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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN
NYANZA PROVINCE 1905 TO 1970

BY

ELIZABETH AKINYI NZIOKI

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

APRIL, 1986



DEDICATION

To my father Canon Daniel Ongile Okola.

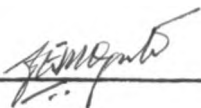
DECLARATION

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

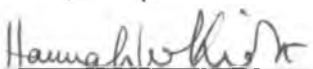
EANzioki
Elizabeth Akinyi Nzioki

"This Thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors."

1. Dr. G.E.M. Ogutu



2. Dr. H.W. Kinoti



CONTENTS

	PAGES
Dedication	(ii)
Declaration	(iii)
Acknowledgements	(viii)
Abstract	(x)
Maps	(xii)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1	Statement of the Problem	1
1.2	Literature Review	4
1.3	Theoretical Framework	10
1.4	Objectives of the Study	11
1.5	Hypotheses	12
1.6	Limitation of the Research Field	13
1.7	Research Methodology	13
1.8	Field Experience	14

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

2.1	The Coming of Church Missionary Society into East Africa	19
2.2	European Penetration of Uganda	23
2.3	The Missionary Rivalry In Uganda and Expansion Into Western Kenya	28

CHAPTER THREE

THE PLANTING OF MISSION STATIONS

3.1	Maseno Station	42
3.1.2	Kisumu Station	43
3.1.3	Butere Mission Station	44
3.1.4	Ng'iya Mission Station	44
3.1.5	CMS work in South Nyanza	45
3.1.6	The problems Missionaries Encountered	48
3.1.7	The Founding of Mission Schools and Spread of Christianity	49
3.2	Numerical Growth	55
3.3	Spatial Expansion	59

<u>CHAPTER FOUR</u>	PAGES
THE IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE CONVERTS AND THEIR TRADITIONAL BELIEFS	
4.1 The Impact of Christianity on the First Luo Converts	45
4.2 The Missionary Attitude Towards the Luo Beliefs and Practices	71
4.3 The Impact of Christianity on the Luo Rites of Passage	73
4.3.1 Luo Rites of Passage	73
4.3.2 Impact of Christianity on the Rites	80
4.4 The Impact of Christianity on Luo Religious Values	89
4.5 Education of Girls	99
<u>CHAPTER FIVE</u>	
THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP	
5.1 The School and the Catechist	117
5.2 Archdeacon Owen	120
5.3 Rivalry Between CMS and Mill Hill Fathers	123
5.4 The Need to Train More Church Personnel	125
5.5 The Problems Faced by African Clergy	128
<u>CHAPTER SIX</u>	
THE RELIGIOUS UPHEAVALS	
6.1 The Nomiya Luo Church	143
6.2 The Church of The Holy Ghost	148
6.3 The Revival Movement in Nyanza	153
6.4 The Separation	163
6.4.1 The Christian Universal Evangelical Union	163
6.4.2 The Internal Revival	164
6.5 The Formation of Church of Christ In Africa	169
6.6 The Diocese of Maseno South	181

	PAGES
CONCLUSION	193
<u>APPENDIXES</u>	
Biographies of First Candidates for Baptism in the Anglican Church	206
The Founders of the first Anglican Churches and Schools	212
Ordination of Priests Between 1924 to 1945	214
Plots gazetted under native land trust 1945-1957	215
Diocese of Maseno South 1980 (Parishes, Churches and members)	216
Primary Sources	231
Bibliography	237
Questionnaire For Field Research	242

LIST OF TABLES

3.1	Numerical Explanation of Baptism Between 1905 to 1939	57
3.2	The Out Stations and their Founders	60
5.1	Ordinations Between 1948 - 1954	122
5.3	Training of Priests Between 1962-1970	127

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CMS	- Church Missionary Society
WF	- White Fathers
NLC	- Nomiya Luo Church
CHG	- Church of the Holy Ghost
CCA	- Church of Christ in Africa
MHF	- Mill Hill Fathers

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ABSTRACT

This is a critical survey of the development of the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province, Western Kenya. It investigates the period between 1905, when the CMS Missionaries arrived in Western Kenya, and 1970 when the diocese of Maseno South was created.

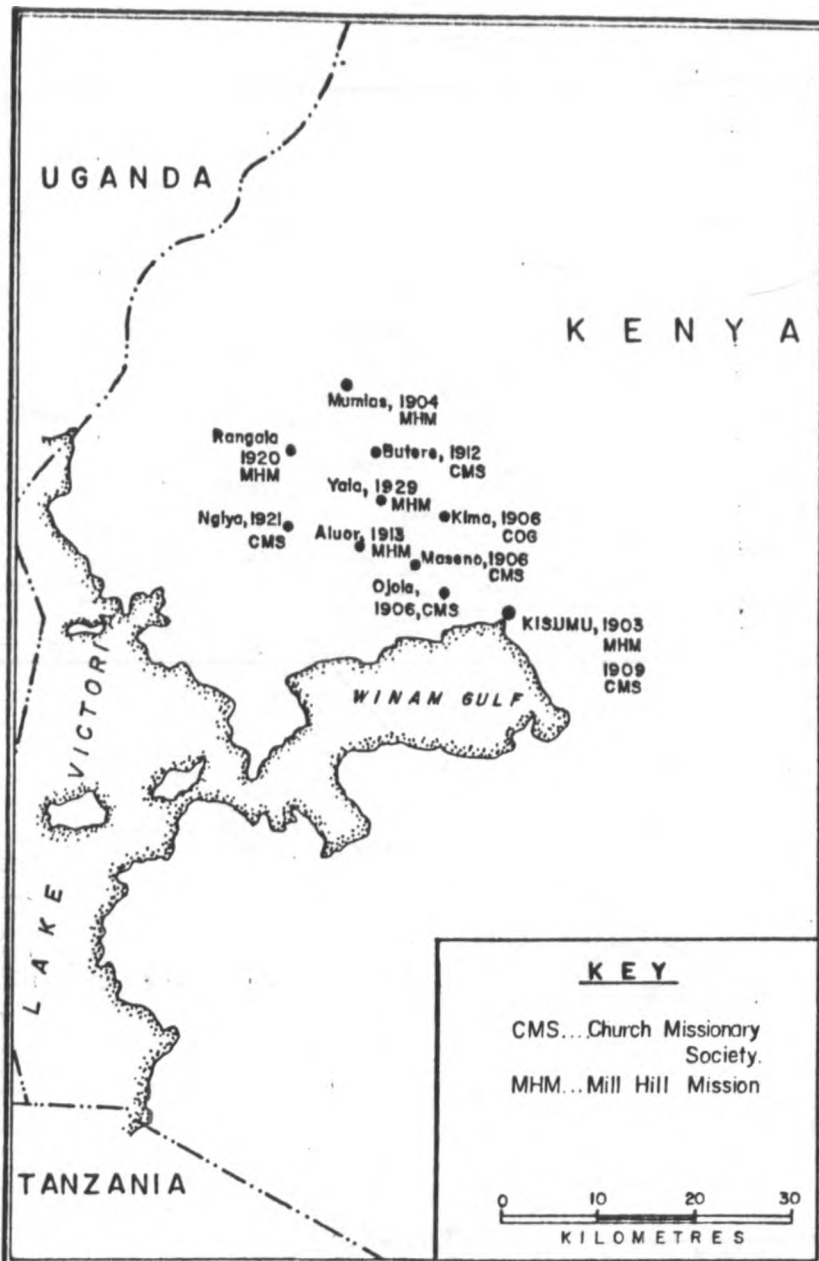
The work was prompted by the fact that although the Anglican Church was one of the earliest missionary churches in the area, there was a gap in its history and lack of detailed information. Since the Anglican Church has had considerable influence in the area, it became important to have a look at its origins and growth. By doing this we hope to make a contribution towards a better understanding of Church and society.

Two important facts are underlined in the study. First, that the missionary imposition of the Christian faith and western culture on the African converts led to religious-political upheavals in the Church. Second, that the missionary attitude towards the African customs and African church personnel led to rebellion and schisms.

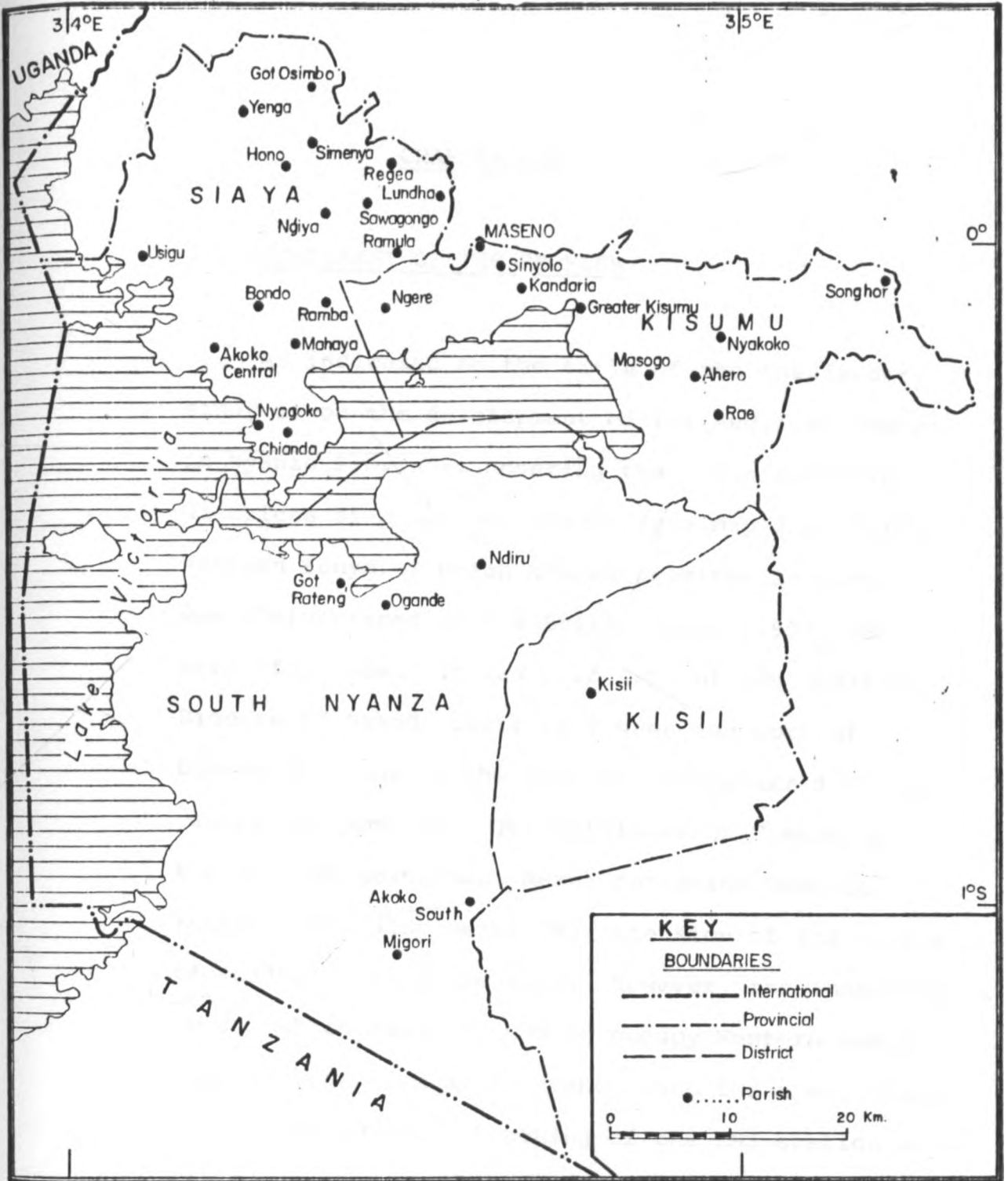
Several conclusions have been arrived at. First, that the schisms and rebellions that took place in the Anglican Church were the result of the impact of Christianity on the Luo way of life, prompted by conflict between African and European cultural values. Second, the Luo traditional life was undermined, and the individual's identification with the Luo community was replaced by identification with the Christian community. Third, that the Luo family system was disrupted and the young people, in particular, became uprooted and alienated from their traditional roots, as their education was removed from the hands of the community and parents to that of the school teachers. Fourth, the missionaries

condemned the traditional life wholesale and imposed certain puritanical standards, some of which had no biblical basis. Many people who would have been Christians were driven away by relentless denunciation of Luo traditional way of life. Fifth, the Africans were shocked to realize the suspicion and rivalry that existed between different Christian denominations. The idea behind some schisms was that if these denominations had been formed in different countries in Europe and America, then the Africans had a responsibility to form their own indigenous denominations. Sixth, the people who broke away to form their own independent churches feel at home in these churches because they have a feeling of equality, friendliness and freedom of expression which were denied them when they were members of the Anglican Church. Finally, the missionary leadership was discriminatory and unfair to African personnel. The missionaries were not only reluctant to train African personnel but the Africans with the same qualification as the missionaries, performing the same duties were given very low salaries compared to that given to their missionary counterparts. This led to a lot of conflict in the church some of which resulted in rebellion or complete breakaway from the Anglican church.

From this study, the following recommendations are made. First, the Church leaders should learn historical lessons, from both successes and failures of the missionary Churches to avoid pitfalls. Second, Christian love and understanding should be paramount for effective leadership of the Church. Third, the African Christian must discover how it is possible to be identified both as an African and as a Christian. Finally the Church should make its message and service relevant to the social and spiritual problems of contemporary life of which some of the chief influences are, patriotism, Africanization, social transformation, population explosion, conflicting ideologies and liberation. These are the outstanding phenomena of our times which take special meaning and which any contemporary study must take into consideration.



MAP I: RIVALRY OF CMS AND MHM IN OPENING UP MISSION STATIONS IN WESTERN KENYA



MAP 2: DIOCESE OF MASENO SOUTH

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

As indicated on the title of the thesis, our study is on the development of the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province, covering the administrative districts of Siaya and Kisumu (see map 2 p. XIII). Western Kenya, of which Nyanza province is part, was administered by the British until 1902, as part of Uganda. It was also part of the Anglican Diocese of Uganda until 1920 when the work of Uganda Missions in the area was transferred to the Diocese of Mombasa. The retaining of Uganda by the British government meant retaining Western Kenya. This also meant CMS extension of its sphere of influence into the area. However, the immediate reason which made the CMS to occupy Western Kenya was the fear of Muslim advance into the area. This led to the immediate opening of the CMS station at Vihiga in 1905 which was later to be moved by J. J. Willis to Maseno in 1906.

Thus the CMS came to Western Kenya at the same time as the beginning of the British Imperialism.

When they reached Nyanza in 1905 they were to work among people who were already British subjects and who looked upon them not as different from their colonial masters. Indeed the relationship of missions to colonial state in Kenya has been regarded as close and subservient, characterised as nothing more than an arm of the colonial administration. The Missionaries made themselves available in many ways to assist in the articulation of the colonial state and became part of its mechanism of communication with and control of the African population. In 1907 in Nyanza for example, the Church Missionary Society under Archdeacon Owen agreed to use its influence to encourage the payment of the government hut-tax. The missionaries also willingly recruited and trained the lower level of the government and commercial African personnel. The socialization of Africans into colonial culture through Western education was a manifest function of the missionaries.

Although the Anglican Church was one of the first Missionary Churches to establish itself in Nyanza, there has remained a disturbing gap in its history exemplified by lack of detailed information

on its development. Whereas studies have been done on breakaway Churches from the Anglican Church, including Nomiya Luo Church, the Holy Ghost Church, the Christian Universal Evangelical Union and the Church of Christ in Africa, no attempt has been made at giving a full background picture of the development of the Anglican Church in order to explain why these Churches broke away. This gap made this study necessary. It is important not only to identify the roots of schisms but also to determine the impact the Anglican Church has had on the transformation of the Luo Society. A study of the Anglican Church, its growth and role in the process of change in Western Kenya is long overdue.

Secondly, more than 50% of the people in Nyanza, particularly in Kisumu and Siaya Districts are members of the Anglican Church or were at one time members of the Church.¹ It is only important therefore that the origins and growth of the Anglican Church be recorded.

Lastly, by analysing and investigating the changes that have acted as dynamics of Church growth in Nyanza, we feel that this will not only be worthwhile information but will open ways for African Church leaders

to understand themselves better in the ever changing society, and also help them to deal with problems of change more effectively.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

A study of educational work by the Church Missionary Society in Nyanza has been done by E. H. Odwako in his thesis, The Church and Education: The Contribution of CMS in Western Kenya 1905-1963. The coming of Europeans to Western Kenya radically altered the African socio-political and economic set up. Odwako observes that as a result, the traditional setting could no longer effectively prepare Africans for the life in the new community.² Due to this and also because of the fact that African traditional education was unsuitable for the new colonial economic situation of labour and paying of taxes, new ways of meeting the changed circumstances had to be found. The European Missionaries met the new colonial needs by setting up formal schools after the European patterns.³ The Christian Missions laid the foundation on which the present Kenyan system of education is built. The study lays emphasis on the fact that between 1905 and 1963 the CMS made significant

contribution to education in Western Kenya. This study has given us some relevant information since education was part of the missionary work and that the evangelization through the school contributed a great deal to the growth of the Anglican Church.

Important to our study is the memoir, Arch-deacon Owen of Kavirondo by P. G. Richard. As a pioneer Missionary in Nyanza, Owen is praised for his courage, for his fight for African liberty, his identification with Africans, his progressive ideas and his social welfare activities. The pamphlet gives us relevant information considering the fact that Owen was archdeacon in Nyanza for over 20 years. According to Richard, Owen devoted his life to one objective, "the bringing of freedom by proclaiming the truth as he understood it."⁴

In her book Basic Community in African Churches M. F. P. Jassy has attempted to bring out the different elements which complicate the problems of classifying indigenous religious movements. According to Jassy, the colonial situation and the cultural clash between Africans and Europeans, have led African movements to adopt ambivalent attitude towards missionary Churches.⁵

The work is relevant to our study in that the author asks the same questions we seek to know; why are the Luo leaving missionary Churches and joining African movements? What are the Luo religious needs? Perrin Jassy answers these questions when she concludes;

Western religion has not known how to become incorporated in local culture. It has remained foreign, parallel to society. In particular it presents itself under an essentially individualistic form, while the traditional religion was essentially social. It did not respond to problems as the people experienced them: a feeling of insecurity due to the rapture of traditional solidarity...⁶

The study is done from a sociological stand point while our study is historical. Although Perrin Jassy researched on the Luo of North Mara, a special emphasis has been given to the Legio Maria Church which was founded in 1962 after breaking away from the Catholic Church.

A Place to Feel at Home by B. A. Ogot and F. B. Welbourn is a description of schisms in Western Kenya. The emphasis is on two Churches, which separated from the Anglican Church in Western Kenya. According to Ogot and Welbourn cultural conflicts of Western and African origin had formed the basis of the division.⁷ These conflicts were on the question of marriage, dressing, naming, polygamy and who was to take the sacrament. However when the Revival Movement reached Nyanza in 1938, it precipitated a clash that was inevitable. Since the Anglican Church was ill prepared to deal with the problems, the schisms occurred. Ogot and Welbourn conclude that there should be readjustment in mythology as well as structure in the Church in African terms where Africans can feel at home.⁸ Although the book gives us a lot of information on the Revival Movement and the breakaway Church, the Church of Christ in Africa (CCA) which is relevant to our study, the origin and growth of the Anglican Church is not given in detail. G. E. M. Ogutu observed that conclusions made on breakaway Churches remain baseless unless it stems from the origins and growth of the missionary Churches are involved and appraised.⁹

African Response to Western Christian Religion

by Erasto Muga is a study of the interaction between Africans in East Africa and the European Missionaries in colonial situation and after independence. Although the work is not directly concerned with the same field of study as the present study, it discusses a lot on the origin of the African Independent Churches. Muga has observed that although the Western Christian Missionaries succeeded in Christianising many Africans in East Africa, in the past few decades the Africans have rejected the over-Westernized form of Christianity and this rejection has manifested itself in the formation of African Independent Church Movements.¹⁰

The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa

by Strayer, R. W. talks generally on Mission Histiography, African setting and Missionary background, the making of Mission Communities and cultures. The book is based on the work of CMS at the Coast and Central Provinces. This book has been found useful in discussing the origins of the Anglican Church in Nyanza.

Change and Challenge by Whisson is a socio-economic study among the Luo community. It deals with the traditional Luo Society and their traditional

economic setting. With this traditional background this book sets to find out how the Luo have faced the new challenge brought about by the new socio-economic situation in the 20th century. The book gives information on the Luo traditional life before the impact of Christianity.

Relevant to the present study is the thesis; The Dynamics of an African Independent Church Among the Luo of Siaya District by M. A. Opwapo. The study is based on a breakaway Church, Nomiya Luo Mission, from the Anglican Church. This was the first schism in the history of all mission Churches in Kenya. All the same the study deals with only a small portion of what the present study intends to cover.

Quite close to the present study is Fifty Years in Nyanza 1906-1956, a booklet written by Elizabeth Richards. The study is based on the history of the CMS and the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province, Kenya. Richards looks at this history from the missionary point of view, the work is only a presentation of historical facts without interpretation of how these facts affected the growth of the Anglican Church. The work is sketchy but it gives a good

background information for our study.

Thus, most of the works done in Western Kenya that relate to the Churches have been, on the contribution of Churches to education, or on socio-economic development or anthropological in nature. The history of the Catholic Church has been recently written by G. E. M. Ogutu. Likewise the history of the Seventh-day Adventists and their work particularly in South Nyanza has been done by E. A. Amayo.¹² The study of the Anglican Church in Nyanza so far has been undertaken.

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

From the foregoing literature review it becomes clear that the European occupation of Western Kenya in the 19th century, the international scramble for Africa was both religious and political. A variety of European and American Missionary groups also competed intensely to divide and occupy Africa, for their respective Churches. The initial result of this religious scramble was the establishment of hundreds of mission stations which were usually manned by Europeans and which became the local agents of

missionary societies. It is only after the missionaries had established their presence that they began to attract converts and founded churches. Both the missionaries and the imperial agents intersected at various points during their establishments as each attempted to exploit each other for their own ends.

In order to make an empirical study of the changes that have taken place in Kisumu and Siaya Districts over the period under review, the analysis has been placed within the framework of the missionary desire to win and convert the Luo to Christianity. Our framework is couched on the role the missionaries played in establishing the Anglican Church in Nyanza, and their primary goal of developing the whole man within the context of a changing situation.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study has four objectives. First a close look at the period between 1905 and 1970, when the missionaries arrived in Nyanza, planted Mission stations, introduced Christian faith, founded schools and began the process of transforming the Luo community was made, with reference to economic and

socio-cultural issues which affected the growth of the Anglican Church. Second the study made an analysis of the impact of Christianity on the Luo traditional life. It also sought to examine ways in which the African converts responded to the Gospel and what made it easier and/or difficult for the Africans to become Christians. Third an attempt was made at appraising the Missionary attitude and particularly when they touched on policies, on matters relating to education and training Africans for responsibility in the Church. Finally the study analyses the major causes of conflict between the Church members which led to schisms in the Church.

1.5 HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses have been tested:
First that the introduction of Christianity into Luo traditional life resulted into conflict which led to rebellion and schisms within the Church. Second that missionaries' policy of direct rule in Nyanza and their attitude towards the African personnel in the Church resulted in rebellion and schisms.

1.6 Limitation of the Research Field

This study has been limited to Siaya and Kisumu Districts inhabited predominantly by Luo Speaking people. Due to the limited time, a fairly detailed study could only be conducted within the two districts. Given the nature of the distribution of foreign missionary societies in Western Kenya we needed to follow the activities of one denomination which has done a lot in the area. However, we have also taken into consideration the fact that the two districts were evangelized, predominantly by the Anglican Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society (CMS).

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The data being analysed here was collected both as secondary and primary data. As secondary data an attempt was made at consulting books, reports and pamphlets related to the study. The relevant documents form part of our bibliography. Two months were spent at the Kenya National Archives and one month at CMS Archives in Kisumu. Although most of the information recorded by missionaries was biased depending on individual writer, they were still useful when the

author compared the data with oral evidence at the analysis stage.

During field research, information was gathered though on the spot observation particularly among breakaway churches, where the author engaged in conversation with adherents after Church Services.

To identify the primary informants I talked to elderly church members. As a result a sample of thirty eight key informants were identified. These included priests, catechists, lay leaders and ordinary members of the Church.¹³ The interviews which involved administration of questionnaire and informal discussion took place at the homes of individuals, although some were interviewed in their offices. These people were questioned on particular topics and the information they gave influenced the conclusions which are given at the end of the study. A copy of the questionnaire used to collect data is appended at the end of the study.

1.8 FIELD EXPERIENCE

Various homes and locations were visited in

Siaya and Kisumu Districts. Although most people interviewed were very friendly and willing to give information sometimes without appointments, there were still some obstacles.

The first problem was experienced during the process of interview. Most people particularly of the older generation preferred to discuss topics at their interest rather than answering the questions which were put to them. A lot of time was thus wasted trying to bring them back to the relevant topics.

Secondly, a more serious problem was connected with transportation facilities. Certain areas were not easy to reach either because they have few buses going there, or no public vehicles at all reaching the areas. Sometimes I was forced to walk long distances before reaching the particular areas.

