

**The Contribution of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to Education and
Christianity in Kaloleni District, Kilifi County (1900-1963)**

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C50/69491/2011**

**M.A Project Paper Submitted to the Department of History and Archaeology,
University of Nairobi in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of
Master of Arts Degree in History.**

2013

DECLARATION

This project paper is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other University.

SIGNATURE

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

SIGNATURE DATE

DR. MARY MWIANDI

DEDICATION

I am dedicating this project paper to my wife Jackline Dzombo and my two daughters, Racheal Kadzo and Rebecca Dama for their love and great support during my studies. I also dedicate this work to my father Kazungu Jefwa and my late mother Dama Yaa. Their patience, love and compassion gave me the will and determination to complete my project.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First, I would like to express my gratitude's to the almighty God for giving me strength and good health to complete my studies. Secondly, I would like to express my deep appreciation to my supervisor, Dr. Mary Mwiandi for tirelessly reading my work and offering necessary advice.

It is with immense gratitude that I acknowledge the support of my beloved wife Jackline Dzombo and my siblings throughout my studies. I also thank all the lecturers at the Department of History and Archaeology for their professional guidance and my fellow students for their great support and cooperation during my studies.

Lastly, I thank all my respondents for granting me interviews without which I could have not accomplished my research work.

God bless you all.

ABSTRACT

This study examined the contribution of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to Western Education and Christianity in Kaloleni District, Kilifi County. The objectives of this study were to examine the rise and development of western education and Christianity among the Giriama, the contribution African teachers and evangelists towards the same and the challenges the Church Missionary Society faced in Kaloleni District. This study was guided by Modernization theory and Cultural Lag theory. Modernization theory assisted in explaining how the introduction of Western Education in Kaloleni District by the CMS brought social advancement among the Giriama. The Cultural Lag theory assisted in explaining how the introduction of Western Education in Kaloleni by the CMS brought social conflict between modernity and the traditional Giriama education system. This project paper was written using both primary and secondary sources. Semi-structured oral interviews were used to gather more information on CMS activities in Kaloleni District. The oral interviews were recorded, transcribed and qualitatively analyzed.

As demonstrated in chapter two, the CMS missionaries slowly began their work at the Kenyan Coast and gradually extended their presence to the interior where they tried to convert the Giriama to Christianity. The Bombay Africans solved some of the challenges such as language barrier that had initially hindered missionary activities at the coast. Despite various challenges, the CMS missionaries remained committed in evangelism and towards the close of the 19th century, they moved into the interior where they preached to the Giriama.

In 1904, the CMS missionaries began evangelism work in Kaloleni. At Kaloleni, they faced challenges such as competition from Islam and African traditional practices, shortage of teachers and medical doctors. Nonetheless, they worked very hard to improve the social and economic status of the Giriama. This study found out that by building schools in Kaloleni, the missionaries exposed the Giriama to Western Education, which enabled them to get employment in the colonial administration. Besides education, the CMS missionaries provided medical services in Kaloleni. The missionaries therefore improved the social and economic conditions of the Giriama.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASC	-	ALL Saints Cathedral
CMS	-	Church Missionary Society
CNS	-	Costal Normal School
HGF	-	Holy Ghost Fathers
IBEACO	-	Imperial British East Africa Company
JKML	-	Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library
KC	-	Kilifi County
KNA	-	Kenya National Archives
OI	-	Oral Interview
PC	-	Provincial Commissioner
RC	-	Roman Catholic
UMCA	-	United Methodist of Ventral Africa

WORKING DEFINITIONS

Bush Schools-These were makeshift schools under trees that were meant for spreading missionary education

Bombay Africans-Freed slaves shipping to middle-East rescued and taken to Nasik Mission in Bombay

Kaya-Fortified villages among the Giriama

Elimu ya Mulamba-Vocational education offered by the CMS missionaries in Kaloleni

Tembo-alcohol

Rika-Age set system among the Giriama

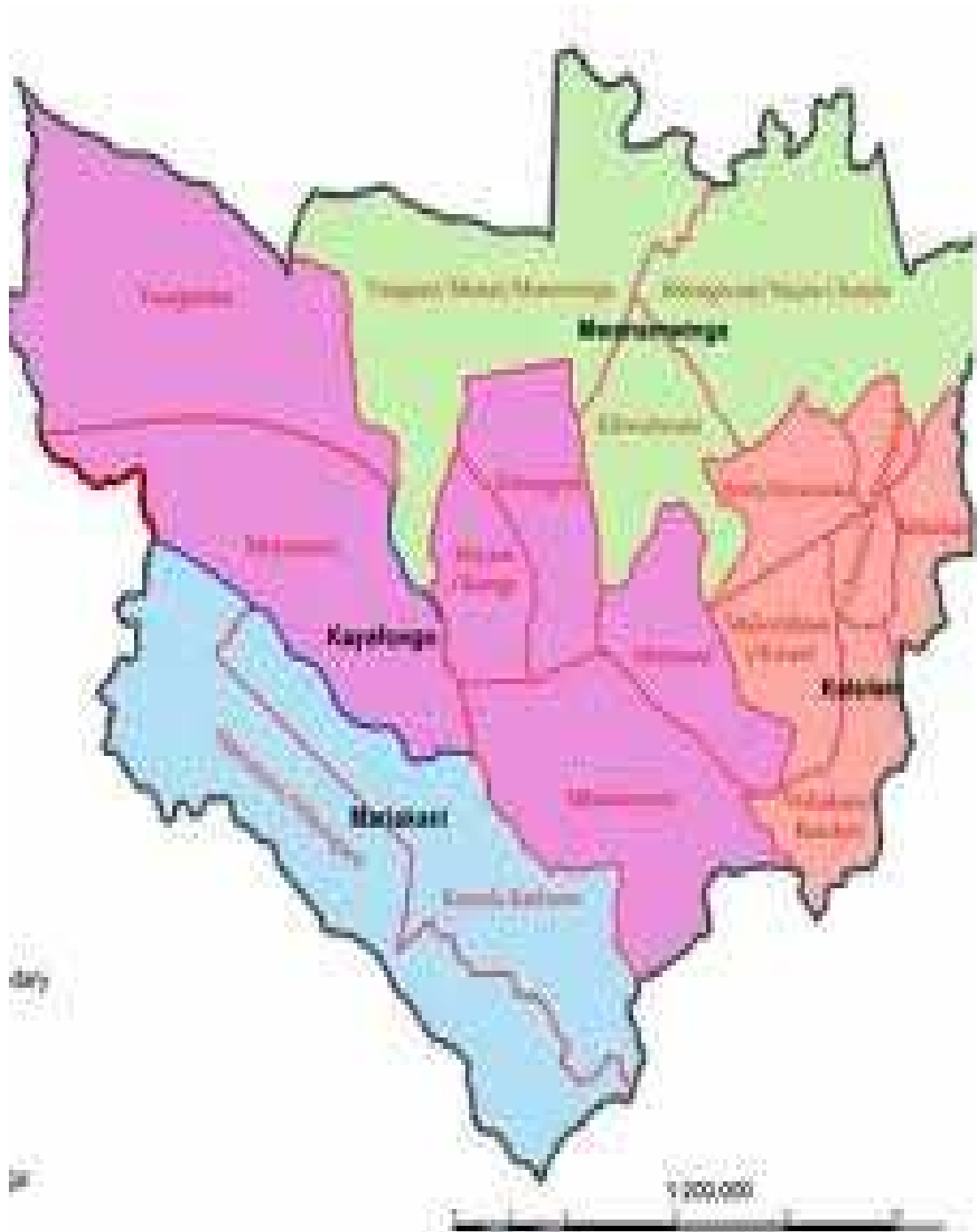
Enyetsi-Owner of land among the Giriama

Kambi-The ruling council of elders

Sorghum-Mtama

Kwari- Masaai raiders

MAP of Kaloleni District

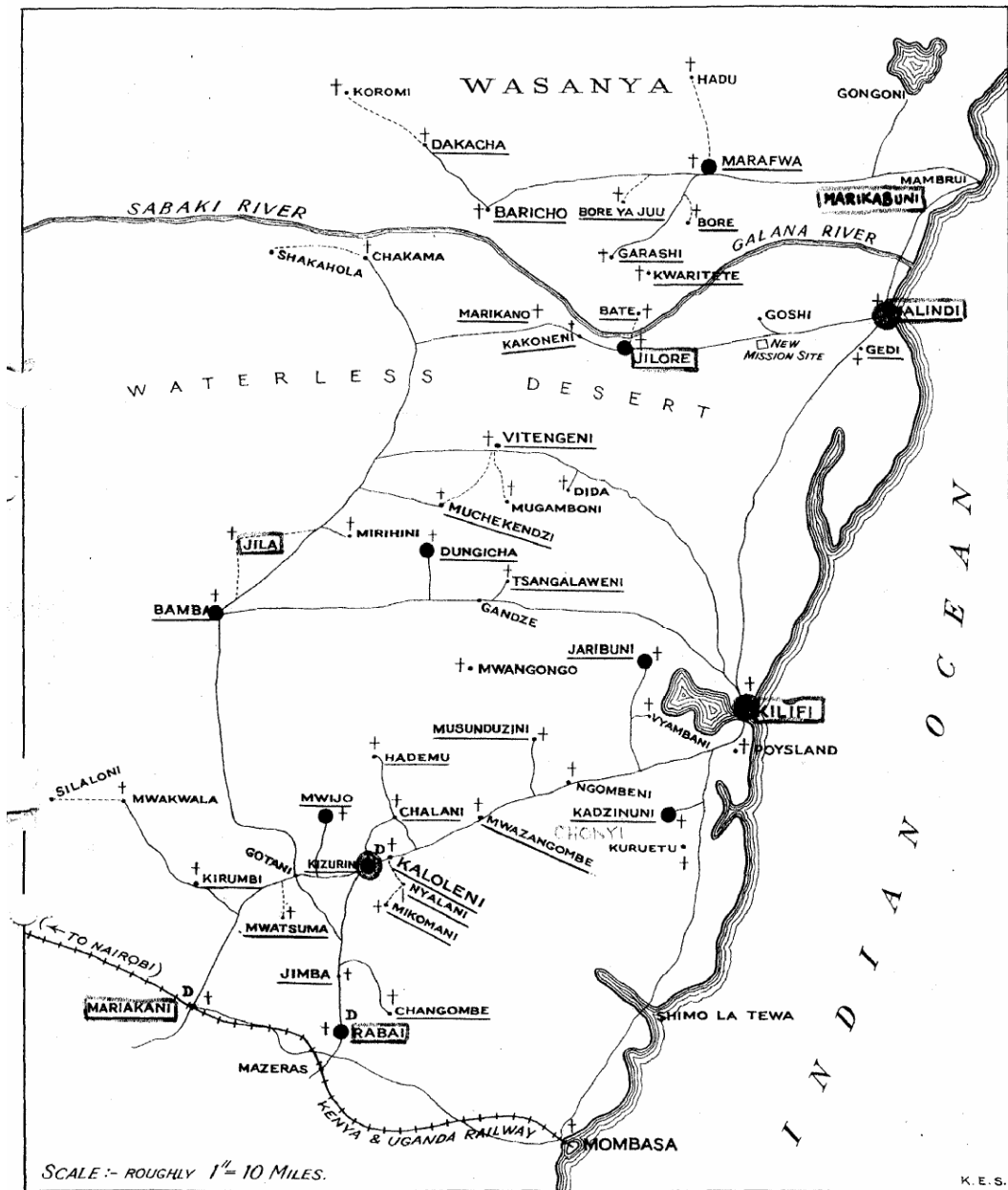


Source:https://www.google.co.ke/?gws_rd=cr&ei=RQyTUpW3N6Sr0QWb64CQCg
#q=kaloleni+district+map

MAP of Giriyama District, Kenya

GIRYAMA DISTRICT, KENYA.

SHOWING C.M.S. ELEMENTARY & BUSH SCHOOLS (1940) CHURCHES & DISPENSARIES.



SCALE:- ROUGHLY 1" = 10 MILES.

K. E. S.

————— = MOTOR ROADS.
 - - - - - = NATIVE PATHS.
 D = C.M.S. DISPENSARY.

† VILLAGE CHURCH.
 ● ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.
 BUSH SCHOOLS UNDERLINED IN RED.

[NOTE:- AT KALOENI THERE ARE ALSO A PRIMARY SCHOOL, A HOSPITAL & A LEPER CAMP.]

Source: KNA/Map/61/5/32-Showing CMS Elementary and Bush Schools (1940) Churches and Dispensaries

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

Christian missionaries laid the foundation of modern education in Kenya to encourage the spread of Christianity. Before the coming of Europeans, Kenyan societies had their own systems of education.¹ Children learnt cultural traditions and customs of their ancestors from the community as well as specific skills from their families and other specialized individuals through apprenticeship programs.² Therefore, indigenous knowledge was very important in the organization and transmission of knowledge.³ As the missionaries established themselves on the mainland, they started schools as a means of converting Africans to Christianity. They also used the schools as rehabilitation centers for freed slaves. However, before the coming of the Christian missionaries, the Arabs had already introduced some schools at the coast where they taught the Koran. Thus, the Christian missionaries had to move further inland, away from the Muslims where they could easily rehabilitate the returned slaves.⁴

In 1908, the missionaries formed a joint committee on education that later became the Missionary Board of Education, representing all the Protestant missions in the British protectorate. In 1909, the British government established an education board with Henry Scott of the Church of Scotland serving as the chair. The establishment of the education board occurred at the same time that the Fraser and Giroud Commissions were put in place.⁵ These commissions called for racial consideration in developing the British protectorate. The recommendations included a

¹Storold, K E. *The CMS in Kenya: The Coast 1884-1944*. (London: Longman Press, 1960), pp. 23-25.

²Ibid.

³Wosoyanju, Chris. *The System of Education in Kenya*. Nairobi, August 2012.

⁴Oliver, Roland. *The missionary factor in East Africa*. New York: Longman, 1942.

⁵Ibid.

push for industrial development, technical education, and the teaching of religion as a moral foundation.⁶ The import of expensive labor from India was discouraged. Professor Fraser also recommended the establishment of a Department of Education.

After the First World War, a more concerted effort by the British to develop African colonies was established. The British began reexamining and reevaluating education in the African territories.⁷ In 1923, the British Secretary of State established a committee chaired by the parliamentary under-secretary of state to advise on the educational affairs of the African-Kenyans. This marked the beginning of the first educational policy by the British colonial government, which emphasized the three-tier education system in Kenya. In this case, there were racially segregated schools for Europeans, Asians and Africans. It was also the starting point of a joint venture between the colonial government and the missionaries, whereby the missionaries paved the way for colonialism.⁸ After independence, the three-tier system developed into three types of schools: government, private and/or missionary, and independent schools. The government schools were formerly reserved for whites, and the private schools were the best equipped. Some of the missionary schools continued to exist in the post independence period, but some were converted into government schools.⁹ This study has examined the contribution of the Church Missionary Society to the establishment and development of western education in Kaloleni District, Kilifi County.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ingham, K. *A History of East Africa*. London: Logman Green and Company, 1962.

