were written initially in Arabic and therefore a Muslim was supposed to learn Arabic for the purpose of interpreting his religion. In non-Arab countries, however, some individuals only managed to learn the Quran and memorize parts of it, without necessarily understanding it. Subjects of higher education, which include dogma, jurisprudence, scholasticism, geography and related subjects for the sake of comprehending what is called 'Muslim Science,'¹⁴⁸ are generally studied by only a small number of Muslims.

5.4 THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN KENYA

The colonial government on the other hand preferred to let the missionaries play a big role in African education as Bagha argues "The various education commissions that were appointed by the colonial government also supported the idea of the missionaries playing a major role in the field of African education. For instance the 1919 Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate recommended that African education should be left mainly with the missionaries.

"The 1949 Beecher report recommended that the government continues to work with and through these voluntary agencies which have the teaching of Christian principles as part of their intention, and that facility for christian instruction be provided in all efforts."¹⁴⁹

Almost as soon as colonial rule was established in Kenya, the European type of school system was assumed by colonialists to be one of the keys to economic and civic progress. The colonialists were particularly interested in training a better skilled labour

force and inculcating within the "native population" a proper respect for the European interpretation of "law and order."¹⁵⁰

In 1909 Prof. J. Nelson Frazer, who had a long educational experience in India, was appointed as Education Advisor to East Africa. In 1909 he published a report where he advocated the principle of different educational systems for the major racial groups in Kenya and put forward the idea that Africans should be provided with technical education. This particular recommendation had a far reaching effect on the development of education in the country, for right up to the close of the colonial period education was divided into four water-tight compartments based on the four major racial groups of Kenya, namely, European, Indian, Arab and African¹⁵¹ in that order of racial consideration.

Right through the colonial period, African Education in Kenya was closely interwoven with missionary work. The 1919 Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate recommended that African education should be left mainly in the hands of the missionaries. The commission was apprehensive of the:

" ... great danger of secular education divorced from moral and religious instruction. The native requires something more than an abstract moral code in place of his primitive moral law and a definite religious belief is necessary if he is to become an honest and reputable member of the society."¹⁵²

The missions enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the field of African education until the 1920's. From 1911 to 1925, the Government increasingly subsidized approved mission schools at the same time as it built up its own system of Government African schools.¹⁵³

The Phelps-Stokes Commission, which visited East Africa in 1924 and made a most detailed investigation of education, supported missionary effort in education. They

said that development of character is a requisite in all educational activities and religion a necessary means to a sound development of character.¹⁵⁴

The 1945 Beecher Report recommended that the Government continue to work with and through those voluntary agencies which have the teaching of Christian principles as part of their intention, and that facility for Christian instruction be provided in all efforts.¹⁵⁵ This is an indication of colonial insensitivity, particularly in regard to the teaching of Christian principles, not taking into account Africans who were not Christians, in particular, those who were Muslims.

5.4.1 The Missions And Education In Nyanza

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the reasons for giving an indepth examination on the role Christian missionaries played in the introduction of formal education in Nyanza and South Kavirondo, is to show how the zeal of the Christians left the Muslims feeling vulnerable and threatened which ultimately led to their decision to have their own schools that would offer their children formal education without coming under the influence of christianity

The colonial Government's chief aim was the establishment of effective administration as the best means of exposing the indigenous people to western ideas, and of introducing them to new concepts and values, so as to make them amenable to their new designs. Western education was subsequently introduced, effected and propagated through the school institution. But it soon became evident that the school institution could not merely function as an instrument of the missions or the colonial Government as

had originally been envisaged, it turned out to be the most effective and appropriate means of orientating and preparing individuals for a number of formal roles in local society¹⁵⁶

In Nyanza different missions established themselves in different areas. The aim of the mission stations was not only to educate the natives but to win them to Christendom.

Florida Karani aptly puts it thus:

"The prime motive in establishing a foreign educational institution at Maseno was to win the natives for Christ. The school was thus envisaged as a means towards achieving that end. The Maseno venture therefore demonstrates the educational approach in the whole task of missionary evangelization - a method which was widely used by many missions in Africa for purposes of converting the natives to Christianity."¹⁵⁷

Different parts of Nyanza were occupied by different missions. The Holy Ghost Mission (Catholic) was the first Christian organization to begin work at Kisumu.¹⁵⁸ The Seventh Day Adventists were the first to begin work in South Kavirondo, which at that time included Kisii, in 1906. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) also established themselves at Maseno at the boundary of the Luhya and Luo, and began the foundation of the now famous Maseno school.

"When the school was established at Maseno; and this was part of a process which began taking place all over Western Kenya, traditional education began to be slowly displaced by Western education. But it did not fulfil functions which traditional education had fulfilled in society. Its displacement thus signalled an end to an era and it marked a turning point. The structure of the educational system which began to evolve was thus not a result of an earlier established system, but it was directly derived from the European tradition."¹⁵⁹

This quotation can be taken as a model of what was happening in the field of education to Africans, regardless of which mission school they attended and which religion

they belonged to. The colonial government also had its own ideas with regard to African education. The colonial government found that circumstances in the colony made it necessary to consider how best education could be utilized to fit the 'native' within the colonial structure. First, there was the question of administration at the locational level. Some kind of orientation to fit indigenous persons into the new administrative set up was necessary. Education could fulfil such a need.¹⁶⁰ There was the problem of junior posts, such as clerks, messengers, porters, waiters and others in Government departments and the private sector such as the Railways, Post Office and others. Asians who served in some of these posts could not meet all the demand, and on the other hand, it would have been expensive to use European expatriates.

While the missionaries were busy building schools and setting up a syllabus that they felt was appropriate for the Africans, the other communities, for example, the Indians, Muslims and Europeans, were building their own schools. The end result of a mission education was coveted by many an African, however, the inclusion of the study of the Christian religion in the curriculum of mission education was offensive to Africans who had embraced the Muslim faith, and this led to Muslims advocating and promoting the building of their own schools.

5.4.2 Mission Education In South Kavirondo With Particular Emphasis On Gendia And Kendu-Bay

Modern western education in South Kavirondo is usually associated with the arrival of the Seventh Day Adventist missionaries in South Kavirondo. Catholic missions, for example, the Mill Hill Fathers, were later to establish themselves in South Kavirondo

too in areas like Nyabururu and Kisii town, and a Catholic mission school was later built and developed into a big institution at Asumbi.

In 1906 the Seventh Day Adventist missionaries set foot in Kenya. One of their missionaries, Arthur Grandville Carscallen, together with an Adventist German Missionary, acquired Gendia Hill, two miles from Kendu-Bay. They built residential quarters and a school block where classes were to be held.¹⁶¹ The Adventists felt that education was an absolute necessity. The people had to learn to read and write if they were to become Christians.¹⁶² The curriculum of the early period of establishment included writing, arithmetic, Bible knowledge and some practical training in hand work. Knowledge of Bible stories and of principles of scripture was given much emphasis.¹⁶³

The Adventist missionaries, working along with their earliest graduates from Gendia mission school, succeeded in the establishment of five more mission stations. Wire Hill mission station in upper Karachuonyo Kasipul - was set up in 1912 and it became an important station of learning. In the same year Karungu, Kanyidoto and Got Rusinga mission stations were started. A year later, in 1913¹⁶⁴, Kamagambo mission station was opened. It later became a great centre of learning in the whole of South Kavirondo.

The Adventists continued with their education programme by printing material locally at their press which was introduced in 1913 in Gendia. In 1914 a monthly journal entitled "Jaote Luo" was printed. Other Luo grammar books followed later.¹⁶⁵

In 1914 the First World War broke out and Gendia mission station was used as a camp site for the (KAR). After the war, Gendia mission picked up again and in 1918 Peter Geda of central Karachuonyo founded Wagwe SDA school. This was in addition to Alego school founded in 1914.¹⁶⁶ Gendia continued with its academic and vocational

training programme which included participation in wood work, carpentry, agriculture and various kinds of handiwork.¹⁶⁷ In 1929 there was within Gendia Mission area of administration, one central school with an enrollment of ninety five pupils.

In the 1930s missionaries were deeply involved in African education not only in Nyanza but in the rest of Kenya as well with the result that the East African Standard (February 3rd 1939) questioned the validity of missionaries getting involved in the work of education.

One might wonder whether there were no government schools but as said earlier in the introduction, the colonial government preferred to let the missionaries deal with African education. However, this does not mean that they divorced themselves entirely from African education. Indeed, in other parts of the country they had schools for Africans, for example, in Machakos district and Coast province. Why most schools in South Nyanza were under missionary influence is an area for further research.

This sub-section illustrates the zeal with which the Christian missionaries introduced formal education in South Kavirondo. Their aim was to educate Africans they had no bias with regard to religious affiliation. However, Christian religious education was part of the curriculum and this made the African Muslims whose children attended Christian mission schools feel threatened.

5.5 MUSLIM EDUCATION IN [NYANZA] KAVIRONDO

Muslim education in South Kavirondo was racially segregated just as education was segregated elsewhere in the colony. African Muslims were expected to go to

Christian mission schools for Africans, while Muslims of Asian origin built their own schools

African Muslims, however, did not want their children to go to the Christian mission schools because they felt that their children would be indoctrinated into the Christian faith after realisation that Christian religious education was part of the curriculum. As a result some Muslims insisted that their children get their education in "Quranic schools", which of course already existed. According to Abreu,

"Quranic schools formed a part of the voluntary effort in development of Muslim education in Kenya. During the early days of colonial rule and of formal schooling Muslim parents resented secular education more so because they linked the idea with Christianity which was the religion of the white man".¹⁶⁸

In Nyanza (then central and south Kavirondo), the Ismailis, a well known Muslim sect in Kenya, established a number of schools. Ismailis are Shia Muslims originating from the Indian sub-continent. Abreu argues that their presence in East Africa dates back to the trading activities of the Indians during the Arab and pre-Portuguese era in East Africa. It was Aga Khan III who initiated the many welfare and social projects in East Africa. The development of Ismaili schools in Kenya also had the moral encouragement and financial backing of the Aga Khan.¹⁶⁹

In Nyanza the Ismailis started a school in Kisumu in 1921 for both religious and secular instruction. The community planned to build a new school in 1928 and also a hostel for children from outlying areas. The Aga Khan Hostel in Kisumu was built in 1934.¹⁷⁰ The Ismailis also built schools at Asembo Bay, Mumias, Sio River, Kapsabet, Kendu-Bay, Kisii, Marindi and Homa-Bay. The Homa-Bay and Kendu-Bay schools were

opened in 1928 with ten children boys and girls. The Marindi school was opened in 1933, while the Rangwe one opened in 1927. All these schools, however, were only for pupils of Asian origin.

5.5.1 Muslim Education In Kendu-Bay

The beginning of education for the Muslims of Kendu-Bay was synonymous with the establishment of Islam in Kendu-Bay. The Muslims brought with them the Quran and Arabic. The religion that had been introduced was a religion that required some form of literacy and a basic knowledge of Arabic in order to read the Quran and to pray as well as to fulfill certain social obligations like greetings, for instance, "salaam – aleikum".

After settling in Kendu-Bay in 1909 Nasir bin Ali began to conduct Quran lessons in his house. Later, there followed another wave of Arab settlers like Ahmed Dakik, Nasoor Bhuket and Khamis Obeid. In the mid 1920's Ahmed Dakik took over from Nasir bin Ali and started conducting lessons in his house.

The main function of the Quran school in Kendu-Bay was to offer basic religious education. This was because of the need for Muslims to learn how to pray in Arabic and when to do so as well as what to say.¹⁷¹ Initially, the recitals were just learnt by heart with most students not knowing the meaning of what they were saying except that it was holy and an appropriate response to a certain recital. However, as time went on, some of the students learnt Arabic and became well versed in the art of writing in Arabic. An example of such a person was Khairallah Madoro who was among the early converts to Islam. He learnt Arabic through his various Arab acquaintances who were willing to teach him as he had shown an interest in learning the language. His various sojourns in Mombasa on his

trading missions also helped. The learning of Arabic brought Madoro a lot of respect among his own people and the Arabs.¹⁷²

As time went on however, in spite of access to religious education, the Muslims like all the other local people felt the need of getting a formal Western education in order to secure junior administrative jobs in government and even private offices. To do so the local Muslims had to join other local people and attend the schools that were available.¹⁷³

African Muslims in Kendu-Bay, like other Africans, attended Gendia school, which was two miles from Kendu-Bay town. In 1918 other Seventh Day Adventist Schools had been founded within central Karachuonyo, at Alego and Wagwe, but they were quite far away compared to the Gendia Seventh Day Adventist mission school, and Muslims were not attracted to go there.

According to Saleh Omwai wuod Gworo,

*"Education was a passport toward getting a better job than that of a labourer. Most Muslims therefore needed to learn to read and write English and also handiwork (for example masonry and carpentry). Many Christians got jobs because of their education. The only problem that we encountered was our religion being looked at in a bad light; they claimed that anybody who does not believe in Christianity was a disciple of the devil."*¹⁷⁴

Muslim children attending these schools had one complaint to their parents which was that they were forced to pray with the Christian pupils in the assembly and that they also had to learn religious education which was Christian.¹⁷⁵ This annoyed the Muslims very much. Some Muslims even withdrew their children from schools because of the fact that Christianity was a must in the schools.

The only option left for the African Muslims was to have their children educated in 'Quranic Schools' what Kendu Muslims call Madrassas. The only problem with this kind of education was that it did not prepare Muslims to compete in the job market. This problem was particularly acute for Luo Muslims. This is because Asian Muslims, particularly Ismailis, had managed to build their own schools in Kendu-Bay and Oyugis. According to Suleiman Julu, 'the Asians used to go to their own schools and this included Arabs. The Africans were, therefore, left to fare on their own.'¹⁷⁶ In 1940 the Aga Khan school in Kendu-Bay had a total of 31 Asian pupils, of whom 16 were boys and 15 girls.

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Migration of Luo Muslims to Kendu-Bay from other areas led to a swelling in the population and the need therefore for more social services, especially schools. The migration was not a mass entry of people but was undertaken by individuals. Kendu-Bay at that time was the only place in South Kavirondo with a sizeable number of Luo Muslims. This tended to attract migration of other Luo Muslims from places like Kakdhimu in west Karachuonyo, Wagwe, and Kagan. They were not accepted fully in their home areas because of their religion (Islam); they therefore felt the need to go and settle with the Muslims of Kendu-Bay, who would accept them because they belonged to the same religion. The second reason why Muslims migrated from other areas to Kendu-Bay was the need to find a place of worship. Muslims from Wagwe, for instance where Nasoor bin Ali first came ashore, did not have a mosque nearby. Neither did the people of Kanyaluo or Kosele within Karachuonyo have a mosque. It therefore forced them to walk long distances, particularly on Fridays, so as to be in Kendu-Bay on time. With time some of them found land in Kendu-Bay and settled, and as a result there came to be a Luo

Muslim settler community in Kendu-Bay other than the Wagwe people who came to Kendu-Bay together with Nasoor bin Ali and the Konyango Majieri people within whose land a large portion of Kendu-Bay is found.