Finally, the greatest handicap was met when collecting secondary and primary sources of information for the early period of the study from 1905 to 1920's. Most people who could have given oral information on this period were either dead or were too old to remember much of what had happened. The people who

were interviewed, most of the time were not sure of their information. For secondary sources, the missionaries took away most of the Church files and records. Some of this information can only be found at CMS Archives in London. It was impossible to visit the London archives due to unavailability of funds.

FOOTNOTES

1. D.B. Barrett "The Development of Kenyan Christianity in J.K. Mambo (Ed.) Kenya Churches Handbook, Evangelical Publishing House, Kisumu, 1973, p. 349
2. F.H. Odwako: "The Church and Education; The contribution of CMS in Western Kenya 1905-1963." M.A. Thesis, Nairobi, 1980, p. 50.
3. Ibid, p. 56
4. P.G. Richard: Archdeacon Owen of Kavirondo; the Highway Press, Nairobi 1947, p.15.
5. M.F. Perrin Jassy: Basic Community in the African Churches; Orbis & Bootts; 1970, p. 30.
6. Ibid, p. 75
7. B.A. Ogot and F.B. Welbourn: A Place to feel at home, Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 132
8. Ibid, p. 65

9. G. E. M. Ogutu: "Origins and Growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Kenya 1895-1952" Ph.D Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1981, p. 25.
10. E. Muga; African Response to Western Christian Religion (A Sociological Analysis African Seperatist Religious and Political Movements in East Africa). East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1975, p. 1.
11. Ogutu, op. cit. P. 70
12. G. N. Amayo: "A History of the Adventist Christian Education in Kenya; illustrated in the light of its impact on the Africans social economic religious and political development, 1906-1963. Ph.D Thesis, Howard University, 1973.
13. The names of the thirty eight people interviewed are listed at the end of the study p. 239-244.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

2.1 THE COMING OF CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY INTO
EAST AFRICA

In the 19th Century, three different groups of Europeans came to East Africa. The first group were 'travellers' whose interest was to gather scientific knowledge in these parts of Africa which until then were not known to the Europeans. The second group were the missionaries who came to extend the benefits of their Christian faith to the Africans, "... till then untouched by the Lord's blessings and it may be added in parenthesis, Western civilisation."¹ Finally the third group were the colonial administrators whose mission was to establish control over the Africans on behalf of their respective home governments. Although these groups were different, they were complementary in nature and had a unity of purpose because they were all agents of imperial rule and bringers of Western civilisation. It is from this, that we will be able to understand

the coming of Christian Missionaries to Buganda and later into Western Kenya.

The Christian Missionaries came to East Africa as early as 1844, when the CMS sent J. L. Krapf to the East African Coast. Krapf who had been a missionary in Ethiopia had set out to work among the Galla of the Kingdom of Shoa. After failing to reach these people, he asked permission from his home Secretary to approach the same people from the Eastern Coast of Africa.² He reached Zanzibar in January 1844, after calling briefly at Mombasa which impressed him as a promising starting point for his work. Krapf settled in Mombasa with his wife in May 1844. He travelled extensively around the outskirts of Mombasa with the aim of discovering a suitable site for a mission station. This he found in the village of Rabai, only a few miles inland from Mombasa. On June 10, 1846 Krapf was joined in Mombasa by the Reverend J. Rebmann. Together Rebmann and Krapf travelled to Rabai to obtain permission of the local elders to found a mission station there, which they did the same year.

Between the years 1847 and 1849 Krapf and Rebmann determined to extend their influence beyond the coastal belt set out into the interior. In September 1847 Rebmann set out on his first long journey to visit the country of Wataita. This journey was the first of many great adventures of exploration by the two missionaries. In April, 1848 Rebman set out to visit the Chagga where he sited Mount Kilimanjaro. However he met with disappointment because the Chagga chiefs proved un-cooperative. In the meantime Krapf had travelled to Kambaland and reached Kitui in November 26, 1849. It was during this journey that he saw Mount Kenya. During the previous year, 1848, Krapf had made his first visit to the powerful chiefdom of Usambara, but had no positive commitments from the chiefs on the route. Krapf's subsequent journey to Ukambani gave him hope of establishing a mission station in the area which would be the first of a series of posts penetrating into the interior of the continent. In July 1851 Krapf set out from Rabai with the object of setting up a station in the highlands beyond the Athi River.

However, when he returned to Ukambani, he was rejected by their powerful chief, Kivoi and his mission to Kambaland had thus failed.³ Weakened by these journeys Krapf returned to Europe in 1853. Rebmann stayed at Rabai for twenty years until he was blind and had to go back to Europe. These isolated efforts had not made much impression on the Africans since, as Oliver says,

These two said and other worldly men achieved no great evangelistic success among the scattered and incoherent Wanyika tribesmen who were their neighbours at Rabai.⁴

When the British consul at Zanzibar, Colonel Pleyfair visited Rabai station in 1864, he found only six converts with another six under tuition. Nonetheless, if these first pioneer missionaries were impractical, they had vision, tenacity and boundless courage and were sure that others of their calling would follow them and thus regarded themselves from the beginning as pioneers of continental system.⁵ These efforts into the interior indeed had not reached very far inland and certainly not as far as today's Western Kenya.

2.2 EUROPEAN PENETRATION OF UGANDA

As far as Uganda is concerned, it was the British explorer, Speke who after exploring parts of what is today Uganda and reaching Buganda Kingdom, called for Christian Societies to make the Kingdom a Christian base in Africa.⁶ The Missionaries did not react to this call at the time. It was not until 1875 that an outside event occurred to give the Church Missionary Society (CMS) evidence of the new spirit among the evangelists of the Church of England.⁷ This had begun by the arrival of Stanley at the Court of Mutesa I of Buganda, of whom the outside world had heard from Speke in 1862 as "a bloodthirsty neurotic despot. Here Stanley was impressed with Mutesa and saw in him, ... the light that shall lighten the darkness in this benighted region,"⁸ He was convinced that the Kingdom was ideal for a Christian Mission. On the other hand Mutesa who was only King of Buganda exercised a wide influence over the neighbouring Kingdoms and communities. At this particular time his supremacy was being threatened by other expanding

Kingdoms like Bunyoro from the North and with the expansion of the Egyptian Empire to Sudan, which gave Mutesa much needed material support.

Both men, Mutesa and Stanley, were impressed with each other, Stanley, it would seem lost no time in availing himself the opportunity of expanding some rudiments of Christianity to Mutesa, which he had learnt in school.¹⁰ In his teaching Stanley had also reassured Mutesa of one of the commandments of honouring the King because they are God's envoys on earth.¹¹ By coincidence another Frenchman, Ernest Linant de Bellefods also a protestant, immediately followed Stanley's visit to Buganda and repeated Stanley's bible stories to Mutesa in almost identical terms. Thus that,

... two white men should come at the same moment from opposite ends of the world of the Kingdom, and be of one mind about the nature of God, made a powerful impact on Mutesa, indeed it seemed a miracle.¹²

This Mutesa did not take lightly, he therefore asked Stanley to have Christian teachers in his court.

On November 13, 1875 Stanley's letter appeared on the Daily Telegraph asking for missionary personnel to come to teach the Baganda. The letter is reported to have read;

Until I arrived at Mutesa's court, the King delighted in the idea that he was a follower of Islam, but by one conversation I flatter myself that I have tumbled the newly raided religious fabric to the ground, and, if it were only followed by the arrival of the Christian Mission here, the conversion of Mutesa and his court to Christianity would, I think, be complete. ... I assure you that in one year you will have more converts to Christianity than all other missionaries united can number.¹³

In this letter Stanley had also announced that he was leaving behind one servant; a Christian who was trained by University Mission of Zanzibar, to translate passages from the Bible and to start a Church. Reading Stanley's report in German

newspaper, Krapf who had earlier worked as a CMS representative at the East African Coast and saw the threat of Islam, tried to speed his society, the CMS to action. Three days later after Stanley's letter appeared on Daily Telegraph, the CMS received an anonymous offer with a letter addressed to the Lay Secretary,

To Mr. Hutchinson

The appeal of the energetic explorer Stanley to the Christian Church from Mutesa's capital, Uganda, taken in connection with Col. Gordon's occupation of the Upper territory of the Nile, seems to me to indicate that the time has come for the soldiers of the cross to make advance into that region. If the Committee of CMS are prepared, at once and with energy to organize a mission to the Victoria Nyanza, I shall count it a high privilege to place £5000 at their disposal as a nucleus for the expenses of the undertaking. Signed, Unprofitable servant."¹⁴

This was followed by several more offers in terms of finances and services towards a mission to

Uganda on condition that the missionaries moved directly to the interior of East Africa. This policy met with much headshaking by these cautious men. But the offer was too good to refuse and within a month the new policy had been adopted.

This group of eight CMS Missionaries who left for Uganda sailed out of the English port of Southampton on 27th April, 1876.¹⁵ The Missionaries had been carefully selected and were well instructed. The group consisted of Lieutenant Shergold Smith, leader of the group and a former Navy Officer who had served in the Ashanti Campaigns of 1873 to 1878, Alexander Mackay, a Scotsman and an engineer; Rev. C.T. Wilson, a graduate of Oxford and Curate of St. James Collyhurst; T.O. Neill, an architect; G. J. Clark and W.M. Robertson, both of whom were mechanics; James Robertson a builder and agriculturalist, Dr. John Smith, a doctor with the Edinburgh Medical Mission.¹⁶

In June 1877, the vanguard of the CMS Missionaries in the person of Lt. Shergold Smith and Rev. F.C. Wilson arrived in Buganda. The rest of

the group had been hit by both disease and death¹⁷. With the arrival of these two missionaries, a new chapter was opened not only in Buganda but also for Uganda which was later to become the British Protectorate.

2.3 THE MISSIONARY RIVALRY IN UGANDA AND EXPANSION INTO WESTERN KENYA

It was the Missionary expansion from Buganda into Eastern Uganda which led to Missionary occupation of Western Kenya, the focus of our study. The beginning of this expansion will be primarily examined against the background of Christian rivalry in Buganda which partly influenced the decision to extend missionary work towards the East into Busoga, Bukedi and Nyanza. On 23, February 1879, the Roman Catholic Order of the White Fathers (WF) opened a station at Rubaga. The arrival of the WF in Buganda "... turned what had been a state of bemused curiosity into complete confusion"¹⁹. The WF who were also Christian teachers claimed that their brand of Christianity was 'more valid' than their Anglican predecessors. This confusion was made worse

when the Arab Muslims took every opportunity to discredit both Christian Missions before Mutesa. As a result of these, Mutesa's attitude towards Christian Missionaries and their converts cooled visibly. In the midst of this confusion, Mutesa died and was succeeded by his son, Mwanga who was still very young. His youthful mind was easily influenced by different advisers. The court elders who belonged to their traditional religion made Mwanga to see that the traditions of his country were being undermined by the Christian.¹⁹ This to him was being indicated by the increasing occurrence of insolence and insubordination among his pages who had become 'readers.'²⁰ The Arabs had also persuaded Mwanga of the dangers of having Europeans in his country. Already convinced of the harmful effects of teaching of European religion, Mwanga over reacted when he heard the coming of Bishop Hannington into Uganda. He had the Bishop arrested, detained for a week and put to death in October, 1885. The period between 1885 to 1886 was marred by the persecution of African Christians in Buganda who had refused to denounce their Christian faith.

In 1888 Mwanga conceived a plot to lure all the Missionaries and their African converts into some island on Lake Victoria and thereby starve them to death. This plot was sabotaged by the older traditional chiefs whose support Mwanga had lost. The plot was thus leaked out pre-maturely and in September 1888, three parties, Protestant, Catholic and Moslems made a common stand and deposed Mwanga.²¹ Soon after, the Moslems tried to take over the State by taking arms against their recent allies, the Christians. The Missionaries were temporarily united when they were expelled from the capital by the Moslems. The Catholics found their way into Buddu and the Protestants fled to the Kingdom of Ankole. It was from these wars that the seeds of the Christian Church expansion were being sown.

In February 1890 a combined Christian armies defeated the Moslems and reinstated Mwanga who became their tool and not master as he had been longing to become all along.²² The Christian parties had buried their difference to fight a common enemy who were the Moslems. Once this was over, the difference

between the Christian parties surfaced and they began rivaling each other. The same year the treaty of Heligoland was signed between Germany and Britain putting Buganda firmly in the British sphere.²³ The CMS was relieved. The same year, 1890, F.D. Lugard arrived in Buganda with a hundred men as the agent of the Imperial British East African Company. His task was to establish British influence in the area agreed to belong to the British in the Anglo-German Agreement. By this time the tensions between the Catholics and Protestants had reached their height, and their struggle for converts and political power grew. This led to constant arguments. The CMS were suspicious because Mwanga supported Roman Catholicism; the White Fathers were suspicious because the IBEA Company was run by Protestants. Sensing the need for speedy action, Lugard decided to end these matters, and in 1892 he secretly armed the Protestant party. The Roman Catholics attacked the Protestant party and,

... the Protestants cunningly placed themselves so that Lugard was between them and the Roman Catholics. As the latter attacked, he slaughtered them

with his only Maxim machine gun. so ended the battle of Mengo.²⁴

Mwanga, the priests and the Ganda Roman Catholics fled the capital. In 1892 Mwanga returned to Kampala to where Protestants were dominant and thereby decided to become a Protestant. The Roman Catholic had thus lost their main advantage. A treaty was signed between the Protestants and Mwanga, giving only Buddu to the Roman Catholics. The Company could not withdraw from Buganda, as the CMS had put it, without endangering the lives of Christians in Buganda. The British government accepted and agreed to pay for the Company's presence in Buganda while the matter was being investigated. In 1894 Uganda was confirmed a British Protectorate. The CMS position was thus saved, and the growth and expansion of the Anglican Church in Uganda was assured. This in itself was a very remarkable achievement considering its very precarious beginnings.²⁵

Earlier on, in February 1891, the CMS Missionaries, Fred Charles Smith and Cyril Gordon had made

attempts to plant Christianity in Busoga. This was long before the evangelization of the rest of the eastern region, and a station was opened at Numakoko. The following month the Roman Catholic, the WF opened a station further north at Kitwakyambogo.²⁶ It is a puzzle that the CMS Missionaries decided to split their forces at a time when they were having problems with their rivals in Buganda. The Missionary expansion to Busoga should be primarily examined against the background of Christian rivalry in Buganda which partly influenced the decision to extend Missionary work in Busoga. The CMS also argued that the climate of Busoga was suitable with plenty of food, and that the Basoga looked eager for instruction as the Baganda.²⁷ But more important, Busoga had some special significance to the Anglican Church. Bishop Tucker reminded the headquarters that, "Busoga was the scene of the murder of Bishop Hannington."²⁸ For this reason, Busoga presented a religious challenge which the Anglicans may well have regarded as their exclusive right and duty to meet by not failing the murdered Bishop in the land in which his blood had been spilt.²⁹

In 1890 a rumour went around to the effect that the arch-rivals of the CMS, the WF, were planning to open a Missionary station in 'Kavirondo', what is today Western Kenya. This development threatened to put Busoga under Roman Catholic influence. This would endanger the same passage of the CMS on their way to and from Buganda.³⁰ To check this, the CMS hurriedly occupied Busoga in 1891, to give them an added advantage against their rivals. The WF opened up a station in Busoga in 1891.

Meanwhile between 1884 and 1885 Joseph Thomposon, the Scottish explorer had used the eastern route and as a result helped to disapprove the legend of the fierce warring Maasai people.³¹ No European had followed this route before, and it was shorter than the southern route across central Tanganyika which had earlier been used by the Europeans into Uganda. More important for our purpose it was this new-found route which directly led to the planting of Christianity into Western Kenya. It was now felt that the increasing number of stations in Equatorial Africa demanded supervision and that the CMS having been placed upon a

sound basis should now bring together the widely scattered Churches. This needed a man with personal courage, tact, spirituality of mind, gentle with strong personality.³² Hannington proved to have these characteristics and was chosen the first Bishop of Equatorial Africa. Wanting to know the extent of his wide bishopric, he had set out for Uganda following the route which Thompson had followed. He had indeed purchased the road to Uganda with his life.³³ For, after that time more and more Europeans were to follow the same route as far as Uganda from the Coast through Western Kenya. Captain Lugard had passed through Western Kenya in 1890. Two years later, Major J. R. MacDonald led an expedition through this part of the country while he planned for the building of Uganda Railway and he had camped in Nyanza. Indeed there were already parties of Missionaries trying to form a practical connection between the Mission stations at the Coast and those in Uganda.

It was these changing political situations in the Eastern region of Uganda, coupled with denominational rivalry among the Missions which

encouraged the CMS to spread out rapidly from Busoga in 1891 to Bukedi in 1900 and into Nyanza in 1905. Quite interestingly the CMS rivals the Mill Hill Fathers (MHF) a Catholic Order which had arrived in Buganda in 1895, occupied Busoga in 1899, Bukedi in 1901 and had reached Nyanza before the CMS in 1903. The whole story of the first pioneer Missionaries to Uganda can be summarised in these simple words;

It is a story of dangers and death, of trial and reverse, of ever recurring need, and at the same time a story of unflinching courage and enduring devotion.³⁴

Coming into Western Kenya, one wants to recall that in September 1892, Tucker, the third Bishop of Equatorial Africa, eager to know his bishopric made two journeys. His first journey had been on foot to the South West Shores of Lake Victoria, from where he sailed by the West side to Buganda. In his second journey he followed the new eastern route and camped at Chief Mumia's court in Nyanza. As he passed through Nyanza, Bishop Tucker had written;

Can nothing be done for Kavirondo?
If only Christians at home could see us surrounded by swarms of these poor ignorant people, and unable even to promise them teachers, they would surely have pity on us and them and provide the men and the means for this vast field and this most blessed and Christ like work.³⁵

It is not surprising therefore that the first Missionary initiative was taken by the CMS, when in April 1894, Rev. William Arthur Crabtree and Rev. Frank Rowling came to Mumias to negotiate for land for CMS Mission station.³⁶ However this quest did not succeed. In July 1904 Bishop Tucker again visited Western Kenya with Mr. Willis and Mr. Purvis, the object of their mission being to continue the search for a suitable site for a mission station. It was then that Mr. Willis volunteered to open up the work in Western Kenya. This actually began in Maragoli Hills, where they had been welcomed by the Friends Mission at Vihiga in 1904. The station was later transferred to Maseno in 1905

It should be noted that when the British Protectorate was proclaimed over Uganda its boundary extended to Naivasha in the Rift Valley. In 1902 the area east of Mount Elgon was ceded to the East African Protectorate which later became the Colony of Kenya. The changes in the boundary had far reaching political consequences. But the boundaries of the diocese were not changed when the government changed their boundaries and so the Nyanza region of Kenya continued under the administration of the diocese of Uganda until 1920.³⁷

We shall now turn to the planting of mission stations by the CMS in Nyanza.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE PLANTING OF MISSION STATIONS

3.1 MASENO STATION

By the time Willis started missionary work at Maseno (1905), the CMS had already visited Western Kenya. For instance, Bishop Hannington had passed through this area on his way to Uganda. Earlier in July 1904 Bishop Tucker, Mr. Willis and Mr. Purvis had visited the same area with a mission to search for a suitable site for a mission station. Following these prospecting journeys and settlement of Willis at Maseno in 1905, the CMS activities spread to Kisumu in 1909, Butere in 1912 and Ng'iya in 1919. All these missionary activities were directed from Maseno Station. On arrival, Willis contacted Ogola son of Oyieke who was at the time, the Chief of Kisumu location. Ogola gave Willis a piece of land on which to build a mission station. At first Willis lived in a tent which he pitched under a big tree known as 'Oseno' by the Luo. The station was later called Maseno after the tree which had formed the first shelter for the missionary. On January 14, 1906 the first CMS Missionaries John Savile and his wife, took up residence at Maseno. With the help of some Africans the Saviles began to lay the foundation for the establishment of the station. They first cleared the surrounding bushes, planted fruits, made roads, and laid the foundation for the classroom and mission houses. Elizabeth Richards talks of the Saviles as:

... quite invaluable asset to the new Mission. Savile himself was one of these men who can turn his hand to anything, indoors or out and was from the first eager to develop the Mission on industrial lines. Mrs. Savile was a nurse and her dispensary on the station was a great attraction.³

From these humble beginnings, Maseno became the important centre which we refer to later.

3.1.2 KISUMU STATION

The railway reached Kisumu, on lake Victoria, in 1901. The town did not only become the terminus of Uganda Railway but also an important main port for steamers on Lake Victoria. It also became a main centre of meeting for the Nyanza groups of mission stations. This made the town very important for the CMS. As soon as there was a growing European Community in and around Kisumu, it became necessary for the CMS to establish a Church in the town. A small Church for Europeans was consecrated by Bishop Tucker in 1907. Three years later, the government granted three acres of land for building an African Church and School. The same year, 1910, F.H. Wright took residence at Kisumu as a Chaplain to the European Community. Rev. Wright did not only serve the Europeans, but also extended his

service to the Africans in Kisumu and the surrounding locations. At the time of our research Kisumu was the headquarters of the Anglican Diocese of Maseno South.

3.1.3 BUTERE MISSION STATION

In the meantime a government official had appealed to the CMS to open a station to serve approximately 400,000 people whom he thought had been neglected. The executive committee of Uganda Mission responded to this request and sent Walter Chadwick with three Baganda Evangelists to begin work among the Luyia. Butere, twenty-five miles north West of Maseno, was established as a CMS station in 1912. The establishment of Butere as a station took a long time, but in the following twenty years from the time it was founded, there were four missionary houses, boys' classroom, a school for girls, a dispensary, maternity ward, Normal School and stores.⁴

3.1.4 NG'IYA MISSION STATION

The next CMS station was opened at Ng'iya in 1919. According to the CMS, this seemed a favourable place

situated at the centre of Luo speaking peoples as compared to Maseno station. For this reason, they argued that the station would serve the Luo community in a much better way. The land for the building of the station was given by Chief Ng'ong'a of Alego.⁵ In 1921 A.E. Pleydell became first resident missionary. Pleydell is remembered as a gentle, lovable person and the characteristic gesture of his arm reminded the Luo of the way an elder uses his flywhisk made of a cow's tail and so he earned the name 'Orengo' by which he was commonly known among the Africans.⁶ It was from Ng'iya that local evangelists like Ezekiel Apindi came. We also find Ng'iya prominent when we discuss religions upheavals later in Chapter Six.

3.1.5. CMS WORK IN SOUTH NYANZA

To give a full picture of CMS planting stations in Nyanza we will briefly mention the beginning of CMS work in South Nyanza. Although this work began at a much later date in the 1930s, it is important because the pioneer in this direction was an early African convert, Rev. Ezekiel Apindi.

In 1932 Apindi went to South Nyanza and decided to settle at Pe-Hill, Akoko. This was a very lonely place since nobody had settled in the area, but many people helped him to put up his own home.

The work which was done by Apindi in South Nyanza can be seen in these words:

It is difficult to get the right words to describe the hardship 'Apindi' had to endure during his missionary journey in South Kavirondo. Perhaps I might begin by reminding the reader that Apindi went to South Kavirondo as the first and the only protestant missionary in the area. With hardly any quick means of transport he made all his journeys on foot. Later he used a push-bike, but even this was not of great help. He travelled to all locations preaching the word of God and establishing Churches. Whenever he went he left a small Church and a teacher. Later when he made rounds to his former Churches he would encourage the people to start a school.⁷

Some of the schools and Churches Apindi established were: Pe-Hill, Kisii and Marienga.

The process of mission expansion was not a straight forward matter. There are many influences which led to mission policy and expansion. Sometimes the consideration of expansion was influenced by short term planning or the interaction of local groups rather than direction from mission headquarters.⁸ At the centre of the complex, motives impelling mission expansion lay the dynamic ideology; expansion could be a means of social promotion for individuals with a small European community conscious of their status. The mobility from lay to clerical status could be more easily achieved if a layman opened up a new station in the interior where the need to serve communion, conduct baptism, and perform marriages strengthened his case for ordination.⁹ But expansion was also facilitated through association with official agency as in the case of opening a mission station at Butere. Sir Elliot once commented; "The opening of a new missionary station has seemed more generally as efficacious for the extension of European influence as government post".¹⁰

3.1.6 THE PROBLEMS THE PIONEER MISSIONARIES ENCOUNTERED

Before we talk of the period of mission consolidation we will look into the problems the missionaries encountered at the beginning. First and foremost there was language problem. There were no books to learn from, they had to learn by cramming. Rev. Pleydell of Ng'iya acquired an extensive knowledge of the Luo language and its proverbs, largely from the children and old women with whom he was quick to make friends.¹¹ Secondly, the missionaries were sometimes mistaken for the British administrators, particularly where the latter had sent punitive expeditions. One time missionaries went to an area which had suffered an expedition, and, according to Rev. Omollo.

the missionaries taught for sometime about Jesus Christ to some Africans who had come to listen. When told to close their eyes so that they could all pray, the Africans ran away in different directions, thinking that the missionaries would shoot them with their eyes closed.¹²

The third problem was means of transport. Rev. Willis used a horse and later a motor-cycle. Other missionaries used bicycles in the early period and some walked on foot to certain areas. In addition to this, the roads were very poor and some were just being constructed.