⁹Omolewa, Michael. "Educating the "Native": A Study of the Education Adaptation Strategy in British Colonial Africa, 1910-1936." *The Journal of African American History*, 2006: Vol. 91, No. 3 pp. 267-287.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Most of the early missionary activities in Kenya took place along the coastal plateaus. Kaloleni District was among the first places at the coast where the Church Missionary Society established mission stations.¹⁰ However, the available literature on CMS evangelism at the Kenyan Coast tends to focus much on their activities in Mombasa and Freretown, and either ignores, or mentions in passing their activities among the Giriama in Kololeni. The existing literature on the CMS activities does not provide information on how Islam, slave trade, and the conservative nature of Africans hindered the spread of western education and Christianity among the Giriama in Kaloleni.¹¹ Moreover, existing information about missionary activities in Kaloleni, centers much on the roles of white missionaries in the spread of Christianity and Western education, but ignores the participation of Africans in the same. This provides a biased account of the missionary activities in Kaloleni. It was against this background that this study examined the contribution of the Church Missionary Society to the establishment and spread of western education and Christianity in Kaloleni and has also examined the contribution of Africans towards the same.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1. To examine the rise and development of western education and Christianity among the Giriama in Kaloleni
2. To examine the contribution African teachers and evangelists to the spread of western education and Christianity in Kaloleni District

¹⁰Storold, K E. *The CMS in Kenya: The Coast 1884-1944*. London: Longman Press, 1960.

¹¹Henry, Martyn. *Missionaries and Muslims in East Africa before the Great War*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2011.

3. To investigate the challenges the Church Missionary Society faced in spreading western education and Christianity in Kaloleni District

1.4 Justification of the Study

Although the Church Missionary Society was instrumental in the spread of Christianity in Kaloleni, their participation has not been given much attention in various scholarly works. In addition, the literature reviewed below does not mention the pivotal role of the African teachers and evangelists in the spread of Christianity and western education in Kaloleni District. Second, the challenges that the CMS missionaries faced in spreading missionary education and Christianity in Kaloleni have not been explored either. Third, the impact of the contribution of the CMS towards the spread of Christianity and Western Education in Kenya has not been analyzed. This study has therefore brought to the limelight the role of the CMS in the spread of western education and Christianity in Kaloleni District, Kilifi County. It has also discussed how African teachers and evangelists assisted in the spread of Christianity and Western Education in Kaloleni despite serious hostility from Muslims and African traditional religious practices.

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study focused on the contribution of the CMS to the establishment and development of Western Education in Kaloleni District, Kilifi County. It begins from 1904, when the CMS arrived in Kaloleni District and started spreading western education and ends in 1963. Kaloleni was chosen because it was one of the centers where early missionary education spread at the Kenyan coast. This study demanded a review of several sources and conducting many oral interviews. Conducting several oral interviews required a lot of time and financial resources. I overcome these

challenges by taking a study leave from the Teachers Service Commission and seeking funds to carry out the research.

1.6 Literature Review

Introduction

The literature review below examines the coming of Christian missionaries in Kenya and the activities they executed. It also discusses the participation of Africans in the spread of Christianity and formal education in Kenya.

Oliver Roland in his book, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, discusses how the missionaries spread Christianity in East Africa. Although this book explains missionary activities in Kenya, it does not talk about the Africans participation in the missionary programmes. This study has therefore enriched the existing literature on the same by discussing the role of African teachers and evangelists in Kaloleni District.¹²

Sorobea, Nyachieo Bogonko in his book, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*, points out that Africans took part in missionary education in various ways. First, the Africans donated or surrendered their land on which missionary schools were built. Second, the Africans provided the initial construction materials. Third, African labour was used in building schools and churches, in making furniture and in the agriculture farms of mission school centers. Furthermore, Africans became teachers and evangelists, thereby promoting Western education in the country.¹³ This book is relevant to this study because it provides a general background of the Africans participation in the spread of Christianity and missionary

¹²Oliver, Roland. *The missionary factor in East Africa*. New York: Longman, 1942.

¹³Sorobea, Nyachieo Bogonko. *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*. London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1992.

education in Kenya. However, it does not provide comprehensive account of the Africans participation in missionary activities in a given part of Kenya.

William Robert in his book, *The Church Mission Society in Eastern and Central Kenya 1875-1935*,¹⁴ notes that the spread of missionary education and Christianity in Giriama land in the second half of the nineteenth century was hindered by the prevalence of slave trade. He contends that despite this challenge the missionaries operated in Galore where they established the first station in the interior. This books talks about the challenges that the missionaries faced at the Kenyan coast, but it does not examine the activities of the missionaries in Kaloleni District; hence, there is a missing link, which this study has filled.

According to Reverent Storold, missionary activities were well established at Kaloleni District by 1910. For example, the missionaries constructed a medical center and a number of schools in Kaloleni. However, the Giriama Rebellion of 1914 that affected Kaloleni District disrupted missionary activities for several months.¹⁵ When the missionary went back to Kaloleni after the rebellion, they immediately started training African teachers and evangelists and sent them out to teach in the “bush” schools and spread Christianity among the African masses. This study has discussed the role of the Church Missionary Society in the spread of western education and Christianity in Kaloleni.

According to Gordon, the missionaries operated at the coast and in Taita Hills as early as 1883. He observes that the missionaries had a good reception at the coast and most of them had established stations in Giriama land by 1910. In the first decade

¹⁴William, Robert. *The Church Missionary Society in Eastern and Central Kenya, 1875-1935*. London: University of Wisconsin, 1971.

¹⁵Muraya, Phyllis. *Missionary Work in Kenya and African Response*. Nairobi: Longman, 1983.

of the 1900s, Kaloleni District became a popular missionary centre in southern Giriama land. It became more closely to the large establishments typical of the CMS of Kikuyu. Primary school education flourished in Kaloleni from 1932-1938. He further explains that not all missionaries were happy about the huge establishment. For example, Storold was wary that the growing African church would become too dependent on European leadership; and M.G. Capon questioned whether it was right for six missionaries to be stationed at Kaloleni without freedom to intermarry. Therefore, it was interesting to investigate the contribution of the Church Missionary Society in the establishment and development of western education in Kaloleni District.¹⁶

Mwiandi notes that the African Catechists and teachers were very instrumental in the spread of Christianity and formal education in Meru District. She avers that although the Methodist Church missionaries introduced western education in Meru District, they could have not made any progress in their missionary work without the support of the African teachers and catechists.¹⁷ This study emphasized the role of Africans in the spread of Christianity in the interior of Kenya; hence, it was relevant to this study.

Alando asserts that churches have influenced African social and political life before and after independence. In Kenya, the colonial regime encouraged missionaries to establish themselves among the local populations and helped them in what they saw as the civilizing mission in Africa.¹⁸ At first, there was little opportunity for establishment of churches run by Africans with the missionaries assuming a superior

¹⁶Gordon, Hewith. *The problems of success: A history of the church missionary society 1910-1942*. London: Oxford University Press, 1942.

¹⁷Mwiandi, Mary. *The role of African Evangelists and Teachers in the Development of Western Education and Christianity in Nithi Division of Meru District of Kenya 1907-1960*. MA Thesis, 1993.

¹⁸Esther, Alando. *The Rise and Development of the Church Missionary Society, its environment, its men and its work*. MA Thesis, 1988.

role as though they had a monopoly of the truth. However, as Africans became educated, they began to challenge the norms preached by the European missionaries and this gave rise to independent churches which there after became an important feature in the last years of British colonial rule, and which have continued into the past independence period.¹⁹ This study shows that the discontent of some African Christian converts motivated them to form independent church movements and schools through which they spread the Gospel. It was therefore interesting to find out how independent church movements and schools were used by African evangelists and teachers to spread Christianity in Kaloleni District.

Fredrick Welbourn, in his book, *East Africa Christians*, has discussed the coming of various missionary societies in East Africa and their conversion of Africans to Christianity.²⁰ Arnold Temu also notes that the missionaries spent considerable amount of resources in educating Africans. Both Welbourn and Arnold have recognized the role of missionaries in the spread of western education; however, they have generally discussed their contributions. This study has provided a comprehensive account of the contributions of Church Missionary Society in the spread of western education.²¹

Assa Okoth in his book, *A History of Africa: African Societies and Establishment of Colonial Rule 1802-1915*, highlight the activities that the missionary societies in East Africa engaged during the period of 1860s and 1870s. He asserts that the initial concern of the missionaries was to suppress slave trade and rehabilitate the freed slaves.²² In 1803, the Holy Ghost fathers came from Reunion Island and started

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Temu, Arnold. *British Protestant Mission*. London: Longman, 1972.

²¹Ibid.

²²Okoth, Assa. *A history of Africa: African Societies and establishment of colonial rule 1802-1915*. Nairobi: East Africa Education Publishers, 2000.

a mission in Zanzibar. He notes that any attempt to discuss the penetration of the interior of Africa by the Europeans in the 19th century must begin with the missionaries. He also discusses the role of missionaries in colonization of Kenya. This book is relevant to this study because it talks about the coming of the missionaries at the Kenyan Coast, which this study has examined.

Muraya observes that missionary activities in Kenya preceded colonization, but the pioneers remained at the coast, where they were making little headway until the construction of the then Kenya-Uganda railway in the late 1890s made it possible to move inland.²³ Their arrival in the interior thus coincided with that of the colonial administrators. The missionaries had tremendous success in the study of African languages, which they committed into writing, and in providing refuge and rehabilitation to freed slaves. The initial converts were mainly ex-slaves, some of whom became very devoted catechists and teachers. The early converts in the hinterland were also the socially marginalized who had lost social identity and easily found a new one in Christianity. Soon, however, the terrain changed when the benefits of Western-style education began to bear discernible fruits and so the demand for it increased. Muraya identifies the improvement of infrastructure as one of the factors that facilitated the spread of Christianity to the interior, but he does not discuss the role of the Africans in this process.

Thomas and Kimambo, notes that the initial African Christians converted by European missionaries were few, often limited to those drawn to the mission stations. Nevertheless, they soon became an expanding corps of catechists, teachers and evangelists themselves settling in villages teaching and forcefully preaching the

²³Muraya, Phyllis. *Missionary Work in Kenya and African Response*. Nairobi: Longman, 1983.

Gospel in vernacular with an aim of increasing numbers of their fellows.²⁴ The local evangelists travelled so widely; in fact, in many areas of Uganda and western Kenya missionaries found local catechists and Christian homesteads already in place before they arrived. He contends that the role of African catechists and evangelists has rarely been appreciated, but they were instrumental in translating the scriptures, interpreting the Christian message and conveying it to others. They were therefore the first African interpreters of the Gospel and, without them; Christianity could not have spread as it did. This study has discussed the activities of early Christian converts in Kaloleni District.

Churu and Mwaura in their article, “*The Catholic Church and Schools in Kenya: A Historical Perspective on Education for Holistic Development*”, provides a historical overview of the involvement of the Catholic Church in schools in Kenya, from the inception of western education at the end of the 19th century to the post-independence period.²⁵ Although this article highlights major historical shifts, it gives much attention to the holistic development of the students championed by Catholic schools in Kenya in the 20th century. According to them, missionary activity originated in Kenya at nearly the same time as Western colonization. For the first half of the 20th century, therefore, the missionaries ran their schools under colonial rule. In this period, Catholic missionaries, though not as privileged as the Anglicans from whose country hailed the colonial power, enjoyed relatively greater autonomy in the manner of running their schools than was to be the case when the government of post-

²⁴Thomas, Spear, and Isaria Kimambo. *East African Expressions of Christianity*. Oxford: James Curry LTD, 1999.

²⁵Churu, Beatrice, and Philomena Mwaura. *The Catholic Church and Schools in Kenya: A Historical Perspective on Education for Holistic Development*. Nairobi: 2011.

colonial Kenya took over. This article provided a hint on the role of the missionaries in the spread of western education, which made it important to this study.

Missionaries' educational activities had a dramatic impact in Kenya. Until the late colonial period, the colonial governments provided almost no education themselves. As Sundkler and Steed have noted, "Colonial government' concerns were: recalcitrant chiefs, threatening revolts, droughts and bad harvests, not young people's education."²⁶ Until the mid-20th century, missionaries provided western education. Most missionaries viewed teaching basic literacy as an important part of their vocation because it enabled converts to read the Bible. However, their schools also became an important way of attracting converts. Not all mission organizations viewed education as equally important to their vocation; some mission organizations provided secondary schools, while others were reluctant to provide advanced education. However, almost all Africans who received education during the colonial period did so through the mission system. This study has examined the extent of missionary education in Kaloleni District therefore it is relevant to this study.

Zablon Nthumburi observes that the establishment of the British East Africa Protectorate and the building of the "Uganda Railway," which begun in Mombasa in 1895, reaching Nairobi in 1899 and Kisumu in 1901 provided an impetus for other missions to venture into the interior. The railway provided a cheap and safe route across the savannah and a thorn-scrub country inhabited by the warlike Wakamba and Wamaasai. The CMS had already established themselves in Taveta by 1890. Taveta had been an important Arab Swahili trading center, as well as a supply station for caravans about to cross Maasail and. Although Zablon identifies the railway as an indispensable development that facilitated missionary activities into the interior, he

²⁶Sundkler, Bengt, and Steed Christopher. *A History of the Church in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

fails to recognize the role of Africans in the spread of Christianity, which has been addressed by this study.²⁷

Robert Maxon in his article, *Kenya: Colonial Period: Administration, Christianity, Education, and Protest to 1940*, contends that the establishment of colonial administration formed the prelude for the spread of Christianity in Kenya. Christian missionaries, such as the Church Missionary Society (CMS), had enjoyed little success prior to the establishment of formal colonial control in 1895. It was only after the conquest and the establishment of a colonial administrative structure that Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary societies gained a foothold. Just as the process of establishing an administrative structure for the protectorate was gradual and incremental, so was the introduction of Christianity. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, colonial control had been established over much of the southern half of Kenya, and missions had gained converts as well in the region under British rule. In those areas in particular, missionaries were pioneers in introducing Western-style education in Kenya. Christians who had experienced Western education became part of new elite that gained salaried employment with the missions as teachers and pastors, or with the colonial state, as chiefs and clerks, and took the lead in economic innovation. Moreover, Christians with Western educations played a significant part in the protest movements that emerged to challenge the policies and practices of the colonial state in Kenya prior to 1940 and to demand improved status for themselves within colonial society.²⁸

²⁷Nthamburi, Zablon. *Mission to Church: A Handbook of Christianity in East Africa*. Nairobi: Uzima Publishers, 1991.

²⁸Robert, Maxon. *Kenya: Colonial Period: Administration, Christianity, Education, and Protest to 1940*. June 2, 2012. <http://patachu.com/kenya-colonial-period-administration-christianity-education-and-protest-to-1940/> (accessed September 16, 2013).

Anne Beck in her article, *Colonial Policy, and Education in British East Africa, 1900-1950*, states that the missionaries had set up a pattern of education by 1895 when the British came in. Since they were not plagued by administrative troubles of the British officials whose primary functions was to serve the military, they could concentrate on the spread of Christianity. Because a cursory acquaintance with the bible was the prerequisite for baptism for protestant converts, a nucleus of an educational program based on religion was established. Since few trained teachers were available during this early stage, much was left to the individual initiative of pioneers who often lived in isolation. At the very beginning, an important decision was made to teach Africans in vernacular language to avoid denationalization of natives.²⁹ This study examined the approaches that were used by the Church Missionary Society to establish and spread missionary education in Kaloleni.