The resultant increase in population and the growth of a number of children of school age, increased the need for a school for African Muslims in Kendu-Bay.

5.6 SOCIAL CHANGE AS A RESULT OF EDUCATION

Education more than anything else affected the lives of the people of Kendu-Bay resulting in the growth of change in all aspects of their lives. The kind of education that the people were subjected to (Muslim and Christian) enriched the culture of the people of Kendu-Bay, so that the kind of outlook in life that they had before the coming of the two religions changed, and they viewed things from a broader perspective.

Among the beneficiaries of education in Kendu-Bay were: - Ibrahim Ogada who later got employed as a clerk with the Kenya Railways Corporation, Osman Masood who works at the Motor Vehicle Inspection Unit in Kisii, Maalim Aziz Maftah who is now the Imam of the Kendu Mosque, and the late Bilali Marega, who later became a prominent businessman in Kendu Bay. Their status changed because of their literacy skills and their ability to understand English. As a result they became role models to the other Luo Muslims who wanted their children to benefit from the education. Some of the social changes that occurred as a result of the introduction of education are:-

5.6.1 Literacy

The kind of education that was brought about by the Muslims and Christians in Kendu-Bay was quite different from the education that the people of the area were used to and had been brought up into. When the Muslims came, their first tool of instruction was the Quran. Children from about six years of age would be taken by someone well versed in the Quran, and they would be taught about the religion using the Quran, and also how to pray and what to say during prayer.

Awadh Ramadhan puts it thus;

"We had to learn certain passages in the Quran by heart. It was very important to learn them well otherwise you would invoke the wrath of the teacher".¹⁷⁷

Halima Okoth had this to say;

"There was nothing wrong about learning the Quran because we were being taught the true religion. The only problem we had was it was taught in Arabic and of course we never understood what was being said all along. Those who managed to learn it well were later taught to read and write in Arabic. Others were sent to a mosque in Lamu to continue learning."¹⁷⁹

The fact that children who were thought to be clever because they mastered certain passages well, were later taught the Arabic alphabet and as a result learnt to read and write in Arabic, in itself constituted change. Muslim parents had their children taken to learn the Quran as a matter of course.

Similarly, Christianity also brought about change. The school changed peoples attitudes towards each other because with the introduction of the school system there were two classes of people, those who had gone to school and those who had not. Those

who had gone to school felt important and this feeling was increased by the fact that those who had not gone to school felt inferior, and the fact that they looked at the people who had gone to school (*Jomo somo*) in awe.

According to Mzee Yason Osunga;

"Previously we used to fish together, hang around together and do other things together. But with the introduction of the Seventh Day Adventist school in Gendia, the people who had gone to school (*Jomo somo*) now looked down upon us and they no longer engaged in our activities." ¹⁷⁹

As with Islam, the book (in this case the Bible) was the first tool of instruction. With time the alphabet was taught and it was easy for students to read and write. Knowledge of reading and writing became accepted in society and for the Kendu-Bay Luo Muslims who went through Christian school, it was learnt just as well as their Christian counterparts. They also used it as a means of communication amongst themselves.

5.6.2 Language

The unique thing about Luo Muslims of Kendu-Bay is that they did not adopt the Kiswahili language as their mode of communication. They speak Dholuo and the religious sermons in the mosque are usually delivered in Dholuo; Kiswahili and a bit of Arabic. There is even a project in the pipeline of translating the Quran in Dholuo. ¹⁸¹ However the Muslims have adopted certain Arabic words which they use alongside dholuo in their day to day speech. For instance it is not unusual to hear one mention words like *Inshallah* (God willing) or even *Wallahi* (a swear word). Their names are now almost entirely derived from the Arab Muslim names; it is therefore not unusual to come across somebody called Ibrahim Bilali; Suleiman Ramadhani and many other names.

5.6.3 Muslim Relations with Non-Muslims

Both Christian and Muslim education brought about another dimension in the social strata of the people of Kendu-Bay. Most people were either Muslim or Christian or had come under Muslim or Christian influence. The Muslims and Christians were referred to as (*Jo-Silam* and *Jo-Kristo*) respectively. There was never any overt hostility between the Muslims and Christians. They hardly ever rose to arms against each other but nevertheless, the hostility was still there as Ahmed Salim says;

"Dazzled by the steady growth of Islam, the attention of the Seventh Day Adventist missionaries who began their mission in 1906, must have been directed to check Islam's achievements. The wave of malice and propaganda against Islam was triggered. Though there was no direct physical confrontation the onslaught took the form of presenting Islam as a religion of slavery..."¹⁸²

Animosity arose because of the differences in the religions the different groups had opted to embrace and therefore they each formed attitudes about each other.

Attitudes also led to the formulation of certain quips. For example, '*Omera, wek bedo mswahili*', the literal translation being 'friend or brother, stop being a mswahili', while its actual meaning is 'brother stop your trickery'. Another interesting quip is one which goes thus '*wek kelona sunga mond wahindi ma itucho go um to iwe go u'*', literally meaning 'stop showing me or us the pride of Indian women which makes them pierce their nose instead of their ears'. Certain people use '*mond wamubi*' (Nubian women) in place of *mond wahindi* (Indian women). Its literal meaning is stop being proud.

Certain vocabulary also shows the peoples attitudes to each other. The word *Msenji* (shenzi) and *Jakafiri* (kafiri) is widely used by Muslims particularly when they have been vexed by a Christian. A Christian would reciprocate by calling a Muslim *uchilo* (one who is not clean).¹⁸³

Their social reactions were, of course, strained because of the attitudes that they had formed about each other but this did not stop cross marriages between Christians and Muslims, neither did it stop close associations or friendships between individuals or families from both religions. If anything they helped each other when there was need, regardless of their different religious backgrounds.

5.7 LUO MUSLIM WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Luo Muslim girls from the age of six onwards used to attend classes in the religion of Islam together with their male counterparts. However, while men were more likely to continue with their formal education in Christian schools, girls hardly ever went that far. According to Mama Amina Bilali;

"The only thing that was important was for a girl to learn how to pray the Muslim way. There was no need for them to get European education because they would all get married and therefore not put it to use. There was also the fear of our girls getting married to Christian men. Imagine how painful it would be to disown your daughter because of committing such a stupid act as getting married to a Christian man. On the other hand, we never feared our sons' marriage to Christian girls because the girls would have to become Muslim first."¹⁸⁴

Once the girls reached the age of puberty they were instructed on how a Muslim girl of that age should behave. Her speech to men was henceforth limited to her immediate family members in order to avoid immorality. She was also taught about

matters concerning the relationship between husband and wife, motherhood and any other thing that a young woman needed to learn in order to live in harmony not only with her husband, but also with her husband's people. This kind of education was not in itself something new. Before the introduction of Islam in Kendu-Bay girls had been taught by their grandmothers [*Dayo* singular, *Deye* plural)] how to cope with marriage and motherhood. The only difference was that the same did not necessarily have to be a grandmother of the girl, but she could be any elderly lady who had passed child-bearing age in the Muslim community.¹⁸⁵

5.8 EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LUO MUSLIM ASSOCIATION IN KENDU-BAY FROM 1945

By the 1940s formal education, as has been seen, was becoming a very touchy issue due to its Christian bias. It was realized that Muslim children would continue being forced to pray in the Christian way as long as they continued attending Christian schools. The need for western education in a Muslim school became so important that the Luo Muslims were determined to realize that goal. Because of this, some Luo Muslim elders came up with a plan for the building of a Muslim school that would cater for the Luo Muslim population and not corrupt their childrens' religious beliefs.

The elders who held that conference were Maftah Khairalla, Saad Ngoje, Saidi Aoko and Suleiman Ondong'. Their only concern was the building of the Kendu Muslim school and their commitment toward that objective was absolute.¹⁸⁶ According to Maalim Aziz Odindo, a temporary school was begun in 1943 and they got a teacher, Lala K'Ogolla,

who used to teach, education and Maalim Abdulrahim Athman, a Swahili from the coast province, who had settled in Kendu-Bay and married a Luo and Nubian as his first and second wives respectively. He became the Quran school teacher from then on. The Muslims forged ahead resolutely and showed their oneness and firmness even in the building of a new Mosque in 1946 at the site of the old one.

Seeing their determination, Maalim Abdulrahim Athuman, told them about a certain organization he knew which would be willing to help them in their endeavours. The organization was known as the *Punjabi Muslim Himayat Islam*¹⁸⁷ later known as *Anjuman Himayat Islam*.

According to Maalim Aziz Odindo;

"The knowledge that there was such a body willing to help really excited our fathers. They quickly went to Nairobi to the house of a certain Kendu man called Nasoor Otieno who was working for the railway and who lived at Landi Muthurwa in Nairobi."¹⁸⁸

According to Mzee Suleiman Julu, when the elders went to the offices of Anjuman Himayat Islam, they were welcomed and the people working there were happy to note that they had come because of matters concerning their children and their religion. Realizing the urgency of the matter, the officials of *Anjuman Himayat Islam* (see appendix I) asked them to form an association through which any form of help, be it financial or material, would be passed to them.¹⁸⁹ An association known as the Luo Kendu Muslim Association was therefore started in 1948 with the following as office bearers.

Saad Ngoje	-	Chairman
Maftah Khairallah	-	Secretary
Maftah Malindi	-	Assistant Secretary

They continued corresponding with *Anjumat Himayat Islam* (see Appendix 1) in their bid to build a school.

Towards the late 1940's, the association changed its name and became the Muslim Association of Kendu-Bay.¹⁹⁰ At that time it had a total of twenty five members, seventeen of these were Africans (*read Luo) and the remaining eight were probably Arabs and Indians (See Appendix 2a and 2b).

In the late 1940's according to Suleiman Julu, an extension of the temporary school was started in the backyard of Maftah Malindi's house. Perhaps this is what prompted them to write to the *Anjumat Himayat Islam* on 21/11/1949 and tell them that they had three teachers, one teaching Quran, that is, Abdurahim bin Athman whose pay was 100/= and two other teachers on the side of education who were Maftah Malindi earning 50/= and Nauni Ogola earning 30/=. The letter further said that they had 77 children in this temporary school and that they each paid 50cts every month as school fee(see Appendix 1) In 1951, the Kendu Muslim Association was given a lease of land measuring 50 x 100 square feet on plot No.2 Section V at the Kendu-Bay trading centre by the colonial government. The land rent was 5 shillings per annum payable on the 1st of January each year(See Appendix 3)

After a lot of hassle over where to get funds to build the school, the Luo Kendu Muslim Association applied for a permit to collect money on 8/8/1962. The permit was granted on 14th August 1962 by the District Education Board School like (DEB) Homa-Bay(See Appendix 4a, b, c and d).

By this time the school had an Islamic education teacher and it was handed over to the management of the District Education Board schools office in Homa-Bay.

5.8.1. The Luo Muslim Association And The Development Of The Nyanza Luo Muslim Association.

The need for a school that would cater for Muslims in Kendu-Bay led to the creation and growth of the Luo Muslim Association in Kendu-Bay in the early 1940's. Among other things the creation of the association demonstrated the need for unity among the Muslims if they were to progress in any way. It also demonstrated the fact that it was easy to negotiate about sponsorship as a group of people rather than as individuals.

It was mainly because of these needs that the Luo Nyanza Muslim Association was formed. The association was formed in March, 1948, in order to promote the religion and social understanding of the Luo people, with S.L. Omari as chairman; Athuman Opondo, Secretary; and Mohammed Okare as member.

The aims of the association were :-

1. To deal with and correct members of the Muslim community who contravene religious laws.
2. To discipline Muslim children who tend to be unruly.
3. To deal with women who divorce or run away from their husbands illegally.
4. To promote mutual understanding among the followers of Islam without discrimination.
5. To be kept informed by Government of any appointments connected with Islamic leaders, such as Kadhi(Muslim judge) and any similar appointments.¹⁹¹

Not much is heard of the Nyanza Luo Muslim Association after this. They, however, managed to publish a list of Luo Muslims in both Central Nyanza and South Nyanza (where Kendu-Bay is located). Why it faded into oblivion could be a subject of

further research. However, the Luo Kendu Muslims Association continued well into the early sixties as seen by correspondence between them and the District Education Boards office as well as the DC in Kisii Office

5.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has shown the importance of education to the Muslims of Kendu-Bay. Indeed it was not just religious education that could be received from the Quran schools, but Western Christian education which increased a person's chances of getting a job in the colonial administration or modern economy.

Grappling with the problem of education and religion is significant because with the realization among the Luo Muslims that Western Christian education posed the problem of influencing their children with Christianity, they forged a union, by forming a Muslim association in Kendu-Bay that would ensure that they built their own schools and took care of other Muslim social needs - like looking for teachers, building of mosques and many more.

The fact that they formed an association shows that they were growing in strength not only in terms of numbers but also in terms of bonding in the Islamic faith to fight for their rights as a religious group. As an association, they had the advantage of "talking" as one voice to the various groups they approached in their quest to build their own school.

The quest for their own school can be interpreted as follows

That the Luo Muslims, feeling marginalised because of segregation due to the fact that the Muslims of Asiatic origin had built their own schools to avoid Christian influence and the fact that the Christians taught Christian religious education to all students

indiscriminately. Secondly, that this was the beginning of group entrepreneurship among the Luo Muslims of Kendu Bay in the sense that they started a school and were getting revenue through school fees.

The need for Western education, and the threat arising from it, forged a bond among the Muslims of Kendu-Bay that strengthened Islam among them.

CHAPTER SIX

KENDU-BAY AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF ISLAM IN PARTS OF KARACHUONYO 1963-1992

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers thirty years. It gives a socio-economic overview of Kendu-Bay during the first decade after independence. The second decade of independence is discussed with particular emphasis on the emergence of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association. Thirty years after independence is also enough time to give the reader some idea of what had happened to Islam in Kendu Bay.

The argument in this chapter is that even though Islam had been in Kendu-Bay and places like Kosele, Wagwe and even Kanyaluo, long before the emergence of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association, (KYMWA) it was the association that worked hard for the development and consolidation of Islam in these areas by seeking for sources of funding for the building of Mosques. The formation of the Association itself acted as a forum where Muslims in Kendu-Bay and the other places, could sit down to map out the future of their community, depending on what they felt were the need of their society.

The last part of the chapter examines Islam and Luo culture, the reciprocal influence between the two, and how Islam comes to be consolidated within an individual family, how Islam appropriates and accepts some African belief systems and rejects others, leading to a synchronization of belief systems. Kendu-Bay in this case is a microcosm of what has happened and is happening in other places in Nyanza.

6.2 THE FIRST DECADE AFTER INDEPENDENCE, 1963-1972; SOCIAL LIFE

During this time Kendu-Bay, a trading centre which showed signs of growing into an urban centre, came to be distinctly associated with Islam. Muslims of Luo origin from outside Kendu-Bay bought land and settled in Kendu-Bay. As a result the area has become a mixture of Luo from different places like Wagwe, Nyakach, Ugenya, Kanyada, Kasipul and other areas.