3.1.7 THE FOUNDING OF MISSION SCHOOLS AND SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

Christianity being a religion of the book, the missionaries were forced to establish the mission station along with schools. The connection between school and Church in the early days was very close. At first the Church building served for both the worship and school. As the school grew so did the Church services and later the classes of baptism. This is what led to the beginning of education in Nyanza. How did the early missionaries go about this? At Maseno Willis adopted the method he had learnt in Uganda. He visited Luo Chiefs, asking them to send their sons to Maseno School.¹³ The following Chiefs were contacted; Ogola son of Oyieke of Kisumu Karateng', Odera Ulalo son of Ndusu of Gem, Nyangaga

son of Kweto of Seme, Adhola son of Odindo and Ondiek Ogada of Sakwa, Anam of Yimbo, Ng'ong'a son of Odima of Alego, Odera Sande of Gem Malanga, Mumia of Wanga Kingdom, Nganyi of Bunyore and Agola Awala of Sakwa Kapiyo.¹⁴ The first four boys to go to Maseno School were Unduso, Odindo, Owiti and Orao.¹⁵ The Chiefs were usually asked to send two boarders to Maseno School but this was not easy since the chiefs had no idea as to the meaning of education. They were being asked to entrust their sons to unknown foreigners and as if this was not enough to pay for their sons' education at least in providing food and clothing. However Maseno school had grown from four pupils in 1906 to one hundred and twenty in 1911. Agola Awala, an elder from Sakwa, sent Isaya Aloo, Asa Ajulu, Filipino Rodi and Josiah Radol in the year 1908.¹⁶ Ng'ong'a Chief of Alego sent Alomo his son, Aloo son of Odima, Odima son of Odhiambo, Ogol son of Okech, Ochieng' son of Rabuogi, Asugo son of Abuodha and Oluoko son of Anyango who was later replaced by Awili his brother when he refused to go back to School. Odera Ulalo, Chief of Gem, sent Onduso and Oloo who were his own sons, and Owiti son of Okengi. Ogola, Chief of Kisumu Karateng', took Orao. Nyangaga of Seme took Joel Jager, Samuel Olaka, Ibrahim Ogila, Meshak

Wasonga, Benjamin Owuor and Elijah Amolo. The Chief of Asembo sent Odindo, Shadrack Adem, Samuel Otwecho, Laban Otieno, Ongolo son of Ogutu, Odero Ezekiel, Joel Orambo, Ishmael Odada son of Okara, Mariko Otindi and Sila Abwao. Nyambok from Gem sent Joshua Alangi.¹⁷ Not all have been mentioned of the first few boys at Maseno School, but it is worth noting that these boys were the ones who became the first Christians in Nyanza.

What were these boys taught in School? Andrea Awili one of the first pupils at Maseno said:

We were taught writing, reading and the word of God. We were also told not to take alcohol, not to smoke cigarettes, not to like girls and not to put on expensive clothes because we had no money for these.¹⁸

They were also taught a variety of subjects ranging from hygiene, carpentry, agriculture, arithmetic, geography, Swahili and nature study. Three quarters of the curriculum was devoted to Bible learning. English was strictly kept out of the syllabus. The Provincial Commissioner refused, claiming that if they

were taught English they would get spoilt.¹⁹ Swahili was used where there were no Luo books, but teaching took place in Luo language.

How did the boarding school help the Church in the spreading of Christianity? The school was meant to control the young converts so that they were not exposed to their old ways of life. The Missionaries did not want them to go back to their homes and mix up with what they called 'heathenism'. This is why Willis said:

It afforded a shelter amid a sea of temptation. It makes Christian teaching applicable and Christian living a possibility. It is significant that God himself does not attempt to give Israel law in Egypt. He first brought them out and taught them.²⁰

The boys from Maseno boarding school were the ones who went to convert what Willis called the 'pagan' villages to Christianity. Willis began by sending two boys from the school to go to the villages and teach what they knew:

And from Maseno School itself went the first Luo evangelists, mere boys in pairs with their Luo booklets to witness to their faith as far away as Kisumu.²¹

So far Willis had met with little success and a lot of opposition. Most of the new converts had lapsed, because there had been no proper follow-up. In the same period, there had begun a general reaction in the province. This was more noticeable among the Luo already employed in Kisumu town as office clerks and interpreters to Europeans.

From Maseno and Kisumu stations, Christian teachings spread to the villages. Many groups of men, boys, women and girls began asking for instruction in the Christian faith. The Maseno boys were later sent to the villages for a fortnight to teach Christian faith. They would go back to school for a period of a month for further instruction. Later on, the boys were sent back to their home areas for a longer period and then followed up by Willis so that he could see the progress of their teachings. For example, Isaya Aloo, one of the early boarders at Maseno, was sent back to his area in Sakwa Kamnara.

He did not only teach in this area but went to other areas in Sakwa like Maranda, Akoko, Mbeka, Alara, Goye and Ugwena in Yimbo.²² Yona Omolo went to work in Yimbo which was his home area. He taught the people in his location the Christian faith and also how to read and write. He also built Churches in Pala and Ugwena both in Yimbo. In addition to this Omolo left assistants at places where he had converts. At Goye he appointed Nyadigo as resident preacher. At Urima he appointed Alban Nyambore and at Nyamonye he appointed Michael Milanya.²³ Rev. Willis usually camped at Chiefs' centres when he followed up his students. The Chiefs usually invited elders to listen to Christian teachings and some of them got converted to Christianity.

Following a meeting in 1905 by the protestant Missionaries, a mutual agreement had been reached between the CMS and the Friends Industrial Mission (FIM), who had begun work among the Maragoli in 1902. According to the agreement, the CMS, were to continue its work among the Luo who lived West of Bunyore hills and among the Banyore and Samia.

3.2 NUMERICAL GROWTH

By 1930 there was a new mission for the boys at Maseno School. At the beginning they had been missionaries to their own people but now they began a further missionary effort in the form of Sunday School, in the villages around Maseno. Every Sunday they went out to the out-schools to teach Christian faith. During the week they were helped by their teachers to prepare simple lessons they were to give on Sundays. And:

Gradually the difference between the school-boy and the villager became noticeable. Intelligent and reverent worship began to appear first in the school, then in general Sunday Congregation. The strangeness began to wear off and interest to grow. After the morning service in the Church informal discussions were held between the Christian boys in the school, the chiefs and elders from the villages, questions were asked and answered. So the light slowly spread.²⁴

The role that was played by these first students at Maseno School cannot be underestimated. The CMS Missionaries alone could not have managed because they were also few. Although most Chiefs never became converted to the new faith, they still contributed by sending their own children to the schools. It

was these pupils who became the first Christian converts and the first few evangelists in Nyanza. The Chiefs had also opened up their centres for Christian instruction.

The most memorable occasion was January 30th, 1910, when the first candidates in Nyanza were initiated into the Anglican Church through baptism. These were fifteen pupils of Maseno School. By late 1930s the members of Anglican Church in Nyanza had grown remarkably, from a baptized membership of fifteen in 1910 to over fifty thousand by 1935.²⁵

The number of candidates for baptism and confirmation increased over the years. Some extracts of the people baptised in this early period and their reasons for becoming Christians can be seen in Appendix I. Numerical Expansion of Baptism between 1905 to 1939 can be seen from table 3.1.

YEAR	B A P T I Z E D		CONFIRMED
1905			
1906			
1909			
1910	15	-	-
1911	56	2	13
1912	83	1	13
1913	58	33	28
1914	105	19	2
1915	404	106	71
1916	501	97	61
1917	972	271	89
1918	1189	211	120

(continued)

YEAR	B A P T I Z E D		CONFIRMED
	Adults Baptized	Infants Baptized	Adults Confirmed
1919	1361	212	306
1920	721	402	-
1921	1327	505	1023
1922	1465	704	459
1923	1194	900	543
1924	1142	1023	771
1925	829	938	697
1926	1197	999	663
1927	2280	1020	915
1928	1581	1240	380
1929	1864	1528	1895
1930	2204	1456	-
1931	1204	1432	804
1932	1179	1384	432
1933	1112	1263	1171
1934	858	955	33
1935	797	1030	652
1936	1134	1416	376
1937	1138	1168	806
1938	1003	1154	597
1939	1541	1117	1059
TOTALS	<u>30514</u>	<u>22586</u>	<u>13979</u>

Table 3:1 Numerical Expansion by Baptism And Confirmation : 1905 to 1939

Source: CMS Archives Kisumu

Table 3.1 shows that the data was collected for thirty four years, and the total number of people baptized and confirmed came to 66079. The year 1927 shows the highest adult baptism when 2280 were baptised. 1929 shows the highest infant baptism with 1528 infants baptized. 1929 shows the highest number of adults confirmed with total of 1895. The average number of adults baptized per year is 899 while the number of infants baptized per year is 664. The average number of adults confirmed per year is 411.

One can see from the table that during certain years for example 1920 and 1925 there were drops in the number of adults who were baptized as compared to previous years. They could have been many reasons for this drop but the most obvious one is that there was no proper follow up of evangelisms. Most people fell back to their old traditional lives as there was nobody to persistently encourage them to live the Christian life. All the same, the number of candidates for baptism and confirmation increasing over the years would not necessarily give a true picture of Church growth in Nyanza. Church attendances similarly are not a certain indication of Christian faithfulness. More significant were the

influences which were quietly carrying on in a way impossible to assess. Some of these influences could be said to be education given at the mission schools, such as Maseno, Butere and Ng'iya.

3.3 SPATIAL EXPANSION

The Anglican Church spatial expansion from the mission stations, Maseno, Ng'iya and Butere can be seen from Table 3:2 The people who founded these outstations were mostly the former pupils of Maseno School.

<u>CENTRES</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>FOUNDER</u>
Oware	Sakwa	Sila Nyamwanda
Majiwa	Sakwa	Noman Ogola
Hono	Alego	Rev. G.S. Okoth
Gobei	Sakwa	Chief Elija B.
Ng'iya	Alego)	
Akoko	South Nyanza)	
Mulaha	Alego)	Canon Apindi
Mur	Alego)	
Nyang'oma	Alego	Canon Apindi
Sawagongo	Gem	
Nyadhi	Alego	Jacob Ochola
Msanda	Ugenya	Alfayo Odongo M.
Usenge	Yimbo	Yona Omolo
Ndiru	Seme	Samuel Olako
Rakombe	Asembo	J. Nyanduga
Mahaya	Asembo	Mariko Tindi
Chianda	Uyoma	Harun Njago
Nyagoko	Asembo	Mathayo Ogola
Maranda	Sakwa	S. Osewe
Masogo	Kano	A. Wangulu
Kisumu	Kisumu Town	R. Omulo
Ambira	Ugenya	Nehemia Mwanda
Maseno	Kisumu	Zablon Okola
Ramba	Asembo	Shadrack Adem
Regea	Gem	Simeon Nyende

Table 3.2 The Outstations And Their Founders
Source: Own Field Survey July 1984.

To conclude this section, there were dynamic forces which influenced the number of people who became Christians. These forces were both religious and social. The early colonial era channelled a relatively small, number of people in the mission stations. The colonial chiefs were particularly co-operative with the missionaries because they probably wanted to show their loyalty to the regime which had put them into power. It was these children who became the first Christians. Later on the need for African personnel as clerks within the colonial administration also led many people to school. To the Africans it was through school that they could be able to get to better material gains brought about by the Western civilization. During the first and second World Wars, the people at the Mission Stations were often exempted from volunteering to go to war.²⁶ Other people also got employment at the mission stations and this enabled them to pay tax. All these hastened response of mission activity and more specifically a growing enrolment in missionary schools.

This is what Strayer says:

Hostility to mission adherents declined as the connection between education and new employment opportunities became apparent while baptism, a Christian name and a Church wedding became popular symbols of entrance into the new society.²⁷

The most important development of Church government in Kenya was in September 1944. A constitution was submitted by the Archbishop of Canterbury by which the Anglican Church was no longer controlled by the CMS. The Church now had a new name, the African Anglican Church and government. Although the Anglican Church in Nyanza was still under the diocese of Mombasa, it had been upgraded to Arch-deaconry status and had its own machinery of administration. The CMS still had a lot of control in the Church Council. All the same the African Personnel began to outnumber the Europeans. The Church had to virtually manage their own affairs from this time. This meant that they had to train their own ministers, pay for their own buildings, pastors, and evangelists, supply them with housing and generally contribute towards the central expenses. The old archdeaconry of Kavirondo became the Rural Deanery of Nyanza with four districts: Maseno, Butere, Kitale and Eldoret.

FOOTNOTES

1. Andrea Awili, Interview; Alego Location-Siaya District 21st July, 1984
2. Absalon Wangulu; Interview; Kano Location-Kisumu District, 16th July, 1984.
3. M.A. Elizabeth Richards: Fifty Year in Nyanza 1906-1956, Nairobi; p.11
4. Ibid.
5. Evans Agola; Interview; Alego-Ng'iya; Siaya District; 21st July, 1984.
6. Awili; op.cit
7. G.E.M. Ogutu; "The Life and Work of Rev. Ezekiel Apindi and contribution to the Life and Growth of the Church in Western Kenya"; in Occasional Research Papers Religion and Philosophy; Vol.31, 1975 p.35
8. Wangulu; op.cit
9. Robert W. Strayer; The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa (Anglicans and Africans in Colonial Kenya 1875-1935) Heinemann State University of New York Press, London 1978; p. 32ff.

10. Quoted in Strayer, op.cit; p.45
11. Awili; op.cit
12. D.J. Omollo Rev., Interview, Kisumu Town -
Kisumu District, 23rd July 1984.
13. W.B. Anderson, The Church in East Africa 1840-1974
Central Tanganyika Press; 1977;
p.69.
14. Awili, op.cit
15. Elizabeth Richards; op.cit; p.15
16. From a written document left behind by Isaya
Aloo to his son Mr. Opata Aloo, 3/23/68, Sakwa,
Siaya District
17. Ibid
18. Awili; op.cit.
19. W.R. Ochieng'; "Yona Omolo" in Kenya Historical
Biographies (ed. Keneth King,
Almed Salim) East African
Publishing House; 1971.
20. Elizabeth Richards; op.cit. p.17
21. Ibid
22. op.cit, p.25
23. op.cit, p.30

24. Elizabeth Richards; op.cit, p.15
25. Gordon Hewitt, The Problems of Success, A History of Church Missionary Society 1910-1942, Vol.I, SCM Press Ltd., London, 1971 p.142.
26. Omollo; op.cit.
27. Strayer; op.cit, p.40.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE CONVERTS AND THEIR
TRADITIONAL BELIEFS

4.1 The Impact of Christianity on the First
Luo Converts.

Initially Christianity essentially sought to transcend particular cultures. However, throughout its history, Christianity has been expressed through the cultural heritage of the people where it has taken root. In medieval times, Christianity became very much integrated in the European Cultural heritage. In the 19th and 20th Centuries the missionaries who introduced Christianity into the interior of East Africa grew within the background in which the Christian religion and Western Culture were incorporated to form Christian Civilisation. As J. N. K. Mugambi observes,

When the Christians reached East Africa the distinction was not obvious, both to the Gospel as a message with the Universal Challenge, and the European Cultural response to that challenge.¹

This section will discuss the impact Christianity had on its Luo converts. It will examine ways in which the African converts in Nyanza responded to the Gospel in the context of their own cultural background. With the introduction of Christianity in Nyanza, there has been at least three significant cultural conflicts which will be worth noting. First, the Gospel message whose core teaching was based on Jesus Christ. Second, the attitude the missionaries had towards African traditional values and beliefs. Third, the impact these attitudes and teaching had on the African converts and other people in general.

When the missionaries arrived in Nyanza, they did not only bring the Gospel but also a complex phenomenon made up of Western Culture. These Missionaries established and pioneered schools. As mentioned earlier, they at first took the sons of chiefs to school to train them in the Christian way of life and to give them elementary education. These Schools were to become the nurseries for change. J.S. Mbiti is right in saying that it was

these young men and women in these schools who assimilated not only religion, Science, politics and Western technology, but the same young people also became detached from their tribal roots.²

According to the missionaries, the boarding schools which they had established gave the young African converts a shelter amid a sea of temptations away from their homes where they would otherwise mix up with "heathenism." Nevertheless, it was these same boys who also became the vehicles of carrying the new changes and introducing them to their villages. How were these boys received by their own people and how did they react when they were away from the supervision of the missionaries? Nahum Oluoko, one of the boys who was recommended by chief Ngong'a to go to Maseno School, had been to the boarding school for a period of a year. When he went back to his home in Alego, Masumbi for a holiday, he was scorned by his peer group because he had refused to join them in their dances and other games of courting girls. After staying home for about a week, he decided to join his peer

group and he never went back to Maseno.³ Absalom Wangulu also agreed that when these young boys at Maseno left school, most of them reverted to their old beliefs and practices. These boys, according to him, still wanted to identify with their peer groups and being mocked all the time, they left the Christian way of life at the first opportunity.⁴ What made the boys from Maseno drop Christianity at this early stage after a period of training in a controlled environment? It is true that in the beginning the missionaries passed the Christian message with much formalism which made the Gospel sound weak and therefore their converts were also weak. On this Carey Francis, one of the teachers at Maseno commented;

One Luo word has to do service for 'believe' , 'have faith', 'have no objection,' 'agree', 'confess', 'admit', and a great deal besides . Sunday by Sunday we say, 'I admit that God is our Father ...' The vast majority of those who say so leave it at that and it has never occurred to them that they were meant to do anything else. The word for 'Saviour is merely 'helper' and helping is

usually conceived in terms of material benefits. The answer to every problem of conduct is 'pray'. If you have stolen a shilling what would you do? ... 'pray' ... It comes regularly as dawn succeeds night.⁵

How was this type of message received by the young Maseno boys? Yona Omolo, one of the early Maseno boys, was introduced to a whole body of Christian ideas and beliefs, spent seven years in the Mission school under strict Christian instructions, but had not bothered to understand what Christianity was all about. Now that he had been posted as the head of Anglican Church in Yimbo, Siaya District, was he going to convince his followers that the religion of the white man was better than their traditional religion?⁶ This looks paradoxical, but it is quite true that many Luo boys who attended the Mission Schools came out as Christian converts without actually believing. For the majority, to be a Christian only meant having the knowledge of the Bible, the ability to preach like the missionaries, to behave precisely as the

European taught; to be able to sing Christian hymns, to have one wife, to read, not to drink beer or work on Sundays.⁷ On this early Christian teachings Carey Francis had this to say;

It seems we have evolved an immense baptising machine, giving teaching which is little but parrot repetition, the Prayer Book and even parts of the Bible, translated from difficult English word into an African Vernacular, encourage unreality, which shouts at you when a torrent 'Amen' booms in the wrong place. Sermons, not about Christ, but about Trinity and the wickedness of the Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh-day Adventists. No questions, please, except perhaps unreal ones like, 'where is heaven! Do we go there the day we die?'⁸

One of the informants has this to say;

The only attraction to Christianity at this early period was in the 'name' 'Clothes' and 'knowledge'. One of my counterparts at Maseno School gave away his Testament as soon as he was baptised. He had received his 'name' of what more use was the book?⁹

From these few examples, it is true when we say that at the beginning Christianity never made much impact on the first converts. The Gospel was passed in a shallow way, there was the problem of translation of English words into Luo and most of the converts did not see good reason to abandon their old beliefs and practices.

4.2 The Missionary Attitude Towards the Luo Beliefs and Practices

The CMS Missionaries did not find it easy to accommodate the Luo way of life. The Luo Social structure was based on leadership which operated at clan, village and lineage levels. The lineage as opposed to the clan is where the members can still remember their common ancestor by name, while clan members formed out of several lineages do not necessarily remember their common ancestors by name. The most homogeneous unit among the Luo remained the lineage. M. J. P. Jassy describes the members of the same lineage who must offer sacrifices to the ancestor together and help one another in case of necessity.¹⁰ The lineage had its own council of Elders who adjudicated in matters of integration between clansmen. Authority was vested in the most senior man in the lineage who also had certain ritual powers. The extended family was therefore very important because it is within it that the religious system operated, to find form and meaning. Within this religious

system were specialists namely diviners, medicine men and rainmakers. The religious activities were closely tied to the needs of the family, lineage or clan, and the guiding principle remained relations amongst kinsmen.

Neither the Luo social structure nor religious outlook facilitated the making of Christian community. The Missionaries in Western Kenya were very hostile to the African Culture. According to Ogutu;

Here Christianity was recognised as the way in which traditional culture could be redeemed. Little more was taken of the fact that culture must provide the modes of expression, the framework and meaningful categories so that the Christian message could become relevant and meaningful.¹¹

On the contrary this development was understandable because the 19th century Missionaries were mostly from lower social classes. Their education did not provide them with much in the way of broad vision, imagination or sympathy with alien culture.¹² The Missionaries therefore were feeling

that the Luo people must receive the Western Culture with Christianity. It was this assumption of cultural superiority that led to the establishment of boarding schools and the Christian villages. At school Awili says;

We were constantly told that our traditional beliefs were evil and sinful. That our religion was nothing but fear, myth and superstition.¹³

4.3. The Impact of Christianity on the Luo Rites of Passage

4.3.1 Luo Rites or Passage

To indicate the nature of Missionary encounter with the Luo cultural system and beliefs, particular areas will be discussed concerning the Luo socio-religious beliefs and practices. These practices will relate to the rites of passage and belief in God, ancestors, magic and specialists.

The rites of passage begin with the birth of a child and end with death. The birth of a child among the Luo was marked with ceremonies and this also depended on the sex of the child. While a new born boy stayed with the mother indoors for four days

before coming out of the house, a girl stayed for only three days. After this was over, the relatives of the child gathered around the child for a naming ceremony which introduced the child into the family. In most cases the child was named after an ancestor. The father then said short prayers thanking God and calling ancestors to take care of the child.¹⁴ The child's hair was then shaved off as a symbol of the life the child had begun.

At puberty, between the ages of twelve and eighteen, a Luo child experienced the greatest occasion of his life when he was initiated into the Luo community. Both men and women went through nak, which was the extraction of six lower teeth.¹⁵ Those who proved cowards were scolded by the agemates or the in-laws.¹⁶ Apart from introducing the youth into adult life, initiation was important in several ways. Firstly, after initiation, the adult now entered a state of responsibility where he acquired new rights as an adult and new obligations were expected of him by

the society. Nobody was allowed to get married until after initiation. Secondly, the initiates were introduced to the secret of respecting ancestors and those yet to be born; on matters of sexual life, marriage, procreation and family responsibility. They, therefore, acquired knowledge not yet accessible to children. Thirdly, the pain both girls and boys experienced during the extraction of the teeth was supposed to prove that they were brave enough to face and endure the hardships and responsibilities of adult life. It was physical training to overcome difficulties of pain and to cultivate courage, endurance, perseverance and obedience. It also equipped them mentally, bodily, emotionally and morally for adulthood.¹⁷ Lastly, the ceremony established strong unity and identity between the initiate and the Luo community. As Muga says;

Through it the individual is sealed to his people and his people to him. He can be identified as belonging to such and such a people without which he cannot be fully integrated with his people.¹⁸

After undergoing initiation the boys and girls entered adulthood. They were well conversant with the moral-religious code of their society, in which they must now play more important roles. They were now prepared to fit into a society which emphasised harmony between its members and integration of all individuals into one closely knit group.¹⁹

The next step after transition from childhood into adulthood was marriage. This was a duty, a requirement in which everyone had to participate. Failure to do so meant that the person had rejected the society. The society in turn ostracised such a person. Marriage among the Luo was a social affair. It was an arrangement involving not only the bride and the bridegroom, but also both families of the bride and the bridegroom. The elders and women from both families were fully involved in discussing the marriage arrangements.²⁰ There was always a transfer of wealth in the form of dowry from the parents of the bridegroom to the family of the bride. The dowry was given to different members of the family. For example, some cows were given to the fathers,²¹ mothers,²² uncles and brothers.²³

Dowry acted as a guarantee that the marriage would last. If divorce became inevitable then the wife's parents would return the dowry to the parents of the husband. The marriage rites included a big feast at the bridegroom's home where guests from the bride's home came to participate in the ceremonies.²⁴ There was music and dancing, all done to initiate the woman into her new home.

In connection with marriage, we will also mention the marriages which were polygamous. In such marriages a man was allowed to marry as many wives as he could afford to maintain. Polygamy was considered an economic investment, a matter of prestige, a status symbol. If one had a large piece of land and a great number of cattle, it certainly made sense to have a large working force composed of one's own wives and children. This system worked well and was accepted as an integral part of the Luo way of life. It safeguarded against;

Surplus unmarried women and thus curbed prostitution and extra-marital affairs, and pre-marital sexual intercourse²⁵.

The other type of marriage involved the widower or the widow. In the case of a widow, she would automatically be inherited by the younger brother or cousin of the deceased husband. In case of a widower, a younger sister or cousin of the deceased wife would marry him. This was a socially approved system of family organization in which a bereaved wife or husband was taken care of and in which the children continued to be cared for by someone closer to them in terms of family relationship.