George Urch in his article, *Education and Colonialism in Kenya*, discusses how the coming of missionaries in Kenya led to spread of western civilization and Christianity. He comments that the missionary activities in Kenya began in earnest in the last quarter of the 19th century. In 1888, the Imperial British East African Company called the Church Missionary Society to establish a chain of missions corresponding to the Districts of the of the company's stations. The company wanted the CMS to Christianize the natives and assist them in developing communication and agricultural centers. However, as missionary activities increased, native tribal leaders resisted what they sensed as a threat to their own authority. The missionaries soon looked for protection from their home governments and this later culminated to colonialism. Although Urch argues that missionary activities could not have been successful in Kenya without the support of the British government, he ignores the

²⁹Ann, Beck. "Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900-1950." *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 5. No.2 (1966), pp. 111-138.

pivotal role that was played by the African converts in the spread of western education.³⁰

Harold Turner points out clearly that the spread of missionary education was facilitated by the rise and spread of independent churches and schools in various parts of Africa. In the Kenyan context, Harold argues that independent church movements facilitated the spread of Christianity among the Kikuyu. For example, a group of early converts that emerged from the Gospel Missionary Society opened Githunguri independent school in 1925. This school charged no fees; hence, it attracted many students. Later in the 1930s, the Kikuyu formed the Kariang'a Educational Association. This article is indeed important to this study because it mentions how the creation of independent schools by African converts facilitated the spread of Christianity and western education. However, the participation of African teachers and catechists in civilizing Africans has not been given the attention it deserves. This study has enriched the existing literature on the role of missionaries in the spread of western education.³¹

Turton. E.R in his article, *The Introduction and Development of Educational Facilities for the Somali in Kenya*, argues that in some parts of Kenya, modern and humane methods of education appeared shortly after the introduction of colonial administration, often because of missionary initiative, but for the Somali pastoralists this was not the case. Having learnt "submission by bullets" and having been finally disarmed by 1919, they then had to wait until the Second World War for any government initiative in the sphere of education. This paper focuses on some the problems encountered in developing educational facilities for the Somali in Kenya

³⁰George, Urch. "Education and Colonialism in Kenya." *History of Education Quarterly*, (1971), pp, 250-257.

³¹Harold, Turner. "African Independent Churches and Education." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, (1975), pp. 295-308.

and analyses the factors that retarded this development. Nonetheless, it does not take into account how the predominance of Islam in Northern Kenya truncated the spread of missionary education among the Somali in Kenya. This study has analyzed some of the challenges the CMS encountered in spreading missionary education in Kaloleni District.³²

In East Africa, the missionaries used Christianity as a mechanism to facilitate their commercial interests by encouraging consumption of European products. Stambash is of the view that evangelism was a way of securing new markets and encouraging civilized persons to fashion themselves after European ideals. In this case, missionary evangelism created a link between religion and consumerism by influencing decisions about what to buy with moral understandings of good and evil. It was therefore be interesting to discuss how the early Christian converts in Kaloleni District influenced Africans to consume foreign goods.³³

1.7 Theoretical Framework

Modernization Theory and Cultural Lag theory guided this study. Walt Whitman Rostow proposed the modernization theory. According to Rostow, Modernization theory refers to the transformation, which takes place when a traditional or pre-modern society changes to such an extent that new forms of technological organizational or social characteristics or advanced society appears.³⁴ This theory explains how society advances, the variables that affect progress and how society reacts to development. Modernization theory compares various factors that are more or less conducive for transformation to occur. It also examines the

³²Turton, E R. "The Introduction and Development of Educational Facilities for the Somali in Kenya." *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1974), pp. 347-365.

³³Stambash, Amy. "Evangelism and Consumer Culture in Northern Tanzania." *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 73, No. 4 (2000), pp. 171-179.

³⁴Inglehart, Ronald. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

generalizations about how various parts of a modernized society fit together. Moreover, it encompasses the world of globalization where cultural morals and ideas are spread throughout the world leading to a universal culture.³⁵ In this study, Modernization theory assisted in explaining how the introduction of western education in Kaloleni District by the CMS brought social advancement among the Giriama.

William F. Ogburn theory of cultural lag suggests that a period of maladjustment occurs when the non-material culture is struggling to adapt to new material conditions. This resonates with ideas of technological determinism, in that it presupposes that technology has independent effects on society. The term cultural lag refers to the notion that culture takes time to catch up with technological innovations, and that social problems and conflicts are caused by this lag. Subsequently, cultural lag does not only apply to this idea, but also relates to theory and explanation.

According to Ogburn, cultural lag is a common societal phenomenon due to the tendency of material culture to evolve and change rapidly and voluminously while non-material culture tends to resist change and remain fixed for a far longer period.³⁶ Due to the opposing nature of these two aspects of culture, adaptation of new technology becomes rather difficult. Cultural lag creates problems for a society in a multitude of ways. The issue of cultural lag tends to permeate any discussion in which the implementation of some new technology is a topic. Cultural lag is seen as a critical ethical issue because failure to develop broad social consensus on appropriate applications of modern technology may lead to breakdowns in social solidarity and the rise of social conflict. In this study, the cultural lag theory assisted in explaining

³⁵Rist, Gilbert. *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*. New York: Zed Books, 2009.

³⁶Ogburn, William. *Social change: With respect to cultural and original nature*. Oxford: Delta Books, 2006.

how the introduction of western education in Kaloleni by the CMS brought social conflict between modernity and the traditional Giriama education system and customs.

1.8 Research Hypotheses

1. The Church Missionary Society played the pioneer role in the establishment of Christianity and Western form of education in Kaloleni.
2. African teachers and evangelists played a vital role in the early years in promotion of evangelism and Western Education in Kaloleni.
3. The Church Missionary Society teachers and evangelists faced resistance from Islam and traditional African religious practices.

1.9 Methodology

This study used primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources such as books, scholarly journal articles, periodicals, newspapers and magazines about missionary activities in Kenya were reviewed to find out the rise and development of missionary activities in Kenya. Secondary sources were derived from the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library at the University of Nairobi and at All-Saints Cathedral library in Nairobi.

Archival materials of the Church Missionary Society that operated in Kaloleni District were used to supplement secondary sources. Annual reports, minutes and memoranda of the Church Missionary Society activities in Kaloleni were studied at the Kenya National Archives.

This study used semi-structured oral interviews to gather more information on CMS activities in Kaloleni District. An interview guide was used to keep the interviews focused and made the respondents provide adequate information on

missionary activities.³⁷ One of priests at the Church Missionary Society centre and the area chief in Kaloleni assisted me in identifying the respondents. I also had a research assistant who helped me in tracing the respondents. The means of transport used was boda boda as most of the respondents leaved in the hinterland.

Field work activities were carried out in three Divisions in Kaloleni District. Wherever possible, interviews were conducted at an informant's home so as to maintain a relaxed and informal setting. The languages used were either Kigiriama or Kiswahili. Photographs were taken especially at the church mission centre. The challenges encountered during the field work included high traveling costs and transcribing of the oral information took a lot of time.

The respondents interviewed included evangelist's church leaders, early Christian converts, missionary teachers, retired administrators and Kaya elders. Both men and women were interviewed. Most of the interviewees were over 70 years old with the youngest being 40 years old. These respondents helped in generating detailed information about the role of African teachers and evangelists in the spread of Christianity and western education in Kaloleni District. Twenty two respondents were interviewed during the fieldwork. The oral interviews were recorded, transcribed and qualitatively analyzed.

³⁷Kombo, Donald Kisilu, & Tromp, Delno. *Proposal and Thesis Writing: A Introduction*. (Nairobi: Paulines Publication Africa, 2011), pp. 92-93.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GIRIAMA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the rise of Christianity at the Kenyan coast and its spread among the Giriama. It begins with a concise background of the social economic and political organization of the Giriama community. This helps in understanding how the Giriama responded to the coming of Christianity in their territory. The second section focuses on the Giriama early encounters with the missionaries and their reaction towards the same.

2.2 Social Economic and Political Organization of the Mijikenda

A few miles inland from the Kenyan coast, the land climbs sharply from the coastal plain to a sloping plateau, which extends further inland to the dry fringes of Taru Desert.³⁸ This ridge, rising 500-800 feet above the coastal plain and extending from Shimba Hills to Kilifi Creek in the north, is the historical centre of the Mijikenda people³⁹. Today, both the ridge and the inland plateau are covered with a patchwork of farms and scattered homesteads, but it has not always looked like this. Over a century ago, the whole area was covered with dense forest and acacia woodlands and Mijikenda settlement was confined to small villages on the tops of the hills dotted along the ridge. The Kayas as they were called were hidden from the view and protected by the surrounding forests from attacks by the Galla pastoralists from the plateau below. Today, the Kayas are relics of bygone era, people return for occasional

³⁸Oral interview, Lawrence Bennetti, Vishakani, 25th August, 2013.

³⁹Thomas, T Spear. *The Kaya Complex: A History of the Mijikenda Peoples of the Kenya Coast to 1900*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1974), p.1.

ceremonies, but the focus of the Mijikenda life has shifted to individual homesteads below.⁴⁰

From the Kaya ridge, the coastal strip is visible below stretching endlessly in either direction along the blue fridge of the Indian Ocean. On its ridge, looking out on the maritime world beyond, are the coastal and island settlements of Vanga, Mombasa, Takaungu and Malindi. Inland from the Kayas is the dry expanse of Taru Desert stretching over 200 miles inland to the Kenyan highlands.⁴¹

The Mijikenda are nine closely related, but distinct communities who share a common linguistic and cultural heritage. They came from Sinwaya (or Shungwaya) in the Southern Somali hinterland at the turn of the 17th Century and initially settled in separate Kayas, which soon expanded to nine Kayas, or villages along the ridge behind the Southern Kenyan coast with the development of the Kauma, Rabai, and Duruma.⁴² At Shungwaya, neighbouring communities collectively called the Mijikenda ‘Kashur’.⁴³ Later when the Mijikenda settled behind the Kenyan coast, the coastal Swahili knew them as ‘Nyika’ (‘Meaning Bush’)⁴⁴. They had no corresponding single name for themselves until they chose ‘Mijikenda’ in the late 1940s to replace the pejorative ‘Nyika’. Therefore, the word ‘Mijikenda’ is a descriptive term that refers to the nine Kayas.⁴⁵ Common origins, a single language and a shared cultural heritage define Mijikenda-ness. The section briefly discusses the

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Fitzgerald, W W. *Travels in the coastlands of the British East Africa and the Islands of Zanzibara and Pemba*. (London: Oxford University Press, 18980, pp. 58-64.

⁴²Thomas, T Spear. *The Kaya Complex: A History of the Mijikenda Peoples of the Kenya Coast to 1900*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1974), pp. 4-5.

⁴³Oral interview, George Konde, Kaloleni, 24th August, 2013.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Justin, Willis. *Mombasa, the Swahili, and the Making of the Mijikenda*. Michigan: University of Michigan, 1993.

social, economic and political organization of the Giriama who mainly interacted with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries.

2.3 The Giriama

The Giriama, one of the Mijikenda sub-tribes of the coastal region of Kenya, inhabited a narrow strip of territory beginning ten or fifteen miles inland and extending from south of the latitude of Kilifi to a little north of the Sabaki River, a distance of about sixty miles. Their lands were in the Malindi District of Seyidie Province; some of them lived in the Takaunga District.⁴⁶

2.3.1 Political Organization of the Giriama

The Giriama had a decentralized system of political authority. Council of elders working within a complex structure of administration achieved social control in the community (Patterson 1970). The Giriama government inside the Kaya consisted of several elements: age sets, the council of Kambi of the ruling (rika) clans, secret societies and ancestor spirits (koma).⁴⁷ Every Giriama male, as member of an age set, progressed through several stages to become a member of the council of elders.⁴⁸ The system of arbitration was maintained by elders sitting together to discuss matters involving all the Giriama and to decide cases of unresolved individual (or clan) conflict. These elders were much respected because of their knowledge of Giriama traditions. They received legitimacy after being appointed as members of the ruling rika. The council of Kambi tried to balance the needs of the individual Giriama and the community as whole, while at the same time maintaining the respect of the ancestral spirits, who were believed to have power over good and evil in the existence of their living descendants. Although theoretically the Giriama were ruled by all of

⁴⁶Barrett, W H. "Ethnographic account of the Giriama." *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, Vol 17 (1911), pp. 20-39.

⁴⁷Oral interview, George Konde, Kaloleni, 24th August, 2013.

⁴⁸Ibid.

their elders as a group, in reality, every age set did not have equal participation in Giriama government. In each rika, the senior two or three age sets, walumbere, wulakahi and Walanyuma held the positions of leadership and the secrets of ritual for special occasions, and certain traditions. As long as any of them remained a live, they held positions of Enyetsi, mwanamuli, and Fisi.⁴⁹

Senior elders of the six clans were collectively called Enyetsi, or owner of the land. This meant communal ownership of all Giriama land and there was no separate ownership of land by clan. When an elder died, members of his clan chose his replacement. From among the enyetsi, one elder was given the office of Mwanamuli. He was chosen for this office according to a system of rotation through the six clans and he held the office for life. As mwanamuli, he convened the councils and served as spokesperson for the Giriama. Very likely, these six Enyetsi were also Fisi waganga, but no circumstances arose when these six men alone made decisions for all the Giriama. The entire Kambi sitting in council controlled any situations, which affected everybody –such as warfare, disease, famine or foreign relations. The above characteristics indicate that the Giriama had a complex political structure.⁵⁰

2.3.2 Economic Organization of the Giriama

When everyone still lived within the Kayas, people cultivated the lower slopes of the Kaya hills and the adjacent plateau. The traditional staple of grain crops of the Giriama were sorghum (mtama), millet (mawele), and eleusine or finger millet, but this were largely replaced in the 19th century by maize.⁵¹ Additional food crops were beans, cassava, sweet potatoes, and yams. Coconuts and castor seeds were grown for

⁴⁹Oral interview, Sarah Mwakisengi, Kaloleni, 15th September, 2013.

⁵⁰Alice, Werner. "The Native Tribes of the British East Africa." *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 19 No. 76 (1920), pp. 285-294.

⁵¹Oral interview, Samson Vidzo Mwaro, Chanagande, 15th September, 2013.

oil, and coconuts, sesame, sorghum, millet and maize were traded.⁵² The sap of coconut was used for making a potent brew (tembo). In the eastern areas, each homestead also kept a few goats, sheep, chicken and ducks for domestic consumption. Kwavi raids restricted cattle keeping until the late 19th century. In addition to agriculture and local production, the Giriama also conducted some trade with surrounding peoples in both necessary and exotic goods. They mainly traded with Swahili towns of the coast.⁵³

2.3.3 Social Organization of the Giriama

The Giriama people lived together in a Kayafungo and that each Kaya was a circular glade on a hilltop surrounded by dense forest. Samson Vidzo Mwaro, a Kaya elder, notes that:

At the centre of the Kaya was the meetinghouse of the elders and around its rim were the meetinghouses of the different clans. Surrounding each clan house were the individual residences of its members.⁵⁴ Each clan had its own set of four to six distinctive clans. The clans were founded at the same time as the Kayas and so played an essential role in Kaya affairs. In fact, they acted as territorial divisions of the Kaya. Each clan had its own area within the Kaya and its own specialized function.⁵⁵

The sub clans did not have equivalent roles in Kaya affairs. The age set system was practiced and each Kaya was divided by age as well as by descent.⁵⁶ Inside the Kaya, people of each clan grouped their houses together and sub-clans lived nearby. At the centre of the Kaya were the moro, the official council house, and a large shade tree where the Kambi met to discuss matters brought before them.⁵⁷ Some Giriama particularly those who had served as mwanamuli of the Kambi, were regarded

⁵²Krapf, J L. *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labourers*. (Boston: Oxford University Press, 1860), pp 500-5002.

⁵³Burton, R F. *The lake regions of central equatorial Africa*. (Londom: Macmillan, 1959), pp 36-39.

⁵⁴Oral interview, Samson Vidzo Mwaro, 24 September 2013.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Spear, Thomas. "Shungwaya, the Mijikenda, and the Traditions." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 6 (1983), pp. 455-485.