At the time of independence some of the Muslim Asians and Arabs who moved away left behind their employees, most of whom had become Muslims. The growing presence of Luo Muslims from other areas within Kendu-Bay had important consequences. Marriages took place between the migrant Luo Muslim clans settled in Kendu-Bay and the Luo Muslim clans that belong to the clans that make up Kendu-Bay - Konyango Majieri, Kakwajuok, Kanyadhiang and Kotieno Magumba. A bond was therefore tied among them since they became *wede* (relatives) by virtue of marriage and the fact that they are of the same religion. But, inspite of the relationships that were formed between the Luo Muslim *weg Piny* or *jopiny* (owners of the land) and the Luo Muslim *jo dak* (the settlers), a social distinction arose between *Jo dak* and *Jo piny*.

An example of a person who settled in Kendu-Bay after independence and entered into such a relationship is Yusuf Okoth, an Ugenya man from Yiro. He used to work for an Arab called Hakim, whom he had met in Kisumu. When Hakim left, Yusuf stayed on in Kendu-Bay since he had converted and he considered all Muslim men his brothers. He says that "My relatives in Yiro used to consider me strange because of the fact that I was a Muslim. I ceased to feel a sense of belonging and feel closer to my Muslim brothers and sisters here in Kendu-Bay."¹⁹² Yusuf Okoth has six wives. One of them a Karachuonyo

lady from Konyango Majieri which is the dominant clan in Kendu-Bay. There are other Luo Muslims settlers, Yusuf Okoth being just one example who settled in Kendu-Bay after the migration of their Asian or Arab employers to other places

The locality that previously consisted only of Jo Konyango Majier, Kakwajuok, Karabondi and Kotieno Magumba later played host to a few settlers from Wagwe who came along with the first few Arabs. Kendu-Bay later had migrants who were left behind after their employers went away, simply because they felt they could not fit in their homes of origin because of their religion. It is now home to people from different areas of Luoland.

6.2.1 Economy

Economically, the first decade of independence was not as lucrative as it had been previously. Mzee Julu terms the first ten years of independence in Kendu-Bay thus:-

"This was the time when Kendu-Bay lost its glory and lustre. Most of the entrepreneurs who were particularly the Indians left for example Firoze Khan".¹⁹³ similarly Mama Zainabu Awadh puts it thus:-

"All I remember is some Asians and Arabs leaving. The people who took over the shops did not have as many things in stock as the Asians had. We would miss some commodities and would be forced to go for them in places, such as Homa-Bay and Kisumu".¹⁹⁴

With some of the Asians and Arabs leaving Kendu-Bay certain economic activities dwindled, and at the same time some people lost their jobs, for example, house boys and ayah. As Asians moved out, Luo Muslims and some Christians occupied their plots and gradually the trade that the former occupiers used to engage in fell into their hands. However, some Asians remained, for example, Hassan Jamal, Alibhai Ismail and company, Dalat Hassan Ramzan Hassan Dhay, Walji Harji and a few others.¹⁹⁵

The first decade of independence in Kendu-Bay, other than leading to the migration of some Asians Muslims and the settlement of Luo Muslims from other areas, seems to have been rather uneventful. The social status of some of the Luo Muslims changed as they began owning shops, thus taking the economy of the town into their hands.

6.3 THE EMERGENCE OF THE KENDU YOUNG MUSLIM WELFARE ASSOCIATION

The forerunner of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association, which was the Luo Muslim Association Kendu-Bay, arose because of a need Muslims felt to protect their school going children from Christian influence. The need for a Muslim school for their children prompted the Luo Muslims of Kendu-Bay to come together as Muslims in order to get funding, particularly from *Anjuman Himayat Islam East Africa*, an organization of Muslims of Asian origin.

After the building of the school, the Association seems to have gone into oblivion after independence. In the 1970s, however, a group of Luo Muslim students, realizing that the Luo Muslim Association Kendu-Bay, was no longer active, decided to form an association that would take care of the welfare aspects of the Kendu Muslims. The association that was eventually formed was the "Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association", formed in 1975 by Kendu Muslim students who were in secondary school. The association was registered by the Registrar of Societies as a Welfare Association on 15th February 1977.¹⁹⁶ The "Young" in the name of the association could be significant

in the sense that it portrays how the students who started the association looked at themselves.

The Association's objectives are as follows:-

- 1 To create unity and spirit of brotherhood among members and other Muslims.
- 2 To aid development of harambee projects for the betterment of Muslim Ummah in Kendu-Bay and where Muslims need help if possible.
- 3 To promote social activities among members of the association and community at large.
- 4 To initiate, carry out and assist in management of development projects as partners to the welfare of society and the Muslim Community at large, e.g., learning Institutions, Self help projects and many more.
- 5 To collect and contribute *Zakat* (alms) to the poor in form of money, material, food and distribute the same in order to uplift the welfare of the needy in accordance with Islamic teaching
- 6 To assist a member or members where and when necessary and to some extent any other person or group of persons in form of *Zakat*.
- 7 To uplift the standard of living within the Muslim community.

The goals and objectives of the association show clearly that the association was formed with the aim of uplifting the living standards of the Kendu Muslim people. This was to be done in various ways:

A Socially they would instill a feeling of brotherhood among members and the Kendu Muslim ummah and they would also encourage social activities among the Kendu Muslims.

B Economically they intended to collect and distribute *Zakat* for the benefit of the poor, to aid development of harambee projects and to initiate, carry out and manage projects like learning institutions. Their objectives were definitely noble, and it was because of these goals and objectives that they sought to consolidate Islam in certain areas of Karachuonyo.

According to the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association profile, initially the headquarters of the association was at Kendu-Bay, but, later the headquarters was officially transferred to Nairobi.¹⁹⁷ According to the current chairman, the reason for the transfer was because :

"After completion of school, most of the office bearers moved to Nairobi either as businessmen or as employees of private firms and companies. Nairobi was also the central place where Muslim bodies like the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims and other Islamic agencies could be found. It was therefore easier to seek for advisory as well as for financial help for certain projects while within the city rather than outside it."¹⁹⁸

With time there was a need to open branches in other areas because of outward migration of young men and women from Kendu-Bay and even Nairobi to other areas because of employment, business and even marriage.¹⁹⁹ All the branches were registered with the Registrar of Societies. Kendu-Bay branch was also among the branches which were registered to cater for Kendu Luo Muslims living in Kendu-Bay. In the late 1970s, the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association (KYMWA) started looking for funds from agencies such as the Africa Muslim agency in order to build mosques which were badly needed in areas like Kosele and Kanyaluo as well as Wagwe. The membership of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association was drawn not only from Kendu-Bay but also had members from Kosele, Kanyaluo, Wagwe and Oyugis (Karachuonyo here includes

Kasipul-Kabondo Membership of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association in different urban centres as of 1992 was as follows:-

Urban Centre	Number of members
Nairobi	100
Mombasa	60
Kisumu	150
Kendu-Bay	20
Garissa	15
Nakuru	15
Kisii	10
<u>Kakamega</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	670

This list is taken from the *Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association Profile*.

Harambees were organized in the late 1970's for the building of mosques in Kosele and Wagwe but, with the increasing realization that funding was needed from other Muslim agencies in order to realize their goal, the office bearers of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association, particularly in Nairobi, took it upon themselves to look for funds. This move shows a determination by the young men not only to uplift the standard of living of Muslims in Kendu-Bay, but also to consolidate Islam in Nyanza.

In the building of Mosques and schools, the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association does not handle any money. All they do is to point out the area of need and

identify a donor who does the feasibility study and sends out quotations. After getting a suitable contractor, the donor settles the fees of the contractor directly without involving the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association.

6.3.1 The building of the Kosele mosque

The history of the Kosele mosque which is some 12 Kilometres²⁰¹ from Kendu-Bay, is intertwined with the growth of Kosele as a market centre as a result of the colonial economy.

"The initial step taken by the colonial administration to encourage trade in locally produced commodities and imported goods was to establish markets and trading centres. The first trading centres were established in 1910 at Oyugis and other nearby areas like Kendu-Bay and Rangwe. Other markets established in 1930's included Kosele, Ober, Chabera, Mamboleo and Ramba." ²⁰²

Kosele grew so much that after independence it expanded over a large area of more than eight acres and, had permanent buildings which housed the African court, the clerks house, the African court elders housing and Tribal Police (TPs, now Administrative Police APs.) housing in two temporary buildings. There were also permanent shops at Kosele and a cotton store that was built for farmers at Kosele. ²⁰³ It is little wonder then that after independence it was considered by the office of the Assistant Regional Government Agent as a suitable area for a divisional office alongside Oyugis. ²⁰⁴ Kosele has now become the District Headquarters for the recently created Rachuonyo district.

The history of Islam in Kosele revolves around the settlement of Khairalla Madoro and Masood Ouya in the area in the 1940's. These two men were polygamists and the little land they had in Kendu-Bay was not enough to house their wives and children. ²⁰⁵

Because of unavailability of land they talked to Osuru wuon Oduko who gave them land in Kosele to settle on.

The arrival of Muslims in Kosele led to the conversion of some Christians to Islam. Unlike Kendu-Bay, where conversion was as a result of Arab influence the Kosele conversions took on an entirely new dimension. This was pure proselytizing by the Luo Muslims according to Maalim Aziz Odindo who has relatives who migrated to Kosele. Among the first converts were Salmin Anjenjo and Faraj Orimbo. With time conversion also took place because of marriages, particularly between Kosele people and other Luo Muslims.²⁰⁶

Before the building of the mosque in Kosele, there was a problem with a proper place for worship. Most of the Kosele Muslims had to go all the way to Kendu-Bay for prayers on Fridays. Kosele Muslims were affiliated to Kendu Muslims in many ways. Prayers, especially Friday ones, were conducted in Kendu-Bay where there was a mosque at that time. Marriages and death ceremonies were also conducted there (for a time Muslims from as far as Kosele were burying their dead in Kendu-Bay). Quranic education was also centred in Kendu-Bay. Kosele elected a member of their Muslim community, Masood Ouya, to be part of the Kendu branch of the Luo Muslim Association. So Kendu-Bay was very central to the growth and nurturing of Islam in general in the whole of Kosele. Later the Muslims in Kosele managed to acquire land at Kosele which functioned as their cemetery.

Masood Ouya's ambition during his life time was to have a mosque built in Kosele for the benefit of the Kosele Muslims. According to his son Osman Masood:- "My father and his friends always felt sad about the idea of children and the old and infirm* travelling

all the way to Kendu-Bay to pray." ²⁰⁷ It was because of this that the idea of building a mosque in Kosele was mooted. Land was donated by Masood Ouya. The only thing that was missing was finance for the construction of a mosque.

This is where the Kendu Young Muslim Association members came in. They solicited for funds from various Muslims, especially those with companies, for example, Shaaban, Rangi Mbili and many other Muslims from different areas. The family of Mzee Masood Ouya also organized harambees which raised enough funds for the construction. Eventually, in the early 1980's, the Kosele mosque was completed and the Kosele worshipers were relieved from travelling a long distance to go and worship at Kendu mosque. The grave of Mzee Masood Ouya lies at the compound of the Kosele mosque where he longed to be buried after his death.

According to figures provided by the chairman of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association, Kosele by 1992 had a total number of 261 Muslims. The breakdown is as follows:-

Men	28
Women	55
<u>Children</u>	<u>178</u>
Total	261

6.3.2 The building of the Bongia mosque in Kanyaluo

Kanyaluo is a clan in central descended from Nyar Luo who was one of the wives of Rachuonyo the progenitor of the Karachuonyo people. The Kanyaluo people's conversion to Islam was similar to that of the Kosele people in the sense that in search of land Khairallah Madoro had got himself a piece of land at Kanyaluo.²⁰⁸ Afterwards it was a clear case of proselytization as well as adoration.

Mzee Musa Nyakinda Ondiek has this to say:-

"I was born a Christian, but after Khairallah bought a piece of land in Kanyaluo in 1942, he embarked on a mission of conversion. First to be converted were my elder brothers Abeid, Farjallah Abilla and Abdul Awino. They talked to me about Islam and I found myself drawn to the religion. In 1948 I was converted and made this pronouncement *Ashad La illa Allah wa Mohammed Rasul Allah*'. (I witness that there is only one God and Mohammed is the messenger of God.) From then on, I became a Muslim. But I did not stop at that, I also made a point of talking to people who later converted like Issa Okello, Abdallah Bakar, Hassan Abonyo, Omar Jienyi, Abdul Mbinya and others. From outside I also talked to people like Ongalo, Saaba, Issa Okul and they all joined the *din*."²⁰⁹

The distance people had to travel to Kendu-Bay to pray was also an issue, and continued to be for quite a while, before the building of the Kanyaluo mosque in Bongia. A number of Kanyaluo people joined the Kendu Luo Muslim association. Among them were people like Yussuf Adula, Idd Okoth, Rashid Achieng and others.

According to mzee Musa Nyakinda Ondiek, lack of funds made it impossible for a mosque to be built in Kanyaluo until the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association came up as a group in the late 1970's ²¹⁰ The building of the Bongia mosque in Kanyaluo was realized with outside help, particularly from the Kuwaitis. ²¹¹ The Kanyaluo Muslims have set aside a place for burial for their dead. The mosque was built in 1985 and the Muslims in Kanyaluo have also taken some of their youth to go for training in Madrassa teaching. According to the figures provided by the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association the following are the number of Muslims in Kanyaluo by 1992.

Men	37
Women	104
Children	<u>459</u>
Total	600

6.3.3 The building of the Wagwe mosque

Wagwe was the first place where Islam was introduced in Karachuonyo. The story goes that Nasoor Bin Ali first set foot at Wath Obariah in Wagwe and stayed there for sometime before travelling to Kendu-Bay where he later established his base. All the initial converts, for example, Islam Ododo and Ramadhan Nyaliang'a, were from Wagwe, so Wagwe had a special significance for the Muslims of Karachuonyo, and yet for a long time no permanent mosque building was put in place. It was not until the late 1980's that the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association took it upon themselves to realize this venture.

With the help of the African Muslim Agency, the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association managed to solicit for funds and the Wagve Muslims now have a beautiful mosque that allows for more people to worship near home.

6.3.4 **The building of the Main Mosques, the Maguti Mosque and the students Mosque in Kendu-Bay**

For a long time the main mosque of Kendu-Bay went without a separate praying quarters for ladies, with the negative result that most women preferred to pray at home.