Finally, concerning personal rituals, one of the most important one was connected with death. The Luo saw that the departed were given honourable burial because of the belief that a shadow (tipo) of the dead person stayed at home for a few days to ensure that the correct ceremonies were carried out such as that his body was laid to rest in the correct place.²⁶ For the living every rite had to be done to ensure that the spirit of the dead went away in peace and was contented with the world beyond so that it would not return and be a source of trouble to the family. The funeral rites

depended on the social statutes of the individual before death. Thus, for example, if an elderly polygamist died, it was the first wife who announced the death by wailing while running to the gate of the homestead and back to her house.²⁷ The other wives joined the first one by stripping themselves naked and wailing. The whole homestead and village would all join in the wailing. The children and wives of the deceased would shave their hair as a sign of mourning. A period of mourning lasted between three months and a year, that is until the wives were all remarried, and normal life could resume in the homestead.²⁸

Before we look into the impact Christianity had on the Luo values and rites of passage, we must mention that, these values some of which we have been able to discuss and some not yet discussed were transmitted by oral tradition through institutions such as siwindhe (a house where girls slept),²⁹ Simba, a hut for unmarried boys in the homestead, or Abila, a hut for the head of the homestead.³⁰ The purpose of these institutions was that of communicating

knowledge, beliefs, customs, traditions, norms, rights and obligations to the young members of the society.³¹ The boys were taught what concerns them, how to treat in-laws, how to acquire wealth, how to be responsible as head of the family and many more practical lessons. The girls, on the other hand, were taught how to relate to men before marriage and after, and other matters relating to the caring for children. These were taught either through proverbs, or simple truth by telling exactly what happens, or stories which leaves one to guess at the truth or through jokes.³² The lessons were given mostly in the evenings and included riddles which were to develop the understanding of the youth of their social environment, about God and spiritual beings, man, animals and natural objects.³³

4.3.2 Impact of Christianity on the Rites

What was the impact of the new religion to the Luo rites of passage? The ceremonies which accompanied the birth of a child were substituted by the Christian ceremony of infant baptism, where the Godparents³⁴ of the child would give the

child the name of their choice. This interfered with the naming system of Luo, who waited upon an ancestor who wanted the child to be named after him to bring a dream to the mother of the child before naming took place. In Christian naming, most often the child would be named after one of the Godparents. Sometimes the parents chose a name from the Bible or sometimes they were named after the missionaries. This meant that the child born to carry on the names and remembrance of the ancestors would no longer do so if he was born in a Christian family.

The initiation ceremonies of both boys and girls which made them conversant with the religious code of their society, and integrated them into a closely knit social group was now substituted with Christian baptism and confirmation into the Anglican Church. Baptism was now a significant phenomenon in the life of a Luo convert because the person was not only accepted into the Christian community but had also received "a name". These names

which were either chosen from the Bible or taken from Missionaries became the status symbol among the converts. The goal for most people was to adopt as many Christian or European names as possible. This is one of the reasons that led many people to be Christians. Identification with the Missionaries became superior in the eyes of most people because they saw it as a symbol of status to Western ways. Before baptism a Christian adherent was made to memorise the catechism. After this confirmation took place, and he was accepted to the Christian community. He could now take the Holy Communion, become a Godparent of a child and participate fully in other duties of the Church.³⁵ This meant that a Luo who had been baptised and confirmed into the Christian community was now lost to the Luo traditional community because he could no longer follow what was expected of him by his traditional community. For example when one became a Christian before the Luo initiation, nak, then he was not likely to go through it after the Christian baptism and confirmation. It meant that he was now only identifying with the new community

and not with the old community in which he was born.

As regards the marriage rite, the Christian marriage takes place in the Church, the gifts of a ring from the bridegroom, wedding vows and the feast that followed are the rites as opposed to the Luo marriage described earlier. The Christian marriage vows are promises of a husband to his wife and the wife to the husband that henceforth they will live together in harmony, helping each other to maintain a stable marriage. While the Luo marriage customs involved both families of the bride and bridegroom who made sure that the couple stayed together and honoured their marriage contract, the Christian marriage emphasised a wide latitude of freedom of individual action. Divorce in the Luo society was therefore something almost unheard of, since it could not be a matter of individual decision as the whole clan was involved. A woman could not be dismissed by her husband without the consent of his family.

What impact did Christianity have on the Luo family life? While marriage became a personal decision of an individual, other things were also emphasised by the missionaries. Marrying between a full member of the Anglican Church and a non full-member, that is one who was not yet baptised and confirmed in the Church, was strongly discouraged. Marrying from other denominations was condemned, but marrying a "heathen" (non-Christian) was even worse.³⁶ This forced people to embrace the Anglican Church and create a distinctive community within which marriage could be contracted. Marriage therefore became denominationally endogamous.³⁷ On the question of polygamy, if one wanted to become a Christian, the man had to send away all his wives except one. This brought a lot of problems to the Church. How about if;

Husband alone desires baptism
Husband and all wives desire baptism
Husband and one wife desire baptism
Husband and some wives desire baptism
One wife alone desires baptism
Some wives desire baptism but not the husband
All wives desire baptism but not the husband.³⁸

The impact Christianity had on the Luo family system was alarming. It showed that the family system had not been given much thought by the Missionaries. The wives who found themselves in polygamous marriages, were sent away by husbands who wanted to become Christians, but how about their children who were forced to leave with them? Most of these wives who had no alternatives after being sent away by their husbands reverted to their old traditional practices when they could not find satisfactory livelihood. These are the same people who joined the African Independent Churches which did not discriminate against them. Some wives went back to their husbands after the husbands had received baptism. In other cases some men became polygamists after baptism, in which case they were barred from being full members of the Church. This however, seemed a small price to pay for apparent benefits of polygamy and steady family life.

The Missionaries regarded the Luo dowry system as a mere mercantile transaction. In 1907 the

CMS Missionaries resolved to discourage the practice. In this effort they were not successful for the converts continued to give and receive bride wealth and some even approached individual Missionaries about loans for the purpose.³⁹

Regarding the inheritance of widows, the Missionaries thought that a woman was treated as a 'movable property'. Moreover this custom caused the Christian woman and her children to pass into 'heathenism' and thus be lost to the Church. The Missionaries discouraged the inheritance of widows by their brothers-in-law. Many Christian women lapsed to the old traditions. They chose to drop out of the Christian community rather than be outcasts in their society.⁴⁰ Mrs. Owen, the wife of the archdeacon Owen, started Women's Organisation within the Church where Christian women discussed matters which were directly affecting them as women. The results of the discussions were then presented to the Anglicans Church Council.

On death, the Luo funeral rites were condemned by Missionaries as 'heathen' practices of people without hope after death.⁴¹ The Christian burial rites involved worship and prayer at the funeral, with the emphasis that death was temporary, and that the dead will be raised if he was righteous and would inherit the eternal life. The Luo did not believe in the resurrection of the dead. The Christian teaching was also contrary to the belief in the potency of the spirit of the departed in affecting true lives of the living. The Luo converts were therefore forbidden to participate in the traditional rites. Most converts reverted to their old customs particularly when they had lost someone closely related and dear to them. Some Missionaries had warned that wailing over a dead relative was sin. On the death of a loved one, a Christian was only supposed to thank God and praise him for what he had done by singing and praying.⁴²

When the Missionaries realized that for one reason or the other, many of their converts were

dropping out to join their old practices, they established boarding schools for the young converts, and Christian villages at Maranda, Ngiya, Kisumu Town and Regea. In these places the Christians were to live together in a community without the influence of the old customs. These Christian centres were where the new faith was propagated. The converts were expected to live strict Christian lives of constant prayer and worship. All these interfered with Siwindhe and Abila institutions, within which the traditional teaching about moral responsibility was given. The teaching had guided the whole society and it was of particular help to Luo family life. In Ogutu's words;

A break of these institutions meant the disintegration of the entire community. In other words by the very message he came to proclaim, the Missionary was set to destroy the hub holding the society together.⁴³

The undesirable consequences of this led many people to go back to their own ways. They got their baptism and names, but later forgot about the Church and

continued with their old traditional beliefs and practices.

4.4 The Impact of Christianity on Luo Religious Values.

The Luo worshipped and believed in one all powerful creator they called Nyasaye (God). In case of a disease, pestilence, famine or accident intercessions were made to Nyasaye through the ancestors. The attributes of Nyasaye were those of a moral God, who created the world of men, brought health and wealth to those who lived according to the customs he had given. Nyasaye's major function was to control the society by directing men to follow in the ways of the community, while those who refused must expect judgement. He is known to have visited individuals in punishment or blessings depending on what one had done.

Perhaps the most important agency of the supernatural was that of the ancestors. The Luo venerated

their ancestors particularly those who were recently deceased.⁴⁴ Beyond the grave they possessed the same characteristics they had when they were still alive. They could be angry, capricious, cruel or kind. When misfortune struck at a home, such as a child falling ill or many animals dying, the ancestor might be called upon to help call off the malevolent powers.⁴⁵ Their role was to link the living and Nyasaye. Whisson writes;

In Luo culture it was an indication of lack of respect to walk to a superior asking for help unless it was a case where one was looking for immediate protection. In the same way the Luo never went to God directly asking for help. Instead they went through their ancestors whom they believed were closer to Nyasaye; and being senior of the members of the community they could talk to God on their behalf.⁴⁶

When the relationship between man and God was strained, sacrifices would be offered to the ancestors to restore the link to normal. The veneration of ancestors in this respect provided the society with important means of maintaining a balanced relationship between

Nyasaye and his people. The elders were the only ones who could make contact with the ancestors through sacrifice. In this respect the old men were the only ones who could control evil in the home. The old men therefore had power and respect in the society. The ancestors also provided a means of explaining trouble in the society apart from giving unity to all groups among the Luo.⁴⁶

The Luo also believed in the world of spirits. Unlike the ancestors, these spirits were nameless. They could be spirits of animals or those who died along time ago and can no longer be remembered by name. Some lived in the air, water, trees or in the sun. From here they could come to possess people, animals or things.⁴⁷ The spirits were believed to cause epidemics and other strange diseases.

Closely connected with the religious beliefs and values were the beliefs in witchcraft and magic, and in traditional doctors. The witches were believed to cause destruction through their

evil practices. Witchcraft maybe responsible for poor harvest, sterility in human beings, disease, death in families and many other troubles.⁴⁸

The traditional doctors were the specialists whose main functions were to heal patients and not to harm them. Any disease was believed to have been caused by some enemy who could probably be a witch. The belief in the existence of magical powers acted as a powerful control of behaviour among the Luo. A man was not forced to conform to the ideals of the society but he was prevented from making trouble in case he was labelled a witch or fell under the power of a magician. Good relations was a very important value among the Luo and it reinforced this attitude, as Whisson observes;

If I make an enemy he will be a bad man,
If he were not a bad man he will not be
my enemy. Since he is a bad man he would
get hold of evil magic in order to destroy
me, therefore I do not let him know that
I hate him.⁴⁹

These religious values helped in maintaining the integrity of the community. The concept of right and wrong could best be understood in the light of prohibitions or taboos. Community's taboos in turn could best be explained by saying that the ancestors commanded so, or such was the practice of our ancestors from the beginning.⁵⁰ Everyone therefore, had to obey the moral-religious codes of the society and be in harmony with God and the ancestors. Punishment or reward came immediately to the individual given the action and it was experienced when one was still alive not after death. In other words, punishment of a wrong doing followed automatically and spontaneously. This is because it was believed that evil action had a power inherent in itself to right the wrong.⁵¹ These beliefs played an important part in maintaining peace and state of equilibrium until Christianity was thrust upon them.

Christianity on the other hand had some common features with the Luo religious values and thought. Scholars like J.S. Mbiti and E. Muga in studying

African traditional religion have argued that the common features found in Christianity and African religion made it easier for most Africans to become Christians. These common features were the belief in a supreme being, the creator; the practice of maintaining communion with God through prayers, offerings and worship and the belief that the soul never dies but persists after death.

On the other hand while the Christians believe in the day of judgement where the righteous will be received in heaven and the wicked go to hell, the Luo believed in reincarnation of an individual in the form of another individual.⁵² In contradiction to Luo religious belief, the Missionaries did not only teach that Jesus Christ rather than the ancestor was the intermediary between the people and God, but that he was also God. In the words of Muga;

... Jesus is the sole solution to the needs of man. He is the saviour of the world. He is God. He is the only object of adoration and prayer that man may engage in. He only

is able to solve man's problems, and salvation of the individual from his troubles and sins can only be received through Jesus Christ.⁵³

Christianity emphasised the belief in Christ as a matter of individual decision. Before the impact of Christianity a Luo could only see himself within a closely knit family relationship in the clan. Within this context the life of an individual including his decisions and activities was moulded and regulated by the family and clan. There were no creeds, dogmas and beliefs of his own choosing but those prescribed by the entire group of which he was part. For this reason, there were no religious sects or denominations since the religious belief was one and common to everybody in the community. The moral code that held the society together was one of kinship.⁵⁴ Everyone obeyed it.

Conversion and commitment to Christianity became a personal decision only concerning the individual and God. This made most people, who were converts,

become detached from their families. Emphasis on individualism and independence made most converts develop personalities which were different from the traditional African personalities of corporate living which was entirely dependent on family relationships. Relating to God concerned the entire family who would suffer together if that relationship broke down. Individualism and independence in terms of relating to God was therefore a new phenomenon brought about by Christianity in the Luo society.

The Missionaries also taught against ancestor veneration. This teaching affected the burial ceremonies which involved wailing, singing and dancing. These were rites which were done to ensure the link between the living and the ancestors. The reverence given to the ancestors was dismissed by the Missionaries as superstition. All the converts were forced to abandon the ancestral beliefs, which had formed the basis of the Luo socio-political structure.

For the youth, what affected their lives most was the Missionary attack on the relationship between boys and girls. In Luo society girls and boys were allowed to mix freely although they had their limits. This was so because a lot of sex-education was given to both sexes in the educational institutions mentioned earlier. Apart from that, if a girl had sexual knowledge with a boyfriend outside marriage, and it was discovered on her marriage night that she was not a virgin, she would not only live with the shame throughout her life, but the shame would also go to her parents. Conception before marriage was worse because the girl became more or less an outcast. Usually such a girl was given to marry an old man. The relationship between boys and girls was best seen during the times of marriage, when the young marriageable girls escorted the new bride to her new home. The girls would sing 'derogatory' songs praising their sister and challenging the boys who were now their brothers-in-law. During this period there was a lot of dancing and rejoicing. It was a period of real jubilation.

However the girls never forgot the lessons they had learnt of how to behave towards their boyfriends outside marriage. This is where great discipline on both girls and boys was put to test. These were practices which were condemned by the Missionaries who never understood the teachings behind them. One Maseno Old boy reports;

We were told talking to girls was sin. Participating in marriage celebrations was completely out of the question for a convert. Courting a girl was sin. Instead we were told to concentrate on reading the Bible, and singing hymns so that we can not get into temptations.⁵⁵

In this case most boys from boarding schools were looked upon as strangers by their peer groups. One of them lamented;

The girls laughed at us because they said we were timid. We could not participate in courtship games. And yet it was from these games that we were supposed to get wives.⁵⁶

4.5 Education of Girls

Due to this problem of finding partners for the boys who had gone to school and were therefore Christians, the Missionaries had to face the question of education for girls. A speech given by Walker, the Archdeacon of Uganda in October 1918, at a Church Council in Nairobi, summarized the resolution that,

This conference feels very strongly that every effort should be made to give the girls such an education that they may become intelligent companions to their husbands, and to share with them in their whole lives.⁵⁷

The first girls' school was started in Nyanza in 1920 by Miss Edith Hill.⁵⁸ The school started with ten girls who were taught language and sewing. Later it turned into Bible class. Unfortunately in 1921 the school was abandoned because there was nobody to carry on with the work already started. Later it was moved to Ngiya Mission station. This

school was later to flourish into one of the major girls schools in Nyanza and was responsible for the production of many Luo prominent women who got their education there. Miss Funny Moller takes much credit for the development of the school. She got a grant from her country in Australia which helped her partly in running the school. In January 1923, the school had re-opened with fifty girls.⁵⁹ After a month the number had doubled. The first lessons were taken under a tree but with the help of Canon Pleydell, the first building for Ng'iya Girls school was founded. Most of the people who participated in the building of this school were Church members. Chief Ng'onga of Alego gave contributions in terms of trees for roofing.⁶⁰ The Church women brought grass for thatching and money for building came from Australia. In the meantime classes for girls were being carried on in the Church, while the boys took their lessons under a tree. The classes for women were divided into two, the older women having their lessons in the morning, while the young girls were taught in the afternoon.⁶¹ These elder women formed the first

teacher training classes at Ngiya. By 1956 a girls boarding school was already established by CMS Missionaries with 130 girls.

These girls educated at Ngiya went through the same Christian teaching as their men counterparts at Maseno. Since their education had started a little bit later in 1920's they had company in the form of Maseno boys. All the same the number of girls getting education in Nyanza up to late 1950's was still very low. Back home most of the girls found themselves without a company of a fellow educated girl. Mrs, Apindi had this to say;

We could not join our peer group any more, particularly in the most interesting games when escorting a girl from our home to the place where she was getting married.

Participating in these practices was sinful according to our teachers. The girls who had participated in such games dropped out of school in fear of being found out.⁶⁷

Individual men and most families did not like educated girls to marry in their families. Most

people believed that these girls did not know how to dig or cook since they had only learnt how to read.⁶³ It seems as if, even the educated men still preferred the illiterate women to the educated ones. This made it very difficult for the educated girls to get husbands. This also discouraged other girls from going to school. For along time educated girls were looked down upon by the society. According to an informant;

We were encouraged by our teachers to eat more eggs and chicken, something which was unheard of in this area. These were foods for children and men and not for a woman.⁶⁴

Therefore the girls, like the boys who went to the Missionary Schools upto 1940's suffered a lot of discrimination not only amongst their peer groups whom they could not join freely, but also from older members of the society who wondered why they could not join in the traditional practices with their peer group. E.H. Odwako puts it simply that all of a sudden some white strangers with some strange

beliefs arrived not only to tell the Africans that they were wrong but also to urge them to abandon their beliefs and follow the stranger's system in the name of true religion and superior civilisation.⁶⁵

What were the results of this impact? The Christian Missionaries forbade and preached against polygamy, bridewealth, initiation ceremonies related to rites of passage, drinking or use of alcohol, dancing and wailing at funerals, ancestor veneration, beliefs in witchcraft and magic and Luo divinations and medicines. These were substituted by monogamy, baptism and confirmation, Christian weddings, Christian burial ceremonies, drinking of tea and use of western medicine. The traditional life was undermined. More people were attracted to Christian ways, to get new names to be able to read and write and to have a Church wedding. The identification with Luo Community therefore began fading away as more people joined the Christian Community. The traditional family system was already disrupted. Most people, particularly the young who went to school,

were suddenly detached from their land to which they were bound and thrust into situations where corporate existence had no meaning. These young people became detribalized individuals because they found themselves in a community for which they had not been prepared. The education of the youth increasingly passed from parents and the community and became the responsibility of school teachers. This education was more of book learning than the type of practical education in the traditional setting which prepared the youth in matters of responsible living. These modern school products were the young people who became alienated from their traditional roots but did not get satisfactory substitutes. The result has been instability in the society and high rates of divorce and separation. The traditional life had set high standards of morals and ethics on individual relationships in the society. In traditional setting an individual was made to act and feel that he existed only because others also existed. These moral values produced virtues like friendship, love, honesty, justice, courage, self-control,

helpfulness and bravery. On the other hand the individualistic and independent personality which was brought about by Christian thought produced individuals with habits of cheating, treachery, theft, selfishness, dishonesty and greed. This is because individualistic and independent upbringing would make individuals only to think about themselves and not how his actions would affect the society as a whole. The social control mechanism in traditional setting of automatic punishment here and now was more efficacious in bringing about equilibrium and stability among members of a social group than the Christian belief. On the same issue E. Muga observes,

... the idea that one may not be punished now, and that the punishment may wait until a much later date, even after death especially if the breach is not detected. The wrong doer may believe that he still has time to rectify the wrong doing, but while he is waiting he may engage in still more wrong doing and in this way continue to do more harm to other people in the society.⁶⁶

In conclusion it can be seen that the early Missionaries had imposed on the African converts a way of life and a concept of morality which the Missionaries believed to be essential and central to Christianity. Many people who would have been Christians were driven away from the Church by relentless denunciation of traditional ways of life. Thus, instead of Christianity being a liberating faith, to most people in Nyanza it became something that enslaved them and restricted their sense of freedom. Most African converts reverted to the old traditional practices in private out of sight of other members of the Church, only to face Church probation later. The CMS. Missionaries in Nyanza did not penetrate sufficiently deep into the Luo religious beliefs and practices. Christianity came to mean for many Luo people a set of rules to be observed, promises to be expected in the next world, rhythmless hymns to be sung, rituals to be followed and a few other outward things. It was a Christianity which was locked up six days a week, meeting only on Sundays and perhaps once during the week. This was a Christianity

which was only active in Church building, but the rest of the week was empty.⁶⁷ No wonder most Luo converts reverted to their traditional practices which filled the empty days in their Christian lives. One would be tempted to ask like Mude Dae Mude writing in the Standard Newspaper, on 10th January, 1975,

Does it not make sense for a people to worship God as revealed to them through their continuous interaction with their own environment and through their own historical, cultural and social evolution rather than adapt him from a culture which is altogether alien to theirs.⁶⁸

However, the lines of cultural conflict did not usually coincide with those of colour. Certain African Christians like the first generation of catechumen often proved more ardent in their criticism of African culture than the Missionaries. On occasions, the Missionaries proved vigorous critics of their own culture and highly suspicious of its impact in Africa. The Missionaries wanted to prevent African disintegration of society and

were more concerned with creating an African Christian peasantry than in generating a new elite.⁶⁹ To be a good Christian one had to be a bad Luo, so thought some African converts.⁷⁰ However it was later the educated African who first became critical of restricted Missionary attitude towards them.

The new generation of African elite wanted free access to a wider range of modern cultural, educational and economic opportunities than the Missionaries were willing to grant. This dual cultural tension that developed sometimes resulting in open conflict lay in absolute Missionary control. The African Christian elite wanted to share in decisions regarding the peace, extent and direction of their own cultural change. Most of these Christian elites were not very concerned with the cultural change as such. All they were resisiting was insubordination to the Missionaries. They simply wanted complete control of their destiny. We shall therefore turn to the development of African leadership in the Church, the training and posting of the catechists and the priests.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP

In the 19th Century Henry Venn, the Secretary of the CMS, decided to put into practice the theory of self governing, self-supporting and self-extending Church.¹ In theory, this was an indication at an early date that African leadership was taken seriously. The Missionaries were supposed to have been temporary agents until the African Church with an African Ministry under African Bishop could be fully established. In practice, throughout the African continent the Missionaries were reluctant to transfer their authority to African leadership. This chapter will discuss the lack of interest on the part of the missionaries in the context of training pastors and catechists which became a burning issue in the building of the Church.

5.1 THE SCHOOL AND THE CATECHISTS

In Western Kenya, formal education was introduced by the Missionaries and became part of the work of CMS

missionaries. As it has been mentioned in chapter Three, the Missionaries soon realized that in addition to the preaching of the Gospel, missionary work involved other activities. At an early period of evangelization, the Missionaries had seen the need for working together with the Africans in spreading the word of God so that the message might reach a wider area. So they trained the best of the first generation of Christians to teach others and prepare them for Church membership. These were the people who came to be known as the Catechists.²² Yet

the missionary policy of using African Catechists could only be effective if the Catechists could understand, and preferably read scriptures. It was in recognition of this that the missionaries decided to teach their converts to read and write and count.³

The mission stations became centres for the education of Africans. Education became a necessary part of missionary work. It was therefore necessary to build schools for this purpose. At first education was restricted to the mission stations; such as Maseno, Ngiya, Kisumu and Butere.

At mission schools the catechists were taught the scriptures, reading and writing their own language. They were taught skilled trades such as carpentry, masonry, tailoring or printing. When they came out from the mission schools, they were not only evangelists, but also capable of running schools at the elementary level. From this the missionaries saw another aspect of evangelisation through the school system. Many 'bush schools' were founded by the catechists most of them trained at Maseno Mission School⁴.

It was from these 'bush schools' that most African Christian converts were made. All the same these African teachers were in fact lay catechists who had received a few years of elementary schooling. They were only able to recite catechism and read the Gospel. Yet they were the best educated Africans of their day⁵.

This state of affairs continued for quite a long time, and the Catechists were unable to take heavier duty of teaching the Bible or administering the Sacrament due to lack of proper training. Adequate training for African personnel could only be achieved through higher education which the Missionaries were not providing at the time. Some missionaries discouraged higher education because of the fear that an enlightened African would criticize certain aspects of their work and may ultimately oust them.⁶ It therefore took time before more highly educated Africans occupied ordained positions in the Church, the result of which limited the growth of the Church.⁷ Throughout the colonial period, the attitude of the European Missionary towards African leadership in Church was only to "evangelize them but keep them in their place."⁸

5.2. ARCHDEACON OWEN

In Nyanza, much credit goes to Archdeacon Owen, who was different in policies pursued by the Mombasa Diocese. In Church administration, Owen

applied the principle of self-supporting of the indigenous young Church at a time most Europeans in Kenya considered it premature.⁹ Ogot and Welbourn talk of Owen as having;

... insisted that the African Church must learn to support its own Ministry, both ordained and lay. According to him, implementation of such policy of African Church leaders was to be closely associated with policy-making.¹⁰

During the period 1918 to 1940 when Owen worked in Nyanza he made the African personnel in Church regard the Church as their own and felt that they were actually in charge of it.¹¹ Between 1924 and 1945 an average of one ordination a year took place. In 1930 alone six Africans were ordained.¹²

Unfortunately for the African Church personnel, Owen died in 1945. The Anglican Mission in Nyanza became free once again from Owen's policy of working together with African personnel to direct rule.