⁵⁷Thomas, T. Spear. *The Kaya Complex: A History of the Mijikenda Peoples of the Kenya Coast to 1900*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1974), pp. 12-14.

communal ancestors when they died, and their koma (spirits) were considered to belong to the whole community.⁵⁸ In order for life to be prosperous, the Giriama felt that their ancestral spirits and those of the entire community had to be appeased. Therefore, when a particularly important adventure was undertaken, or when the rains failed or famine broke out, sacrifices were made usually in the form of maize, beer or fowl to appease the ancestors.⁵⁹ When some trouble plagued a man's house, he feared he had neglected a departed spirit. A diviner was summoned to diagnose the trouble and to prescribe the proper remedy. If the source of the misfortune was not found it was blamed on witchcraft.⁶⁰ In order to get rid of the spell, a man had to consult a witch doctor that had the capacity to deal with the spell or identify the witch and bring the person before the council of Kambi. If the witch did not admit guilt, then the Kambi council called on an mganga to administer oaths to both the accuser and the accused.⁶¹ After drinking medicine, the person who was lying was expected to die or to confess, in which case the spell would be removed.

The Giriama believed in the effectiveness of such oaths in identifying the guilty person. One individual against the other to protect his property or family used oaths. Moreover, oaths protected Giriama custom by forcing obedience through fear of reprisals.⁶²

2.3.3.1 Traditional Giriama Education and Religion

Africans had education long before the first Christian missionaries brought their schools, but the education provided was very different in outlook and purpose.⁶³ Education cannot be divorced from the traditions and way of life of a society and

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Oral interview, Samson Vidzo Mwaro, Chanagande, 15th September, 2013

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Oral interview, Margeret John Kamango, Kaloleni, 24th September, 2013.

⁶³Thompson, A K, and Franken Jan. *Church and Education in Kenya*. (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1976), p. 12.

characteristically traditional education was primarily concerned with the socialization and acculturation of the youth of the society, with training the child to deal with the problems of living in his particular environment and with right behavior.⁶⁴

During the pre-colonial period, the Giriama had a well-organized informal system of education. In every homestead, learning was conducted at a designated place called “Thome” at the center of the home compound where fire was lit and people sat around listening to stories. Learning was usually conducted by storytelling. The stories that were narrated touched on various societal issues ranging from accepted moral values to cherished heroes.⁶⁵ In the process of telling stories, many idioms were used to depict the richness of the Giriama language and culture. During story telling sessions, animal characters were used to portray certain virtues.⁶⁶ For example, the sheep symbolized kindness and the hare signified intelligence. On the other hand, the hyena portrayed vices such as greediness and jealousy.⁶⁷

Among the Giriama, women had the responsibility of imparting societal norms and values such as respect, honesty, obedience and good behavior to young children. Errant children were disciplined through corrective punishments. Both boys and girls were taught various skills in art and crafts such as making of ceramics, calabashes, sleeping mats and ornaments. Children were also taught economic skills such as cultivation and making of farm equipment. They were also taught the art of tapping coconut wine and hunting.⁶⁸ At puberty, both girls and boys were initiated into adulthood. After circumcision, elderly men taught boys the importance of defending their community from enemies. They were also sensitized about society’s secrets and

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Oral interview, Rebecca Mosse, Chonyi, 31st August, 2013.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Burton, R F. *The lake regions of central equatorial Africa*. (Londom: Macmillan, 1959), p. 14.

⁶⁸Oral interview, Rebecca Mosse, Chonyi, 31st August, 2013.

future responsibilities as parents.⁶⁹ On the other hand, elderly women taught girls their responsibilities in marriage. Through the guidance of parents and elders, children learned how to play their part in the society by listening to and imitating their elders, in a process of learning by doing.⁷⁰ Children were taught how to behave towards their parents and other members of the society. The emphasis was upon conformity and obedience with the intention of preserving the society against external enemies and internal dissension.

In addition, there existed the traditional Islamic system of Quranic schools among the Giriama Muslims. Severe discipline and rote learning of passages from the Koran characterized these schools, and the teachers were paid through a fee system. Girls were always instructed at home in the household duties and would not attend Quranic schools.⁷¹ At later stage, boys would receive instruction from the Sheikhs concerning their obligations in social life. With the introduction of formal education by the missions, these traditional forms of education did not disappear, but continued to serve their traditional purposes up to the present day though often modified and weakened by the modernization of the societies in which they are found.⁷²

2.4 Early Missionaries at the Kenyan Coast

Christian missions were organized efforts to spread the Christian faith for extending religious teaching at home or abroad. Christian missionaries were among the early external people to get into contact with the people of Kenya. Their coming to Kenya was based on a number of motives, which were humanitarian, economic, political and social in nature. They carried out a number of activities such as

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Oral interview, Silas Wara, Kaloleni, 25th September, 2013.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Alice, Werner. "The Native Tribes of the British East Africa" *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 19 No. 76 (1920), pp. 285-294.

Agriculture, exploration, evangelism among others. Whose impact on the people of East Africa is still evident today.⁷³

The first Christian contact with Kenya may have been as early as the fourth century when Ethiopian monks were reported to have visited the East African coast.⁷⁴ However, powerful peoples, such as the Orma, prevented the expansion of Christianity from Ethiopia. Christianity's next contact with East Africa occurred as part of the Portuguese conquest of the Swahili culture on the coast.⁷⁵ The missionaries preached almost wholly to their own people, and their missionary achievement at the Kenyan coast was of no permanent significance. The Portuguese occupation of the Kenyan coast was mainly meant for commercial and political supremacy. By vehemently denouncing Islam, they inevitably created opposition, which retarded their evangelization.⁷⁶ The Portuguese missionaries baptized many people, but prepared few leaders to carry on the work. There was a thin veneer of Christian faith, which could not hold the midst of the storm. No attempt was made to indigenize the church and integrate it within the indigenous culture. Without the missionaries' tutelage, the church quickly disintegrated. The ethical behavior of the Portuguese did not substantiate the Christian faith. Their moral laxity gave Christianity a distorted image. Although Christianity had a chance during this period, that chance was lost through cruelty, oppression and indulging in selfish passion. When the first modern missionaries arrived, there was no trace of Christianity.

⁷³Kenneth, Ingham. *A history of East Africa*. (London: Longmans, 1962), pp. 23-25.

⁷⁴Langlely, M and T Kiggins. *A Serving People: The Church in East Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶John, Grey. *Early Portuguese Missioanries in East Africa*. (London: Macmillan, 19580), pp. 3-9.

2.4.1 Missionary Movements at the Kenyan Coast

John Ludwig Krapf was the first missionary to East Africa. Born in 1810 in Germany, Krapf started school when he was thirteen years. Even as a child he was convinced that, he wanted to go to a far country to preach the gospel to the heathens. After a conversion experience, he offered himself to be trained as a missionary at Basel.

In late 1844, Krapf settled at Rabai Mpya, within two months of their arrival his wife Rosine and newborn baby were dead. Despite this challenge, Krapf continued his sojourn and intensified his efforts at evangelization.⁷⁷ With the arrival John Rebmann who joined him in 1846, Krapf studied the local languages and produced Swahili dictionary. He set on bible translation and in two years, the whole of the New Testament had been translated into Kiswahili. He had learned other local languages including Kiduruma and Kigiriana.⁷⁸ He went into the interior where he thought the mission would flourish under healthier conditions. His colleague Rebmann opposed this move. Another missionary soon joined them in 1849 by the name of Erhardt. Kraft left the CMS in 1853 and went back to Europe. Apart from his linguistic work, he could not boast of any other success. He had only been able to baptize only one person, a dying cripple by the name Mringe. There was another Giriama outcast, Abbe Gunja who remained a faithful disciple. As a pioneer, Krapf cherished the idea of creating a chain of missions between East and West Africa. He felt it was necessary to venture into the interior in order to make that ideal possible. However, since the CMS seemed to be procrastinating, Krapf encouraged the Methodists to seize the opportunity while the climate was still favorable.

⁷⁷Krapf, J L. *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labourers*. (Boston: Oxford University Press, 1860) pp. 60-63.

⁷⁸Ibid.

A part from the Missionary Centre in Rabai, Krapf established freed slaves settlement at Freretown and it was more successful in its educational activities. By the late 1880s, the school within the Frere settlement had over 300 pupils. The curriculum embraced the 3Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic). Although there was general African opposition to the introduction of Christianity and western schooling, some Africans started to develop interest in formal education when settlers began to pay relatively highly for their reading and writing ability.⁷⁹ Therefore, while the missions saw education as a valuable arm of their work, one reason for their concentration on education, was increasing Africans demand for it.⁸⁰

Krapf returned to Mombasa in 1862 in order to help Dr. Thomas Wakefield, the first missionary of the United Methodist Free Church to establish a mission station at Ribe.⁸¹ A long with Dr. Thomas Wakefield came Margret Woolner who stayed for only eight days before he was interned because of poor health. Krapf had bequeathed to Wakefield his obsession of the Galla Mission. The mission among the Mijikenda was seen just as a stepping-stone to a more lucrative mission beyond. Wakefield, nevertheless opened other mission stations in Ganjoni (Mazeras), Jomvu in 1878 was a daring venture since it was in the middle of the Muslim community. The Arab-Swahili slave owners were a constant threat to the existence of meaningful Christian presence.⁸²

Towards the close of 1860s, philanthropic attention in Europe had focused on the east African slave trade. For a long time attention had been given to the Atlantic

⁷⁹ Muraya, Phyllis. *Missionary Work in Kenya and African Response*. (Nairobi: Longman, 1983), p. 56.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Paul, Kollman. *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa*. (New York: Orbis Books, 2005), pp. 87-89.

⁸² Zablon, Nthumburi. *From Mission to Church: A Handbook of Christianity in East Africa*. (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1991), pp. 8-15.

slave trade to the negligence of what was happening on the east African coast. Soon the CMS and Methodists found themselves having to deal with rescued slaves who needed resettlement. When Sir Bartle Frere was appointed as a special emissary in Zanzibar, he encouraged Christian missions to concentrate on settlement of the freed slaves. The CMS began a large freed slaves' settlement in Kisauni. Apart from the slaves who were bought by British warships there were a large number of slaves who escaped from their local slave owners, thus becoming a source of irritation and conflict between the missionaries and the Arabs.

In 1874, the year after the abolition of the East African slave trade, the CMS established a mission station at Freretown to rehabilitate the freed slaves. The first settlers were repatriates from India; the majority came from Bombay, hence the popular appellation, Bombay Africans. More than a hundred and fifty returned from Bombay to settle in 1875. Inevitably, the first African readers, teachers, catechists and pastors were all freed slaves. Nasik in Bombay was started with the purpose of turning out evangelists and teachers and the first thing that William Price, the first superintendent of settlement, did was to establish a school for children and adults.⁸³ While the children learned the alphabet, the adults were taught to read the bible. A great step forward was taken in 1888 when a Divinity School for the training of evangelists and teachers for all CMS stations was begun at Freretown. William Price considered it a very significant development in the history of the East African Mission. He wrote:

We took the first steps in the formation of training class for promising young men as teachers and evangelists. We begin with a modest number of nine and Fitch is the principal.⁸⁴

⁸³Stephen, D Morad. *The Beginnings of Christianity in Kenya*. (New York: Wiley, 1999), pp. 76-78.

⁸⁴KNA/61/1/484. British East Africa Mission (E.E.AM) standing Committee of Conference June, 1918

Henceforth became a training school for all the future teachers, readers, evangelists and pastors of the CMS mission in East Africa. It may be said that for the whole of the transitional period extending for over fifty years on the coast and up to the end of the First World War, the spread of Christianity in the interior of Kenya was done by African catechists, readers and pastors. For the Mombasa coast particularly during the period 1874-1904, the initiative came from the African catechists and they held the leadership for the generation before some of the newly freed slaves joined them. The Bombay Africans were literate in English, Gujarati, Swahili, and in their own vernaculars; Swahili and English was a great use to their work at the coast.⁸⁵ They were also qualified as agriculturalists, artisans and small-scale traders, attributes which the Victorian missions both valued and respected.⁸⁶

In 1882, William Price⁸⁷ was in East Africa for the second time to report on the prospects of the East African Mission. He recorded his assessment of the role of the Bombay Africans in the Mission, remarking that without their effort and initiative the work of the mission could have failed.⁸⁸ The Bombay Africans travelled from place to place throughout the coast and especially through the Nyika and Giriama country, surveying new areas for the establishment of new stations in the area. From the very beginning, both George David and William Jones extended their preaching beyond the borders of Rabai. William Jones together with Samuel Isenberg another African catechist, preached to the Kaya nearby in 1875. In 1875, George David visited Godoma and preached to the Giriama. Their response was good: they agreed to

⁸⁵Ronald, Oliver. *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. (London: Longmans, 1962), pp. 89-90.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷ Temu, J D. *British Protestant Missions in East Africa*. (Longman Group Limited: London, 1972), p. 74.

⁸⁸Ibid.

send their children to Rabai for schooling and further requested a teacher of religion to be stationed at Godoma.⁸⁹

The first duty of the Bombay Africans centered on the central stations at Rabai and when there was a European in charge they worked under him. Their presence was essential to the success of the work of the missions. Indeed, all the white missionaries who were brought to the mission at this period were quick to admit that the Bombay Africans were indispensable in the East African Mission, and they protested vehemently if any of them was transferred from the central stations. Thus, Rev. Lamb protested when William Price proposed to transfer William Jones from Rabai to work for work in Giriama land in 1876.⁹⁰

Of remarkable interest was their serious concern about the Christianization of the African societies on the coast, particularly the Giriama. More broadly perhaps this concern reflected their own appreciation of Western culture and Christianity and the extent to which they were prepared to substitute it for their own appreciation of the western culture and Christianity. In particular, the concern of the Bombay Africans to spread Christianity and western civilization to the Giriama runs through the whole period. In 1878, William Jones blamed the CMS for failing to gain converts from the Nyika. This he believed lay in the unsystematic approach that the CMS had adopted towards evangelization on the Nyika. "For some years past", he wrote, "there has been but the coming in and the going out of missionaries and almost all of them are compelled to retreat to England before they are able to do anything for the Africans,

⁸⁹Stephen, D Morad. *The Beginnings of Christianity in Kenya*. (New York: Wiley, 1999), pp. 45-46.

⁹⁰Ibid.

much less for Rabai and .”⁹¹ William Price thought that wherever there was a native congregation a native pastor should be ordained to minister to it.⁹²

In 1904, after the CMS began to shift its emphasis from Mombasa coast to the heavily populated interior of Kenya, William Jones expressed even deeper disappointment with his mission for having failed to spread Christianity among the Nyika.⁹³ By this time, the freed slaves were first disappearing from the scene; most of them had moved into the interior and into the coastal towns and fused with other Africans. In the 1870s, the European missionaries had protested at attempts to remove the Bombay Africans from their stations to new ones-so valuable was their contribution. However, from the 1880s the relations between Africans, and the white missionaries began to change. From about 1879, conflict between the Bombay Africans and the Europeans missionaries began to develop at Freretown.

Other Europeans replaced Lamb and Price. The change of personalities brought to Mombasa Europeans of different tempers. They began to look at Africans as inferior people, even the Bombay Africans whom their education, and above all Christians. During this period, resident missionaries at gave no preferential treatment to the African catechists although they recognized their services to the mission.⁹⁴ At times, an iron rod governed these settlements.⁹⁵ It was not uncommon to see visible evidences of severe beatings and scourging as missionaries tried to keep discipline.⁹⁶ For instance, Streeter who was a lay superintendent at Freetown was accused of misusing his powers where the culprits were either denied their ration of food or were

⁹¹ Temu, J D. *British Protestant Missions in East Africa*. (Longman Group Limited: London, 1972), p. 75.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ William, Anderson. *The Church in East Africa 1840-1979*. (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1972), p 102.