"There was need for women men and children to pray together in the same mosque but in a separate compartment of course. This is the will of Allah and that is why we rebuilt the old mosque " ²¹²

The old mosque, also known as the Kendu Jamia Mosque, was built with the help of Dogo Khan, the late Mahd Abodo and Babu Khan.²¹³ The prominent Muslim personalities in Nyanza, together with other Muslims, helped in the expansion of the Kendu Jamia mosque along with ablution facilities. A bore-hole was also sunk and pipes with even spaces set at even paces along the wall to help with ablutions, which is a must for every Muslim before prayer. According to Maalim Aziz Odindo, the expansion of the Kendu Jamia mosque, together with all its ablution facilities, was the best thing that ever happened to him. This was made possible with the intervention of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association, which has worked hard at getting the necessary amount of funding for the expansion and modification of the Kendu Jamia mosque.

The Maguti Mosque, also known as Tawakal, is one of the most beautiful mosques in Kendu-Bay and Karachuonyo. The mosque was built on land that was donated by the late Bilali Marega who was a very devout Muslim and also a successful businessman. He was also a member of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association. The Maguti

mosque was built mostly out of finances provided for by Sheikh Bilali and his family.

The Maguti mosque helped in two ways

It eased the congestion of the Kendu Jamia mosque and it served the people who lived in the Maguti area and others from places like Karabondi in Karachuonyo.

According to Mama Amina Bilali Nyar Kanaam -

"My husband always felt that it was because of *Allah* that his fortunes multiplied. He felt a need of doing something that would benefit other Muslims and indeed I feel that he accomplished whatever he set out to do very well. He donated land for the mosque and also helped in building it. Indeed every time I pass by the mosque I feel happy and exulted because I believe that it was a symbol of his goodness to others." ²¹³

Kendu Muslim School Mosque was deemed a necessity because

It would reduce lateness, which was a big issue because most of the pupils used to go to the main mosque (Kendu Jamia Mosque) and they would end up going to school late for the afternoon session after lunch time prayers. The idea of a mosque in the school compound would be convenient both for the pupils and their teachers. There was also need for a place for conducting the Madrassa classes without interruption from other faithful who had gone to pray at the mosque.

After consulting with the pupils, teachers and members, the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association once more got the help of the Africa Muslim Agency in the building of the mosque. It was duly completed in December 1992. Mzee Suleiman Julu had this to say about the school mosque, popularly known simply as the Madrassa Mosque. "It has made our school look like a true Muslim 'umma' school. It serves our school the way chapels in schools used to serve the Christian schools. I think now there is no fear of our

school children straying. Any time they look out of the class windows they are able to see the mosque which in itself is a symbol of Islam " 213

This short statement speaks volumes in itself. The fact that there is no fear of the children straying because of the mosque being a symbol of Islam and also the fact that it is compared to the role of chapels in Christian schools shows what has been uppermost in most Muslim parents' minds. There has been a need of maintaining that "otherness" among themselves, and the only way to do that is to make sure that their children recognize and have the ideal Islam instilled in them that they are Muslims. It brings to the fore the idea that, although well integrated, the feeling still persists among the Muslims that they are a minority community struggling to maintain their own religious identity.

On the issue of identity and separateness Maalim Aziz Odindo had this to say:-

"It is of great importance that all Muslims maintain their identity. It is something that I personally insist on. A Muslim must always aspire to give that outlook of being one and in the process he too will keep on remembering that he is a Muslim and most important he will remember his obligation to Allah." 216

The "Madrasa" Mosque has also been furnished with a sunken bore hole and taps to help the students in the process of ablution before going in front of Allah. The total population of Muslims in Kendu-Bay town by 1992, according to the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association, was as follows:-

Men	657
Women	1,204
<u>Children</u>	<u>1,619</u>
Total	3,480

6.4 THE KENDU YOUNG MUSLIM WELFARE ASSOCIATION AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN KENDU-BAY

After the completion of a building and the handing over of the Kendu Muslim primary school to the DEB (District Education Board), the problem of education was not solved among the Kendu residents. There still remained the problem of higher education, which could also weaken the faith of their children, since most of the higher education schools were either government or missionary owned. The only other institute for higher education that everybody seems to have heard about in Kendu-Bay is Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education, [MIOME] now the Mombasa Polytechnic. But here also there was the problem of distance and so by the same resolve that had seen the building of the Kendu Muslim Primary School, the idea of a Kendu Muslim Secondary School was mooted.

Another dimension which was brought forward by Awadh Ramadhan was the fact that a Muslim secondary school would allow the poor among the Muslim community to get education, because it would be a community school, and so children from particularly poor backgrounds would get bursaries. He qualified this by saying that

"Every Muslim is required to give Alms to the poor. Giving bursaries to poor children is part of Almsgiving."²¹⁷

The problem that prevented the quick construction of the school was financial. Funds were simply not available and the little that could be raised through harambees went towards temporary makeshift buildings which are still there to date. The Kendu Muslim Secondary school was registered "in April 1987 with the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. The school was classified as secondary (Academic) Harambee and its sponsor given as the Islamic community. The maximum number of pupils to be accommodated was given as 320 pupils."(see Appendix 5)

The school has bolstered Muslim self esteem in Kendu-Bay. Mama Saada Auma together with Yusuf Okoth aired the following sentiments: "We now have our own schools and we feel the better for it for we are now on an equal footing with the Christians." ²¹⁸ There is general feeling of achievement among the Muslims and more often than not, remarks such as how did our school perform in sport against such and such a school, in exams, and so forth is heard. The 'our' in this case is their Muslim school and this heightens the covert separateness that the Kendu Muslims would like to maintain. The 'our school' therefore gives them something to identify with and a sense of belonging. The Kendu Muslim secondary school was put up and registered under the aggressive initiative of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association.

In 1987, after the official registration of the school by the Ministry of Education, a harambee was organized which was presided over by Mr. Omar Soba, the then Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting. A total amount of about Kshs.300,000 was raised and this enabled the Muslim community in Kendu-Bay to put up one permanent building of three class rooms which the secondary school has been using to date. ²¹⁹

6.5 OTHER WELFARE ACTIVITIES PERFORMED BY THE KENDU YOUNG MUSLIM WELFARE ASSOCIATION

According to the Chairman of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association, the association like others in Nairobi and other towns in Kenya, takes care of the arrangements and help in meeting expenses for the burial of its members, not only here in Nairobi, but in other towns as well. In 1994 when one of their members passed away here in Nairobi. the Chairman had this to say about the reason why they had to bury him at home Kendu-Bay

"We are Muslims, yes, but we cannot also forget that we are Luo. The whole of the Muslim *Umma* in the world comprises people from different ethnic backgrounds and races. We Luo believe in taking a body back home for burial. On top of that we Luo Muslims of Kendu-Bay have a cemetery back at home where all our ancestors have been laid to rest. We'd like to be laid to rest beside them, but this does not mean that if a person or his family prefers to be buried in a Muslim cemetery in Nairobi or in any other town we would not do so. The other reason why we prefer the home burial is because it allows us to '*tero yuak dala*' (to take mourning home) but which really means to give the people at home a chance to mourn the dead person and also to have a chance at viewing the body before burial"
220

This is a glaring example of the reciprocity in cultural contact theory which argues that Islam has become an African religion because Islam and African cultures have had a reciprocal influence, with the result that Islam was conditioned by African customs and outlook and Islam in turn conditioned their outlook and customs.²²¹

The Kendu Youth Muslim Welfare Association also helps widows and the less fortunate within the Kendu Muslim community. They have also established a Kendu Youth Muslim Welfare Association education trust to help students from poor families pay their way through school.

6.5.1 The Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association and the Consolidation Of the Growth of Islam in Othoro

Othoro is situated in Kabondo which for the purposes of our study we shall call upper Karachuonyo, given that all the Kasipul Kabondo and the Karachuonyo people claim common ancestry in the person of Rachuonyo.

Othoro mosque is in Kabondo east, Kakangutu sub-location. The growth of Islam in Othoro is due to the hard work of one man, Suleiman Bakari Lang'o. Suleiman Bakari Lang'o got interested in Islam after reading some books about it in 1976. He later found

some Muslim elders in Kisumu and Homa-Bay who explained everything to him in greater detail. He says that in his quest to learn more about Islam he went as far down as Kendu-Bay. He later converted to Islam in 1978 after making the proclamation that "There is no other God but *Allah* and Mohammed is his messenger." ²²²

In 1984 after a number of people had been converted to Islam in a certain village known as Ongujo, not far from Othoro, a school was started by the Ongujo Muslims. It was modelled in the manner of the Kendu Muslim primary school. Suleiman Bakari Lang'o says that

"We realized the need of a school like the Kendu Muslims and built one to save the community. However it was also open to Christian pupils too." ²²³

The school was sponsored by the Young Muslim Association of Kenya, in collaboration with the Kisumu Muslim Association, but Mzee Lang'o says that the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association gave them plenty of moral help and many of their members helped in the building of the school and their spiritual growth.

The first mosque was built at Ongujo in 1985. But it was a make shift mosque, and when the rest of the Luo community in Ongujo turned hostile against the Muslim community, they were forced to move to Othoro. The hostility began because of the Ongujo Muslim community primary school which was teaching Islamic religious education. Non-Muslims started removing their children from the school, and in 1989 the District Education Board decided that schools with low enrollments should be closed. In 1990 the closure of the school was effected.

But before this could happen, members of the Muslim community who had also been among the first converts after Bakari Lang'o, like Ibrahim Aroko, Ahmed Apiyo,

Mahammed Nyaware, Bakari Ouko and others, told Bakari that it was better to move from Ongujo to avoid further problems. A certain Kuwaiti national visiting the mosque and Maalim Ayatu Gaatha from Tana River, who used to teach Quran at the mosque, shared the same sentiments. Bakari bought land at Othoro and started building the Othoro mosque in 1987. Among the people who helped in the building of the mosque were Dogo Khan, Shaban hardware and certain individuals also helped from Saudi Arabia.

In 1992, the Komala Muslim Association was started to cover the whole of Kabondo but the application for registration was rejected. The proposed chairman was Mzee Suleiman Bakari Lang'o; Secretary - Daud Lager; Treasurer - Farouk Achuonyo.

In the formation of this Association, the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association acted as a role model, as did the Kisumu Muslim Association. Daud Lager, an official of the proposed association, donated a ten acre plot of land to the Othoro Muslim community for future development 'Development' in this sense means building of schools, a hall and a library. So far what has been built is a nursery school. It is called Othoro Muslim Nursery school. The building of this nursery school and other proposed schools was also influenced by the building of Muslim schools in Kendu-Bay.

Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association gives the total number of Muslims in Othoro by 1992 as 177. The break down is given as follows:-

Men	23
Women	57
<u>Children</u>	<u>97</u>
Total	177

THE KENDU YOUNG MUSLIM WELFARE ASSOCIATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN KENDU-BAY

Social change can be either retrogressive or progressive. The type of change that has been brought about by the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association is definitely progressive and has as a result raised the status of the Kendu-Bay Muslim community, together with other Muslim communities in parts of Karachuonyo.

To begin with, the building of mosques within Kendu-Bay itself has helped to ease congestion in the main mosque, which is the Kendu Jamia Mosque; people can therefore worship in a more relaxed atmosphere. The expansion of the old main mosque to allow separate quarters for women worshippers has made it possible for women to worship in the mosque together with men. Previously they would have to spread their prayer mats in their homes when it was time for prayer. Women like Saada Auma felt that the separate quarters for women ushered in a new era that made women feel that they also have a certain 'sameness' with men, in the sense that they were now also worshipping in the mosques. The Kendu Muslim secondary school gave an alternative to many Muslim parents who viewed government schools with suspicion for the simple reason that most of them had been inherited from missionaries. Along with the psychological relief of not having their children's faith watered down, they also have a community school which takes care of their religious belief since the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association has established an educational trust, there is no fear of a child from a poor home being thrown out of school.

The establishment of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association branches in various towns in the country makes it possible for the group to solicit funds

from many Muslim agencies to help in many projects in Kendu. It acts as a forum to integrate many Luo Muslims from Kendu-Bay, Kosele, Kanyaluo and Wagwe, and also makes it possible for them to focus on what to do next to elevate the living standards of their people. The future plans of the Association are: to build mosques and Madrassas in areas inhabited by over forty Muslims, to build health facilities for the Kendu Muslim population, to sponsor the training of Islamic Religious Education teachers and madrassa teachers and to distribute them to areas without teachers and to appeal for funds from organizations to help pay the salary of the Imams.²²⁴

6.7 THE KENDU PEKE MUSLIM WOMEN GROUP

This is a self-help organization started by the Muslim women of Kendu-Bay. They are mostly small scale business women who sell things like *mandazi*, *omena* (small fish) and grains. According to Saada Auma, it began as a 'Nyo Luoro' - that is to say, women would collect money every week and give it to one of their fellow women.²²⁵ Their aim initially was to give each of their members a certain amount of money to use in buying certain household items. Eventually they decided that the money could also be used in adding stock to their various businesses.

Kendu Peke Muslim Women group is not registered. Mama Zainabu Awadh claims that they are not a large scale welfare group like the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association group. They are instead a group of women who have taken an interest in buying certain household items among themselves and also in promoting each other's businesses.²²⁶

The women, however, have undertaken to do other things besides collecting money and giving it to one of their members on a weekly basis. They take

contracts to go and cook for anybody who has guests during functions, like weddings, funerals, harambees and parties. Besides these, they can be called upon to perform 'Dodo' (a Luo dance performed by women) during any function. Whatever amount of money they get from any of these functions, they divide among themselves. Mwajuma Abdurahman has this to say:-

"*Nyo luoro*" (self help) groups are everywhere nowadays. They help women a lot in the sense that it is formed by women for the purposes of earning money for the women. I have often bought my children clothes from the proceeds of whatever function we took part in." ²²⁷

There are other voices of complaint among the Kendu Peke Muslim women group who claim that there are no profits to be made from the group. One of them had this to say:-

"Whatever profit one gets from the group is too little to help in anything meaningful, and collecting money from members is a problem because sometimes some of us do not have money and so one is not given the exact amount that one should have gotten." ²²⁸

This whole idea of a women's group shows an attempt by Muslim women in Kendu-Bay to better themselves. They managed to form a group that generates money for them, however little, and it gives them a sense of togetherness. The women's group takes a lot of pride in being able to cater at functions and get money in return. They would like in future to be able to help their community just like the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association. The Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association therefore acts as a role model for this women group.

KENDU MUSLIM WOMEN AND THE GROWTH OF ISLAM BEYOND KENDU IN THE PERIOD FROM 1970 -1992

The growth of Islam beyond Kendu has a lot to do with the marriage of women into the Muslim community in Kendu-Bay. Most of these women were Christians at the time of courtship and only changed to Islam at the time of marriage. These women have as a result encouraged conversion to Islam in their areas of origin and have therefore put Kendu-Bay at the forefront as crusader for Islam.

Sofia Hamisi, wife of Hamisi Bilali, is a Maasai but she grew up in Oyugis. She married Hamisi Bilali in 1970. She has converted a number of people, among them people like Murunga now called Idd Murunga and another man from Kabondo, who was called Martin but now answers to the name of Suleiman.