In other words, most of the administrative power was concentrated once again in the hands of the missionaries. Since the Church was expanding, it would be expected that the training and ordination of African personnel would rise with the expansion of the Church. The average number of ordination was four pastors per year. In 1949, 5 pastors were ordained ¹³.

NAME	YEAR
Rev. Jonathat D. Omollo	1948
Rev. Peter Owiti	1949
Rev. Heshon Rachier	1949
Rev. Nehemia Mwanda	1949
Rev. Thomas Ogombe	1949
Rev. Johanna Alanya	1949
Rev. Mathew A. Ajuogo	1950
Rev. Phillip Okungu	1950
Rev. Noah Otieno	1950
Rev. Shem Ohito	1950
Rev. Meshack Owira	1951
Rev. Julius Adoyo	1951

Table 5.1: Pastors Ordained Between 1948
And 1951

Source: St. Paul's Theological College,
Limuru Records.

When the Church in Nyanza was transferred to Mombasa Diocese in 1921 from the Diocese of Uganda, it meant a change from self-government to direct rule. The Diocese of Uganda already had a strong organized ecclesiastic synod and constitution. The work of the Uganda Diocese had passed a stage of mission to that of Native Anglican Church.¹⁴ This meant that Nyanza had joined a diocese not yet enjoying a constitution and a synod. The control was still in the hands of the Missionaries.

5.3 RIVALRY BETWEEN CMS AND MILL HILL FATHERS

It would be worth mentioning that numerical and spatial expansion as seen in Chapter III was taking place during the period between 1905 to 1960. This was made more urgent by the rivalry between the

CMS Missionaries and the Mill Hill Fathers (MHF) of the Roman Catholic Church. The Missionaries from both Churches had realized the importance of evangelizing through the school system¹⁵.

<u>THE MHF STATIONS</u>		<u>THE CMS STATIONS</u>	
Kisumu	1903	Kisumu	1909
Mumias	1904	Butere	1912
Ojola	1906	Maseno	1906
Aluor	1913		
Rang'ala	1926		
Yala	1929		

Table 5:2 The Opening of Mission Stations By CMS and MHF 1903 to 1929

Source: G.E.M. Ogutu; "The Origins And Growth Of The Catholic Church in Kenya 1895-1952" PhD. Thesis Nairobi, 1981 P. 50.

These rival mission stations are very close to one another. The reason for this is that when one missionary group opened a centre, another

rival group opened its own centre close by ignoring the earlier agreement by missions not to open stations within a ten miles' radius of each other. Some of them are hardly twenty kilometres apart. This rivalry prompted also the establishment of several missionary schools in this area.

5.4 THE NEED TO TRAIN MORE CHURCH PERSONNEL

Meanwhile the African side of the old arch-deaconry of Kavirondo became rural Deanery of Nyanza covering Maseno, Butere, Ngiya, Kitale-Eldoret.¹⁶ These in turn were further divided into nineteen pastorates.¹⁷ On the pastorate staff were only sixteen priests, one deacon and eight still in training to become deacons and priests.¹⁸ Among those in training only two were Africans training to become priests. The CMS Divinity School had opened in Freretown for the training of the clergy in 1913, but it was only in 1924 that the first four Africans, who had trained in Mombasa, were ordained in Nyanza as priests. Elizabeth Richards writes that of the four, one lapsed into polygamy within a few years, one became ill and unfit for duty, leaving only

two, J. Awori and G. S. Okoth. Such a small number of pastors would not serve the Deanery efficiently. Meanwhile, the Europeans were experiencing the stresses of overwork. Some of them were beginning to realize their mistake as the following letter written in 1947 shows:

... As a mission we have trained clergy, teachers for our schools, but for years no real attempt has been made to train the Church leaders. Padres have to spend their time going from place to place with the sacrament and administering pastorates of 20 to 50 congregations. Therefore the real work of teaching upon which the Church life rests is left to untrained men. They are people who have to teach 15,000 adults in various Church classes with numbers of inquirers rising steadily....¹⁹

The need to train Church leaders became clearer to the Missionaries and so they had-picked the best among the evangelists and lay readers and prepared them for full Church Ministry. To help meet the problem of training the clergy, Archdeacon

Chadwick built a school at Sunrise Maseno in 1947. The school began to operate from 1948. This school provided quick in-service courses for the Church teachers, whereupon they became ordained as priests. In 1954, the Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists joined together to establish the Saint Paul's United Theological College at Limuru, in Kiambu District, Central Province. The Church in Nyanza only took to Limuru those who had gone to school up to intermediate level of education. This formed a very small group as can be seen from Table 5:3 below:

<u>NAMES</u>	(College Book Records) <u>The Year Finished Study</u>
Rev. Jackson Wamalo	1963
Rev. Benjamin Wandabwa	1963
Rev. Hudson Andembe	1963
Rev. Apolo Kiwinda	1963
Rev. Charles Wanguba	1964
Rev. Walter Tolo	1964
Rev. James Mundia	1964
Rev. Hexron Adwogo Ogola	1966
Rev. Cornileus Ololo	1967
Rev. Horace Etemesi	1967
Rev. John F. Nyesi	1968
Rev. Enos Ashimala	1968
Rev. Gilbert Amimo	1969
Rev. John Awuor	1970

Table 5:3 Training of Priests at St. Paul's Theological College 1963-1970

Source: St. Paul's Theological College Book Records, Limuru

The training at Limuru took a period of two years in which case one would serve in the Church as a trainee for a period of one year before being ordained as a priest. The bulk of training of African personnel took place at Maseno Sunrise Bible School²⁰. However it remains true that the training of African personnel was a slow process which could not meet the requirements of the Church, both immediate and in long term.

The awareness of the African personnel of the fact that they should take over from the missionaries in running their own Church can be seen in this letter addressed to the Anglican Church Council (ACC) by students of CMS Divinity School, Limuru, December 1953. They write;

... we are confident that these are matters which will be of help for indigenous people in the Church here in Kenya colony; and these are they; we who go to the meetings of the ACC hear the voice from our leader, that the time will come when the Church will need an indigenous bishop. ... although this matter is difficult and sometimes some will see that is like a heavy load, let us reflect upon it. ... moreover a man does not wait for rain and then begin to plant - no. Instead he makes his field ready and then accepts the rain. It behoves us to get ready.

We are yours in Christ.

Signed (We who read at Divinity School)²¹.

5.5 THE PROBLEMS FACED BY THE AFRICAN CLERGY

During the early years of the twentieth century, the Missionary attitude towards African leadership

in Churches was not encouraging. The African population depended very much on the evangelization by the African clergy, but whose work the missionary seemed to have looked upon as subordinate. The majority of the African clergy occupied a lower level in Church leadership as compared to their European missionary co-workers.

D.J. Omollo gives an account of how the Catechists and the lay teachers worked voluntarily without pay. These people were told that they were working for God and would therefore get their reward in heaven. In 1950 the ordained priests were being paid shillings 30/- per month. This salary came from the collection of the congregation. Most of the time the priest had to do without a salary because the collection would be far much less than the amount due to him. Omollo goes on to say;

... the Missionaries did not recommend highly educated people for clergy training because they would question matters concerning the

Church. The Africans were to say 'yes' all the times to the Missionaries otherwise they were not God's people. They were not supposed to argue otherwise they will be considered disobedient. They were to be good "boys".²³

The missionaries also threatened the clergy who questioned certain treatment that they could easily lose their jobs. "We were not supposed to have good houses, good clothes, proper transport or money. These were got in heaven."²⁴

A. Ajuoga was one of the first educated trained ministers of the Anglican Church. But according to him, the Church was not prepared to accommodate a trained minister; This is what he says;

I had no house and I got a salary of Sh.50/- per month (1957). I was still young but the Church seemed to prefer older people to be clergy. They did not ask many questions. The missionaries tried to keep us down in Church administration and going to divinity school only meant taking people for discipline or taking the mentally retarded.²⁵

Rev. Oduma complained of the places where they were posted when they came from the training. In some of these places, people were not yet prepared to receive the word of God, and without a salary and a house among strangers, life could be very hard.²⁶ Most of these places were unreachable as Oduma goes on to say;

... we had to walk on foot to reach certain people within a parish. This was done through rain and sun.²⁷

Bishop Agola talks about the fact that most of the clergy men who were his contemporaries got training when they already had a large family. In his case he observes;

It was very difficult with the work we were supposed to do and yet salary was not there to take care of our families and human needs.²⁸

H. Nyongo had this to say;

the work load was too much for one person to cope with. I had to cover a big area, N'giya in Alego Siaya District and parts of Gem.

Intially I did this on
foot, but later I used a bicycle.²⁹

It is true that in the beginning Africans were not given enough education to enable them to assume higher positions of leadership in Churches. The missionaries never gave Africans education equal to their own, neither did they give them positions of leadership as they themselves held in Churches. The policies followed in running the Church were made by the Missionaries. Muga writes of the Missionaries as having

... been responsible for the employment and dismissal of Church and school workers, the fixing of wages and salaries of workers, recommending the promotion or demotion of Church and school workers and all other policies pertaining to Church and school management.³⁰

Thus for along time the pastors and catechists found themselves in circumstances that they had to obey lest they cause themselves trouble and lose their jobs. It was therefore very difficult for

an African Church worker to advance in his job and assume a position of responsibility and leadership. During the colonial days the Africans got less salary as compared to his European counterpart doing the same job. This made most of the trained clergy to quit Church work and get alternative work with the government.

In 1957, Rev. F. Olang was appointed an Assistant Bishop in the Diocese of Mombasa, indeed a great achievement.³¹ By 1970 the situation had changed to the extent that the number of Missionaries in the Anglican Church could be in the ratio of one European to ten Africans.

Presently the training of priests remains still quite slow since only three people in a year are recommended to Limuru Theological College. However, the Diocese has opened another Theological College at Kokise in Asembo Location, Siaya District. Eight people are sponsored in this college each year for three years. This means that in the coming period there will be more trained and ordained personnel to give more efficient service within the Diocese.

The workload is therefore slowly and ~~steadily~~ becoming bearable.

On the question of salary, Ochola Ongombe says;

The priests are still paid from the collection of the congregation. In the urban Churches the salary of the priests are more regular than in the Churches in the rural areas.³²

With the training of more priests, the areas to be covered by each priest and the number of people is now much less than before. On the question of communication and travelling, the priests do not have to cover large distances because the parishes have been divided into smaller and more manageable units.

In conclusion, one would want to echo what J. Gatu declared in his speech about missionaries that;

The time has come for withdrawal of foreign missionaries from many parts of the 'Third' World; that Church as of the Third World must be allowed to

find their own identity and that the continuation of the present missionary Movement is a hindrance to this self-hood of the Church.³³

The policy of direct rule in Nyanza could only work at the early period when the missionaries began establishing the Anglican Church in Nyanza. In the later period, 1940's most Christians were not only disillusioned by Christianity, but also a feeling of nationalism was becoming a powerful force in Nyanza. It was also the same period that the Revival Movement was spreading from Uganda into Western Kenya. The Missionaries soon had to face the urgent questions that were to affect the Church. Ogot and Welbourn say that if the Anglican Missionaries in Kenya decided from the very beginning to establish a truly indigenous Church, by especially training African clergy, the serious crisis with which they were faced in the 1950's in Nyanza would not have arisen. There would have been tension within the Church caused by the anti-clericalism of Revival Movement. But the storm would have been weathered as it was in Uganda; if the foundation

bad been laid. As it were the Revival merely precipitated a clash that was inevitable and, since the Church was ill prepared to deal with it, the schism occurred.³⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. B.G.M. Sundkler; The Chirstian Ministry in Africa, London, 1960, p. 44.
2. In New Columbia Encyclopedia 1975. Explains. Catechism as oral instruction in religion done through questioning and answering method to converts to Christianity.

Catechist He is the one who teaches Catechism , the dogma and beliefs on Christianity. The catechist teach in several stages from a young child of about 10 years to an adult Christian e.g.

- (a) Seekers (Jodwaro)
- (b) Conventors (Jo-Sing're)
- (c) Baptism class (Jo-Batiso)
- (d) Confirmation (Jo-Lwedo),

All thesestages were done under the supervision of the ordained priest who is the vicar in charge of parish. The Catechists were responsible for pastoral care of the local community. Sometimes they are called Church teachers or Evangelists Earlier they could be promoted to ordained priests after attending a training in local institutions. The catechists earned nothing in terms of salary as their work was voluntary. Yet they are the ones who do all Church duties in the community and are indeed the nucleus of the Church.

3. G.E.M Ogutu; "Origins and Growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Kenya 1895 - 1952", PhD. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1981, P.127
4. Appendix 2 will show the names of the catechists and the 'bush schools' they founded and places where these schools are located.
5. This information was taken from interviews conducted with the following people.
 - Rev. E. Agola, 3rd July, 1984
 - Rev. H. Nyong'o, 5th May, 1985
 - Rev. Oduma, 30th July, 1984
 - Rev. Aduogo, 15th July, 1984
6. F.G. Welch; Towards An African Church; Christian Council of Kenya, Nairobi 1963, p. 23.
7. Erasto Muga; African Response to Western Christian Religion (A Sociological Analysis of African Separatist Religious and Political Movements In East Africa), East African Literature Bureau, 1975, p.116
8. W.E. Owen; "The Relationship of Missionary And African in East Africa" Church Missionary Review, Vol. LXXVII 1927, p.27
9. F.B. Welbourn and B.A. Ogot; A Place to Feel at Home; Oxford University Press, 1966; p.26
10. Ibid, p. 29.

11. H. Nyong'o ; Interview, Maseno 5th May 1985
12. The people ordained during this period are shown in appendix 3.
13. Table 5:1 shows that between 1948 to 1951 a period of 3 years only 12 pastors were ordained.
14. Welbourn and Ogot; op.cit. p.23
15. Table 5:2 will illustrate this rivalry between these two groups of missionaries, and Map I in the appendix will show the places.
16. Rural Dean; This is an administrative Church terminology. The rural-dean who is higher in hierarchy to arch-deacon is in charge of the deanery.
17. Pastorates; Administrative Church terminology where an area or a number of Churches is under one administration of a pastor.
18. M.A. Elizabeth Richards; Fifty Years in Nyanza 1906-1956 (The History of CMS and the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province, Kenya), London; 1956 p. 67
19. Ibid, The name of the author not recorded.
20. It is unfortunate we cannot provide records for those who went for inservice courses at Maseno Bible School. Records not kept.

21. A letter of Divinity School Students of CMS, Limuru December, 1963, found at St. Paul's Theological College Library Limuru
22. D.J. Omollo, Interview, Kisumu Town, 10th July 1984.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid
25. A. Ajuoga; Interview, Kisumu Town, Kisumu District, 1st August, 1984.
26. Rev. Oduma; Interview, Usenge Parish-Yimbo, Siaya District, 30th July, 1984.
27. Ibid.
28. Evans Agola; Interview, Alego-Ngiya; Siaya District; 3rd July, 1984.
29. Nyongo; op.cit.
30. Muga; op.cit p. 117.
31. In 1969 Festo Olan'g became the first African arch-bishop in the Church of Province of Kenya.

32. Ocholla Ongombe, Interview, Kisumu Town,
Kisumu District, 24th July,
1984.
33. J. Gatu; "A call for Africanization", a Speech
read at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A,
1971.
34. Ogot and Welbourn;, op.cit, p. 28 .

CHAPTER SIX

THE RELIGIOUS UPHEAVALS

The nature of religious upheaval in Nyanza particularly in the Anglican Church is quite complex. No single factor political, psychological or social can adequately explain the roots of the problems that will be discussed in this Chapter. J.M. Lonsdale suggests that, one should consider the situation or the environment under which movements are founded.¹ Several factors determined the development of these upheavals. Firstly, there was what might be called the religious tug of war. The Missionaries were looked upon by the Africans as part and parcel of the colonial government.² Secondly there was the problem of foreign rule. For example, the paying of tax forced many people away from their homes to look for jobs. Thirdly, the multiplicity of Missions brought a lot of confusion to many African Christians. Fourthly, the African cultural-religious heritage had also been interfered with and this was bound to lead to

a number of reactions. All these created a very suitable background or setting for these religious-cum-political movements, the consequences of which were the breaking away of people from the Anglican Church to form their own independent Churches.

6.1 NOMIYA LUO CHURCH

This was the first independent Church in Kenya founded by Johannes Owalo in 1914.³ The life of Owalo which is intricately linked with the development of this movement will be worth following. Owalo was born in Asembo Location, Siaya District in Nyanza. He first came across the missionaries when he went to work in Kisumu Town. In 1906, Owalo became a student at the Roman Catholic Station at Ojola, nine miles west of Kisumu town which had been opened the same year.⁴ The following year Owalo was baptized as Johannes. From the Mission School Owalo worked as a servant for a judge in Kisumu known as Alexander Morrison. When Morrison was transferred to Mombasa he took Owalo with him.

It was while Owalo was in Mombasa that he started seeing visions which later led him to found a religious movement for the Luo. His adherents claim that he was a very religious person who read all the available scriptures thoroughly.⁵

Owalo's first vision took place in 1st March, 1907.⁶ He was taken to heaven by the angel Gabriel. In heaven there were two roads, one narrow and unattractive which was on the right hand side leading to heaven; and the wide attractive one on the left hand side leading to hell. On his way to heaven he had failed to see purgatory. This is a teaching of the Catholic Church which he had refuted. Heaven had three abodes. The description of the first heaven was beautiful and all the nations of the earth wanted to enter in, but the angel closed the gate. However, later the angel let in the Jews first, followed by the Arabs. After them Johannes Owalo and the angels Raphael and Gabriel, entered together. This description is evident in the religious background of Owalo, who had learnt the Jewish tradition, in the Old Testament, Christianity, and Islam and had therefore accommodated them. The Jews were led into heaven because the Catholics, the Anglicans and the Moslems all

use the Jewish traditions in the Old Testament. The Arabs were also accepted into heaven because of their Islamic background. But in all these religious background Owalo had found something missing and was therefore accepted in heaven lastly, in order to found his own religion. The Europeans, Goans, and Indians attempted to enter heaven, but the angels closed the gates and chased them away, kicking them.⁷ This could have been probably because Owalo had worked for and with these group of people and therefore he resented them.

The second heaven was the abode of angels. The third heaven is where he saw God and Jesus sitting on the right hand of God. And God addressed Owalo;

Before me no God was formed, there is none beside me, nor shall there be any after me. But now the creation has turned away from me to worshipping images. Go, get a well sharpened knife to circumcise all men. He who hears it shall be well with him, but he who refuses it leave him alone.⁸

Several reasons led Owalo to leave the Ojola Catholic Mission in 1907. He had declared that he did not believe in the Catholic teachings about the existence of purgatory, the trinity, the sacrifice of the Holy Mass, the intercession of the saints and the pope as the infallible head of the Church.⁹ From Ojola, Owalo joined the Moslems in Kisumu and became circumcised. Later in 1908 still working for Morrison who was now transferred to Nairobi, Owalo joined the C.M.S. school which had been newly established within Nairobi. In 1909, Owalo had decided to go back to his home, but on his way, he met J.J. Willis who persuaded him to join Maseno staff as a teacher in 1912. Although Owalo became a member of the Anglican Church his beliefs against the Trinity, the Christian practice of monogamy and refusal to worship together with others made him a dangerous person to have in a C.M.S school.¹⁰ A council was called to settle Owalo's case and with the fact that he had been refused confirmation to become a full member of the Anglican Church he left Maseno for his home in

Asembo with the sole purpose of fulfilling his omission to start a church for the Luo. Hence the Nomiya Luo Church.

To date the adherents of the Church believe that Yohana Owalo, is just like Jesus among the Jews and Mohammed among the Arabs, as their prophet.¹¹ They use the bible and missionary teaching, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. They also combine Luo beliefs such as not restricting the number of wives one should have. All male members are circumcised.

The message of Owalo was not lacking in dynamism. As it spread into the neighbouring clans and locations, many converts were won to the extent that Missionary Churches began viewing it as a threat. The converts were from Asembo, Seme, Gem, Uyoma, Yimbo, Sakwa and Kisumu. Indeed these were exactly the same areas where the Missionary Centres had been established. Owalo particularly preached at beer drinking places, funeral ceremonies and other social gatherings,

His followers were mostly old women and men.¹² Later during the First World War many young men who did not want to go to war joined the NLC who never allowed its members to be conscripted in the army.

6.2 THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY CHOST

Ten years later, another shock was to face the Anglican Church in Nyanza. This was the founding of the Church of the Holy Ghost (Hereafter CHG).

The CHG was founded by Alfayo Odongo Mango in 1934. Mango was born in Msanda, Ugenya, Siaya District. He first heard about Christianity while on a visit to Ulumbi in Gem where he found some people with strange looking objects (the Bible and the prayer Book) praying.¹³ Thereafter Mango became seriously ill with convulsions and was haunted by the strange object he had seen. The consultations of medicine men did not improve his health, later when he visited friends in Madungu in Buholo, he found these friends with the

same strange objects' he had seen at Ulumbi. These friends invited him to join the congregation in prayer. This he did with reluctance, but when he left to go back to his home he had profound peace of mind. He became converted to Christianity. Determined to share the new found faith with others in his area he built a Church on Msanda Luo Hill in 1912.¹⁴ Later Reverend Walter Chadwick of Butere Mission Station met Mango and arranged for him to go to C.M.S. Normal School at Maseno. In 1928, Mango was selected by Butere pastorate to go to St. Emmanuel Divinity School at Freretown Mombasa, for further training in theology.¹⁵ Later after graduating from the College he was posted back to the Old Msanda Parish in East Ugenya , Siaya District.

Sometime in late 1932 Mango decided to leave the C.M.S. to found the Holy Ghost Church a separatist Church which had its origin in the activities of Lawi Obonyo and Silvano Nyamago Odingo. Ogot has this to say about Obonyo and Odingo,

They claimed to have had visions in which they were transported aloft. They found themselves in a large shining house surrounded by white persons wearing long white robes. In this house they heard a voice asking them to go out in the world and spread the gospel. In obedience to this voice they broke away from the C.M.S. and became itinerant preachers. They did not found any Church at the time.¹⁶

They heeded to the call and proceeded to South Maragoli, Bunyore, Ugenya, Buholo and Gem. Their greatest success was at Nyajuok, Alego Location, Siaya District. These people immediately came into conflict with the C.M.S who had founded a station at Ng'iya in Alego, Siaya District in 1919.¹⁷ On 15th November, 1932, Archdeacon Owen called a meeting of the District Church Council at Maseno, where Lawi Obonyo's activities were condemned. Mango was instructed by the Council to restrain Obonyo from further activities in other areas.

On 6th December, 1932, Mango absented himself from a service at Butere where his candidates were

being confirmed by the Bishop of Mombasa. On 20th December 1932 he also absented himself from the District Church Council at Maseno. The C.M.S regarded Mango as having repudiated his canonical vows of obedience to the Bishop and authority of the Anglican Church.¹⁸ Attempts made by Rev. A.J. Leech and Archdeacon Owen to see Mango were unsuccessful. B.A. Ogot observes that the decision of Mango to leave the Anglican Church to found his own Church was based partly on the belief that the Church was dead and needed spiritual renewal.¹⁹ Yet its formation could also have certain political overtones as Oginga Odinga suggests referring to Mango,

... It has been revealed to him, he said, that Africans should found their own Church in preparation for their own African government, which was coming. The new government was to be well founded in the Church, and a really African government needed a fully African Church ... 20

The home of Mango became the centre of the CHG attracting many people from the surrounding

locations like Ugenya and Alego. From then on, the members engaged in certain activities which landed them into problems. J. Awili an informant reports:

They seized the young school boys and forced them to become members of the CHG. They raided the nearby villages taking chicken, goats, sheep and cows to feed themselves. They claimed that they had been directed to do such things by the Holy Spirits.²¹

These activities resulted in violence and the villagers were particularly enraged when their animals were forcefully taken by the members of the CHG. One night they converged on the sect and set Mango's home on fire. Salome Agumba an eye witness had this to say:

Alfayo Odongo Mango never attempted to escape. He sat silently reading the Bible and praying. The next day he was found absolutely burnt to death except for the priestly collar which he had won on his neck.²²

The CHG believe in the teachings of the Old Testament alone which they interpret literally. They lay more emphasis on the beliefs in ancestors visions, dreams, and prophecy.²³ In worship they use the Old Anglican Church prayer book. The members do not shake hands when greeting since they believe this dilutes their spirit, but instead clap their hands when they mean to greet somebody. Smoking and drinking of alcohol are strictly forbidden. The services consist largely of singing and dancing.

Following the martyrdom of Odongo Mango, he became sanctified in the memory of his followers who constantly talk about him more or less as Christians talk about Jesus. He is their spiritual father with direct access to God.²⁴

6.3 THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT IN NYANZA

From 1938, the history of the Anglican Church in Nyanza basically becomes one of Revival. This was a widespread movement of spiritual life in Kenya commonly known as the Revival Fellowship.