⁹⁴ Rist, G. *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*. (New York: Zed Books, 2009), pp. 123-124.

⁹⁵ William, Anderson. *The Church in East Africa 1840-1979*. (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1972), pp. 103-104.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

tied up, thrashed and imprisoned. It is clear those missionaries who administered such settlements ruled by decree. The actions of the missionaries therefore drove the Bombay Africans further and further away from them, and increased their consciousness as a class of themselves above the other freed slaves.

2.5 The Beginnings of Christianity among the Giriama

The scramble and partition of Africa and the subsequent establishment of colonial administration was another driving force for the missionary enterprise in Kenya. Following the partition of the mainland, Christian groups did not only expand inland from the coast but were also joined by other groups.⁹⁷ The partition of Africa by the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) had implications on the pattern of missions. Missionary societies tended to follow their national flag in mission, as they perceived the need to have maximum protection.⁹⁸ The granting of the Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888 had a direct bearing on the expansion of protestant missionary activities. Sir William Mackinnon encouraged the establishment of the East African Scottish Mission. He assisted in securing the services of Dr. James Stewart, Livingstone's successor.

The Imperial British East African Company (IBEACO) influence on the Giriama was minor, and it was limited almost exclusively to company attempts to develop new crops, to expand new ones, and to use Giriama labourers on British plantations. The most influential of IBEACO officers was W.W.A Fitzgerald, who spent two years from 1891 exploring the coastal lands, running the Magarini rubber plantation north of the Sabaki River, encouraging Giriama especially those around Jilore to diversify their crops. The company's administration was so understaffed that

⁹⁷Zablon, Nthumburi. *From Mission to Church: A Handbook of Christianity in East Africa*. (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1991), pp 67.

⁹⁸Ibid.

had they seriously tried to collect the small tax they instituted, the sparse Giriama population would have made the task an extremely difficult one.⁹⁹

The IBEACO southern trade route missed Giriama country, but the northern route ran from Malindi along the south bank of the Sabaki River, which was then the northern boundary of Giriama territory. This later route was supported by stockades built, not by Giriama, preferring not to alienate their Arab friends who wanted then to return those runaway slaves, refused to assist the British support of the runaways. The Giriama regarded the British as passing visitors and did not expect them to remain in their territory any longer than the Swahili and Arabs had stayed.¹⁰⁰ The Giriama maintained their primary trading relationships with the Arabs and the Langulo. In addition to encounters with occasional wandering travelers, the Giriama were exposed to European ways through Christianity. The Giriama welcomed its bearers cautiously and persistently kept them at arms length.¹⁰¹

Among the Giriama, the first Christian community emerged in the early 1870s around Fuladoyo, thirty miles from Takaungu. Besedi, the Giriama evangelist, had come from Rabai as self-punishment after killing his wife in an argument.¹⁰² He went into the hinterland carrying Reverent Jahannes Rebman's Kinyika translation of St. Luke. His village became a haven for runaway slaves and by 1874, he had eleven converts. Although Besedi was himself killed when Arabs attacked Fulodoyo a few years later, one of his converts was among the four Giriama confirmed by Bishop Royston at in 1878.¹⁰³ A Giriama catechist began work in 1882 at Mwaeba's Hill, ten

⁹⁹Thompson, A K, and Franken Jan. *Church and Education in Kenya*. (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1976), pp. 85-87.

¹⁰⁰ Krapf, J L. *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labourers*. (Boston: Oxford University Press, 1860), pp. 301-302.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Gordon, Hewitt. *Problems of success: A history of the Church Missionary Society-1910-1942*. (Bristol: Western Printing Services Ltd, 1971), p.90.

¹⁰³Ibid.

miles west of Mtsanganyiko, and its small congregation was made up of Giriama. Both of these Christian settlements had been offshoots of the Church Missionary Society at Rabai and Freretown, but the first official mission in Giriama land was opened at Jilore in 1890, headed by Reverent Grafftey Smith. It was not an easy place for Europeans to live, and the second missionary, Rev. F.Burt, almost died of black water fever.¹⁰⁴ Rev. Douglas Hooper and his wife took charge and by 1893, they had eight evangelistic trainees. The Christian colony itself was small, but the Giriama around Jilore numbered three thousand in 1891.

Government and Christianity began working together. Eight of the Giriama headmen around Jilore responded eagerly to a request for labour at an experimental station at Jilore. He felt the proximity of the Christian Giriama at the CMS mission would assist in “helping to civilize the district.” He also organized for the runaway slaves at Lugard’s first stockade on the Sabaki River at Makongeni to buy their freedom and to go to Jilore to live. As early as 1884, the Church Missionary Society had become actively dedicated to ministering to the needs of ex-slaves. developed into a community for their care near Mombasa, and Rabai grew into a large refugee camp. Unintentionally, this created problems with the local people who felt inferior to the runaways.¹⁰⁵ The latter had mannerisms of the coastal culture, spoke Swahili and dressed like Arabs. Most of the slaves had come originally from Nyassa or shambaa. Unable to return to their homelands, they were eager to accept European ways as their own. The Giriama, like the Rabai were less eager to embrace Christianity and western practices. Thus, the local people found themselves in a position second to those of ex-slaves in the missions. In 1891, Fitzgerald took 159 names of slaves willing to settle

¹⁰⁴Krapf, J L. *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labourers*. (Boston: Oxford University Press, 1860), p. 509.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

in Jilore. Had they gone, this would have created the same problems for the Giriama at Jilore that they had encountered at Rabai.

The initial African reaction to the European missionaries was one of curiosity, which turned to hostility as soon as they realized that Europeans meant to stay.¹⁰⁶ A number of reasons can be advanced for this kind of initial Africans response to missionary activities. Parents and the clan alike were eager to preserve customs and traditions in the future. Children were under great pressure to submit to these wishes lest they jeopardize the well-being of their entire lineage and clan. Among many African communities elders were believed to possess magical powers for evil; so for the youth to go against the elders wishes could prove foolish and fatal. An inquisitive youngster was also risking his inheritance and even his family identity by opposing the wishes of the elders.¹⁰⁷ Parents wanted their children to continue contributing labour to the family compound rather than waste time attending missionary schools. Early Christians were suspected since they did not perform clan rituals and were often abused by the elders. Consequently, Christianity and education affected only a marginal proportion of people, with converts being orphans, strangers, or persons escaping punishment or a forced marriage. Generally, Africans perceived missionaries as an integral part of the European groups, and agents of colonization and oppression.¹⁰⁸

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the CMS missionaries slowly began their work at the Kenyan coast and gradually extended their presence to the interior where they tried to convert the Giriama to Christianity. It is evident that for quite some time the

¹⁰⁶Thomas, T Spear. *The Kaya Complex: A History of the Mijikenda Peoples of the Kenya Coast to 1900*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1974), pp. 89-90.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Harold, Turner. "African Independent Churches and Education." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, (1975), pp. 295-308.

missionaries only got a handful of African converts because of numerous hurdles that impeded them from spreading Christianity. The arrival of the Bombay Africans at was a significant breakthrough to the CMS missionary work because they provided solutions to some of the challenges such as language barrier that the missionaries had hitherto grappled with. Lastly, the Africans were reluctant to join Christianity because they were conservative. Despite these challenges, the CMS missionaries remained committed in evangelism and towards the close of the 19th century, they moved into the interior where they preached to the Giriama. The next chapter discusses the arrival of CMS missionaries in Kaloleni and the activities they undertook aided by the African catechist and teachers.

CHAPTER THREE

TRAINING OF AFRICAN TEACHERS AND EVANGELISTS AND THEIR ROLE IN SPREADING CHRISTIANITY IN KALOLENI DISTRICT (1904-

1947)

3.1 Introduction

As already mentioned in the preceding chapter, Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic Church established Christian missions at the Kenyan coast and later spread their tentacles to the interior of Kenya. The primary goal of the Christian missionaries was to convert as many Africans to Christianity as possible. To meet this goal, the missionaries concentrated their efforts on teaching and preaching about Christianity. To reach the vast majority of African people, missionaries had to learn their languages. To facilitate interest in and understanding of Christianity, the missionaries translated portions of the Bible into local languages. The missionaries attached so much importance to education that it had to be organized to inculcate the values of western “civilization” in the minds of those who were to loyally serve the occupying power. The advantages to be gained by Africans were not primary objectives of the missionaries. A foreign culture was imposed on Africans through Christianity and education. Therefore, formal education played a significant part in the next phase of the church’s development, which was characterized by the establishment of missionary stations in the interior of Kenya. This chapter discusses the establishment of missionary education and Christianity in Kaloleni by the CMS and the contribution of Africans towards the same.

3.2 The Creation of the Kaloleni Missionary Centre

In one of his early encounters with the Giriama, Bishop Peel wrote, “Contact with the people of Giriama does not fail to cheer the missionary in spite of the

depression caused by their subjection to witchcraft and their heathenism. They have a proud independent bearing and meet and treat one in manly and breezy manner. When you win their confidence, there is a pleasing brightness and sprightliness in their dealings with you. Their intelligence is rather remarkable. They are people worth saving from the “tembo” drinking which is terribly enslaving them.”¹⁰⁹

In the early days of Christianity at the coast during the 19th century, a native evangelist went to Giriama under very tragic circumstances. One of Rebmann’s converts struck his wife and caused her death. In a terrible state of mind, he went off to Giriama to live alone in the forest.¹¹⁰ However, with him he took his faith in the savior and a copy of Rebmann’s Kinyika version of St. Luke. Then this solitary and repentant sinner began to teach the Giriama people. In 1874, a missionary who found that he had gathered round him a little company of believers visited him. Of these, some were subsequently baptized at Rabai and when in 1878 Bishop Royston of Mauritius visited the East African CMS mission, four Wagiriama were among the fifty-four people confirmed by him.¹¹¹ Work was started at Mwaeba in Central Giriama in 1882 by a native catechist, and was still going on there in 1888. Rev. W.E. Taylor, who had worked at Chagaa, did a good deal of itineration among the people, compiled a very useful vocabulary of the language and did some translation work.¹¹² In 1890, a serious effort was made to win the Wagiriama by starting work at Jilore, about 70 miles from Mombasa and 17 miles inland from the ruined and deserted town of Malindi. Rev. Grafftey Smith was sent there. The mission centre was placed on a tongue of land jutting out into a lake, which is a remote place of the Sabaki. At night,

¹⁰⁹Temu, A J. *British Protestant Missions*. (London: Longman Group Limited, 19720, p. 67.

¹¹⁰ Gordon, Hewitt. *Problems of success: A history of the Church Missionary Society-1910-1942*. Bristol: Western Printing Services Ltd, 1971.

Gordon, Hewitt. *Problems of success: A history of the Church Missionary Society-1910-1942*. (Bristol: Western Printing Services Ltd, 1971), pp. 134-136.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Ibid.

the air was thick with mosquitoes, and the rotting vegetable matter from the dense tropical growth by the lakeshore smelt deadly. It was no wonder that Rev. F. Burt, who followed Mr. Smith, went down almost immediately with black water fever. He was nursed by his houseboy, and on his recovery began to do what he could in and around the station. The people were responsive and the work progressed slowly.¹¹³

Before long, Rev. Douglas Hooper and his wife arrived with their infant son, and wonderful work went forward, which greatly impressed Bishop Tucker when he went there by way of Malindi in 1893. Mr Hooper had then a band of eight young men in training as evangelists. After working in Mombasa for some time, Mrs. Hooper compiled the Swahili Grammar, which bore her name. Unfortunately, she died the same year. Worse still, Mr. Roberts and Miss Coyen, who had joined Mr. Hooper in serving the Giriama also succumbed to the deadly climate and rough conditions of those days.¹¹⁴

In 1896, a little venture was made, which may have helped to open up the Giriama country from the southern end. Four male missionaries of the coastal area asked permission to go on a holiday evangelistic safari to central Giriama. Their plan was looked upon with a certain amount of disfavor by the mission authorities and a rather grudging consent was given. They were encouraged and assisted in their plan and preparations by Mr. Jones, the Rabai pastor, who advised them about the district they should visit.¹¹⁵ Once in southern Giriama, they camped among the people in what was then a populous area and received a good reception. They visited several villages where they spread the gospel to the Giriama. They began their work at a time

¹¹³Ann, Beck. "Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900-1950." *Journal of British Studies*, 1966: Vol. 5 (6) pp 115-138.

¹¹⁴Eugene, Stock. "History of the Church Missionary Society." *Journal of Religion*, Vol. 2 (2), (1950), pp. 431-32.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

of prosperity, just before the terrible famine, which was so soon to devastate that part of Giriama. Before living, they were told by Giriama leaders that they should build a church to facilitate the spread of Christianity.¹¹⁶

Douglas Hooper's second wife was a doctor, and a simple hospital was established at Jilore where treatment was given to the sick and suffering.¹¹⁷ There were large congregations in the church and much evangelical work was done in the villages. Mr. Hooper and his native helpers did a great deal of translation work. The Jilore settlement was ruled very rigidly and a firm hand was kept over the converts. In 1906, Hooper went back to Europe, but his indomitable will prevailed to bring him back to Kenya later on, to undertake work at Kahuhia in the Kikuyu country.¹¹⁸ Some year's before he left Jilore, plans were made for starting missionary work at Kaloleni, in Southern Giriama, and Miss F.L. Deed and Miss M. L. Mason were chosen to go there, of whom the former had already had certain amount of contact with Giriama people at Rabai.¹¹⁹ An expected check occurred which held up matters for a time: government did not approve of white women living there alone. The executive committee hesitated, but finally the objection was overcome, and the workers were told they might go ahead if they could find the money for building a house.¹²⁰

3.3 Missionary Education in Kaloleni 1904-1947

Kaloleni means uphill areas where one could go and spot an enemy coming. The missionaries arrived at Kaloleni at a time when the Maasai used to invade Giriama land and steal their livestock. Therefore, the Giriama constructed their

¹¹⁶ Eugene, Stock. "History of the Church Missionary Society." *Journal of Religion*, Vol. 2 (2), (1950), pp. 431-32.

¹¹⁷ Barrett, W H. "Ethnographic account of the Giriama." *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 17 (1911), pp. 20-39.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

homesteads on hilly areas to easily spot enemies. Kaloleni was also referred to as Mweruni, which means land without forest.¹²¹

During the early period of 1900, Kaloleni became established as a strong centre of mission in southern Giriama. In June 1904, Miss. Florence Deed created the Kaloleni Missionary Station and built a church as shown in the picture on the next page.¹²² Her aim of missionary work in Kaloleni was twofold. Her first aim was to alleviate suffering and to train those who in non-Christian hands were ignorant of the art of medicine in order to lower the suffering of the fellow-country men. The second was to cooperate with the Christian evangelist by interpreting the divine compassion and breaking down the prejudices of those who would not otherwise be willing to listen to the gospel message. Because a cursory acquaintance with the bible was the prerequisite for baptism for CMS converts, a nucleus of education program based on religion was established in Kaloleni.¹²³ Therefore, schoolwork began in earnest a few days after the missionaries constructed a grass-thatched house. Miss F.L. Deed and Miss M. L. Mason carried out their missionary work slowly, often under circumstances of great discouragement. Sunday services and school were held on the verandah, or even at times in the sitting room of the house, where the first adult baptism took place. Miss Florence Deed taught reading and writing. She wrote books called kalenga juu and mashomo ga kigiriama. These books became famous in the entire Giriama land because they were commonly used in formal education. Florence deed also started a dispensary. During her visits to various villages in Giriama land, Miss Florence travelled by chariot that was lugged by her followers.¹²⁴

¹²¹Barrett, W H. "Ethnographic account of the Giriama." *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 17 (1911), pp. 20-39.