Saada Auma, wife of Barak Hamisi was born to a Catholic home in Kagan. She had to convert to Islam when she married Barak Hamisi. Saada has been instrumental in the conversion of a number of people in Kagan. There is now a mosque in Kagan known as Ndiru mosque. Among the people whom she helped to convert were people like Sumail Dola (who was previously a Seventh Day Adventist), Hassan Orwa who converted from Catholicism, and even her own brother, who was known as Alexander Awino, and is now called Mohammed Awino.

Mwajuma Abdurahman was also converted to Islam when she was engaged to Abdurahman Salim, a Kano man from the Sidho clan who is now staying in Kendu-Bay. The name she was given as a child was Mary Aoko. When she met Abdurahman Salim she converted to Islam before she got married to him. She has also been instrumental in

the conversion of large number of women, among them a lady who was previously called
with Atieno.

These are just a few examples of women who have been instrumental in the conversion of other people to Islam. The conversion does not necessarily have to be through active teaching. According to Mwajuma Abdurahaman and Saada Auma, ones behaviour, particularly if one belongs to a religion that is foreign to where she is born, is of great importance. Willingness to answer questions about an alien religion also makes people more interested in the religion, and according to Saada this is what won most of her family members over to Islam.

The point to be noted here is that these women are a force in the substantial growth of Islam in other areas. The culture of the Luo also helps here because one can only marry a partner from a different clan, that is to say, marriage is exogamous. It therefore follows that should a bride convert into Islam to marry a Muslim man, a new religion is introduced into her clan of origin albeit the fact that it is through marriage. It can also be argued that this kind of religion is introduced through association. This is to say that a person in a family of a given clan converts to Islam. But, because, her/his clan members will be associating with her/him, they get to be introduced to that religion. What follows in most cases is an interest in the religion, in this case Islam, and that is how these women have managed to be instrumental in the conversion of a number of people to the religion of Islam, particularly in their clans of origin.

In their own way these women brought about social change in the respective clans that they managed to convert people in. An introduction to a new manner of prayer and the number of times one is called to prayer, new names whose origin is not Luo or

Christian, new customs, for example, the manner of dress and circumcision and fasting during the month of Ramadhan.

9 ISLAM AND LUO CULTURE:-THE CASE OF RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE.

Kendu-Bay the general area of study in this thesis, is predominantly inhabited by Luos who are also Muslims. There has therefore been a 'clash of cultures', particularly when Luo traditions and customs go against Islam. Conflict has been noted in areas like *Govo Dala'* (putting up a home). There are certain things that had to be done in the Luo traditions when a man was putting up a home. He would be shown a site by his father and he (the person putting up the home) would proceed to the site with his first born son and his wife together with a cock and axe. These were very integral things in the process of putting up a home. In Kendu-Bay today some Muslims follow the traditional customs, and some do not. Maalim Aziz Odindo says that it is 'Haraam' to continue with age old customs once one has converted. He argues that Islam delivered them from all the traditional customs and therefore it is folly to still hold on to them.

Awadh Ramadhan on the other hand argued thus:-

"Islamic religion is universal, there are many men and women who belong to different tribes, follow their customs and are still Muslims. I say we follow our customs It's the only way we can prove to be Luos."²²⁹

Mama Halima Okoth shares the same sentiments. She argues that the rites one had to follow in putting up a home is what made the home a person's home. She claims that it does no harm to the Islamic religion to go through the rites one must follow in putting up a home.

Within the town itself something of interest has begun happening, that is the fact that a mother-in-law could sleep under the same roof with her daughter and son-in-law. These are things that were considered taboo by Luos. But herein lies a contradiction, particularly among the exponents of following tradition. Awadh Ramadhan had this to

"The Quran is not against this kind of sleeping arrangement. If the people who brought us religion lived like this, why not us. There is nothing wrong with a woman sleeping in her son-in-law's house nor a man sleeping in his mother-in-law's house." ²³⁰

As concerns polygamy, there are quite a number of Luo Muslim men who have a number of wives. Osman Masood said that:-

"Islam is a religion that is well suited to the Luo man's polygamous needs. It does not restrict one to stick to one wife since a person is allowed to marry as many as four wives. It just shows us that "Allah" understands the needs of male human beings. I have three wives now, two Luos and one Taita. I believe I still have one more chance according to the dictates of Islam." ²³¹

What Osman Masood says expresses the sentiments of most Luo Muslim men. This is an example of how Islam has merged comfortably with Luo culture. For the women, where polygamy is concerned, there is an element of resignation.

Saada Awadh had this to say:-

"Although no woman likes to have a co-wife, our culture (Luo) shows us that it was a perfectly acceptable norm. Our religion (Islam) has endorsed it. It is the will of Allah. We mere mortals should not even question it." ²³²

Mwajuma Abdarahman looks at polygamy as,

"Something that our grandparents practiced because it was good. A woman needs a helper. And there is no other helper other than a co-wife. Had it been an evil thing the Quran would not have accepted it." ²³³

This kind of resignation, particularly from the women folk, came from the knowledge that this is an age old custom, which apparently is 'condoned by God' and therefore there is no use trying to avoid it. Moreover, to do so would be like going against the *Din*.

Marriage is another area which has changed an aspect of Luo social life. Among the Luo, marriages are conducted between clans that are not related at all. This, however, has changed among the Muslims of Kendu-Bay, who argue that marriage between relatives, particularly cousins, is something that is accepted within the realms of Islam. This has sparked off a controversy with non-Muslim Luos feeling that this is *kwero* (taboo) and the Luo Muslims insisting that is perfectly accepted by their religion.

Mama Amina Bilali (Nyar Kanaam) whose grandson married his aunt's daughter argues that. "Islam has allowed it, why shouldn't we accept it."²³⁴ However, relatives of the girl, who come from a predominantly Christian area, have refused to accept dowry in form of cattle. They have refused to acknowledge the marriage between the two. But the girl who converted to Islam before marrying insisted that her *Din* allows that to happen. Mama Isabell Ouma (Chaba Nya Kisiara) argued thus, "My brother's child is my child. It therefore follows that my brother's son is my son. How can he marry my daughter?"²³⁵ The controversy is still raging. But among Muslims whom one would call "Orthodox", the argument is that it is better to marry a person who is a Muslim by birth other than marrying a convert. So they really encourage the idea of marriage among cousins.

Widow inheritance has also sparked a very big controversy. According to Luo customs, a woman does not cease being a wife of a man just because he passed away,

particularly if dowry was paid. Islam, however, allows a woman to marry afresh. The problem that this has brought about is that a woman for whom dowry has been paid, will always be regarded as (*'hwa* (our wife) by the clan into which she had been married. She was therefore expected to remain within that clan and be taken in leviratic union by a person she calls *yoro* or brother-in-law within the husband's clan. Islam, however, did not restrict a widow to the clan into which she had married, she had a choice of getting married to a Muslim man from another clan.

Hadija Auma, wife of the late Yusufu Adula, claims that:-

"I got married to a Digo because members of my husband's clan (the Kanyaluo clan) insisted that I should reconvert to Christianity. I found that unacceptable and so I married the Digo man." ²³⁶

According to Swaleh Omwayi Wuod Gworo:-

"It is a woman's wish to be inherited within a clan or to be married afresh. But I would prefer if she remarried a Muslim within my clan for the sake of identity for my children. It is difficult to identify with two clans if your mother has been married in two clans." ²³⁷

Mama Amina Bilali airs the same sentiments as Swaleh Omwayi wuod

Gworo. She says that:-

"A woman is married to a particular clan and her children will henceforth identify with that same clan. If she were to get married to a different clan once her husband passed away, what would happen to the children? and note that as long as dowry is paid the children she has with that other man will also belong to the clan she's been married to." ²³⁸

Saad Khairallah says that:- "According to Islam it is okay for a woman to marry elsewhere once she is widowed. But he also acknowledges the problems that occur in such instances. He says that he has not known a case where a woman was censored for

accepting a leviratic union. In this way he argues Islam has managed very well to accommodate some Luo customs.

These few examples just show individual willingness to either discard or continue with what were once "accepted norms". Individuals form a society, and it is they who perform the cultural rituals and accept the norms of that society. So at individual level if it is acceptable to mix cultural practices and Islamic religious practices then one can argue that an accommodation has been reached between the two. It is therefore prudent to argue that in situations where that accommodation has been reached, it is the individual who has played a major role and who has acted as a role model for others and has therefore played a major role in society's acceptance of the mixing of customs and religion.

6.10 SUMMARY

This chapter has mainly dealt with the role of the (KYMWA), and the growth of Islam in Kendu-Bay and its environs. This is not to say that before the emergence of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association Islam was not making progress, rather, it is to argue that the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association strengthened and consolidated Islam by looking for donors not only to build mosques and schools, but also to address themselves to the social needs of their people.

The formation of the association in itself shows a need to tackle the problems that the Muslims faced from a united front. The fact that in every town the Kendu Muslims found themselves in, they registered a branch of the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association, is also quite telling. It can be argued that the tenacity with which they hold

their Kendu Muslim heritage has also made it possible to keep Kendu-Bay within the

limits of Islam.

CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

This study has examined the progress and institutionalization of Islam in Kendu-Bay within a period of eighty years. Among the objectives was to find out how Islam, a minority religion, has managed to entrench itself in an area that is dominated by Christianity. The role of colonialism (albeit unwittingly) in the expansion of Islam in the interior of Kenya and Nyanza province in particular is discussed. Factors that led to conversion and those that discouraged conversion have also been analyzed. The impact of conversion on the Luo Muslims in Kendu-Bay is also highlighted, eventually leading to the formation of an association that has helped them to enhance their status by having their own institutions and strengthening Islam in Kendu-Bay.

Much as colonialism played a major role in the settlement of Muslims in the interior, it did not do so knowingly. The Muslims who settled in the interior of Kenya, and particularly Nyanza, did so as a result of the colonial administration, the building of the railway and even the colonial army. The Muslims who settled in the interior were a mixture of Asians (Arabs and Indians), Nubians, and Swahilis from the coast. It was trade rather than the need to actively teach about Islam that led the Arabs to come to Wagwe and finally settle in Kendu-Bay. It has been demonstrated that among the factors that led to the conversion of the initial converts, there was certainly nothing to do with active proselytization, but contact between the Muslims and non-Muslims, and the admiration of the latter for the life style of the Muslims.

The study has also demonstrated that the impact of Islamization led to far reaching social change among the Luo Muslims of Kendu-Bay. A new life style emerged, which

cluded among other things the introduction of *Mairungi* (also known as *Miraa* or *nat*), the introduction of new dance forms, and above all the feeling of being different from other Luos because of being Muslim. This feeling of being different from others was brought about by the assumption of a different cultural identity (Muslim) which transcended tribe and clan. This is demonstrated by Muslim women who did everything collectively. Indeed, the identity of being Muslims made the African Muslims feel that they should be treated equally with Muslims of Asiatic origin, hence leading them to refuse the order to work on the roads as directed by the then Kisii District Officer, Mr. Anderson. The Luo Muslims thus brought about political awareness in this way. Social change is also manifested in the economic way of life where trade, and the introduction of the money economy, gives impetus to the growth of Luo Muslim entrepreneurship.

This study has also shown that inspite of the fact that there were no major conflicts between Christians and Muslims within Kendu-Bay, it was the mission schools that eventually gave the Luo Muslims the idea of building their own schools to avoid their children being taught Christian values along with western education. The pressure to build Muslim schools led to the growth of a Luo Muslim Association, which among other things would spear head the building of the school

The Luo Muslim Association gave rise to the Kendu Young Muslim Welfare Association whose members, the study has shown, have really worked hard at the consolidation of Islam in Kendu-Bay. Indeed, the study has demonstrated that consolidation of Islam has not only been confined to Kendu-Bay but has occurred in other places within Karachuonyo (where Kendu-Bay is), for example, Kosele, Wagwe and Kanyaluo.

END NOTES – CHAPTERS 1-6

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K.N.A. File No	PC/NZA 3/16/1 1925
K.N.A. File No	PC/NZA 3/16/1 1926
K.N.A. File No	PC/NZA 3/16/1 1927
K.N.A. File No	PC/NZA 3/16/1 1928
K.N.A. File No	DC/KSI /3/4
K.N.A. File No	DC/KSI /1/1 1909
K.N.A. File No	DC/KSI /1/3 1908
K.N.A. File No	DC/KSI /1/3 1910
K.N.A. File No	DC/KSI /1/3 1911
K.N.A. File No	DC/KSI /1/3 1912
K.N.A. File No	DC/KSI /1/3 1920
K.N.A. File No	DC/KSM /1/1/ 169
K.N.A. File No	DC/HB /2/6/ 20
K.N.A. File No	DC/HB /2/1/3/ 1961
K.N.A. File No	DC/HB /2/1/3/ 1962
K.N.A. File No	DC/HB /2/1/3/ 1963
K.N.A. File No	DC/HB /2/1/3/ 1964
K.N.A. File No	DC/HB /2/1/3/ 1965
K.N.A. File No	DC/KSI /1/3/1929
K.N.A. File No	DC/KSI /1/3/1930
K.N.A. File No	ED/1/1 1920

ORAL INFORMANTS

Note: The dates indicated refer to the 1st interview even though a number of informers were interviewed more than once

1	Idris Oloo	24/2/94	Homa-Bay
2	Juma Baraka	24/2/94	Homa-Bay
3	Faraj Hassan	18/3/95	Homa-Bay
4	Musa Nyakinda	19/3/94	Kanyaluo(Bongia)
5	Awadh Ramadhan	16/2/94	Kendu-Bay
6	Suleiman Julu	10/2/94	Kendu-Bay
7	Yusuf Okoth	11/2/94	Kendu-Bay