The origin of the movement goes back to forty years or so to the Rwanda Revival. The Rwanda Revival was possibly influenced by the Oxford movement and the Keswick Convention both of England which had began in the mid 1930's. From Rwanda the movement had reached Uganda, and into Nyanza in 1938.²⁵ Many groups of Uganda Revivalist visited Maseno in that year, under the leadership of Dr. Johen Church of Rwanda and Dr. Noeman Green, Medical Officer at Maseno Hospital.²⁶ Maseno became the centre of the movement. Soon the movement became so powerful that it spread to the whole of Western Kenya and beyond. What did this movement mean to the individual Christian? In the words of G.K. Mambo;

A person becomes a member of this fellowship by accepting Jesus Christ as personal Saviour leading to daily salvation assurance that Salvation comes through a deep religious experience, which results in a spontaneous open confession of sin. Emphasis is placed on the Blood of Jesus shed on the cross making possibility the certainty of God's forgiveness. Members of the Revival refer to each other in Swahili language as ndugu (brother in Christ) or dada (sister in Christ).²⁷

The first few converts at Maseno were the teachers and the medical staff at the station. Those few people spread the movement to Ramba pastorate in the following year. Initially the majority of people within the area remained indifferent to the movement, and those who followed it seemed to lack direction as there was no leader at the time. Luckily the same year, the Revival Movement found a natural leader in Ishamael Noo, from Gobei, Sakwa Location. One of my informants talks of Noo before he began evangelizing saying;

He (Noo) had gone into the wilderness at Usire Hill for prayers. From there he felt that he had been called to start evangelizing.²⁸

Noo was a born orator and a dynamic leader. When he became converted to the movement, he took it seriously and began vehemently to preach the new message condemning everything that God did not approve. Within a short period of time he had gathered devoted followers. Loise Apiyo an informant describes the period saying;

Ji ne Oneno Yesu mineno gi chuny, ok
mipuonjo kata ma iolo kakatkaesim.
Jomariék, Joma ofuwo Jomadhier, chunygi
noyudo liet mar Roho eigi, kendo
chuny jii nobedo kachiel.²⁹

People saw Jesus in their hearts not
because they had been taught in catech-
ism. The clever, stupid and poor
people felt the strength of the Holy
spirit and they united to evangelize
the word of God.

The followers of Noo then gathered in small groups
and travelled around in Bondo Division preaching
in open air spaces such as markets and during
funeral ceremonies. This kind of evangelizing
became so successful that most wives who were
in polygamous marriages left their non-Christian
husbands or unsaved husbands. On deserting a
polygamous husband a wife would say;

Jesus has told me that you are not
my husband and that I am living in
sin. I want to work for Jesus.³⁰

The converted husbands told their wives;

Jesus has found me in terrible sin.
From today on you're not my wives
except the first wife remains.
If any of you want to stay in my
home simply stay but know that
from today on I will not be as
your husband.³¹

Most of the women who deserted their husbands
went to live in Noo's home where they are still
living.

The same period saw another wave of revivalists
into Western Kenya known as Jo-Kaggia (the followers
of Kaggia). This movement started by Bildad Kaggia
had broken away from the Anglican Church in
Central Province 1946. Kaggia had converted
some Luo followers who went back home preaching
Kaggiasm. At first the Noo group and the Kaggians
were together. But one of the informants says,

... the Kaggians insisted that one
was not a true Christian unless
he spoke in tongues. Noo and his
group who emphasized the confession
of sins broke away from them.³²

Meanwhile the deserted husbands began plotting and accusing Noo and his group of subversive activities. This was because:

... they preached that both sexes should sleep together, irrespective of blood relationships or moral codes. Since they were all saved, they contented, there was nothing wrong in men and women sleeping together mother and son using the same room and adult brothers and sisters sharing the same bed. To the pure all things are pure.³³

This however needs more clarification. Okello Oluoko who belonged to the Noo group said that the allegations against them by their enemies will have to be put right by the books of history. He says,

It is true we used to preach, pray and sing Christian hymns until very late in the night. It is also true that in the process some people got tired and slept. These were mostly old women and children. But these people simply slept on the mats that they had carried at the same place where the meeting was taking place.

When the meeting finished late in the night, most people would only seek a space to stretch their bodies until morning. Emphasizing too much of the fact that people slept was pure malice from our enemies.³⁴

It must be noted at this stage that the people to whom the Revival movement appealed to at first, were the ordinary members of the Anglican Church. The African priests like the Missionaries were at first very reluctant to join the movement. This was more because between the years 1937 to 1943 the movement had faced severe opposition from the established missionary Churches in the whole country. The revivalists were at first never allowed to hold their meetings within the Church buildings, let alone participate in the normal Church activities. The Church leaders particularly resented the Brethren open confession of sin and their constant claim to have been born again.³⁵ However after 1945, this movement got more recognition in the Anglican Church where the brethren were allowed to hold their meetings in Church buildings. The confidence of the Church leaders in the movement was also as a

result of its dynamic evangelistic influence in all parts of Nyanza and beyond.

How did this movement help in the growth of the Anglican Church? Indeed this was a major factor in the emergence of African Christian leadership. The movement became a source of great spiritual inspiration which came at the right time to revive a Church which was dying.³⁶ Most people went ahead to confess their sins in public of,

How they took Holy Communion but still lived in great sins. Most people who had not been baptised came to Church to be baptised and to join the movement. Those who had been indifferent to Christianity also came out for the first time and joined the Church.³⁷

Upto this time Christianity had not had a complete impact among many African Christians. Most of these Christians had gone to Church, learnt about their denomination, catechism, got a name, and confirmation and took the Holy Communion but still continued with the old beliefs and practices.³⁸

The movement therefore brought about the spiritual awakening to many ordinary Christians and challenged not only the Anglican Church but also other Churches to intensify their evangelistic and missionary concern.

But the movement also brought along with it other problems. It was a misunderstanding that arises when Christianity penetrates non-Christian cultures and languages. Firstly the ordinary Christians who first joined the movement condemned almost everything that was African as sin.³⁹ These people seemed to have confused Western culture and Christianity. Secondly the interpretation of the Bible brought its own problems because sometimes, it was literally interpreted with a different meaning it was supposed to have originally. Everybody wanted to interpret the Bible in their own way and understanding and this brought a lot of disagreement. Thirdly within the Church, the members of the Revival Movement referred to the members of the Church who did not join them as jopiny, meaning the worldly people.⁴⁰ Fourthly, the priests were

not wholly accepted by the mass revivalists and were usually looked upon with a lot of suspicion. Lastly most members of the movement refused to participate in any activities in the Church saying that those who worked in the Church were lost, since the Church was "worldly."⁴¹ The stage was set for bitter disagreement and the divisions that were to take place. To Ogot and Welbourn, the problems facing the Church leaders in Nyanza were similar to those which faced saint Paul in the city of Corinth.⁴² The problem was that of organising the Church among an ethnically mixed population. The problems of factionalism, with one faction regarding itself as Paul's, another as Apollo's, a third as Peter's and the fourth as Christ's. There was also the problem of manner of worship, as Ogot and Welham say;

Many services had degenerated into frenzied orgies, with congregations speaking in foreign tongues or confessing the whole spectrum of sins and preachers haranguing in a most lurid style. It needed another Paul to keep the Church on her rails.⁴³

Disturbed by the confusion in Church two leaders of the movement Musa Amoke and Peter Alak were sent to Uganda to seek advice from the revivalists in Uganda.⁴⁴ The result was that the revival must be conducted within the Church. The Uganda Mission added vigour into the movement and between 1948 and 1952, it spread almost to all parts of Kenya. It was during this period that the movement presented the greatest challenge to the Anglican Church in Nyanza.

6.4 THE SEPARATION

6.4.1 THE CHRISTIAN UNIVERSAL EVANGELICAL UNION

In 1948 a big Revival convention was held at Nyabondo in Nyakach, Kisumu District. At this meeting Joremo, (meaning people of blood) who preached salvation through the blood of Christ began to criticize Noo.

Gedion Omollo a staunch follower of Noo who was present during the convention at Nyabondo reported:

They (Joremo) accused Noo and his followers of slandering the name of Revivalists especially on the matter of sleeping together. They called him to refute this practice in public but he refused to compromise.⁴⁵

From the convention Noo and his followers broke away from the Anglican Church to form his own Church, the Christian Universal Evangelical Union. Noo and his group who had evangelized widely in places like Sakwa, Asembo, Uyoma, Yimbo took away quite a number of people from the Revival Movement and the Anglican Church.

6.4.2 THE INTERNAL REVIVAL

Between 1953 and 1957 the big question in the Anglican Church in Western Kenya was whether the Revival movement should continue to exist within or without the Church. From this issue two groups emerged in Western Kenya. The larger group was formed mainly of the laity, that of Joremo who preached salvation by the blood of Christ.

This group discriminated everything and everybody not belonging to their group.⁴⁶ They seriously proposed to leave the Church which they called Egypt, for Canaan their salvation.⁴⁷ The movement was officially launched at Maranda in October 1953. From here on Ogot and Welbourn write of them as having withdrawn into the wilderness where they concentrated on their devotional life leaving the world to the powers of darkness. They barred nominal Christians from participating in their fellowship and the bulk of Church members whom they believed had refused to walk in the light. They referred to Church leaders as 'men of the world' and for this reason they were ready to defy the authority of the Church.⁴⁸

This was a period of great confusion in the Anglican Church.⁴⁹ The Kuhama had established their headquarters at Ramba in Asembo Location, Siaya District. The clergy and other Church leaders whose power was threatened decided to fight Kuhama by organising themselves as a rival group in Maseno.

They held their first meeting in 1953 under the Chairmanship of the Rural Dean. The group had the blessing of the Bishop of Mombasa. The group believed in supporting the Church fully as Ogot and Welbourn write:

The Church they contended, is of Christ; and it must be the duty of every Christian to support it. Christians can separate only from the world, of sin; they cannot separate from the Church, which is Christ's body. ... Lay leaders should recognize ordained ministers as true leaders of the Church.⁵⁰

The Maseno group based their organization on love, hence they came to be known as Johera, 'those who love'. While the Wahamaji believed in people being saved only through repentance and confession of sin. The Johera taught that a person is saved only through faith in Jesus Christ.⁵¹

Two factors led to direct clash between the revival factions. First Festo Olang' who had been Rural Dean was promoted to the post of Assistant Bishop of Mombasa in 1955.⁵² The Assistant

Bishop being a Luyia, the Luo clergy began to claim that he was favouring his own people the Luyia. They based this claim on the fact that several Luo clergy such as Simeon Nyende, Isaya Ndisi, Samuel Okoth had been retired while the Luyia clergy who were just as old were receiving promotion.⁵³ The young Johera clergy refused to accept what had happened as mere coincidence and accused the assistant Bishop of discrimination against them as the Luo.

In the meantime, the Wahamaji group after consulting with their brethren in Uganda decided to return to the Church. To fight the Wahamaji was one of the reasons why Johera group had existed in the first place. But secondly the misunderstanding that followed was due to the fact that there was no constitutional body which could immediately discuss rising problems. Most problems were communicated in letters to the Bishop of Mombasa. The letters took along time to reach the Bishop. In the meantime more misunderstanding was created and the gulf

between the different sections of the Church widened, eventually resulting in separation

These accusations against the assistant Bishop by the Johera clergy made him grow close to Joremo. He had tried in vain to reconcile the two parties, but when he failed he decided to use his powers as the head of the Anglican Church in Nyanza to dissolve the Maseno group and impose its fusion with Ramba group. In this he failed too. The appointment of Peter Howse as Rural Dean made the situation worse because he believed that the Johera were simply heretics who had to be dealt with ruthlessly. He is reputed to have commanded A.M. Ajuoga who had emerged as the leader of Johera that all Ajuoga should do is obey his orders without question, otherwise he will soon have to join the public works. One thing however had become obvious, that there was no possibility of reconciling the Maseno group and the Church leaders in Nyanza. Reconciliation could only come from above, from the Bishop of Mombasa or from the Archbishop of Canterbury under

whose jurisdiction the diocese still was.

6.5 THE FORMATION OF CHURCH OF CHRIST IN AFRICA (CCA)

The reverend Abernego Mathew Ajuoga who was born at Kambare in Gem Location, Siaya District, now became the leader of Johera group. He was one of the youngest trained Anglican clergy by 1953.⁵⁴ When the Revival movement threatened to divide the Anglican Church, he became very concerned and joined the Johera group. On 1st June 1956 he wrote to the archdeacon :

Ven, Archdeacon,
As a member of the Anglican Church I feel very much hardened and concerned about the division existing in the Church, particularly in the Western arch-deacony, centred in Nyanza. It is true that peace is needed in the Church and outside it ... I wholeheartedly love the Anglican Church and her traditions, the 39 articles of our Church, which safeguard against erroneous doctrines ... Ambiguity in any form cannot satisfy many people but will only bring misunderstanding and failure.⁵⁵

Ironically the man who strongly urged the leaders of the Anglican Church to take firm action against defaulters was to be among the first victims of such action. In the meantime the Church regulations were tightened against Ajuoga and other clergies like Okungu, Owira, Awuor and Oganda. They were commanded not to write any letters to the Bishop of Mombasa, not to hold any meetings or conventions and not to pay visits to other pastorates.⁵⁶ The Johera refused to obey such orders and continued with their meetings. In March, 1957, the Bishop of Mombasa called for a meeting at Maseno to try and reconcile the Church. As Omollo observed:

The Bishop saw himself as King Solomon faced with two mothers claiming one baby. In this case the Church was the baby and his duty was to find a practical and fair solution without killing the baby. His opinion was not to compel one group to merge with the other, but to try and bring reconciliation based on the principle of love and forgiveness.⁵⁷

The Bishop had warned the Johera group to stop their conventions and any further meetings. Enraged by the Bishops remarks, Ajuoga had retorted that if his group had left the Church at the same time as the Ramba group then the Bishop would be back in Britain because there would be no Church to dictate to.⁵⁸ Infuriated with this kind of plain talk, the Church leaders became more determined to stamp out this independent defiant spirit.⁵⁹

In June, 1957 Ajuoga and Owira were suspended by the assistant bishop. The suspension was later endorsed by the bishop himself. The licences were withdrawn and their names handed to the police because they were regarded as dangerous people, whose movements were to be carefully watched.⁶⁰

Attempts by Ajuoga to have an audience with the bishop failed. To the Bishop, "what he had decided he had decided: and he was not prepared to reconsider it, even in the interest of Christian unity."⁶¹ The Bishop only went ahead to call upon

the Johera group to reaffirm their attachment to the Anglican Church or to obtain government registration as a different society. The Johera unanimously chose the second solution, and the schism which they had wished to avoid had thus become inevitable, hence the founding of the CCA.

The split having taken place and the larger part of the Anglican Church having joined the CCA, the official Church seemed to have embarked on a campaign to discredit the new Church in the eyes of the colonial government and the country in general⁶². Ajuoga had this to report:

We were accused of being anti-missionary and anti-European. That we were followers of Mau Mau and wanted to overturn the government. For a long time we could not walk in the open because we were being followed by Police.⁶³

These allegations were found untruthful after sometime before the members of the CCA were left in peace. The African politicians like Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya had helped to convince the

colonial government that the members of the CCA were not dangerous and soon they felt secure in their support.

The CCA use no special vestment and have no prohibitions except, against dancing, smoking and drinking alcohol. The doctrine is almost entirely borrowed from the mother Church. What has been accomplished is more of the Africanization of Church structure and hierarchy. Most of the hymns which are sang while clapping hands are in African tunes. When a member is being baptized a new name is given to the initiate as Ajuoga believes, "Change of name shows change of attitude as Sarai was changed to Sarah, Abram to Abraham and Saul to Paul".⁶⁴

When asked the advantages he has seen in breaking away from the Anglican Church, Bishop Ajuoga says:

I have been able to interpret the Gospel as I feel right. I teach people to be self-supporting and not wait for aid from others.⁶⁵

Indeed it is true when you look at their headquarters in Kisumu, which takes care of the poor and the orphans. They also have a secondary school with two streams from forms one to four. In addition to that there is a commercial and homecraft training within the school to train women. In another Church centre in Siaya they have vegetables and also poultry. To create more jobs for people, the CCA has established a printing press at Kisumu, for according to Ajuoga, "this is an independent Church of Africa."⁶⁶

How did this major breakaway affect the Anglican Church in Nyanza? Because of the evangelistic nature of the revival movement which formed the foundation of the CCA, there was a rapid influx of new members which took away many people from the Anglican Church. From this also developed a delicate situation concerning the ownership of Church and School plots. Unfortunately up to this time the Anglican Church had only de facto and not de jure possession of plots on which Anglican Church and schools were erected. Briefly this

was the problem: The right holders of 41 Churches came out openly in support of the CCA. There were also a number of Churches which could not be set aside because the right ownership of the land was being disputed by claimants who had appeared on behalf of the CCA. Lastly some of these Churches had large and faithful congregations either for CCA or the Anglican Church.⁶⁷ It was therefore unfair asking these people to give up their right of worship because of these claims. Some of these Churches were; in Kisumu location, Ongiyo Church, Bimos and Kudho, in East Kano Location the Churches at Kibigori, Magere, Magina, Manyatta, Oduwo, Ombeyi, and Rateng, In West Kano Location the Churches were at Karuona, Mamba, Ogenya, Rabuor and Reru. The Anglican Church had therefore to withdraw from the lands where the landowner was a member of the CCA and also where they felt it was in their general interest to do so. The Anglican Church had therefore to give the list of Churches it was withdrawing from to the Provincial Commissioner's Office.⁶⁸

A list of Churches they had set aside for their own was also handed together with a list of withdrawals. These Churches were soon gazetted as registered in the name of the Anglican Church. The names of these Churches and schools can be seen from Appendix 4. Regarding Schools the government was not prepared to allow the CCA to manage schools. The Anglican Church therefore continued to manage the schools irrespective of the split of the Church. The teachers were warned not to concern their teaching to Church matters. As the Anglican Church was to continue to manage the schools it followed that it had a right to set up a school committee. But in certain cases where the majority of the parents belonged to the CCA and could not co-operate with the committee, the government had no option but to close down the School. ⁶⁹ Meanwhile CCA had spread to Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia. The members, most of whom are from Nyanza Province, are estimated to be over 700,000.

In conclusion one would want to say that most Africans did not understand the missionaries and their attitude towards the African Christians. The Africans most of the time did not understand the Christian teaching, but lacked courage to declare their problems. Owalo in founding the NLC attempted to create a kind of dialogue by looking for a meaningful experience in different traditions; in the Luo traditional beliefs, Islam and Christianity. Owalo had thus sought a religion acceptable to his own people the Luo, . As Opwapo observes;

The Luo people had problems peculiar to themselves. If every religion is started to answer peculiar cultural problems then Owalo also started the NLC for this purpose. If anything it was his people's cultural problems that he knew most.⁷⁰

It is true that absolute Missionary control did not only lead to cultural conflicts alone, but also the African Christian wanted to share in decision making regarding the pace and

extent of their own cultural change. One should not forget the fact that a feeling of Nationalism was also becoming a powerful force in Nyanza. Oginga Odinga recalls that when Owalo was called to be questioned by the District Commissioner about his movement he answered; "leave me to preach, I'm preaching to Africans not whites".⁷¹ When Ajuoga formed the CCA he declared in his famous speech;

Every country has its own Church. The English have their Church of England; Scotland has the Church of Scotland ... It is only in Africa where there has been no native Church embracing the whole continent. The Church of Christ in Africa has now met this long-felt need; and all the Africans rejoice, because by the will of God they now have their own Church.⁷²

B.A. Ogot refers to Owalo as the first Christian rebel in Nyanza who is discovering the hypocrisy in Westernization, and has decided to be a Christian in his own way.⁷³ It is true that the adoption of European customs seemed indispensable to one being accepted as a Christian, and that this was

a strong reason which led to schisms from the Anglican Church. The separation of CHG and NLM members from the Anglican Church was due to the desire of the leaders to set up Churches where an African, not a European, was the Saviour of the people. This attitude represented the rejection of European Missionary leadership which discriminated against Africans and rejection of Western customs which were integrated in Christian teaching. The formation of CCA was as a result of Maseno group feeling that their voice was not being heard simply because this was the first movement within the Church under the direction of African leadership. The immediate reason for the separation of CCA was therefore the reluctance or refusal of the European Anglican Missionary leadership to recognize African leadership and to hear African voices concerning the organisation of the Anglican Church.⁷⁴

The CCA baptises women and children from polygamous families and sometimes even the polygamists themselves. According to Ajuoga:

The Bible is quiet on this issue of one woman, one husband. We cannot judge these people. Though we do not allow polygamists to be Church leaders, but we baptise them. Baptism is a right for everybody. The Church should not close the gates of heaven for even a sinner.⁷⁵

Once the CHG, the NLM and CCA, were free from the Anglican Church which was dominated by Missionaries, they re-evaluated African values and allowed in most cases the continuation of the practice of African customs which are not forbidden by the Holy Bible, although these same customs were rejected by the Western Christian Missionaries in the Anglican Church.

6.6 THE DIOCESE OF MASENO SOUTH

The diocese of Maseno South came into existence in 1970. The Right Reverend E. Agola became the first bishop of the diocese. Since then the diocese has developed in all aspects. First the development is evident in the increase of members of the Church. This can be seen from the table 6:6.1

YEARS	ADHERENTS
1970	150,000
1981	234,000
1983	250,000

Table 6:6.1: The Numerical Increase of Church Members Between 1970 and 1983

Source: Evaluation Report Journal of Diocese of Maseno South, 1983

The parishes increased from 23 in 1974 to 50 in 1983. The number of parishes, Churches and members in the Churches can be seen in Appendix 5..

The second evident development could probably explain the reason behind the growth of the members of the Anglican Church. From the years 1970's O'ngombe says that there has been a change of feeling that the Church should not first teach about heaven

alone, or as he puts it, "to somebody with an empty stomach."⁷⁶ For this reason the Church has become involved in the general development of the area through the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) which is financially sponsored by the German Government. The objective of this programme which began in 1975, as an educational activity was aimed at raising the awareness of the community concerning their situation and what they could do to help themselves. From 1975 to 1979, 132 parishes in Siaya, Kisumu and South Nyanza benefited from this programme by way of seminars, meetings, and courses. With the formation of Development Committees at Church and parish levels, project implementation took a new turn. The community contributed their resources in conjunction with the Diocese to initiate projects particularly in Agriculture and Health. The two programmes which were started in 1976 had the objective of raising the living standard of the community by promoting health conditions, producing surplus food and where possible generating cash income. During the period under review several activities were carried out. Demonstration plots for vegetable growing were established by various groups. Poultry keeping

was introduced. Bee-keeping was initiated and members contributed material and money in-puts. In the meantime, small holder loan scheme for hybrid maize attracted 1,600 individuals plus groups who took loans through development committees. Other specific projects started at the same time were fishing, farming, horticultural, livestock keeping, rice and sugarcane growing. These projects were started by groups who first used their own contributed money but later were granted loans through the loan scheme of IRDP.

As far as health programme was concerned, groups were organized to carry out health related activities within the context of healing ministry of the Church. The groups were given loans to purchase simple drugs such as aspirins or cough mixture, which they could sell to the communities where they lived. The profits of the sale were used to promote the programme. The programme included also special health action campaigns done in conjunction with the Ministry of Health, particularly in immunization of children under five years in Siaya District and

campaigns against cholera in South Nyanza District.

Between 1979 and 1983 more emphasis has been laid on the extension of Church staff for rural development activities. Meanwhile more important activities, such as Appropriate village Technology and Water Development Plans are in the pipeline. To show that this programme has helped towards the present Church growth, O'ngombe who is the provost of St. Stephen's Cathedral Church has this to say;

Most members of the Church have felt that the Church is not only concerned with their spiritual life alone but also with their physical and life here on earth which makes more sense.⁷⁷

The educated members of the Church, most of whom gave up on Church as being too abstract for their living are now participating and contributing towards rural development in various ways. However some older members of the Church feel that the Church should not be too involved in "worldly" matters as this can make the Church neglect its spiritual mission.

The IRDP in the diocese has become well known in both Government and non-Governmental circles. It is appreciated for its services to the community in the whole of Nyanza Province.

It must be mentioned that the growth of the Anglican Church in Nyanza made it possible for the diocese to be divided into two. During the period the research was being carried out the Diocese of Maseno West came into existence from the Diocese of Maseno South in 1984.⁷⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. J.M. Lonsdale: "A Political History of Nyanza 1883-1945," Ph.D. Camb. 1964.
p. 350
2. To the Africans both seemed to have a mutual understanding and although their methods were different, their objectives seemed identical.
3. H.H. Ochola Okoth: "Religion, Development and Division in the Nomiya Luo Church": in Historical Association of Kenya Annual Conference 1976.
4. G.E.M. Ogutu: "The Origins and Growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Kenya 1895-1952," Ph.D. Thesis, Nairobi, 1981, p.93.
5. M.A. Opwapo: "The Dynamics of an African Independent Church among the Luo of Siaya District," M.A. Thesis, Nairobi, 1981, p.78.