¹²² Horace, Philip. *A new day in Kenya*. (London: World Dominion Press, 19360, pp. 79-84.

¹²³Ann, Beck. "Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900-1950." *Journal of British Studies*, 1966: Vol. 5 (6) pp 115-138.

¹²⁴Ibid.

A Picture of Kaloleni CMS Church Build in 1904



Source: Church Missionary Archives in Kaloleni Missionary Centre Pictured by Charles Baya, 2013.

Simple medical work was started on a very small-scale, and a campaign of village evangelization went on. Expeditions were made to other parts of the country. Central Giriama was visited occasionally, and a stay was made there. For long time, progress was very slow.¹²⁵ The Giriama were a conservative tribe, and the same hesitation which kept them from responding quickly to the message of the gospel, probably held at bay the influence of Islam, which for a long time beset them on their borders.

In 1910, Bishop Peel, who had some idea of moving the two workers and placing them further a field in the big stretch of country that needed evangelizing, took them, together with Dr. Shepherd, on a breathless safari of some three weeks, visiting Northern, Western, and Central Girama. It was a memorable experience of the two women, and opened up to them the country for itinerating on a large scale than they had hitherto attempted, and from that time, they made tours, which took them far afield.¹²⁶ They were looking for a more promising site for a mission centre for the region, as Kaloleni had a capricious rainfall and poor communications; but they were unable to find anywhere better.¹²⁷ Moreover, the suggestion of changing the base was ruled out on the account of the unhealthiness of that part of the country compared with Kaloleni, and the difficulty of accessing it. Miss deed and Miss Mason continued alone for some years, having to leave for several months in 1914 because of the Giriama uprising against the government.

Missionaries of the Church of Scotland felt that the first step towards an efficient education system was to bring together the various Protestant missions for discussion on common problems and for a united approach to the government in the

¹²⁵Stephen, D Morad. *The Beginnings of Christianity in Kenya*. (New York: Wiley, 1999), pp 67-89.

¹²⁶KNA/61/1/484. British East Africa Mission (E.E.AM) standing Committee of Conference, 1918.

¹²⁷Ibid.

matter of grants in aid.¹²⁸ In 1908, the great Pan Anglican Congress was held in England and one of the outcomes of the meeting was that the Church of England contributed a large sum of money for education purposes. Part of the money, which found its way to Kenya, was assigned to educational work in Giriama. Plans were made for a central school at Vitengeni, which by motor road was fifty miles from Kaloleni, but was then only reached after a trying journey of early forty miles over a very rough footpath. Rev, H. T. Harris, who was asked to undertake the work, had first to build himself a house, for the mission authorities set aside his request for a temporary building.¹²⁹ This work took up a great deal of time. Vitengeni being far from Mr. Harris' base at Rabai, the difficulties were great and before the house could be finished, the whole scheme was ruined by the outbreak of the Giriama rebellion in 1914.

The people of Kaloleni participated in the trouble caused by the rebellion, and after some exciting experiences, Miss Deed and Miss Mason were removed at night by an armed guard. They were taken to Rabai, where the people whose loyalty to them put them in danger shortly followed them. At the same time, other things were happening at the coast. British troops had been badly ambushed by the Germans at Tanga. These two white women were hurriedly ordered to leave, and were taken by train to Mazaras. Some missionaries fled to Rabai, but they made a short stay, as it was soon found possible for them to return to Mombasa.¹³⁰

Some six or seven months passed before Miss Deed and Miss Mason were allowed to go back to Kaloleni. When they arrived at Kaloleni, the Giriama elders fined them a couple of goats for allegedly bringing misfortune to their land and were

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Thopson, A R, and Franken Jan. *Church and Education in East Africa*. (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1976), p. 134.

¹³⁰Ibid.

only allowed back to Kaloleni after fully settling the goat fine. When they went back to Kaloleni, the people who had been longing for their return received them with great joy and relief. After this, there was a move forward, especially in the school work. Medical work also went ahead, and there was an extraordinary demand for the simple treatment, which was available.¹³¹

In Kaloleni, the missionaries realized that the medical needs of the Giriama were immense. Malaria and intestinal parasites were endemic. Apart from tropical diseases, the jigger menace posed a remarkable health hazard among the Giriama. The jigger flea reached Kenya from the West Africa at the turn of the twentieth century. It came from Central America, and it was spread in the coast of West Africa by the slave traffic. It is asserted that the porters of Stanley's expedition helped to carry the jigger eastwards. Many Europeans and Africans remember the first invasion of the jigger into various parts of Kenya. It attacked the toes of the natives who were very oblivious of its habits. They found themselves victims of horrible ulceration, which resulted in many losing toes and many children dying from septic poisoning. The unsanitary conditions in which the Giriama lived made them an easy prey to the ravages of disease. The only doctors they had previously known were the witch doctors, whose principal duties were not treating the sick, but appeasing the spirits of the dead, whom they believed caused diseases.

Therefore, during the early days of the missionaries in Kaloleni, they established a network of dispensaries. Each dispensary was an integral part of the out station work, which consisted church, school and dispensary under a teacher evangelist, some of the dispensaries were under the newly converted African

¹³¹Ronald, Oliver. *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. (London: Longmans, 1962), pp. 78-81.

catechists who attended to the out-patients, paid visits to the villages, and dispatched the more serious cases to the main hospital.¹³²

The dispensary services at Kaloleni were used as a mechanism of reaching many individuals who otherwise were not in touch with the mission. The missionaries made safaris from time to time, and the people all over the Giriama country erected many out schools and churches. In 1925, Shadrack Karisa of Rabai began his work at Kaloleni dispensary, which he carried on until a qualified medical assistant became available with the arrival of Dr. K.W. Allen in 1926. The expansion of the hospital in 1926 and the availability of skilled medical treatment was a great boom to the people from many miles around Kaloleni.¹³³ Their much hesitation before the establishment of a hospital was finally decided upon, chiefly because it was felt that the water supply would be very inadequate. It had become a joke in the mission that at Kaloleni there were times when workers had to choose between drinking and washing, and many were the discussions in the committee regarding this question.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, a way was found, one of the best wells in the country was made and plenty of good water was finally obtained both for hospital and school consumption. In addition, several outpatient dispensaries were established in Kaloleni, Rabai, Ribe and Gotan by Dr. Allen with the help of African Catechists and teachers.¹³⁵

In 1929, Edwards Memorial Hospital was established in Kaloleni and over fifty patients thronged it on a daily basis. This hospital provided a good means of getting in touch with Africans not normally interested in the mission; and a small leper camp, which for several years relied on voluntary support, obtained mainly

¹³²Horace, Philip. *A new day in Kenya*. (London: World Dominion Press, 1960, p 87.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴Gordon, Hewitt. *Problems of success: A history of the Church Missionary Society-1910-1942*. (Bristol: Western Printing Services Ltd, 1971), pp. 132-134.

¹³⁵Ibid.

through the hard work and enthusiasm of Mrs. W. A. Pitts in Nairobi helped the Giriama. The case of a missionary hospital at Kaloleni was strong. In 1931, Dr Allen reported that ninety percent of the boys at the mission school had bilharzias and his report in 1934 underlined malnutrition as a cause of much of the illness in the district.¹³⁶ In 1935, Miss Amy Sparrow arrived in Kaloleni as a hospital sister. When H.D. Hooper, Africa secretary of the CMS, visited Kaloleni in 1937, he was particularly impressed by the ordered purpose and activity in all departments. Following his visit, plans were worked out for a ring of out--stations dispensaries. Six of these out stations had been established by 1944. By then Dr. W.H Kirkaldy-Willis (1941-1956) had taken over as hospital superintendent, and had started a small leper camp, which developed considerably in later years.

Offering medical services to the Africans was an exigent task for the missionaries. Besides, the common challenge of inadequate staff, drugs and medical equipment, the missionaries often faced serious resistance from the Africans who were unfamiliar with western medical interventions.¹³⁷ The Giriama were dominated by their old ideas about disease and death, and lived in atmosphere of fear and viewed everything connected with western medicine with the utmost suspicion. Despite these challenges, the extensive medical work served a good purpose for opening up Kaloleni for evangelization. To this extent, therefore, medical missionary work can be said to have been instrumental in wooing the Giriama to embrace Christianity.

¹³⁶KNA/6/3. Office of inspector of schools Mombasa, 20th February, 1932. Letter from the honorable the director of education Nairobi; Ref. Jeanne teacher CMS Kaloleni.

¹³⁷Gordon, Hewitt. *Problems of success: A history of the Church Missionary Society-1910-1942*. (Bristol: Western Printing Services Ltd, 1971), p 137.

3.3.1 School for Catechists and Teachers

On the educational side, the government offered a grant for starting a vocational school in 1921, and Mr. Harris consented to take this offer.¹³⁸ He came over from Rabai and put up temporary dormitories, and a workshop at Kaloleni Missionary Centre. In the same year, Miss Mason left amid general sorrow; Miss F.M. Austin (later Mrs. Cole) replaced her.¹³⁹ In 1923, Miss F.M. Austin arrived at Kaloleni from Rabai and took over dispensary work and women's classes. In the same year, Miss W. Foy left Rabai and joined other missionaries at Kaloleni where she participated in teaching. Meanwhile, Miss Deed was carrying on her most valuable translation work, which finally produced the New Testament, Prayer book, Hymnbook and two readers in Kigiriana, and (later) a Giriama-English Vocabulary and Grammar. Joshua Ruwa was one of the people in Kaloleni who helped the missionaries in translation activities.

In Kaloleni, training of African teachers became an integral part of the missionary work because the future of Christianity among the Giriama depended on African teachers and catechists.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, training of teachers began in 1920 on a modest scale. Some of the young men that were brought from different parts of the Kaloleni District to learn short courses of instruction at the CMS missionary centre in Kaloleni included Reuben Kombe, Joseph Mramba, Petro Mwaro, James Golowa among others.¹⁴¹ Makeshift structures were erected for their accommodation and classes. In some cases, houses were acquired from the neighbors at a token. In 1928, the Normal School, which had been under Rev. F. Cribb in Mombasa, was transferred

¹³⁸KNA/5/68/47. Church Missionary Society Allocation of Government Education for year 1922 – 1951.

¹³⁹Eugene, Stock. "History of the Church Missionary Society." *Journal of Religion*, 1950: Vol. 2 page 431-32.

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

to Kaloleni under the direction of Miss. E Bodger. For eight years, teachers from Giriama, Rabai, Mombasa, Taita and Nairobi and from the M.M.S stations at Mazaras and Meru were trained at Kaloleni Missionary Centre.¹⁴²

These teachers also served as catechists or evangelists and were trained at the central mission to meet the increasing demands for bush schools. Their training was poor. Very many missionaries were not themselves trained teachers and their students suffered as a result. Despite their poor training and lack of facilities, it must not be forgotten that these early teachers were the pioneers of education, and much of the credit for laying the foundations of education in Kaloleni must go to them.¹⁴³

In the training institution, teacher trainees were taught how to read and write in the morning. In the evening, they were taught the doctrines of Christian faith. In the villages, teachers were expected to play the double role of preaching and teaching. They were required to follow the instructions of the church to the letter and if any of them went against the church doctrines by either marrying several women and/ or indulging in alcohol, he would be sacked immediately.¹⁴⁴

On vocational schools in 1921, Mr. Harris came over from Rabai and put up temporary dormitories and a workshop at Kaloleni missionary centre. The first group of trainees included Fundi Rimba, John Gona, Fundi Randu and Andrew Kombe. In 1927, Miss E Bodger arrived at Kaloleni and started a vocational college that attracted students from as far as Taita, Koro and Nakuru. Apart from the general instructions, vocational skills such as agriculture, carpentry, masonry and tailoring were taught.

¹⁴²KNA, Letter dated 5th July, 1927. The AG director of education wrote to inform the date the principle of CMS Kaloleni would arrive.

¹⁴³Langley, M, and T Kiggins. *A Serving People: The Church in East Africa* . (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 121-124.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

Many people learned to read and write in their own languages.¹⁴⁵ Some learned Swahili, and a few of the brighter students went on to study English and French.

Apart from the formal school curriculum, the missionaries taught informal education known as “elimu ya milamba” among the Giriama. At Kaloleni, the informal education was only for men. Many locals were attracted due to rewards they got. For example, students were given personal necessities such as clothes, bedding and paid a little tuition fees of six shillings per academic year. Students that excelled in Kaloleni vocational training centre went for advanced learning at Kabete technical college.

Among the first Jeanes teachers attached to the CMS that were trained at Kabete Technical College were Simeon Kirao, Shadrach Mganga and James Golowa who later started teaching in out-schools in Vitengeni, Jaribuni and Jilore respectively. Jeanes teachers supervised out schools, which had to visit regularly. They advised teachers on curriculum matters and ensured that they carried out their duties properly. Moreover, they inspected the status of the school facilities and equipment. They paid particular attention to the welfare of students and ensured the efficiency of teachers. Each month they forwarded a report of their activities to the principal jeans school at Kabete.¹⁴⁶

Kaloleni primary school emerged out of the vocational training school. In addition, several out-school were established in Kaloleni. An important element in the development of education was missionary –government cooperation. This started at the turn of the century when the government started urging missions to give technical education a central place in their schools. Early commissioners like Charles Eliot and

¹⁴⁵KNA/ 2/3/87. Inspection report done on 16th august, 1927 at Kaloleni School.

¹⁴⁶KNA/ DC/Kf/1/3/1936.

Hayes-Sadler were in favour of working through Christian missionaries in the provision of educational facilities.

3.3.2 The Bush Schools

Apart from the vocational institutions, several bush school were established by the African catechists and teachers to facilitate the propagation of Christianity and formal education among the Giriama. In 1931, Kenneth Storold a missionary arrived at Kaloleni and helped in the creation of bush schools. The Africans catechists and teachers through the assistance of the community constructed several bush schools. The bush schools were equipped with basic learning materials such as reading charts, with the alphabet or rows of syllables, and sometimes-short arithmetic numbers.¹⁴⁷ Bible texts were hung on the walls. A teacher in a bush school was a man of poor education, probably a product of a similar school. Every morning students of mixed ages and sexes repeatedly rehearsed the English syllables in an attempt to grasp Basic English vocabulary. Sometimes, students had to move around with teachers and catechists who were preaching in the surrounding areas. Within the bush schools, the three R's were the core of the curriculum – constituting reading, writing and arithmetic as well as religion. When these were finally mastered, the class moved on to more difficult task of reading consecutive print. In this way, formal education began among the Giriama. Besides the three R's and religion, education in bush schools included life skills such as hygiene. So much did the early mission schools emphasize religion that these schools have were called 'prayer houses'. In the meantime, the quality of academic work was so low that it could be said, "Too many pupils forgot the three R's faster than they learnt them."¹⁴⁸ The organization and operation of bush schools was such that learners possessed little motivation to master

¹⁴⁷William, Anderson. *The Church in East Africa 1840-1979*. (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1972), pp. 80-81.

¹⁴⁸Kenneth, Ingham. *A history of East Africa*. (London: Longmans, 19620, p. 70.

school work or be attracted beyond vague curiosity about the written and printed words.