31.	Saad Khairallah	4/2/94	Nairobi
32.	Salama	10/3/94	Nairobi
33.	Rehema Ibrahim	10/3/94	Nairobi
34.	Ahmed Salim Said	*4/2/94	Nairobi
35.	Salim Otieno	3/2/94	Nairobi
36.	Suleiman Bakari Lango	7/8/94	Othoro
37.	Daud Lager	20/3/94	Othoro
38.	Bakari Ouko	21/2/94	Othoro
39.	Haji Mara Farajalla	21/3/94	Oyugis

l. 161 missing

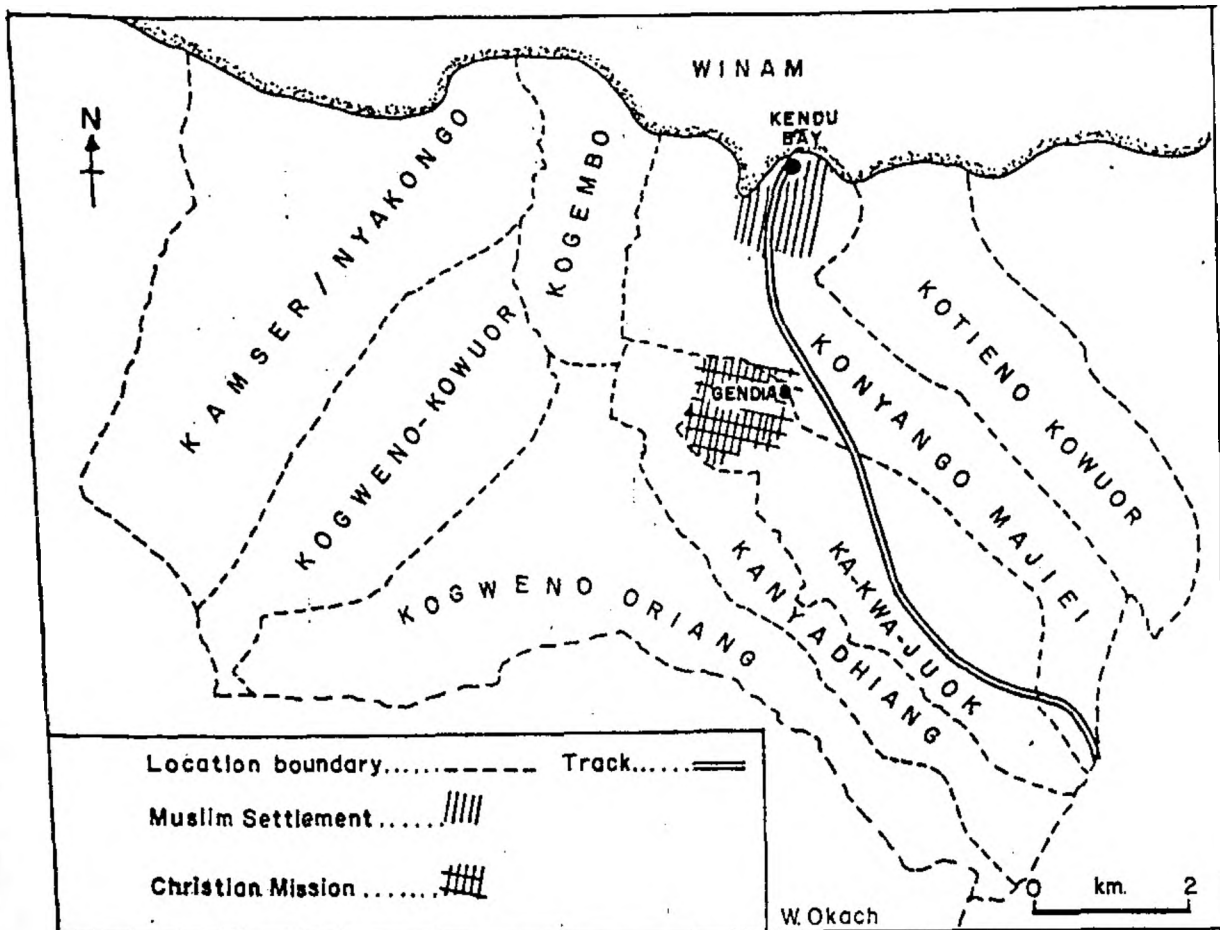


FIG. 1: MUSLIM SETTLEMENT AND CHRISTIAN MISSION IN KARACHUONYO 1912

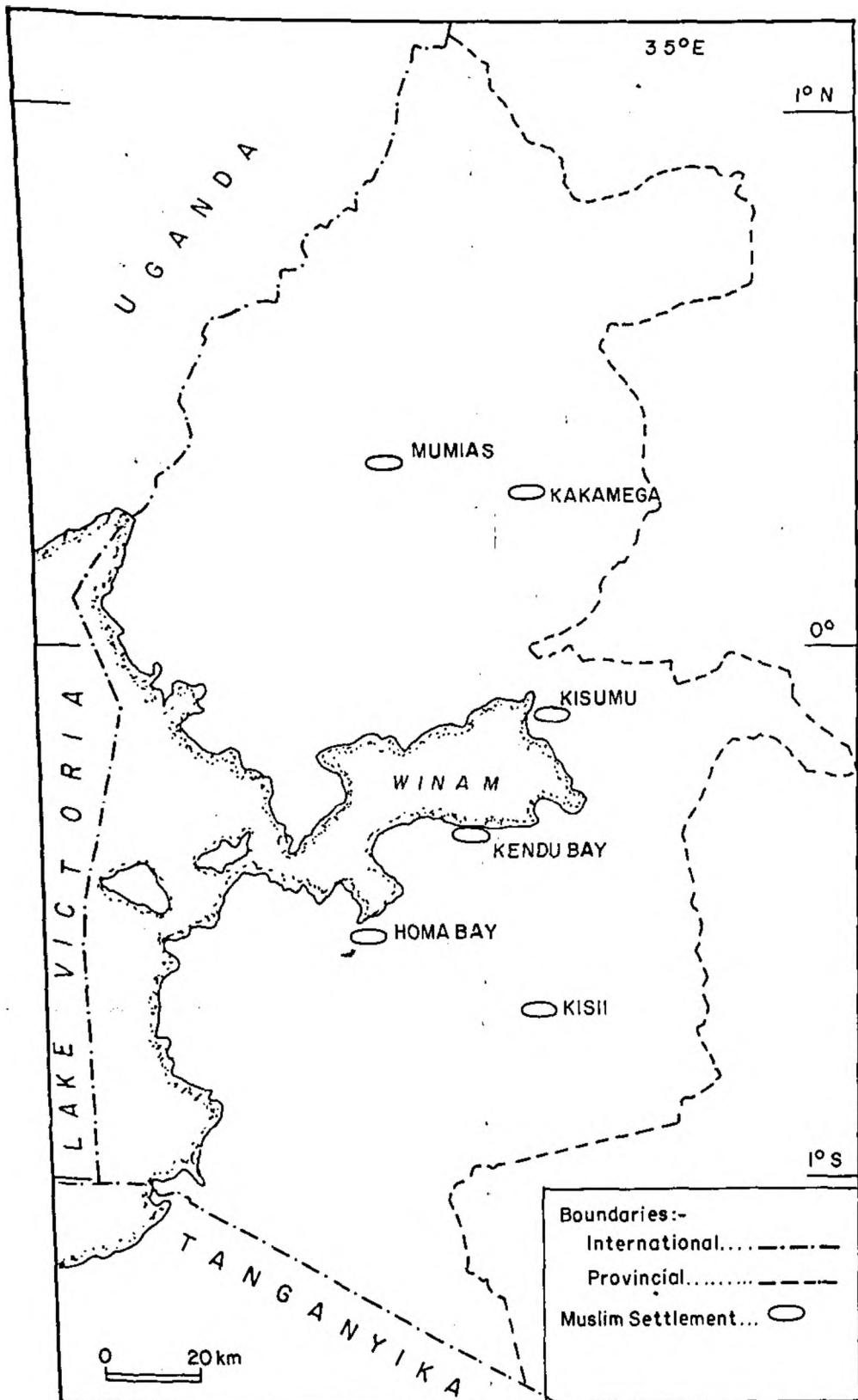


FIG.2: MUSLIM SETTLEMENTS IN WESTERN KENYA BEFORE 1930

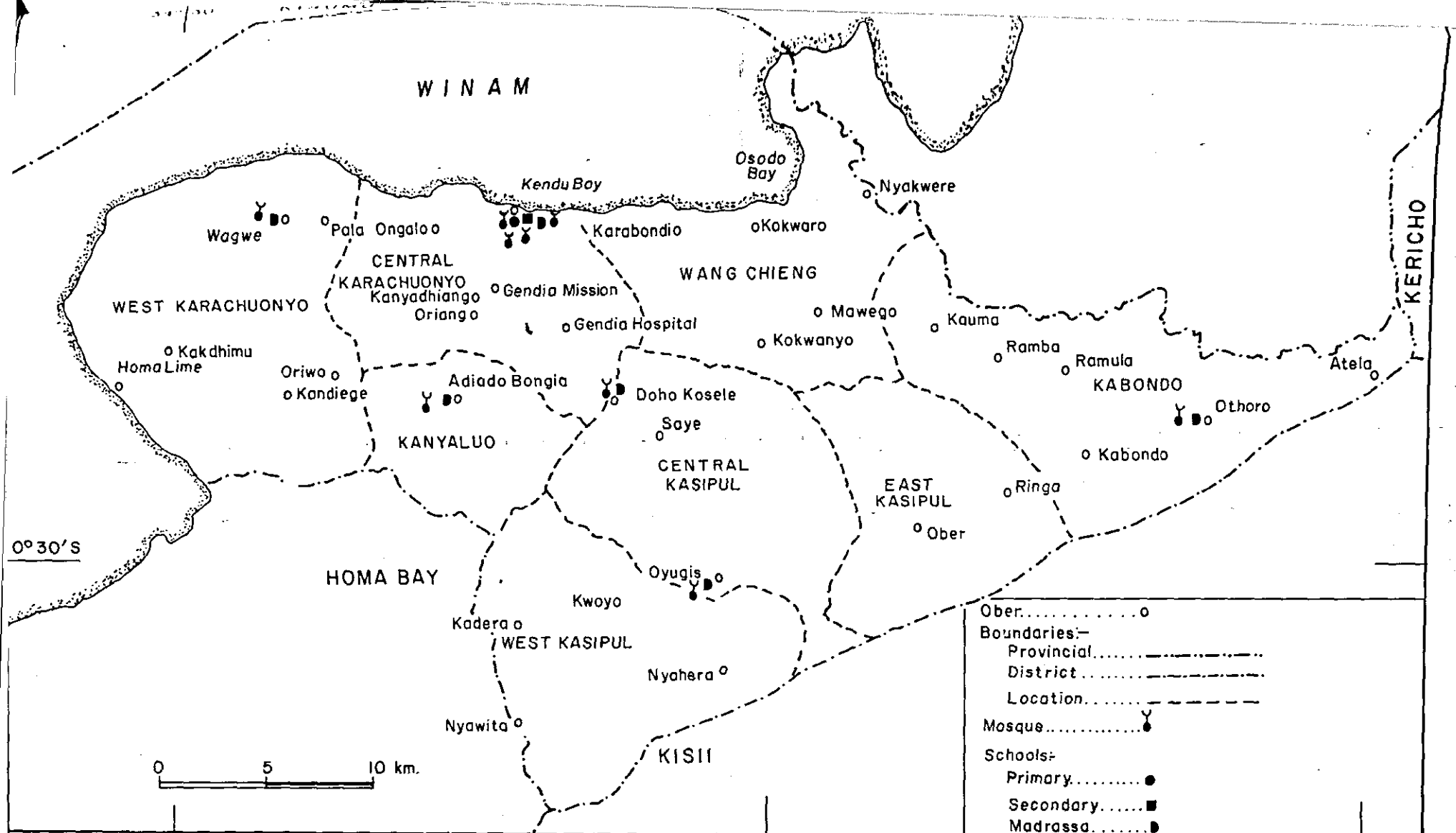


FIG. 3: MUSLIM SETTLEMENTS AND MOSQUES IN KARACHUONYO, KASIPUL AND KABONDO BY YEAR 1992

ments
dix 1

The Luo Muslim Kendu Bay,
Post Office,
Kendu Bay,
21/11/49.

The Anjuman Himayat Islam:

Salamu Alaikum Warahematu Lilaahi Wabarakatuhu

Much thanks for your kind missive which we got on 10th November instant. We were very pleased with it because through this matter, our children, as well as ourself, can run into such an extent in the future life. So I think we shall be able to admit anything you want in this School. On the other hand, this School will improve the Islamic Education because of the good Teaching which will be attained in this School.

Further more, here are some particular things you asked for

- (1) There are three teachers. One teacher teaches "Qur-ani" that is Abudurahim bin Athman, and his pay is 100/-

Also there are two teachers on the side of Education:

- 1. Mafta M. Lindi earning Shs 50/-
- 2. Nour O. Ola earning " 30/-

We also heard for you that you want to know what school fees will be paid among the children. Correctly speaking I would like to inform you that every child will pay 50 cents per month. There are 77 children in this S-chop, so we ought to collect Shs 38/50 every month approximately, and we shall bring them to you at the end of December.

We kindly ask you to send us money in December for the above mentioned Teachers. If you want to send us a cheque, you should send it through Sadar Khan with School Equipment.

Hoping to get favourable reply from you.

Yours the Secretary for the Luo
Muslim School.

[Handwritten signature]

Documents
Appendix 2a

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
SOUTH NYANZA,
NISTII, 1st NOVEMBER, 1950.

The President,
Muslim Association,
KENDU BAY.

Dear Sir,

I regret the delay in replying to your letter of 29.3.50. In order that an early decision may now be reached I should like to know :-

- 1) The purpose for which you wish to use the plot.
- 2) Your total membership.
- 3) How many of your members are Africans ?

Yours faithfully,

J. M. Nwani

DISTRICT OFFICER,
for DISTRICT COMMISSIONER,
SOUTH NYANZA.

DM/POO

2b
Muslim Association,

Kendu Bi

Via Kisumu.

13th November 1950.

District Commissioner,
Nyanza,
Kisii.

Sir;

I am in your receipt Ref. No. JND.16/4/1/7/21 dated
13th November, 1950 for which many thanks.

1. The purpose for which we wish to use the plot is

~~to raise up the Education of our Children.~~

2. Our total membership are 25

3. 17 membership are Africans.

Yours faithfully.

Assistant Secretary Muslim Association

Maftah Malindi



DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S
OFFICE
ADM. 47
Ref. No. _____

COLONY AND PROTECTORATE OF KENYA, 19 SEP 1951

THE NATIVE LANDS TRUST ORDINANCE, 1938 **KISII**

LEASE OF LAND

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that the Governor of the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, hereby under and by virtue of the powers vested in him by the Native Lands Trust Ordinance, 1938 leases unto **MUSLIM ASSOCIATION**

of **KENDU BAY** (hereinafter described as the Lessee), all that piece of land situate at **KENDU BAY TRADING CENTRE** in the district of **SOUTH NYANZA** containing by measurement

50' X 100 sq. ft more or less, that is to say, Plot No. **2** Section V

as pointed out to the Lessee by **DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, KISII** which said piece of land, with the dimensions, abutments and boundaries thereof, is delineated on a plan filed in the office of the District Commissioner TO HOLD for a term of **ONE YEAR** from **1st JANUARY, 1951** subject

to the payment therefor of the rent of **Sh. 50/- per annum**

payable **ON 1st JANUARY EACH YEAR** and subject also to the provisions and conditions contained in the aforesaid Ordinance, 1938 and

subject further to the payment of such competent charges as may be determined by the District Commissioner in consultation with the Lands and Buildings Officer and to the payment of any compensation or disturbance or of any other loss or expense or to the special conditions hereunder.

SPECIAL CONDITIONS

1. The Lessee shall, within **ONE** month of the date hereof, provide upon the plot hereby granted a building or buildings in accordance with plans and specifications approved by the District Commissioner.

2. The Lessee shall maintain the plot hereby granted and the building or buildings erected thereon in a clean and sanitary condition.