6. S.O. Ogutu Kitap Lamo Mar Nomiya Asembo-
 Bay, 1978. p.10
7. Ibid
8. Ibid.
9. Opwapo, op.cit. p. 80
10. Ibid; p. 76ff.
11. M.F. Perrin-Jassy; Basic Community in the
 African Churches; New York
 1973, p. 91.
12. Political Records Book, 1902 / 429 /DC/CN3/
 Kenya National Archives.
13. B.A.Ogot, "Reverend Alfayo Odongo Mango
 1870 - 1934" in Kenya Historical
 Biographies (ed. Keneth King
 and Ahmed Salim) East African
 Publishing House, 1971, p. 92
 quote, H.R. Madany Rev. Alfayo
 Odongo Mango Mss. p. 14.
14. Ibid. p. 92.
15. It is worth noting here that Mango was one
 of the earliest trained clergymen by the
 Anglican Church.

16. Ogot, op.cit. p.19
17. Ibid; p.102
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Oginga Odinga; Not Yet Uhuru; p.120
21. Rebecca Awili; Interview, Alego-Masumbi; Siaya District, 24th July, 1984.
22. Salome Agumba; Interview, Ugenya Siaya District, 29th July 1984.
23. D.J. Omollo; Interview; Kisumu Town, Kisumu District, 23rd July, 1984.
24. Ibid. 23rd July, 1984.
25. Evans Agolla; Interview, Alego - Ng'iya, Siaya District, 21st July, 1984.
26. Omollo; op.cit
27. B.D. Barret "The Development of Kenyan Christianity, 1898-1973", Kenya Churches Handbook, J.K. Mambo (Ed)., Kisumu, Evangel Publishing house, 1973, p.349.

28. D. Ogunde Ndisi; Interview; Kisumu-Town,
Kisumu District, 4th August,
1984.
29. Loise Apiyo; Interview Sakwa Gobei, Siaya
District, 5th July 1984.
30. Ishmael Owuoth; Interview; Sakwa Gobei, Siaya
District, 5th July 1984.
31. Ibid, 5th July 1984.
32. Okello Oluoko; Interview; Alego-Masumbi;
Siaya District, 28th July,
1984.
33. Mambo; op.cit; p. 112.
34. Okello Oluoko; op.cit.
35. Ibid, 28th July, 1984.
36. Omollo; op.cit.
37. Lorna Okungu; Interview; Asembo-Location;
Siaya District; 6th May, 1985.
38. Yuanita Migire; Interview, Sakwa Location,
Siaya District, 20th July,
1984.

39. Omollo; op.cit.
40. Ibid.
41. Okello-Oluoko; op.cit. 28th July, 1984.
42. Ogot and Welbourn; op.cit. p.30, 1st Corinthians 1:10-17.
43. Ibid.
44. Gedion Omollo; Interview, Asembo Location, Siaya District, 1st August, 1984.
45. Ibid, 15th August, 1984.
46. Okungu, op.cit. 6th May, 1984.
47. Ogot and Welbourn; op.cit; p. 33.
48. Ibid.
49. B. Ajuoga, Interview, Kisumu Town, Kisumu District, 26th July, 1984.
50. Ogot and Welbourn; op.cit. p. 35.
51. Ibid.

52. He was one of the first two Africans to attain the status in the Anglican Church in Kenya. The other one was Obadiah Kariuki.
53. Ibid. p. 38 E. Ojwaga made arch-deacon, J.M. Awori made cannon.
54. C.C.K. Archives, Kisumu
55. A.B. Ajuoga; Interview; Kisumu Town, Kisumu District, 26th July, 1984.
56. C.C.K. Archives , Kisumu
57. Ajuoga; op.cit. 26th July, 1984.
58. Omollo, op.cit. 26th July, 1984.
59. Ogot and Welbourn; op.cit. p. 50
60. Ibid.
61. Ajuoga; op.cit. 27th July, 1984.
62. Ogot and Welbourn, op.cit; p. 65.
63. Diocese of Maseno South Archives, Kisumu
64. Ajuoga op.cit; 27th July, 1984.
65. Ibid.

66. Kenya National Archives, Government File;
Land Disputes
Cont./Adm/1/23/106
67. Ibid.
68. Opwapo; op.cit. p. 143.
69. Oginga Ondinga; op.cit. p. 120.
70. Ogot and Welbourn. op.cit, p. 120
71. Ibid p. 44.
72. E. Muga; African Response to Western Christian Religion, Nairobi, 1975, p. 150.
73. Ajwoga; op.cit. 20th July 1984.
74. Ochola Ongombe; Interview, Kisumu Town, Kisumu District, 30th July 1984.
75. Diocese of Maseno South, Evaluation Report on Integral Rural Development Project 1983. p. 43.
76. Ongombe , op.cit, 30th July. 1984.
77. Ibid.
78. The Right Reverend D.J. Omollo has been appointed the bishop of the new diocese which covers all the parishes in Siaya District. The very Right Reverend H. Okullu remains the bishop of Diocese of Maseno South which now covers Kisumu and South Nyanza and parts of Kisii Districts.

CONCLUSION

The primary goal of this study was to analyse the development of the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province of Kenya. During the study both oral and documentary informations have been used in appraising the development of the church.

First the origins of the Anglican Church has been traced from the time the CMS arrived on the East African Coast in 1844, and the factors that led to the invitation of missionaries into Uganda. It is presented that the changing political situation in Eastern Uganda, coupled with denominational rivalry among missions encouraged the CMS to spread out rapidly from Busoga, Bukedi and into Nyanza, followed by the Mill Hill Missionaries. One thing has been made clear, that although the travellers, the missionaries and the colonial administrators were different groups, their work was complementary in nature and had a unity of purpose. They were the bringers of Western civilization.

Secondly, it has been noted that, with the opening up of mission stations the missionaries

realized the need for them to work together with the Africans in spreading Christianity. But before that the Africans had to understand and be able to read the scriptures. Education therefore became a necessary part of missionary work, and the mission stations became centres for the education of Africans. Later when the missionaries saw the effectiveness of evangelizing through the school, many "bush schools" sprung up founded by the first Christian converts and it was from these schools that most African converts were made.

Thirdly, an investigation has been done on the impact of Christianity on the Luo traditional life. The Christian missionaries forbade and preached against polygamy, bride wealth, initiation ceremonies related to rites of passage, drinking or use of alcohol, dancing, wailing at funerals, ancestor veneration, beliefs in withcraft, magic and Luo medicine. These were replaced by monogamy, baptism and confirmation and the use of Western medicine.

Fourthly, it has been pointed out that the missionaries were very reluctant in training African personnel on equal basis for work in Church or in

schools. This is because most missionaries feared that an enlightened African would criticize certain aspects of their work and ultimately oust them. For these reasons, the missionaries used the policy of direct rule throughout the colonial period except the times of archdeacon Owen.

Finally, an appraisal has been given to the religio-political upheavals in the Anglican Church. Special emphasis has been given to the CCA which originated from the Revival Movement and which took away quite a number of people from the Anglican Church and thus affected its growth tremendously.

In the course of the study two hypotheses have been put to test and conclusions reached. The assertion that the schisms and rebellions that took place in the Church were as a result of the impact of Christianity on the Luo way of life, prompted, by the conflict between European cultural values and African values. The Luo traditional life was undermined and identification with the Luo community was replaced with identification with Christian community. It was found that the Luo family system was disrupted, and the young people

in particular became uprooted, dehumanized and alienated from traditional roots, as their education was passed from the hands of the community and parents to that of school teachers. It has been pointed out that the education the missionaries offered to the youth was more on book learning as opposed to the Luo traditional education which emphasized the corporate life of an individual in the society. The result of this, as pointed out has brought instability in the society which resulted in higher rate of divorce, cheating, treachery, theft, selfishness, dishonesty and greed.

The impact of Christianity on Luo way of life led to schism and rebellion from the Anglican Church in the following ways; first it has been proved that the missionaries condemned the traditional life of the Luo wholesale, and made no effort to penetrate deep into the Luo religious practices and beliefs. Lack of sufficient opportunity was given to Luo forms of expression of worship. Secondly, the missionaries imposed certain puritanical standards in the Church some of them without any base from the Bible. This brought about

a sense of guilt and a conscience burdened with sin complex. Many people who would have been Christians were driven away from the Church by relentless denunciation of traditional ways of life. The educated Christians began searching for the truth in the Bible with their own interpretations. Some of them decided to form their own Churches given their own understanding. Thirdly, the African converts were shocked to realize the hatred and rivalry between different Christian denominations. If these denominations had been formed from different countries in Europe then the Africans had a responsibility to form their own. This basically was the idea behind the formation of the CCA. Finally it is evident that the Churches that broke away from the Anglican Church felt at home in their own Churches because they had a feeling of equality, friendliness and freedom of expression which were denied them when they were members of Anglican Church.

The other hypothesis tested, was that the missionary policy of direct rule in Nyanza and their attitude towards the African personnel resulted in rebellion and schisms. It has been brought to light that the missionary leadership was discriminating

and unfair to the African personnel. The missionaries were not only reluctant in training the Africans, but the African with the same qualification as a missionary doing the same work was given a very low salary and less responsibility as compared to the missionary counterpart. This inconsistent internal organization led to a lot of conflicts in the Church some of which resulted in rebellion or complete division from the Church altogether. Finally, a conclusion has been reached that if the missionaries established a truly indigenous Church by training the African clergy, the Church would not have faced the crisis of the Revival Movement and the great schism which took place in 1950's. When the crisis occurred the Church was not ready to deal with it and that led to the schism of the CCA which greatly affected the Anglican Church.

Thus in conclusion in this study it has become a fact that the Western Christian Missionaries degraded and abused the African culture. In doing this, the Africans became simply men in a world dominated by European ideas and culture where their tribal structure and relationships were broken and in whose place no alternative was offered. If the

missionaries introduced only the Christian faith in Nyanza and if they were more sympathetic to the African culture, it is doubtful if the rebellions and schisms would have occurred in the Church. If only the European missionaries shared that leadership equally with the qualified Africans, then the reasons for beginning independent Church movements would have been lacking.

It is common knowledge that history has tendencies of repeating itself and that a new generation should learn hard lessons from the past for them to better their future. Despite the fact that the Anglican Church in Nyanza or the CPK as a whole now belong to the Africans, have the leaders changed some of these hard historical facts that brought problems to the missionary Churches? Has the Church provided each individual a home where he may tell in his own tongue the mighty work of God? Or the new African leaders have simply stepped into the shoes of missionaries without seeking much change and "still lording it" over the subordinates as the missionaries did with their African counterparts? Vatican Council II has strongly reaffirmed the idea of Church of Service and not of power.

This is a Church which is not centred upon itself and which does not 'find itself' except when it 'loses itself', when it lives the joys and hopes, the griefs and the anxiety of men of this age.¹

This trend indeed provides a new focus for any Church to see the presence and its activities in the world today. The signs of the times is the responsibility of every Christian, especially Church leaders, to hear, to distinguish, and interpret the many voices of our age and to judge them in the light of God's Word. In this way revealed truths can always be more deeply penetrated better understood, and set forth to greater advantage.

Given the standpoint of the modern world, the Church must be aware of fragmentation within its ranks. Religious enthusiasm can be of great service to the Church as a whole if it remains effectively within the life of the Church. Christian love and understanding should be paramount in effective leadership of Church. Hatred, rivalry and lack of understanding of Church leaders will surely destroy the Church's united witness or worship.

The Mission Churches had ceased to be homes but had become bureaucracies forgetting that the primary concern of the Church is with persons and that the Church exists for men. The institutional form of the Church is not more important than the response of men to God's love in their particular time and place. Ogot and Welbourn say (and we agree) that;

Men leave the Church not because they have ceased to be Christians, but because the Church seems to be empty, in any relevant ways of Christ. If they cease to be Christian, it is because they have no link with him apart from the impersonal Church.²

It should also be mentioned that the task of an African Christian is to discover how it is possible, at one and the same, to be identified both as an African and as a Christian.³ This would be the only way to make contribution to the life of the world.

Finally the Church should learn to deal with

more relevant and pressing issues of today. The chief influences of which we must take account in any study of contemporary problems are; patriotism and Africanization of control, social transformation, population explosion and conflicting ideologies. Without real appreciation of these four facts, it is quite impossible to consider the present need of the African Church.

The value of being an African, or a Kenyan, is very important to a Christian. Too much of the European attitude has been expressed, sometimes very arrogantly, sometimes simply implicitly the inferiority of Africanness. The African Christian must begin to offer constructive criticism, and should have a desire to be different and offer a characteristic contribution to the world. The Church work needs drastic revision which is suited for today's needs. There should be a new approach in Church training of personnel and ordination to make it easier for them to deal with modern problems, particularly in new social systems. To reflect upon the presence and action of the Christian in the world means, moreover, to go beyond the visible boundaries of the Church. This is of prime importance. It implies

openness to the world gathering the questions it poses, being attentive to its historical transformations. If the Church wishes to deal with the real questions of modern world and attempt to respond to them, it must open a new chapter in its approach. Instead of using only revelation and tradition as starting points, it must start with facts and questions derived from the world and from history. It is precisely this opening to the totality of human history that will allow the Church to fulfil its critical function without narrowness. This approach will lead us to pay special attention to the life of the Church and to commitments which Christians, impelled by the spirit and in communion with other people, undertake in history. We will give special consideration to participation in the process of liberation, an outstanding phenomenon of our times, which takes on special meaning in the so-called Third world countries. The Church leaders should not stop at reflecting on the world, but rather should try to be part of the process through which the world is transformed. It should be a Church open in the protest against trampled human dignity, in the struggle against the plunder of the vast majority of people, in liberating love, and in

a building of a new, just and fraternal society.

In this kind of study one can go on forever describing the work and projects of the Church in terms that disregard the great modern forces mentioned above. One can still produce figures of baptism and communes of dioceses, rural projects and the like, and speak of the millions awaiting the word of God. And all will be very true and important. But unless these things are related both to the practical possibilities and needs of the Church and the great factors transforming the world around us, our picture remains an unreal one.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gaudiuim et spes, no. 1
2. F. B. Welbourn and B. A. Ogot; A Place to Feel at Home Oxford University Press; 1966; p. 140.
3. F. B. Welbourn; East African Christian; Western Printing Services Limited, 1965; p. 202.

APPENDIX I

Biographies of First Candidates For Baptism in the Anglican Church

Source: CMS Archives, Kisumu

Atieno s/o Amayo

He was catachumen at Maseno in December 22, 1912 - Unmarried. Has 4 cattle but wants to do God's work. He was at Maseno School for 4 months, left because no more money. Good at Arithmetic. Believes Jesus is Son of God because he rebuked winds and waves. Asked if he had sinned since entering Catachumen said had sinned much in his heart but asked God daily to forgive him. Baptised in January 1914.

Odero s/o Okoth

He became a Catachumen in January, 12, 1913. An office boy in District Commissioner's Office. Married and paid dowry to Adudu daughter of Ogombe. Began to read 4 years ago in Kisumu. He was nervours. He was asked if Mohammedans' denied Jesus to be Son of God what would he say. His answer would be that God worked a miracle in Mary and his resurrection prove him to be Son of God. He was baptised January 1914. Later given the name Ezekiel.

Ongong'a s/o Omulo

He was Catachumen in June, 22, 1913. He was a porter in the catering department of Railways. Been reading 3 years. Did not enter Catachumen before because was on S.S. "Perey Anderson" which prevented him being present at services. Unmarried and has a boy to look after him in the lines. Does not fear laughter of friends at the thought of only one wife. Reads fluently and intelligently and understands what he reads. He has not sinned since entering Catachumen except in his heart. Trust Jesus to keep him. Once said that he was like the man who had the Legion of Devils cast out of him. Will take a new name as a sign of new custom. The new name was Danieri Safanio.

Duya s/o Nyadiega

He became a Catachumen in January 12, 1913 in Kisumu. He worked in Post Office but for 4 months has been teaching in his village in Gem. Nice face, tatoo on forehead. Now he works as office boy in the D.C. Office. Unmarried, no cows but father will give him wife, otherwise he says he would not have entered Catachumen. Reads well. When baptised he got the name Simion.

Mondo s/o Ayuwa

Became Catachumen in January, 12, 1913. He formerly worked in Locomotive. Now gone back to his home in Kano to cultivate, and now teaches in village. Attended school in old grass house in Kisumu in 1911 to 1912. Married Omwele daughter of Oyosi in June 22, 1913. Reads intelligently. One child, 1 yr. old - a girl. Took the name of Yona.

Ombore s/o Odoro

From Gem and is Corbertts house-boy for two and a half years. Reads in old grass house. Reads fairly well but nervous. Unmarried wife in Manyatta but unmarried?

Suju s/o Wambogo

Joined Catachumen in December, 22, 1912 at Maseno. Attended Day School at Maseno. Formerly worked under Mr. Wardle as labourer, afterwards went to Gem and taught his people word of God for 3 months at Kademba, and Loka Kasande home where Kasure School began which is still there. Now he works at station of Railways as porter. Unmarried. Sleeps in Manyatta. Reads parable of sower most intelligently and explained it. Asked if he got married and had no children would he marry another? Said if he did so would be sure God would prevent the second having children.

Lidandi s/o Ogono

Entered Catachumen in January, 12, 1913. Works at pier. Began to read in Kisumu 2½ yrs. ago. Unmarried. Resist temptations to talk to girls. Reads intelligently. He does not know what a pharisee is. He says Pontio Pilate was a judge. He says rightly that Kanisa is the same as a Congregation of Christians. Took the name Isaka.

Abuonji s/o Ombok

Joined Catachumen in January, 12, 1913. Worked as office boy in Uganda Marine. Asked if he found 1/4 rupee left of a table what would he do. Says leaves it there and show it to the Clerk when he came. Unmarried, still young, no cattle, father dead, mother dead. Asked who are Jofarisae - answered

that they were the Jews who resisted Christ continuously. Shadrack says such are not likely to leave the truth as parents not there to tempt him. Became Daudi.

Ogola s/o Okelo

Joined Catachumen January, 12, 1913. Worked as office boy in T.M. Court. Unmarried. Has read for 2½ years. Does not read very well (perhaps it was getting dark). Took the name Jeremiah.

Adoyo s/o Masu

Joined Catachumen in December, 22, 1912 at Maseno from Gem. Formerly worked in Uganda Railways. Read 5 years ago in Kisumu. Reads fluently but nervous. Asked what is Sabato he says it is equal to day of rest. He teaches in afternoon School. Took name Yakobo.

Omendo s/o Alego

Joined Catachumen in Kisumu January, 22, 1913. Married. Works for Mr. Wardle. Wife Anyango not entered in Catachumen. Has one little daughter but one died. Nice face but older looking than most. Read 4-5 yrs. in Kisumu. Reads nicely. He is from Gem Uranga. Took the name Andrea.

Olang' s/o Nyamanga

Joined Catachumen at Maseno in December, 1912. The wife Bonyo reads but has not entered Catachumen. They have 2 children. Wrights knows him well and sees no reason to refuse Baptism. Took name Danieri.

Omolo s/o Okinya
and his Wife Obwar

They are regular attendants of afternoon School, and very much in earnest but elderly. They have 4 children. Omolo works at the Railway Station as a Call boy. He took the name Yona, while the wife took the name Miriam.

Amamo s/o Ogango

Joined Catachumen January, 12, 1913. Works at hotel. Formerly worked for Mr. Bush. Unmarried. Father dead. No oxen for marriage. Started reading 3 yrs ago. According to register, attended house-boy's School in 1911-12. Wants to be baptised. Why? To enter into Christ. Reads Gospels with intelligence. Read Mark 12:1-12 and explained it. Took the name Reuben Muthayo.

Ogoma s/o Mando

Joined Catachumen at Maseno April 2, 1912. Was in School but money finished. Now at Sagam attending afternoon School in Kisumu. Fairly regular but hindered by work. He is Nyampara of Safari. Took the name Samueli.

Kuoch s/o Nyamanga

He works as house boy to Wrights. Joined Catachumen at Maseno April 1912 and rupees finished. One eye. Attends afternoon classes regularly. This one and others sold oxen to get rupee to go to Maseno. Took the name Zakayo.

Olwango s/o Alego
Wife Owino daughter
of Omolo

Joined Catachumen at Kisumu January, 12, 1913. Works as tax collector at Market. Asked if he knew the name of the disciple of Jesus who was tax-collector. Answered Mathew. No children. Asked if afraid of no children. Answered, as God wills ' Was formerly husband of 2 wives, sent younger one off (although with child) because he

wanted to become a Christian. Wife reads better than husband who is elderly. Both, nice face. He took the name Luka while wife became Miriam.

Waligano s/o Mugasa

Joined Catachumen in January, 12, 1913. Married the daughter of Obunde, also a reader but not yet entered Catachumen. Trader in Manyatta in cattle and sheep. Began reading 3 yrs ago. Very negroe profile. Reads fairly. Had 2 wives but sent one off to enter Catachumen. Took the name Petro.

Awere s/o Odira

Joined Catachumen in January, 12, 1913. Began to read in Kisumu 2 years ago. Unmarried. Lives in grass hut in Bank Compound. No cattle. Asked why wants Baptism. Answered in order to enter into heaven to be with God. Reads rather badly but evidently very nervous. Asked if sinned since entering Catachumen. Answered no. Acknowledged he had sinned in his heart. Took the name Nikodemo.

Wera s/o Ambesho

Joined Catachumen in January, 12, 1913. Trader at Manyatta in Kisumu. Married wife Ogaya d/o Otang who entered Catachumen on October, 26, 1913. Says, "I want to be baptised because Jesus died for my sins and rose again." No Children. Married recently. Reads very badly. Wants the name Saulo.

APPENDIX 2

THE FOUNDERS OF THE FIRST ANGLICAN CHURCHES, AND SCHOOLS
SOURCE: FROM OWN FIELD SURVEY JULY 1984.

<u>Founders</u>	<u>Church & School</u>	<u>Location</u>
Ezekiel Apindi	N'giya	Alego
Saulo Atieno	Masumbi	,,
G.S.Okoth	Hono	,,
Daniel Ongeche	Ambira	Ugenya
Johana Ochiel	Got Osimbo	,,
Isaya Musiga	Mudhiero	,,
Michael Were	Kagonya	,,
Ayub Ogwayo	Malanga	Gem
Elija Osare	Makera	,,
Mariko Hayanga	Nyamininia	,,
Stefano Samba	Rakuom & Wagai	,,
Yona Omboga & Petro Osare	Onyinyore	,,
Elija Odenyo	Sirembe	,,
Simon Nyende	Regea	,,
Isaka Ochondo	Gombe	,,
Jaduong Anya	Ngere	Seme
Isaya On'gonga	Nyandeje	,,
Jonathan Olenyo	Ndiru	,,
Saulo Outa	Ratta	,,
Harun Njigo	Chianda	Uyoma
Anea Obewa & Zakayo Nyanok	Lweya	,,
Yona Omolo	Usenge	Yimbo
Jacobo Ochola	Nyadhi & Bar-Olengo	Alego
Jeremia Nyalieu	Gangu	,,
Johana Oyugi	Mlaha	,,
Petro Oyugi	Usingo	,,
Zedekia Lukaka	Dibuoro	,,
Shadrack Osewe	Maranda & Akoko	Sakwa
Elija Bonyo	Gobei	,,
Musa Adero	Mbeka	,,
Sila Nyamwanda	Oware	,,
Naman Ogalo	Majiwa	,,
Isaya Aloo	Kapiyo	,,

Appendix 2 cont.

<u>Founders</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Location</u>
Shadrack Adem	Ramba	Asembo
Gadi Nyangwara	Lwala	''
Mariko Tindi	Mahaya	''
Joseph Nyanduga	Rakombe	''
Nashon Yongo	Kandaria	''
Mariko Ade	Luoro	''
Reuben Omulo	Kisumu Town (Komulo)	Kisumu

APPENDIX 3

Ordination of Priests Between 1924 to 1945

Source: St. Paul's Theological College, Limuru

<u>N A M E</u>	<u>YEAR ORDAINED</u>	<u>POSTING</u>
1. Rev. Musa Auma	1924	Gem - Ramulla
2. Rev. Reuben Omulo	1924	Kisumu Town
3. Rev. George Samuel Okoth	1924	Hono (in charge of Alego, Ugenya and Gem Locations)
4. Rev. Canon Jeremiah Awori	1924	Nambale (Butere)
5. Rev. Zakayo Makonyio	1930	Butere
6. Rev. Mathayo Owino	1930	Ramula (Gem) later to Kisumu
7. Rev. Simeon Nyende	1930	Regea (Gem)
8. Rev. Alfayo Odongo	1930	Musanda (Ugenya)
9. Rev. Isau Ogwaya	1930	Bunyore
10. Rev. Ezekiel Apindi	1930	Ngiya
11. Rev. Barnabas Wecke	1938	Namasoli
12. Rev. Isaya Msiga	1938	Muduiara (Ugenya)
13. Rev. Saulo Okelo	1938	Samia
14. Rev. Jeremiah Otwoni	1938	Usonga
15. Rev. Eliakim Apunda	1939	Bunyore
16. Rev. Shadrack Osowe	1939	Maranda, later Akoko
17. Rev. Elisha Olando	1943	Kisumu
18. Rev. Nathan Sila Awuor	1943	Eldoret
19. Rev. Eliakim Omolo	1943	Kisumu
20. Rev. Nehemiah Mwonda	1943	Masogo, later to Eldoret
21. Rev. Festo Olang	1943	was not posted proceeded to England
22. Rev. Isaya Ndisi	1944	Chianda
23. Rev. Evans Agoka	1945	To be in charge of all churches in present day Bondo Division
24. Rev. Hesbon Nyongo	1945	Nakuru

APPENDIX 5

(Source: Church Records from Maseno South Diocesan Office, Kisumu)

Diocese of Maseno South: 1980

	<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
1.	<u>Akoko Central</u>	Akoko	60	
	<u>Nyaguda</u>	Nyaguda	70	
		Bonde	70	
		Uyawi	49	
		Wambasa	275	
		Got Rasoti	8	
		Mbeka	276	
		Ujwang'a	53	
		Gombe	50	
		Lenya	20	
		Kapasi	183	<u>1118</u>
2.	<u>Bondo</u>	St. Michael Bondo	50	
		Ndiru	70	
		Majiwa	30	
		Gobei	45	
		Oware	45	
		Nyamira	30	
		Kapiyo	40	
		Maranda	55	
		Agwara	40	
		Uloma	25	
		Waringa	25	
		Nyawita	35	<u>490</u>

APPENDIX 4

PLOTS GAZETTED UNDER NATIVE LANDS TRUST 1945-1957.