By 1934, the outskirts of Kaloleni Missionary Centre were dotted with several bush schools. Gorge Konde notes that:

Some of the remarkable bush schools included Jaribuni, N'gombeni, Kadzinuni, Wango'ngo, Dungicha Kafuloni, Dulukiza, Mwijo, chalani, mirihini, mgamboni, chakama. Jila, Mafingoni, Garashi, Marafa, Tsangalaweni, Mwaeba, kizurini, Bamba, fila, Jilore, kakuyuni and Chilulu among others. Mariakani out school was started in 1930 by the native local council. In August 1931, Simeon Kirao started an out school in the north of the Giriama Reserve. In 1937, James Golowa started Jilore out school. In 1938, while Shadrach Mganga started Jaribuni out school while the CMS bought five acres of land at Kizurini and started Kizurini out school in the same year.¹⁴⁹

Some of these out- schools were supported by the government grants and others were sponsored by the CMS. Some of the African catechists that served in these bush schools included Rev. Samuel, Rev. Wilson Kajoro, William Mutta, David Mzungu and many others.¹⁵⁰ The European missionaries, who regardless of their education qualifications, would provide the necessary supervision and guidance and could, visit the out schools from time to time.¹⁵¹ Later the Jeanes teachers replaced the missionaries by supervising the bush schools. They were commonly referred as visiting teachers. By 1938 they were 3 Jeanes teachers among them is Lawrence Bennett who retired in 1955 and later elected as chief upto 1970. As I interviewed him, he was physically and mentally fit. With time, mission educational activity underwent a considerable change in Kaloleni. Freedom to move into new and wider areas of Kaloleni created the need for greatly increased numbers of catechists. This

¹⁴⁹Oral interview, George Konde, Kaloleni, 24th September, 2013.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

¹⁵¹Thopson, A R, and Franken Jan. *Church and Education in East Africa*. (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1976), p. 18.

challenge was overcome by training more African converts to assume teaching and evangelism work. Meanwhile, the extension of government activities in Kaloleni created demand for educated Africans to fill a wide range of subordinate clerical and administrative posts. Since the parallel expansion of mission work absorbed the great majority of the products of mission schools, the government found itself unable to recruit from these schools and in any case, official opinion of mission educational activity and mission school products was very low.¹⁵²

In 1937, the Coastal Normal School, which had been at Kaloleni for several years, was moved to Wusi under Rev. P.G. Bostock, who was now in charge of pastoral work at Taita Hills and at Taveta.¹⁵³ The Taita primary school was transferred from Wusi to Mbale in 1935. In 1941, an experiment was made of opening a much-needed girl's boarding school at Wusi, in the buildings formerly used by the Normal School. It was fortunate to obtain as its first principal Mrs. Arthur Philips, who had had considerable experience on the staff of Jeanes School at Kabete. Miss Bodger (who took over in 1942 and trained a number of girl teachers) honored Mrs. Arthur Philips for her excellent spirit in the school. On Miss Bodger's return to Kaloleni in 1943, Miss Murray became the principal of the girl's school. By 1940, Kaloleni primary school was the centre of all pupils in the elementary level. The Methodists pupils had to come there. In 1944, the system of education changed from informative to formal education, which was from class one to seven.¹⁵⁴ The demands placed up on boarders at this mission school were too great to ensure continued living in the schools. In this boarding school, very often, regular class work was strongly weighted by manual labour and missionaries appeared to use their students as servants. It is

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³KNA, Letter Ref: MS.K.11 letter by the C.M Society to Kaloleni station dated 2nd November, 1937.

¹⁵⁴Church missionary society Kenya mission: Kilifi Missionary area – a report to Executive Board 1958. April to Sep. 1948.

perhaps no exaggeration to say that the boarder did more physical work than class work. In the missions, the pupils were under the strict supervision of white man and discipline was generally rigidly maintained. Pupils were largely used as labourers. This led African parents to demand payment in return for the work their children did in mission stations.

Towards the end of the 1940s, Kaloleni had become an all-purpose mission centre approximating more closely to the large establishments typical of the CSM at Kikuyu and the AIM at Kaimosi. However, not all missionaries were happy about this huge establishment. Stovold saw a danger that the growing African church would become too dependent on the European leadership; and M.G. Capon in his annual letter in 1935, questioned whether it was right for six missionaries to be stationed at Kaloleni without freedom to itinerate.¹⁵⁵ Capon was at this time stationed at Vitengeni, fifty miles by road from Kaloleni. Much earlier, in 1911, Vitengeni had been selected as the site for a central school to serve a wide area of Giriama territory, but the Giriama uprising of 1914 had halted the plan.¹⁵⁶ The problem of penetration much beyond strong centers such as Kaloleni remained vexatious. The intense conservatism of the Giriama tribe combined with lack of missionary staff free from institutional responsibilities, made progress in evangelism and church-growth painfully slow. It was slow too among the Digo people to the southwest of Mombasa. There was no resident missionary in this region after 1904, when George Burns left there to begin his outstanding ministry in Nairobi.

There was often a reaction to this new system of education. Students were often withdrawn from school by their parents. After sometime, parents could again

¹⁵⁵Gordon, Hewitt. *Problems of success: A history of the Church Missionary Society-1910-1942*. (Bristol: Western Printing Services Ltd, 1971), pp. 131-132.

¹⁵⁶Ronald, Oliver. *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. (London: Longmans, 1962), p. 259.

take back their children to school when there was demand for educated children. In this pattern, there were two important principles. The first was that the spread of schools was intimately linked with evangelism and preaching.¹⁵⁷ Chiefs usually heard of Christian preaching many times before they were actually asked for their consent. The school became the centre for their Christian preaching. The second principle was that of self-support. The school was in the village and often built by villagers. Often teachers were completely supported by them. The bush schools were a great success to the missionaries because they helped in connecting Christianity and learning.¹⁵⁸

Initially, the Africans expected much from the attainment of Western education, but they quickly became disappointed and frustrated over the results. This disenchantment was expressed in complaints from Africans and Europeans alike that the "imported" educational system failed to achieve its objectives.¹⁵⁹ Western education was considered "too European," and therefore, ill-suited and irrelevant to African needs, and that in the process, the indigenous values of love, community relationships, and profound spirituality were being lost. At the same time, some complained that the new system had introduced new values of intolerance, hatred, cutthroat competition, disharmony, pride, arrogance, covetousness and even cheating.¹⁶⁰ It was further suggested that there was too much rote-learning and too little application of the principles being taught in the schools.

¹⁵⁷Oral interview, George Konde, Kaloleni, 24th September, 2013.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Kenneth, Ingham. *A history of East Africa*. (London: Longmans, 1962), pp 90-92.

¹⁶⁰ Omolewa, Michael. "Educating the "Native": A Study of the Education Adaptation Strategy in British Colonial Africa, 1910-1936." *The Journal of African American History*, 2006: Vol. 91, No. 3 pp. 267-287.

3.4 Contribution of African Catechist and Teachers in the Spread of Western Education and Christianity in Kaloleni

As discussed above, the African catechists and those, whom they trained, undertook the expansion of the church and Christianity at Kaloleni before the end of the First World War and long after.¹⁶¹ While one must acknowledge the presence of the European missionaries, their background and language problems made their role in the expansion of the historic church vis-a vis that of the Africans insignificant. Climate alone immobilized many of the white missionaries for many months. There were hardly more than five at any one moment for the CMS establishment in Kaloleni and very often not more than one missionary was fit to undertake any missionary work of any significance up to at least 1900.¹⁶² Limited direct contact between the European missionaries and the Giriama society was possible during this period as Africans opposed the intrusion of European missionaries and of the introduction of Christianity in their territory. The only means of contact and of spreading Christianity to the Giriama was the Africans who had been converted to Christianity. Equally important were the observations African catechists made about the areas through which they passed. Their comments about the political situation in Kaloleni were remarkably accurate. All the reports that the CMS missionaries made at this point about the chaos brought by civil wars and by the incessant Masaai attacks on the Giriama have been publicized widely. The credit for this information as well as for geographical knowledge of the area, which they wrote about, has been given to Europeans –missionaries, travelers and adventurers alike. It is absurd that this credit should not at least be shared with the African catechists.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹Oral interview, Christopher G. Chondo, Rabai 16th September, 2013.

¹⁶² Eugene, Stock. "History of the Church Missionary Society." *Journal of Religion*, Vol. 2 (1950), pp. 431-32.

¹⁶³Temu, A J. *British Protestant Missions*. (London: Longman Group Limited, 1972), pp. 63-65.

3.5 Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, the objective of the CMS missionaries in Kaloleni was to bring Africans into the membership of their church. They at last began to be outstandingly successful in doing so in this period. The main means used by the CMS missionaries in evangelism was creation of a network of bush schools in which children of all ages could be given a very simple education in reading, writing, and arithmetic (3Rs) alongside the religious instruction leading to baptism and church membership. The CMS early school in Kaloleni grew out of the desire to win converts, train African catechists and workers, and create an African middle class.

The objective of creating this class stemmed from the belief that it was the best way of introducing European civilization. Therefore, the main goal first was for the Christian missionaries to win African souls for Christ. This was done through educating native catechists to be responsible for spreading the gospel, since they were familiar with their community members. Even more importantly, the African catechists spoke the local language and could easily spread the gospel in the interior of Giriama. To this extent, it can be concluded that the African catechists and teachers were instrumental in the spread of Christianity among the Giriama. Suffice is to say that in the absence of African catechists the, CMS missionaries in Kaloleni could have not succeeded in their work. It is also worth noting that education and medicine were not naturally Christian. Rather, they were made an integral part of Christianity, but others also brought these same skills among the Africans: Muslims, Asians and the colonial government. Moreover, long before the coming of missionaries came, every East African tribe had its own elaborate system of education. In traditional society, children were led through the educational system, to develop qualities of faithfulness,

loyalty, honesty, courage and hospitality. With the coming of the Europeans, this process took a new dimension. Therefore, missionaries did not introduce education in East Africa. This point is worth highlighting because many people erroneously associate all education with missionaries.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE IMPACT AND CHALLENGES OF CMS MISSIONARY WORK IN
KALOLENI

4.1 Introduction

Before the coming of Christian Missionaries, Kaloleni was undeveloped, inaccessible and isolated from the mainstream for several decades. The Giriama could not see the light of the modern world and remained backward. The inhabitants were up to their neck in evil practices like superstition, female infanticide and child marriage. Many people were indigent, ignorant, illiterate, and superstitious and considered uncivilized. Above all, Kaloleni was a malaria prone area and there was no health care facility. Therefore, the people took resort to supernatural power. They were worshipping various elements of nature, ancestors and many gods. In these critical circumstances, the CMS Missionaries came to Kaloleni in June 1904 and began a new epoch in socio- cultural development of the Giriama. They introduced and implemented a handful of welfare schemes such as eradication of illiteracy, economic development and social mobilization, and consciousness of health and hygiene. Thereafter, a tremendous impact of missionaries' activities was observed on the Giriama. This chapter discusses the outcome of the CMS missionary work in Kaloleni and the challenges they experienced in their work.

4.2 Impact of Missionary activities in Kaloleni

4.2.1 Establishment of schools

The CMS missionaries set up mission schools for the children of converted Christians. Kazungungu Jefwa notes:

These schools started as bush schools and eventually became elementary schools. Towards the 1960s, some of these schools became secondary schools.

Among them were St, John Girls Secondary School, Godoma Secondary School, Dr. Krapf Secondary School, Gedi secondary School among others.¹⁶⁴ Some of the early graduates from these schools were Joseph Mwang'ovya and Ronald Ngala.

The new class of Christians followed the principles of discipline, mutual help, and cleanliness of body and mind. The missionaries laid emphasis on the development of character in the converted Christians.¹⁶⁵ Virtues of Christianity like honesty, benevolence, decency and respect for truth and love, were infused into their minds. They were expected to be the models of morality and humanitarianism.¹⁶⁶ In Kaloleni, the missionaries built a station where they took care of the converted Christians, and provided all facilities so that they could live in the society, free from social taboos.¹⁶⁷ However, this people felt secluded and did not keep relationship with outside people. The missionary efforts in spreading education among the common people aroused consciousness in the indigenous mind. However, all the benign efforts of the missionaries to spread education were a cloak on the idea of spreading Christianity.¹⁶⁸ With the help of African catechists and teachers, the missionaries rendered a valuable service and did a considerable amount of spadework for the growth and development of education in this area. The missionaries also used Western education to train Africans as catechists, messengers, and other positions needed to assist them in realizing the social and economic development and transformations they desired.

4.2.2 Missionary education undermined African education system

Although the missionary education had some positive effects, it did have some negative ramifications in the community. The religious emphasis in all the CMS

¹⁶⁴Oral interview, Kazungu Jefwa, Bungicha, 27th September, 2013.

¹⁶⁵Oral interview, Msuko Shoka, Jaribuni, 22nd August, 2013.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Oral interview, Kazungu Jefwa, Bungicha, 27th September, 2013.

¹⁶⁸Sifuna, D N, and J E Otiende. *An introduction to history of education*. (Nairobi: University of Nairobi, 1994), pp.185-186.

schools in Kaloleni was Christian doctrine. Thus, the CMS missionaries brought a new religious faith to the children of Giriama who had hitherto known cultural unity of religion and life. In addition, the church brought the spirit of intolerance of the Giriama traditions. The exposure to western education, fueled especially by the missionary enthusiasm for evangelization, was at the expense of African indigenous education, which quickly faced the risk of becoming corrupted. Not only did children spend much time in the mission schools and churches, but they were also ‘educated’ to depart from many Giriama traditions. This did not do much to encourage the development of good relations between the educated and other members of the community who did not share the Christian faith.¹⁶⁹

This is one of the ways in which the CMS schools participated in the fragmentation of the Giriama society. Doing so, they interjected the predominant character of European intervention in the Giriama society during the colonial era, namely, divide and rule. Children who received missionary education in the bush schools became alienated from the socialization systems of their community.¹⁷⁰ With the loss of its own self-propagation systems and authority, the Giriama community began to disintegrate. The traditional Giriama society began falling apart as their members began receiving exotic, irrelevant, theoretical education. The disconnection of the Giriama culture can be considered the single most destructive aspect that Christian education that was brought upon them by the CMS missionaries. The Giriama have never recovered from this disconnect, and its impact on social dissolution has been profound. From their own perspective, the CMS missionaries intended to improve the lives of the Giriama people, primarily by bringing them the

¹⁶⁹Oral interview, Christopher Gamoyo Chondo, Rabai 16th September, 2013.

¹⁷⁰Ogot, Bethwell. *A survey of East African History*. (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1974), p. 134.

“good news” of the gospel, and in other ways, they judged to be worthwhile, such as the provision of health services and education.

4.2.3 Social mobility

Social mobility was one of the great contributions of the missionaries in Kaloleni where agricultural lands were very scanty. Besides forest products, the Giriama were occasionally doing shifting cultivation, terrace cultivation, and seasonal agriculture but it was not enough for them. The economy of the Giriama was underdeveloped and they mostly relied on small scale cultivation as a source livelihood. The economic condition of the Giriama was also very worse. They were mainly doing manual jobs, small trades, daily wage, and playing music for their livelihood.¹⁷¹ They had to live half-starved and so their standard of living was very miserable.¹⁷² It was therefore significant for the missionaries to adopt some economic measures for their development. As a first step, the missionaries engaged the uneducated converted Christians in various manual works such as gardening, marketing, cooking, and on plantation work. That meant the missionaries wanted to create skilled labourers in the society and engage them in various economic programmes launched by them.¹⁷³ Christians who had experienced Western education became part of new elite that gained salaried employment with the missions as teachers and pastors, or with the colonial state, as chiefs and clerks, and took the lead in economic innovation. Moreover, Christians with Western educations played a significant part in the protest movements that emerged to challenge the policies and

¹⁷¹Oral interview, Cosmas Kilifi Katana, Ganze, 27th September, 2013.

¹⁷²Kendall, E. *The end of an era: Africa and the Missionary*. (London: SPCK, 19780, pp. 56-57.