3. The Lessee shall use the premises hereby granted for the purpose of **School** and for no other purpose whatsoever.

4. The Lessee shall not alienate the land or any part thereof, comprised in this lease by sale, mortgage, transfer of possession, sublease, bequest or otherwise howsoever without the written consent of the Provincial Commissioner.

DEB/SCH/22/SN/1.

D.E.B.Schools Office,
Homa Bay.
14th August 1962.

Appendix 4a

The Chairman School Comm.
Kendu Musline School,
Karachuonyo Loc.
P.O. Kendu Bay.


Re-Your Application to collect money for School Buildings.

Dear Sir,

The amount which the collection can be done is not beyond S.Nyanza. It is where the D.C.South Nyanza has power to give permit for such collections.

The amount of money to be collected is rather big and may not be easily collected. Please correct forms with the advises I have given you. Herewith the forms returned.

DCO/ao.


D.E.B.SCHOOLS MANAGER
HOMA BAY.

PR 4b
APPLICATION TO COLLECT MONEY
UNDER THE COLLECTIONS REGULATION 1960.

- a) Name and address of applicant. Kendu D.E.B. Muslim School.
- b) The specific dates on which the collection is intended to be made; 1ST. September 1962 — DEC 31, 1963
- c) The area in which or the place at which the collection is to be made; Any place within East Africa where are Muslim.
- d) The purpose of the collection and the name and address of the person or organization to whom the proceeds of the collection are intended to be paid; Building School. Kendu D.E.B. School Committee. P.O. Kendu Bay.
- f) The remuneration, if any, to be given to -
(i) the promoter; Kendu D.E.B. Muslim School Fund.
(ii) the collectors; (1) Froz Khan Mhamud (2) Mahamud Han-an. (3) Mahamud Abdul. (4) Fat Mhamud (5) Omar Ibrahim.
(iii) any other persons; (6) Aziz Obuba. (7) Sat Awimo. (8) Ignatio Maira (9) Mayange Agutu (10) Mathia Agutu
- g) An estimate of the proceeds of the collection;
101,260/-
- h) An estimate of the expense involved in the collection;
Building Classrooms, Latrines, Teachers houses, Pupils Latrines & Barbed wire.
- i) The name and address of the bank with which the proceeds are to be deposited; Standard Bank. P.O. Kisumu.
- j) Details of any convictions of the promoter for any offence whether in the Colony or elsewhere;
Kendu D.E.B. School Committee.

k) Any other information. (1) 4 Classrooms including
kitchen. (2) 7 Teachers houses (3) 7 Teachers
latrines. (4) 7 Teachers Latrines. (5) 8 Pupils Latrines
barbed wire fence round the school.

Date 8 / 8 / 19.6.2 Signed (Applicant)

To be submitted in duplicate.

FOR OFFICIAL USE..

Approved / Not Approved.

Approval No. _____

Date..... 19.....

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER,
SOUTH NYANZA.

Hemed Aman Omar,
C/o Mumias D.E.B. School,
P. O. Box 25,
MUMIAS.

16th July, 1962.

The Manager,
D.E.B. Schools,
HOMA-BAY.

Through,

The Kendu-Bay Muslim School Committee,
P.O. KENDU-BAY.

Dear Sir,

APPLICATION: TEACHER.

ISLAMIC AND ACADEMIC TEACHER.

With a humble respect that I approach you with
this application under

Having being to understand that the above mentioned post
will fall vacant at the end of this month, I beg to offer
myself for same.

With regards to my experience I beg to state below the
period of my teaching:-

1. Kaloleni Muslim School - Kisumu.
From June, 1955 - February, 1959
2. Khadija D.E.B School - Mombasa.
From January, 1960 - August, 1961
3. Mumias D.E.B. School - Mumias
From November, 1961 - July, 1962.

My services at the Mumias D.E.B. School are terminated
as at 31st July, 1962 due to insufficient funds in North Nyanza

The state of which has affected more than 900 teachers whose ser-
vice have also been terminated by end of this month.

I am not a qualified teacher but I hold form E.D. 4 an
~~AUTHORITY TO TEACH IN A SCHOOL~~ I have taught for about eight
years and have a sound experience in teaching especially in a
Muslim Primary School.

Appendix 4 Continued

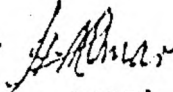
If ~~an~~ I am given the chance I think I will be very useful to your school, and I assure you Sir, that I will do my very best to perform my duties so as to merit your anticipation and approbation.

I hope, Sir, you will consider my application favourably and sympathetically.

Testimonials will be produced on demand.

I remain to be Sir,

Yours Obedient Servant,



(H.A. OMAR).

When replying please quote
ref. No. K.C. 3/66.
and date



KADHI'S COURT
OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
CENTRAL NYANZA
PRIVATE BAG, KISUMU

Appendix 4d.

.....25th July.....1962.

The Chairman
African Muslim Association,
Kendu Bay,

RELIGIOUS TEACHER

Mwalim Ahmed Aman atakuwa tayari kuanza kazi huko
mnamo tarehe 3 au 4 mwezi wa August, 1962.

-Wasalam.

KADHI - KISUMU.

KADHI
NYANZA AND RIFT VALLEY PROVINCES
KISUMU

REPUBLIC OF KENYA
 MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

ED/R/2

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION OF SCHOOLS

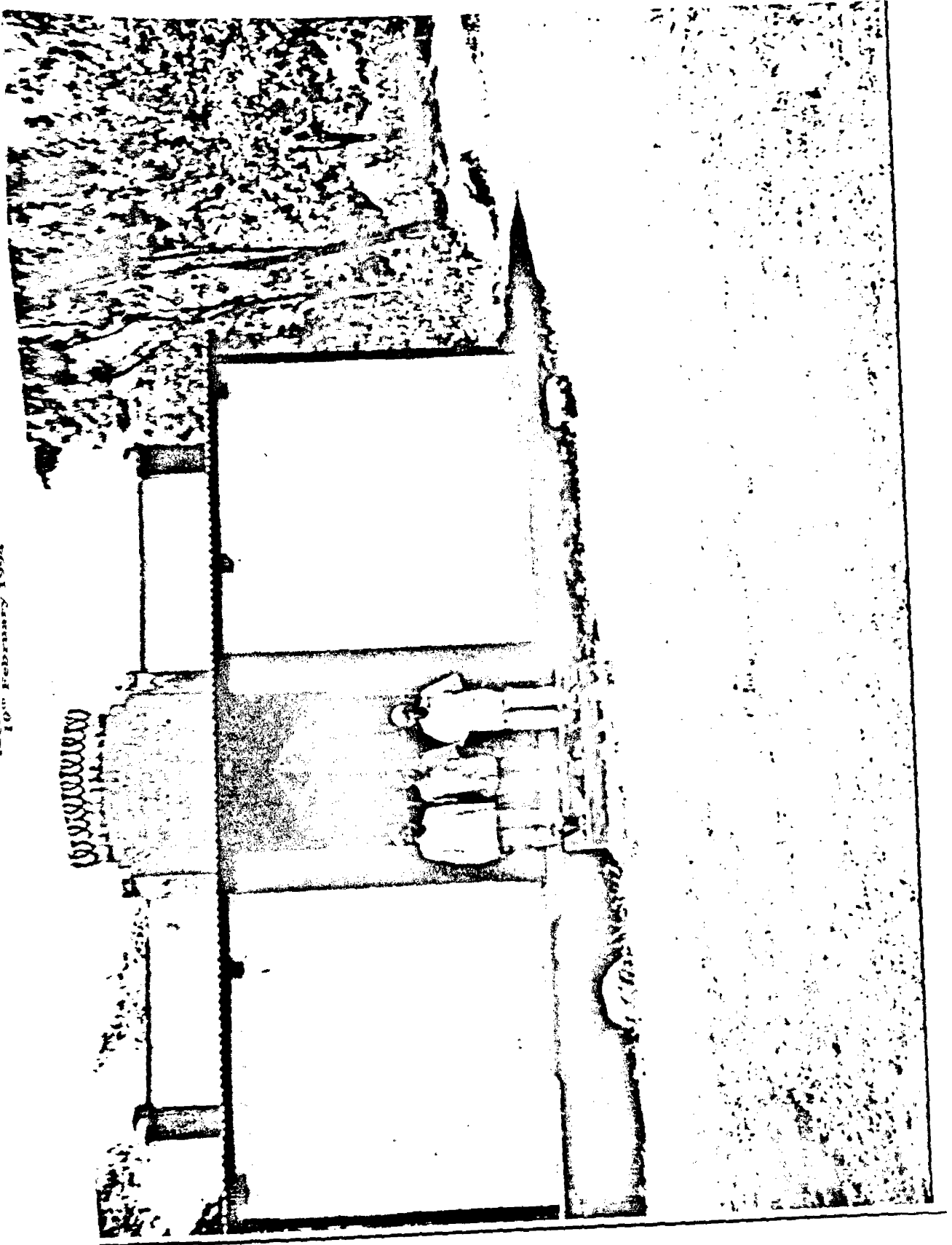
- DISTRIBUTION
- WHITE - SCHOOL
 - BLUE - PEO
 - GREEN - MANAGER
 - YELLOW - MEST

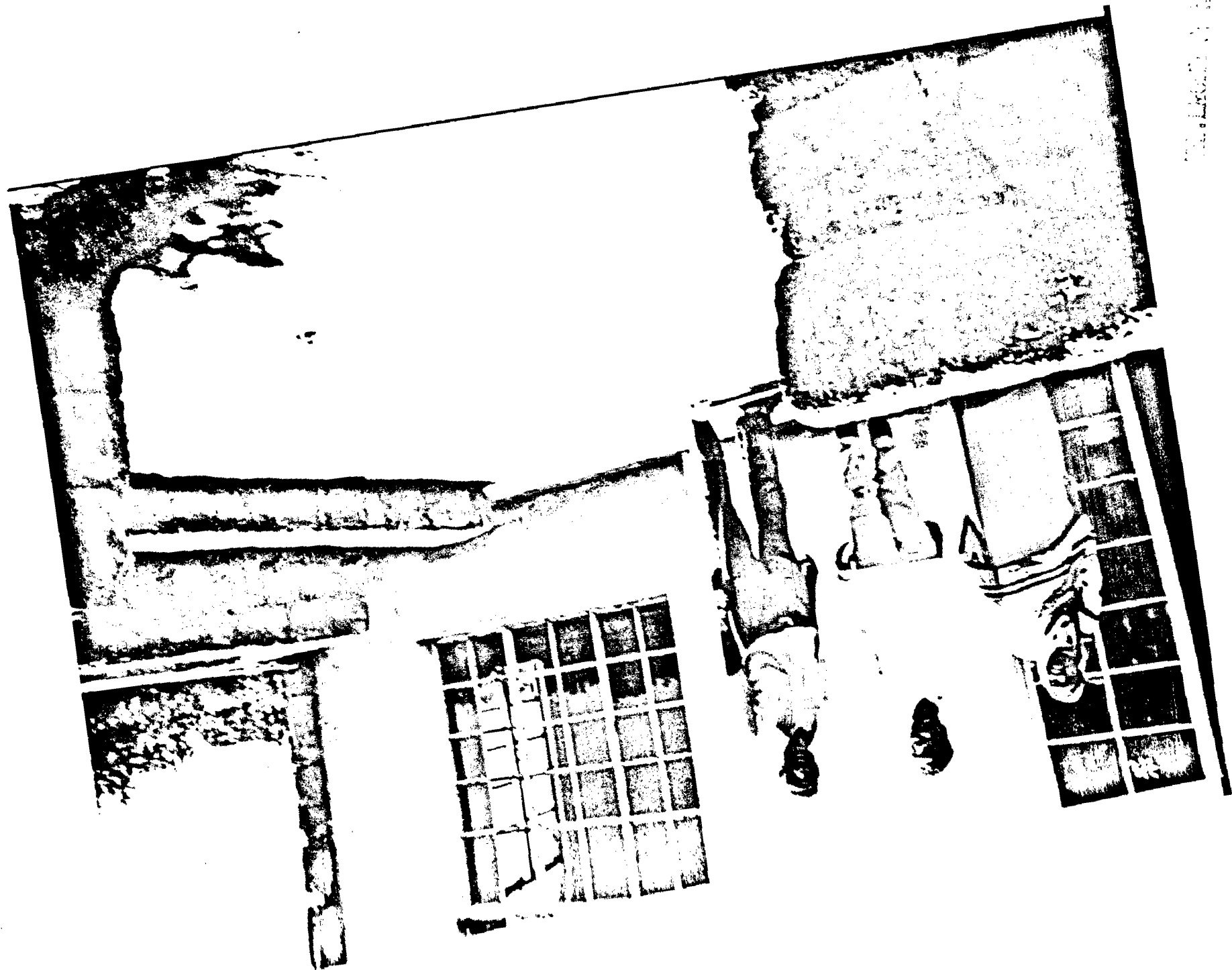
NAME OF SCHOOL KENDU MUSLIM SECONDARY SCHOOL	TOWN OR LOCATION AND PLOT NUMBER CENTRAL KARACHUONYO LOCATION
CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOL SECONDARY (ACADEMIC) - HARAMBEE	DISTRICT PROVINCE SOUTH NYANZA NYANZA
NAME OF MANAGER BOARD OF GOVERNORS	ADDRESS OF MANAGER P.O. BOX 31, KENDU BAY
INSTRUCTION MAY BE GIVEN IN THIS SCHOOL UP TO FORM IV	MAXIMUM NUMBER OF PUPILS TO BE ACCOMMODATED DOUBLE STREAMS (AR) FORMS I-IV - 320 PUPILS
REGISTRATION NUMBER W/A/857/87	SUBJECTS TAUGHT
DATE OF REGISTRATION 26TH APRIL 1987	SPECIAL REMARKS THIS CERTIFICATE IS PROVISIONAL AND IS VALID FOR 18 MONTHS ONLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION 15(1) OF THE EDUCATION ACT, 1968. SPONSOR: ISLAMIC COMMUNITY TOWN OR LOCATION CENTRAL KARACHUONYO