SOURCE:CMS ARCHIVES KISUMU

Ramula	Busibi	Rae
Nyakoko	Osieko	Rodi
Orunga	Ndiru	Ngere
Kokise	Nyamonye	Kanyaniedha
Bar- Konyango	Ulowa	Abikhobe
Ayie- Mach	Magwar	Bonde
Mariwa	Chianda	Rarieda
Lweya	Simenya	Maliera
Luanda	Omulawa	Akoko
Ulumbi	Nyamninia	Nyamboboto
Ugwe	Nyamasaria	Orongo
Migingo	Sirembe	Malele
Sinaga	Urudi	Sinyolo
Chulaimbo	Kadibuoro	Orando
Naki	Sawagongo	Anyiko
Saradidi	Wera	Ndira
Kapiyo	Majengo	Kit Mkayi
Usenge	Wagwer	Ndori
Nyabeda	Ekwanda	Maranda
Masala	Yenga	Sigalame
Wagai	Uranga	Arombo
Lela	Kasagam	Rega
Eshiadumba	Ebisiyubi	Gulu
Tieng're	Migosi	Diemo
Kambare	Nyakoko	Nyawana
Nyagoko	Siger	Nyaguda
Lwala	Nyangera	Buaja Mission
Nyabera	Uriri	Ndere
Ngere	Mbeka	Ragen'gni
Kandaria	Jusa	Malanga

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
3. <u>Chianda</u>	Ranalo	80	
	Lweya	45	
	Agok	40	
	Kolo	25	
	Nyalunya	30	
	Lieta	12	
	Ragengni	130	
	Wayaga	24	
	Ochienga	30	
	Chianda	20	
	Migowa	8	
Okela	35	<u>479</u>	
4. <u>Got Osimbo</u>	Got Osimbo	200	
	Madungu	286	
	Sigomere	70	
	Konjira	81	
	Nyamwoso	84	
	Ulwani	148	
	Umin	63	
	Tinaare	30	<u>1012</u>
5. <u>Hawinga</u>	Bar Olengo	149	
	Dibuoro	209	
	Gangu	274	
	Hawinga	472	
	Kalkada	29	
	Kamhango	44	
	Mulori	64	
	Ohambo	92	
	Ubenda	171	
	Udura	150	
	Ohembo	126	
	Ulawe	128	
	Uranga	136	<u>2044</u>

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
6. <u>Hono</u>	Bar Olengo	120	
	Agulu	80	
	Ligwanwa	66	
	Okayo	40	
	Malele	80	
	Malomba	66	
	Nyamila	30	
	Sirongo	25	
	Got Oyenga	56	
	Nyadhi	40	
	Gombe	85	
	Uyoma	55	
	Rarieda	10	<u>790</u>
	7. <u>Kandaria</u>	Kandaria	65
Ongielo		35	
Wera 'A'		50	
Bwaja		43	
Abidha		15	
Abwao		52	
Nguka		25	
St. John		25	
Ndara		30	
Miyare		35	<u>377</u>
8. <u>Lundha</u>	Lundha	1246	
	Sirawo	207	
	Sirembe	1310	
	Mahera	492	
	Umina	61	
	Ginga	320	
	Nyapiedho	84	
	Sironga	135	
	Ujimbe	53	

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
	Rangala	92	
	Odegwe	110	
	Ragilo	21	
	Wagwer	32	<u>4036</u>
9. <u>Mahaya</u>	Mahaya	103	
	Rakombe	207	
	Ojelo	60	
	Kiswaro	70	
	Lweya	63	
	Nyagoko	200	
	Nyore	31	
	Aila	30	
	Nyasure	33	
	Nyamboya	21	
	Oweya	26	
	Rarieda	26	<u>846</u>
10. <u>Mudhiero</u>	Mudhiero	260	
	Muhondo	220	
	Masunga	40	
	Ruwe	65	
	Nyangwesa	56	
	Lwanda	76	
	Sikalame	85	
	Murumba	80	
	Sidindi	240	
	Lolwe	72	
	Musanda	40	
	Kiywiyo	250	
	Ihonje	40	
	Matora	45	<u>1589</u>

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
11. <u>Ngiya</u>	Ngiya	105	
	Ndum	40	
	Nyangoma	23	
	Masumbi	30	
	Pap Gori	18	
	Nyajvok	15	
	Rambo	18	
	Usingo	50	
	Bar Agulu	70	
	Mulanga	26	
	Mur Gwen'g	25	
	Mulaha	80	
	Nyandiwa	40	
	Siaya	60	
	Ulata	18	
Ayoro Tula	15		
Rabuor	10		
Kasema	12	<u>677</u>	
12. <u>Nyangungu</u>	Nyangungu	150	
	Ralak	130	
	Inungo	110	
	Jera	120	
	Ramande	85	
	Got Nanga	115	
	Malanga	30	
	Usulu	35	
	Anyiko	12	
	Murumba	24	
	Luthele	15	
	Ligega	32	
	Luanda	13	<u>871</u>

	<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
13.	<u>Nyakongo</u>	Lwala	49	
		Masala	40	
		Tanga	156	
		Rachar	100	
		Nyabeda	5	
		Sere	50	
		Nyakongo	300	
		Nyabera	285	
		Akele	23	
		Majengo	180	
		Pop Kolal	20	
		Madiany	3	<u>1207</u>
14.	<u>Ramba</u>	Ramba	100	
		Siger	70	
		Ndwara	30	
		Mabinju	40	
		Saradibi	105	
		Lwala	120	
		Nyayiera	56	
		Luoro	25	
		Memba	100	<u>646</u>
15.	<u>Rawa</u>	Rawa	175	
		Ulambi	122	
		Sinaga	185	
		Lihanda	180	
		Uranga	50	
		Marengo	117	
		Jina	105	
		Nyandiwa	160	
		Omindo	40	<u>1134</u>

	<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
16.	<u>Ramula</u>	St. Paul Maleki	32	
		Janen	20	
		Ndori	15	
		St. Mark Gombe	71	
		Ochienyo	35	
		Rumula	70	
		Dhene	16	
		Rera	23	
		Kambare	20	
		Onding	20	
		Wang Bith	13	
		Wambasa	20	
		Lwak	20	<u>374</u>
17.	<u>Regea</u>	Regea	76	
		Nyaminia	115	
		Luanda	55	
		Sirunga	13	
		Malanga 'A'	70	
		Malanga 'B'	27	
		Ndere	87	
		Nyabeda	90	
		Anyiko	40	
		Yala Town	30	<u>603</u>
18.	<u>Simenya</u>	Simenya	250	
		Ambira	200	
		Umala	150	
		Simerro	100	<u>700</u>
19.	<u>Sawagongo</u>	Sawagongo	101	
		Uriri	150	
		Masogo	95	

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
	Dieaya	22	
	Nango	25	
	Bar Kakongo	17	
	Nyawara	207	
	Gongo	68	
	Miyare	23	
	Ulamba	65	
	Luanda Minyowo	63	
	Bondo	19	
	Wagai	15	
	Rawalu	21	
	Luvi	35	<u>926</u>
 <u>SOUTH NYANZA & KISUMU DISTRICT</u>			
<u>Akoko Central</u>	Akoko	60	
	Nyaguda	72	
	Bond	70	
	Uyawi	49	
	Wambara	275	
	Got Rasoti	8	
	Mbeka	276	
	Ujwanga	55	
	Gombe	50	
	Lenya	20	
	Kipasi	183	<u>1118</u>
 <u>Akoko South</u>	Pe-Hill	52	
	Akoko	25	
	Uradi	16	
	Ngonga	12	
	Marienga	25	
	Oruba	25	
	Rombe	12	
	Sare	23	

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
	Komoto Ruhe	30	
	Atich	18	
	Kanydera	13	
	Kodhil	18	
	Olande	10	
	Suka	8	
	Ndonyo	60	
	Kangudho	20	
	Ongora	20	
	Ranen	100	
	Onger	20	<u>509</u>
22.	<u>Ahero</u>		
	Nyagwero	20	
	Masune	15	
	Nyakongo	15	
	Nyasoko	25	
	Ahero	140	
	Yogo	120	
	Apondo	60	
	Disi	40	
	Awak	40	
	Kosida	35	<u>510</u>
23.	<u>Got Rateng</u>		
	Got Rateng	200	
	Rongo	150	
	Pula	75	
	Chebera	20	
	Ayengo	40	
	Mikai	45	
	Nyatindo	67	
	Agoro Sare	21	
	Nyangela	52	
	Nyahera	250	

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
	Ugenya	22	
	Adhine	70	
	Nyawli Omugu	30	
	Oriang	8	
	Olando	45	1117 ====
24. <u>Guu</u>	Guu	153	
	Obuga 'B' ,	143	
	Ndege	35	
	Kibron	130	
	Lwanda	20	
	Asawo	10	
	Ngon	8	
	Withur	13	
	God Aponde	13	
	Obuyu 'A'	120	
	Siany	85	
	Mirin	35	
	Oboch	33	
	Keyo	32	
	Apoko	6	860 ====
25. <u>Greater Kisumu</u>	Manyatta	160	
	St. John Bungu	200	
	Pand Pieri	100	
	Kuoyo	50	
	Tido	30	
	Nyawita	40	
	Kudho	20	
	Migosi	100	
	Mulgoi	60	
	Alando	35	
	Riwo	50	
	Nyagongo	30	

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
	Rapogi	70	
	Kibos	25	970
			===
26. <u>Kisii</u>	St. Philips Kisii	143	
	Magongo	20	
	Masimbi	80	
	Masora	30	
	Keroka	18	
	Riemego	8	301
			===
27. <u>Maseno</u>	St. Paul Maseno	60	
	Rabuor	60	
	Mbalawandu	45	
	Chulaimbo	40	
	Huma	35	
	Nyakongo	45	
	Ongiyo	175	
	St. Philips Nyabera	75	535
			===
28. <u>Masogo</u>	Ongeche	72	
	Migingo 'A'	123	
	Orye	77	
	Orombo	77	
	Ragwanda	18	
	Migingo 'B'	132	
	Masogo	250	
	Bwanda	82	
	Nywamware	66	
	Kudho	15	
	Ranjira	75	
	Mariwa	27	
	Nyakana	18	1034
			====

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
	Milugo	14	
	Ohinga	313	741
			===
31. <u>Ndere</u>	Ngere	80	
	Oswere	32	
	Kitambo	47	
	Nyera	30	
	Kalande	58	
	Okuto	16	
	Reru	10	
	Aboke	140	
	Mayeka	16	
	Olwala	52	
	Nyauk	104	
	Kirindo	91	
	Nyandeje	120	
	Junyo	80	926
			===
32. <u>Nyakoko</u>	St. Luke Nyakoko	120	
	St. Peter Murani	50	
	Chemelil	35	
	Kibigori	50	
	Nyakunguro	60	
	Amilo	60	
	Ombeyi	25	
	Maramu	20	
	Kango 'A'	45	
	Kango 'B'	75	
	Kigoche	75	615
			===
33. <u>Ogande</u>	Ogande	5	
	Homa Bay	170	
	Magare	40	

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
	Otaro	105	
	Maguje	28	
	Nyagidha	40	
	Ralang'	26	
	Ragenya	19	
	Oridi	18	
	Komolo Opedhi	19	
	Loo Rateng'	10	
	Ang'iya	44	
	Urianda	63	
	Ujajo	130	
	Rapora	180	
	Ogongo	60	
	Malela	29	
	Ponge	104	
	Waondo	170	
	Obalwanda	80	
	Mbita	5	
	Ngodhe	28	
	Goyo	12	
	Rmoya	8	1237
			===
34.	<u>Rae</u>	157	
	Ponge	20	
	Onyuongo	15	
	Nduga	32	
	Iko	14	
	Ragen 'A'	10	
	Kusa	84	
	Sango	44	
	Pawtege	10	
	Ligusa	16	
	Bungu	34	
	Manyatta	19	
	Urudi	12	467
			===

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
35. <u>Sinyolo</u>	St. John's	60	
	Nyahera	65	
	Ramogi	55	
	St. Mark, Lela	55	
	St. Luke's Ramba	40	
	Olando	20	
	Ng'olo	20	
	Manyatta	15	
	Pundo	10	
	Mikingi	15	
	Tieng're	50	
	Bar Ngembe	40	
	St. Peter's Kudho	40	
	Ongalo	45	
	Odowa	35	
	Tido	20	
	Yambo	15	
	Wachara	15	
	Sebembe	40	
	Urudi	10	665
		===	
36. <u>Songhor</u>	St. Andrew's	20	
	Oeno Nam	25	
	Tamu	95	
	Muhoroni	80	
	Koru	105	
	Makindu	30	
	Osengo Tetu	17	
	Chemelil	50	
	Kiriogori	45	
	Luala	25	
	Daraja Mbili	25	
	Tinditre	30	
	Owiro	30	577
			===

	<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
37.	<u>St. Stephen's Cathedral</u>	St. Stephen's Cnada	500 300	800 ===
38.	<u>Usigu</u>	Usenge Wambasa Nyanyonga Got Ramogi Masiwo Majengo Lela Hula Angwenyo Usigu Jusa Ragak Bar Kanyango Nyangera Malemo Urima Pala Uhanga Mageta Nyamonye	156 148 120 55 50 63 60 75 20 70 130 36 240 42 63 185 40 32 30 20	1635 =====
39.	<u>Yenga</u>	Yenga Kagonya Miyare Uriya Ukwala Siwadhe Diraho Urembo Ageng	200 200 48 10 10 60 30 20 30	

<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
	Williech	15	
	Sikinga	37	680

DIOCESE OF MASENO SOUTH

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS FOR 1980

01	Akoko Central	11	1118
02	Akoko South	19	509
03	Ahero	11	510
04	Bondo	12	553
05	Chianda	12	479
06	Got Osimbo	8	1012
07	Got Rateng'	16	1117
08	Guu	15	860
09	Greater Kisumu	14	970
10	Hawinga	14	2157
11	Hono	13	790
12	Kandaria	10	377
13	Kisii	6	301
14	Lundha	13	4036
15	Mahaya	12	846
16	Maseno	8	535
17	Masongo	23	1554
18	Migori	17	713
19	Mudhiero	14	1589
20	Ndiru	29	741
21	Ngere	13	896
22	Ng'iya	18	677
23	Nyakoko	18	615
24	Nyakongo	12	1207
25	Nyang'ungu	13	871
26	Ogande	24	1287
27	Rae	13	467
28	Ramba	9	646

29	Ramula	13	379
30	Rawa	9	1134
31	Regea	10	603
32	Sawagongo	15	926
33	Simenya	4	700
34	Sinyolo	20	665
35	Songhor	13	577
36	St. Stephen's	2	800
37	Usigu	20	1635
38	Yenga	11	680

507

35,530

===

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SOURCES

ORAL EVIDENCE

1. JONATHAN DANIEL OMOLO

(Born 1931)

At the time of interview he was the Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Maseno South. When the Diocese was divided into two in August 1984 he became the Bishop of the Diocese of Maseno West. Interviewed at his office in Kisumu July 24th 1984 to July 30th 1984.

2. JEPHTHA ABSALOM WANGULU

(Born 1903)

Educated at Maseno School 1920-1924. Became a teacher and taught at Maseno, Kisii and Masogo from 1925-1945. Later was a supervisor of schools until his retirement in 1957. Interviewed on 16th July 1984.

3. GIDEON OMOLO

(Born 1908)

Began evangelizing in 1945. He was a Church teacher at Mahaya for 11 years. In 1948 he was converted and joined the REvival Movement with the group of Ishmael Noo. He was then appointed chairman of United Churches of Kenya and Independent African Churches. Intereviewed on 1st August 1984.

4. MATTHEW ABEDNEGO AJUOGA

(Born 1925)

Educated at Maseno School 1942-44 and at St. Mary's School Yala 1945-46. Became converted to Christianity in 1948. In 1950 joined St. Pauls Theological College Limuru. Finished 1954, ordained priest, the youngest in the diocese, and posted to Eldoret. In 1957 he became the leader of Revival Movement within the Church.

The group separated from the Anglican Church the same year, and founded the CCA. He is the head of his Church which has over 70,000 members. Interviewed 26th July 1984.

5. REV. ODUMA
(Born 1918)

Began schooling in 1928. Joined Maseno Normal School 1933 and later became a teacher. He felt called to serve God and went to Mombasa Theological College. At the time of interview he was in charge of Usenge arch-deaconry and padre at Usenge Church. Interviewed on 27th July 1984.

6. REV MRS. OKUTHE
(Born 1935)

She was the first appointed and ordained deaconess and priest in the Anglican Church in Kenya. At the time of interview she was in charge of Muhoroni Parish. Interviewed 30th July 1984.

7. BISHOP EVANS AGOLA
(Born 1910)

He was the first Bishop of the Diocese of Maseno South in 1970. He was educated at Maseno and later became a school teacher before he joined Limuru Theological College. He was ordained as priest in 1943 and thereafter faithfully served the Anglican Church until his retirement in 1975. Interviewed 21st July 1984.

8. OCHOLA ON'GOMBE
(Born 1950)

Trained at Warner Pacific College U.S. Master of Divinity at Divinity School Massachusetts. At the time of interview he was the Provost at St. Stephen's Cathedral and in the Diocese of Maseno South. Interviewed on 24th July 1984.

9. ANDREA AWILI

(Born 1898)

Went to Maseno School in 1910 where he trained as a carpenter. Ever since he joined Maseno School he lived a Christian life within the Anglican Church
Interviewed on 21st July 1984.

10. NORAH ADUWA AWILI

(Born 1911)

She was born at Msanda Ugenya the same village as Alfayo Odongo Mango who founded the Holy Ghost Church. She got married to Andrea Awili in 1920.
Interviewed on 21st July 1984.

11. OKELO OLUOKO (OMWASI)

(Born 1926)

He joined the Revival movement under the Noo group as a young boy. Later he also founded his own independent church at Alego-Masumbi. Interviewed 28th July 1984.

12. LOISE APIYO

(Born 1914)

Church leader at Gobei in Sakwa. Second wife but got "saved" and left her home to lead a "pure" Christian life. Interviewed 29th July 1984.

13. YUANITA MIGIRE

(Born 1920)

Joined the Noo Group of REvival in 1949 when she became "saved". Interviewed in Gobei, Sakwa location on 4th August 1984.

14. LEAH OMULO
(Born 1903)

Married Rueben Omulo one of the first trained Anglican priests in the diocese. Interviewed at her home on 5th May 1985.

15. DANIEL OGUNDE
(Born 1929)

Joined the Revival Movement of the Noo group in 1950. At the time of interview he was the secretary to Ramogi Press in Kisumu. He has done a great job in helping towards publishing new songs and new African tunes for the Christian Evangelical Union. Interviewed in Kisumu on 3rd August 1984.

16. ISHMAEL OWUOTH
(Born 1906)

He was one of the elders of the Christian Evangelical Union. He was interviewed at his home in Sakwa Gobei on 1st May 1985.

17. LORNA OKUNGU
(Born 1913)

She married Phillip Okungu in 1930. Okungu was one of the trained priests who together with Ajuoga founded the CCA in 1957. Later Okungu and Ajuoga divided, and Okungu founded his own Church with followers mostly from Asembo and Uyoma. Later when Okungu died in 1982 his wife Lorna Okungu remained the defender of his Church. She was interviewed in her home in Asembo on 11th May 1985.

18. RUSALIA APINDI
(Born in 1924)

Married to Canon E. Apindi in 1943. She was among the first educated girls in Alego-Siaya District.

19. HESBON NYON'GO

(Born 1920)

Went to Limuru Theological College where he trained as a priest and was ordained in 1945. At the time of interview he was the deacon in charge of Maseno Deaconry. Interviewed on 5th May 1985.

20. MRS. R. WANGULU

(Born 1913)

Married Absalom Wangulu in 1928. She was one of the educated girls in the area. Interviewed at her home in Kano, Kisumu District on 16th July 1984.

21. SARA APALA

(Born 1918)

Joined N'giya Girls' School in 1926. She was one of the earliest educated girls in the area. Interviewed at her home Gem-Wagwer, siaya District on 22nd April 1985.

22. RHODA AGUTU

(Born 1919)

Educated at N'giya Girls' School and was one of the first trained teachers at Ng'iya Teacher Training College. Interviewed at Alego-N'giya in her home on 21st July 1984.

23. HESRON ADUOGO

(Born 1939)

Educated at Maseno School. Later went to Limuru Theological College where he trained as a priest. Ordained in 1965. At the time of interview he was the arch-deacon at N'giya arch-deaconry. Interviewed at N'giya on 6th June 1985.

OTHERS INTERVIEWED

24. Saulo Atieno, Alego Masumbi, Siaya, 6 April 1985.
25. Johana Oyugi, Mulaha, Alego, Siaya, 8 April 1985
26. Zedekiah Lukaka, Dibuoro, Alego, Siaya, 10 April 1985
27. Sila Nyamwanda, Oware, Sakwa, Siaya, 29th July 1984
28. Aloo Opata, Kisumu Town, Kisumu District, 5 August 1984
29. Jaduong Anya, Seme, Kisumu District, 12 April 1985
30. Jonathan Olenyo Seme, Kisumu District, 12 April 1985
31. Phillip Atieno , Kisumu, Kisumu District, 3rd May 1985
32. Josiah Nyandiege, Asembo, Siaya District, 8 May 1985
33. Phillip Nyawuori, Asembo, Siaya District, 8th May 1985
34. Hezron Orinda, Uyoma, Siaya District, 9 May 1985
35. Daniel Otego, Kisumu Town, Kisumu District, 3 April 1985
36. Patricia Nyagudi, Sakwa, Siaya District, 29 July 1984
37. Turphena Noo, Sakwa, Siaya District, 29th July 1984
38. Susana Onyaha, Asembo, Siaya District, 8 May 1985

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THESE WERE THE QUESTIONS USED AS A GENERAL GUIDELINE IN FIELD RESEARCH

GROUP A (Questions to the first group of people who went to school and became Christians)

1. When were you born?
2. Where did you go to school?
3. Who took you there and who paid your school fees?
4. Can you tell me about the first white men you came accross in your life?
5. How did you come to know about Christian faith?
6. What other things were you taught in school?
7. How did the people in this area become Christians? Who taught them about Christianity and when did the person begin teaching them?
8. Did these people in this area accept the Christian faith immediately?
9. Why did they not accept immediately?
10. What led them to accept Christianity later?
11. What problems did you meet wthey you went back from school to your home?
12. Were you accepted by your age-group? Why not?
13. How did you deal with these problems?
14. Are you still a Christian? If not, why not?
15. Do you still belong to the Anglican Church? If not why?

GROUP B (Questions asked generally to both Christians and non-Christians)

16. Why did you become a Christian or why are you not a Christian?
17. Did you go to school? If not, why not?
18. What led you to go to school?
19. What did the missionaries preach about polygamy?
20. What did they tell you about ancestors and sacrifices you offered for particular reasons?
21. When you became a Christian, how did you name your children? Who chose the names of an infant?
22. What about if a departed member of the family brought you a dream of wanting the child to be named after him, what would you do?

50. What are the things which you allow in this Church which were not allowed in the Anglican Church?
51. Do you feel at home in this new Church?
52. Why?

23. How many wives did you have?
24. When you became a Christian did you send them away? Where?
25. What happened to their children?
26. Did you find it easy or difficult being a Christian? Why?
27. Did the missionaries tell you anything new about God?
28. What were the things you did not know about that you were told by the missionaries?
29. When you became a Christian which are some of the old practices you were forced to leave?
30. Did you find it easy to do so?
31. Which old practices do you think you could still carry on with as a Christian?

GROUP C (Questions for Catechists and priests)

32. When did you become a Christian?
33. When did you decide to work for God?
34. Why?
35. Were you taken for training? Where? When?
36. Where were you posted?
37. What problems did you come across where you were posted?
38. Were you happy with the way the missionaries handled you? Why?
39. What is your experience now?
40. What would you suggest would help and improve these situations?

GROUP D (Questions to those who broke away from Anglican Church and joined other Churches)

41. What is the name of your Church?
42. Who founded it? Why? Why is it called this name?
43. When did you become a member of this group?
44. Why did you leave the Anglican Church?
45. What are some of the teachings that appealed to you in your new Church?
46. What did your leader teach or preach?
47. Who are the members of your Church? Did they also join for the same reason as you did?
48. Which are the areas where the members of this Church are found?
49. What problems did you encounter with the missionaries of Government when this Church was founded?