[Signature]
 J. W. OLUCH
 FOR PERMANENT SECRETARY

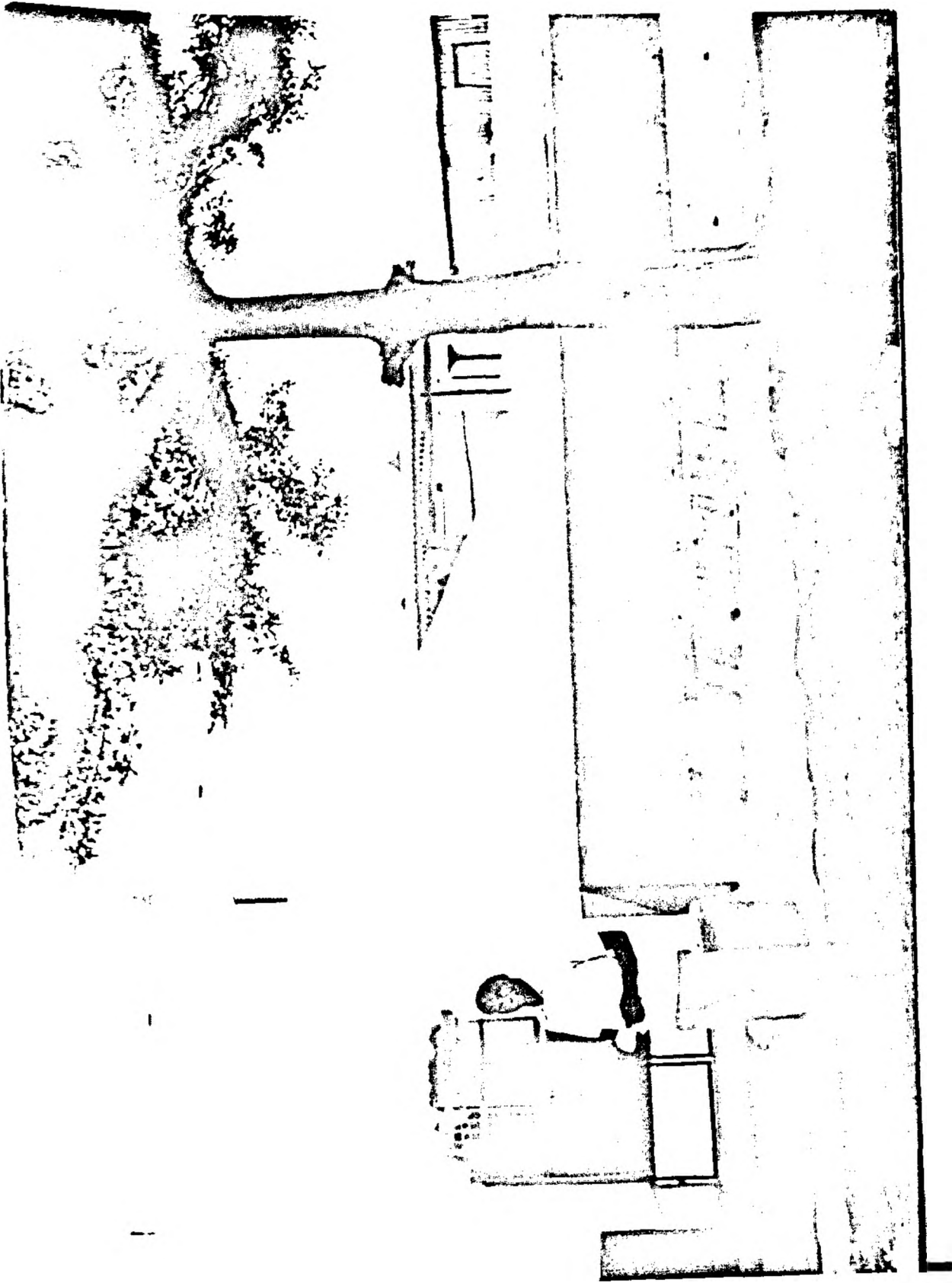
- NOTE
1. This Certificate is the property of the Ministry and must be returned to the Ministry on demand.
 2. If it is proposed that any of the particulars in this certificate should be changed, a new application for registration must be made in the normal way.
 3. It is illegal to hold or have in custody an invalid certificate of registration of a school.

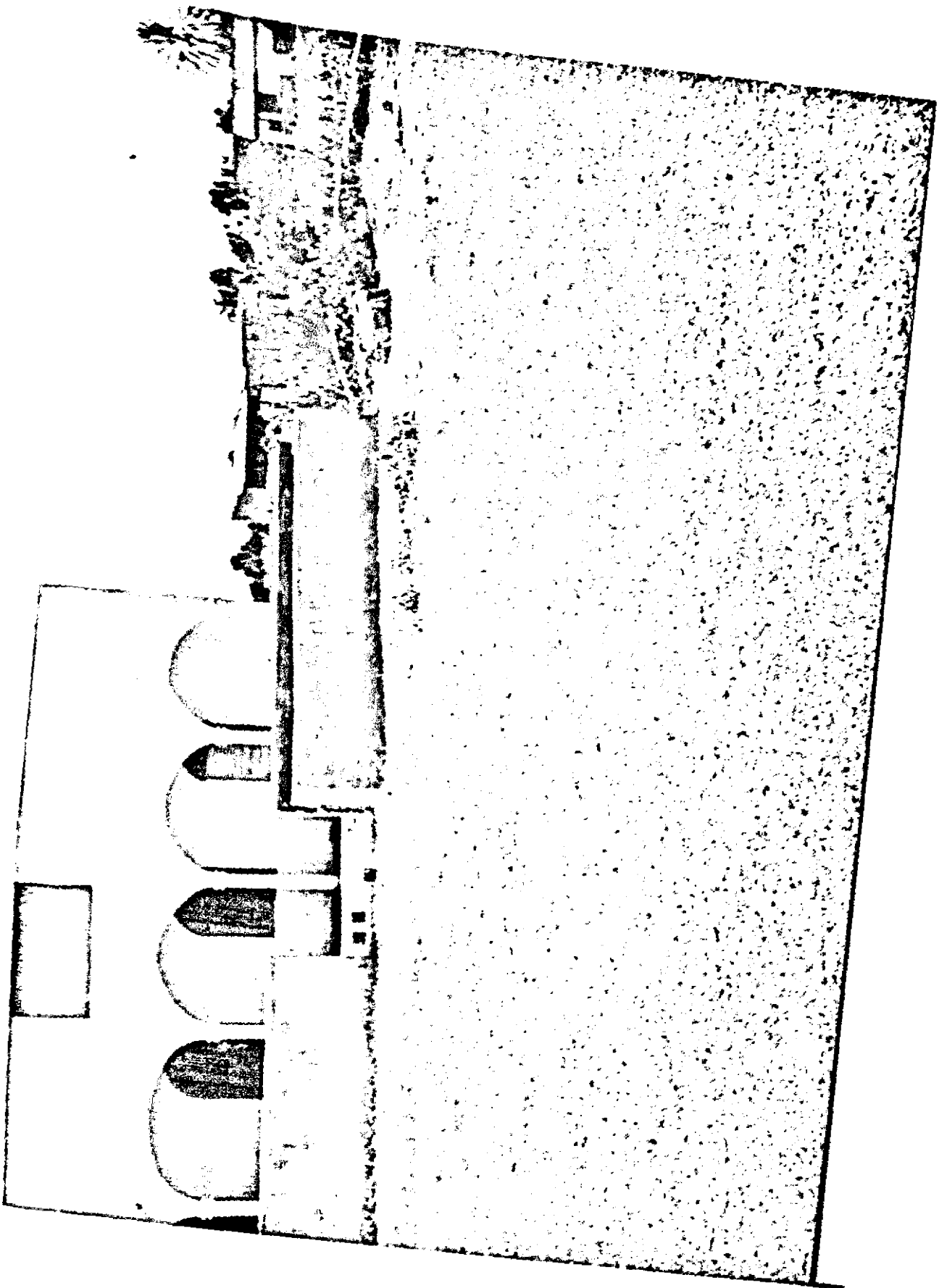
10th February 1994

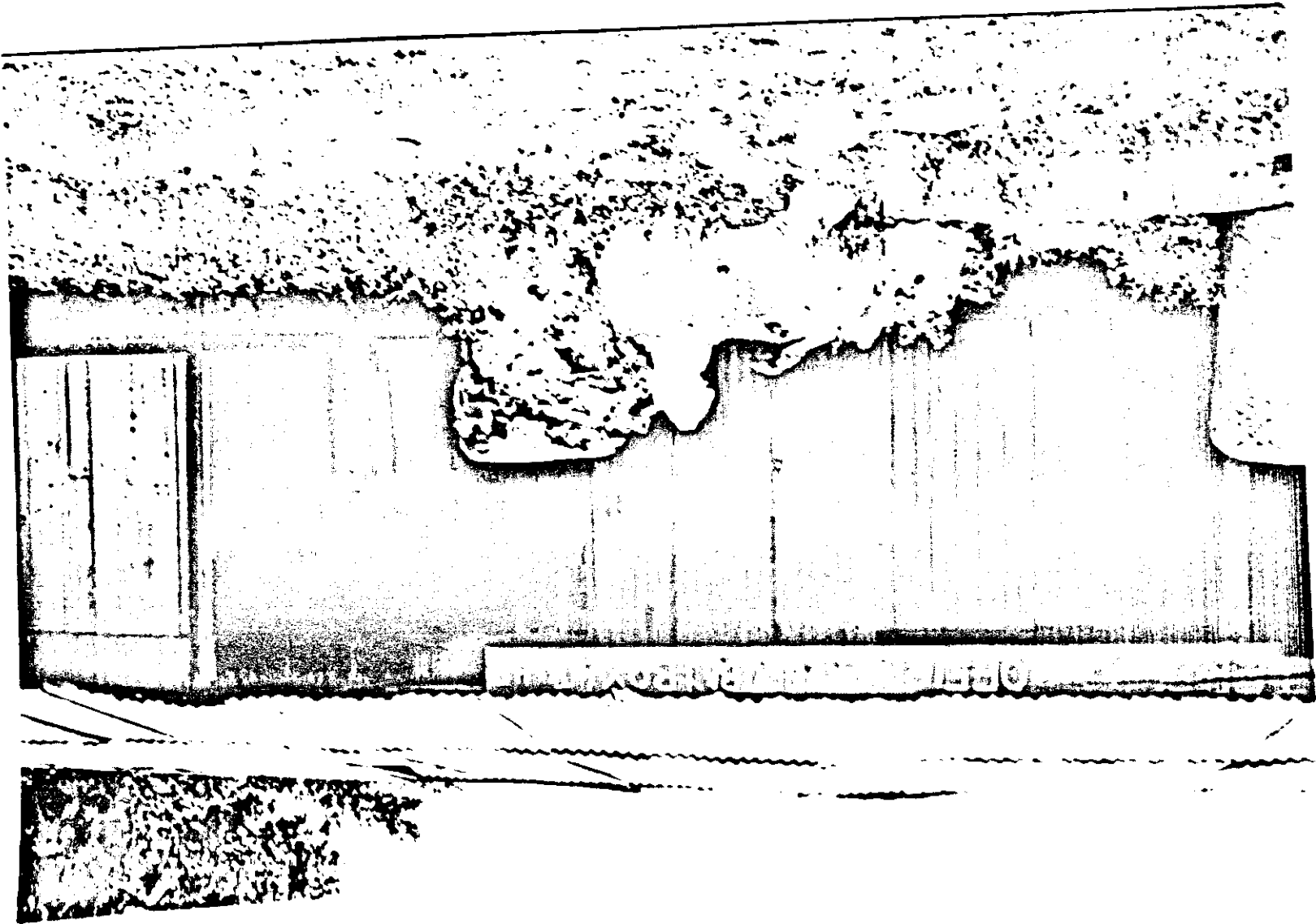










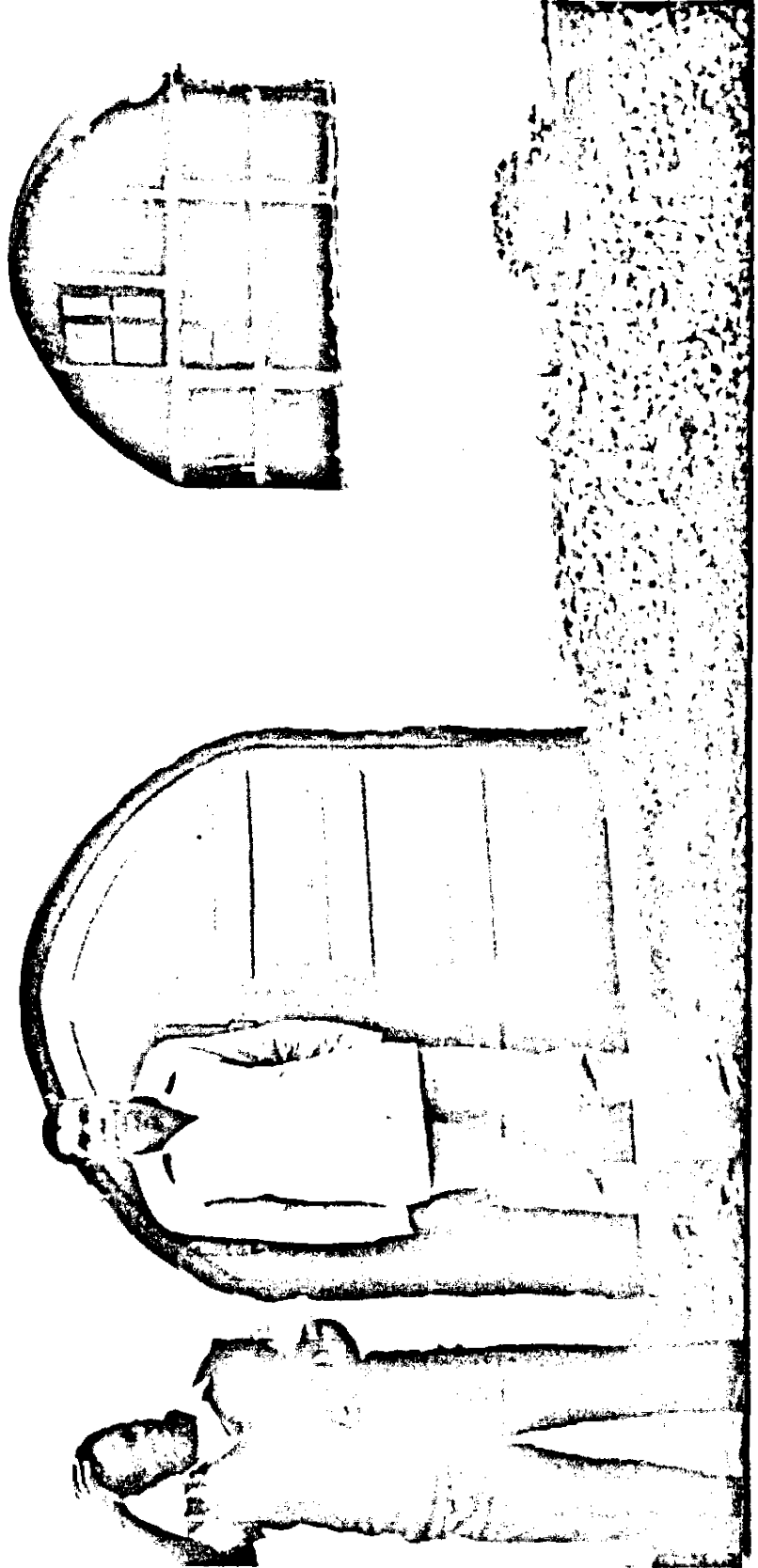




OTHORO MOSQUE - KABONDO
7th August 1994



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI



ARABIAN ARCHITECTURE