¹⁷³Oral interview, Rebecca Mosse, Chonyi, 31st August, 2013.

practices of the colonial state in Kenya prior to 1940 and to demand improved status for themselves within colonial society.¹⁷⁴

4.2.4 Introduction of medical services

Apart from social economic hardships, Kaloleni was a malaria prone region. Besides malaria, people were suffering from various lethal diseases and dying without proper medical treatment. During that time, sickness was viewed as the effect of supernatural power, people were taking help of sorcery and magic spells because they were thought to be the most effective way of curing a sick.¹⁷⁵ Thus, the local physicians (witchdoctors) easily victimized people for causing diseases and often exploited their clients who at last were losing their valuable lives.

Through healing mission, the African catechists acquired some basic medical knowledge and started treating the sick people at the villages. They provided health care services by establishing clinics and dispensaries. While treating the patients, the missionaries would not forget to remember Jesus that He was curing the diseases. Though it was a wrong interpretation, people were bound to believe it after their recovery. In every medical centre, a pastor was appointed to pray for the recuperation of the patients. Whatever might be the intentions behind the introduction of healthcare system of the missionaries, it was a blessing in disguise to the Giriama.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, the missionaries were the precursors who introduced this medical system hundred years back in this hilly district.

¹⁷⁴Oral interview, Ishmael Fundo, Jila, 28th September, 2013.

¹⁷⁵Oral interview, Kellian Shutu, Kilifi, 23rd August, 2013.

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

4.3 Challenges CMS Missionaries faced in Kaloleni

4.3.1 The challenge of Islam

Missionary activities among the Giriama were characterized by various challenges. A serious hurdle that the CMS missionaries had to deal with right from Mombasa and all the way to Kaloleni in the interior was Islam. One of the reasons for CMS early lack of interest in working among the African Muslims was that they perceived Islam in East Africa to be in decline. Like many people in Europe and America at the time, the CMS missionaries believed that Islam was waning and was going to die out naturally with the potential aid of Western modernity. This view was held during the initial stages by the CMS the UMCA missionary activities at the Kenyan coast.¹⁷⁷ There was also a strong belief by the CMS in the early years that Islam had not spread into the interior. This view stemmed from the fact that there was still a great deal of ignorance about the interior of East Africa in the 1860s and 1870s, especially when compared to the inner regions of West Africa.¹⁷⁸

Although both the CMS and the UMCA started work on the coast in the early 1860s, neither of the two groups established inland stations until the mid-1870s. The knowledge they had of the interior was extremely limited. Similarly, when the CMS restarted its mission work in the 1870s, the one mission station they had that was just inland from Mombasa, showed no signs that Islam had spread and for several years, it appears that the CMS continued to believe that it had not penetrated inland.

The missionaries' lack of information on the Muslim advance upcountry also stemmed from the fact that there were few explorers' accounts that yielded any reason for concern. This was buttressed by the writings of Richard Burton and David

¹⁷⁷ Oral interview, Reuben Katite, Ganze 12th September, 2013.

¹⁷⁸ Temple, Gairdner. *The Reproach of Islam*. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1909), pp. 248-249.

Livingstone. Relying on the accounts of geographers and other travelers as well as other European scholarship of the region, missionaries were prepared to encounter Islam of a certain kind at the coast, but they had not expected to find the religion in the interior. As the CMS missionaries moved further inland, they began to see that the faith was growing and winning the allegiance of upcountry peoples. As their perceptions of the nature of Islam changed, so did their strategies.¹⁷⁹

The first course of action regarding Islam during the first years of mission work in Mombasa was to do nothing at all. The CMS avoided trying to convert Muslims. One example of this is when Salter Price, the first leader of the CMS at Freretown scolded a mission worker from Bombay for preaching directly to Swahili Muslims who happened to wander into a CMS assembly. This attitude began to change when in the late 1870s and 1880s the CMS missionaries started to expand inland. As missionary stations began to be set up in the interior, and as missionaries went on scouting expeditions to find new lands for further development, numerous reports of the presence of Islam came streaming in to the CMS head station at the coast. Starting in the late 1870s and early 1880s, and then increasing from the late 1880s through to the first decade of the twentieth century—as the numbers of missionaries in the interior multiplied and as the spread of Islam increased—there were numerous reports of how Muslim influence had already reached the villages and towns of the interior.

After a dozen years of work just outside Mombasa and the start of a few inland stations, the CMS began to feel that they had neglected the people of the coast. The new bishop, W. E. Parker, had visited Zanzibar in 1886 and was impressed with

¹⁷⁹Robert, W Strayer. *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa*. (London: Heinemann, 1978), p. 61.

UMCA efforts to reach Muslims on the Island and wondered ‘what might be done at Mombasa and among the Giriama. A couple of months later Bishop, Parker took an advertisement out in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record* for three ladies to work with Muslims in Mombasa and in Giirama land as well as a medical team. By 1888, the CMS was sending medical doctors into Mombasa from Freretown on two days a week as well as a native evangelist on Saturdays to reach the inhabitants of Mombasa. Writing of this missionary effort, Parker stated, ‘This is a distinct extension of the Mission. As no systematic evangelistic work has ever yet been carried out in Mombasa town among the Mohammedans.’¹⁸⁰ It was during this same time that Parker made a journey into the interior and reported on the alarming growth of Islam. In 1894, the CMS began a special campaign to reach the Muslims through open preaching in the streets. There had been a clear change in policy since 1875 when Salter Price scolded the missionary worker for directly addressing Muslims and not just letting ‘fall here and there a few crumbs’.

During the 1880s and 1890s, the German and French groups also experienced a change in attitude towards Islam. Writing on the Spiritans, Paul Kollman has argued that during this period there was a growing vilification of Islam and an increasing view of Muslims as a hindrance to their mission work. After 1885, the CMS began to see Islam as an advancing force. In their first inland station of Jilore they complained that during the 1890s the numbers of converts had begun to slump due to the growth of Islam. Worse still, by 1896 there was a growing concern at the numbers of African Muslim converts.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰Paul, Kollman. *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa*. (New York: Orbis Books, 2005), p. 95.

¹⁸¹Robert, Maxon. *Kenya: Colonial Period: Administration, Christianity, Education, and Protest to 1940*. June 2, 2012. <http://patachu.com/kenya-colonial-period-administration-christianity-education-and-protest-to-1940/> (accessed September 16, 2013).

Although in the early 1890s, the CMS still viewed Islam as only having a superficial hold among the inhabitants of the coast, in 1892 the decision was made to implement a strategy to stop Islam before it became more firmly entrenched. From the turn of the century until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the concern over Islam reached a fever pitch among East African mission societies. For a group such as the UMCA, 'the Mohammedan Problem' was seen as the most important problem facing the Church in East Africa. During this period all of the major agencies shifted their focus to coming up with new strategies for dealing with the growth of Islam and the either/or framework introduced by J.P. Farler in 1878 became a common refrain.

Beyond strategically placing new mission stations to get to unreached peoples before Muslims did, the mission societies also felt the need to better understand Islam and the intellectual challenges it posed. It was no longer believed that Islam would easily wither in the face of modernity and Christianity and thus needed serious engagement. Along these lines, the CMS sought to have missionaries of 'intellectual capacity' who would be willing to deal solely with the Muslims of Mombasa and Kaloleni. In 1905, the CMS was successful in obtaining an Islamic specialist by the name of Johannes Kupfernagel. Kupfernagel spoke Arabic and some Hindu and was sent to Giriama land in line with their belief in its importance as a gateway to the entire country. The growing concern over Islam in East Africa encouraged CMS cooperation with other missionary societies.

4.3.2 Isolation and loneliness

At Kaloleni, the CMS missionaries endured serious isolation and loneliness. This was the key determining factor underpinning, and largely exacerbating, all the other hardships of missionary life. One therapy for isolation was the writing of letters. This was not only the missionaries' sole method of communication but also a means

of influencing events and a means alleviating loneliness.¹⁸² The CMS missionaries in Kaloleni were not any different from other professionals or trades in that from time to time disagreements broke out between them. There is little doubt that the isolation and loneliness they endured, combined with the often-close living arrangements with other individuals from whom they could not easily escape, resulted in occasional outbreaks of hostility. Indeed, it should be noted that few missionaries in Kaloleni were irritable and contentious.

4.3.3 Wrangles among missionaries

Frequently, disputes were referred to missionary headquarters for arbitration and missionary society secretaries in London were obliged to exercise the wisdom of Solomon, in the near impossible task of settling, by post, petty disputes that had begun months ago and thousands of miles away. There was also an unpleasant tendency for missionaries, like schoolchildren 'sneaking' to a master, to report fellow missionaries to headquarters behind their backs. One of the greatest scourges of their isolation, for those missions without a resident doctor, was the distance from qualified medical attention when a family member was sick.

The primary aim of all Christian missions that began work in East Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century was to reach several pagans in the interior, but due to geographical constraints, almost all started work on or near the coast, which was almost wholly Muslim. In the absence of good transport facilities, the CMS missionaries including the African catechists and teachers had to walk long distances in order to reach Africans.

¹⁸² Ibid.

4.3.4 The Giriama Resistance to Christianity

Apart from the challenges posed by Islam, slave trade, poor transport and communication, the CMS missionaries could not easily convince the conservative Giriama to embrace Christianity. Giriama culture and taboos did not allow them to accept Christianity. The Giriama wanted to worship their God they were used to.¹⁸³ For example, they wanted to see God in the missionary churches they attended and refused to go to school. Naturally, the Giriama did not like learning, but they liked imitating things. A Giriama prophet known as (Mepoho) psychologically prepared members of her community for the coming of the whites. According to her prophecy, some people would come dressed like ghosts, carrying mushrooms and a big snake producing smoke could pass through their land.¹⁸⁴ Thus, she advised her people to be hostile to the whites because they would rule and take over their land. This prophecy lingered in the minds of the Giriama and Kaya elders. Thus, it was difficult for most of the Giriama to join Christianity or attend school.

From the very beginning, the CMS mission had been a social problem to the Giriama society. The missionaries had demanded that their converts discard their beliefs, customs, and traditions and accept, without question or qualification, a completely new way of life, social code, and morals. In short, they demanded a revolution: a rejection of those very things that bound the tribe together from the kings and chiefs down to the lowest and most insignificant individual, into one organic whole controlled by an iron bound code of duties. The missionaries failed miserably to adjust their religion to African milieu but proudly believed, for example, that their own form of marriage and burial, their theological approach, their narrow

¹⁸³Oral interview, Samson Vidzo Mwaro, Chanagande, 15th September, 2013.

¹⁸⁴Oral interview, Christopher Gamoyo Chondo, Rabai 16th September, 2013.

concept of a family and individualism were best for the Giriama.¹⁸⁵ By 1915, the CMS had drawn up a code of rules against sins as condition of baptism. The CMS had ruled, for instance, that its agents would be dismissed from their services with the mission if they took part in dancing. Nevertheless, the most serious was their interference with Giriama customary marriage system.¹⁸⁶

It was difficult for the missionaries to understand that no marriage among the Giriama could be solemnized without its component parts, namely, dancing, and drinking. There was no better form through which they could express their joy other than in dancing which was always accompanied by drinking. Therefore, when the CMS missionaries required their converts to refrain from dancing and drinking they were, in fact, eroding marriage, initiation, and circumcision ceremonies. Moreover, the missionaries failed to see anything good in polygamy, even though this were ingrained in the Giriama social fabric, carried prestige, and were of great social and economic significance to them. The more male children a family had, the stronger the family and the tribe became. It was also important to have a number of female children who could also render assistance by cultivating the land and looking after the general welfare of the tribe, while the men were fighting to defend their homesteads. Furthermore, the Giriama believed girls were the salt of their society. Only Polygamy could meet all these demands. So when the missionaries demanded that their adherents cast away their wives, they were demanding a complete revolution, and an impossibility.¹⁸⁷ Even more importantly, had the African men done so; it would have meant shunning the responsibility they bore to their wives, children, community, and

¹⁸⁵ Oral interview, Christopher Gamoyo Chondo, Rabai 16th September, 2013.

¹⁸⁶ Temu, A J. *British Protestant Missionaries*. (London: Longman Group Limited, 1972), pp 107-108.

¹⁸⁷ Oral interview, Rev. Alex Banda, Kaloleni, 20th September, 2013.

the whole tribe. They would have lost their prestige, economy, and wealth. This they could not do and still belong to the tribe.

For the unmarried converts, the missionaries ensured that the boys married Christian girls and vice versa. In the early days of their work among the Giriama, the CMS did not find it difficult to arrange marriage for the single African converts, for the missionaries posed as their parents and so placed themselves in a position of tribal authority to choose wives and husbands for those under their care. Accommodating single converts in the mission stations was therefore, one way through which the white missionaries could always enforce monogamy, for they ensured that their adult converts had Christian wives from the mission houses. It is no wonder then that African parents refused to allow their children to live in the mission stations, and disowned those who were enticed away from their homes by the missions.

The discipline in the mission center was equal if not surpassed that found in the military camps.¹⁸⁸ The missionaries practiced brutality so that they could have the souls of their converts. The same process was repeated in the highlands, but with perhaps less brutality. In the late 1890s, the CMS at Mombasa lamented the passing to the civil courts of their power to punish their converts. They admitted that all they could do was to try to restrain their converts from sin through moral persuasion.

In Kaloleni, the missionaries tried in vain to prevent brewing of alcohol and palm wine tapping, in the 1890s and the 1900s. They even tried to induce tea drinking instead. However, the Africans were quick to discover that this could not fulfill their social function for which their own beer was brewed.¹⁸⁹ The CMS ruled that abstinence from alcohol was necessary condition for baptism. Since no such ruled existed in the constitution of CMS, the missionaries therefore circumvented the

¹⁸⁸Oral interview, George Konde, Kaloleni, 24th September, 2013.

¹⁸⁹Oral interview, Margeret John Kamango, Kaloleni, 24th September, 2013.

constitution by placing drunkenness along the list of sins, which John Arthur had proscribed as a bar to baptism. This shows that the missionaries were prepared to go outside the boundaries of the rules to root out what they considered evil customs among the Africans. Most of the Giriama considered it a joke since such customs were ingrained in the whole fabric of the tribe. They refused to abide by the rules, even when the civil authority sometimes joined missionaries to curtail drunkenness, not because they felt it was necessary for salvation, but because they considered that it reduced the efficiency of the tribes labor force.

The Giriama elders violently opposed the missionary teachings. This opposition of the social forces of Christianity was a real measure of the strength of the tribal culture.¹⁹⁰ The elders and the older generation defended the tribe, and tried to prevent the social disintegration, which they rightly believed would result if they allowed the missionaries to prevail. To be sure, the elders had a vested interest in doing so because the missionaries threatened their own authority over the younger generation. It was because not only the missionaries attacked beer drinking and dancing that the old white men of the tribe attacked them. Rather, it was because they were attacking the foundation of the tribe. Rev. Harry Leakey wrote:

It was easy to collect audiences in those days. They could come in bands to a service as sightseeing to a show. They used to call the mission service by the same name as their musical dancers. Nevertheless, when at last it began to dawn upon them that more than mere listening was expected of them and that a change of life, which must of necessity mean a revolution in customs, they became violently opposed to Christian teachings.¹⁹¹

As early as 1891, an incident occurred which forced the Giriama around Jilore to take a stand either for against the missionaries.¹⁹² On 30th October 1891, letters were received at Jilore and Malindi to effect that Galla and Giriama, were going to attack

¹⁹⁰Oral interview, Hellen Jodinson, Kilifi, 30th September, 2013.

¹⁹¹Temu, A J. *British Protestant Missionaries*. London: (Longman Group Limited, 1972), p.110.

¹⁹²Ibid.

these two places. The Hooper family was hurriedly evacuated from Jilore and nearby Giriama summoned into a fighting force. A full camp of armed Giriama gathered and by November 10 1891, 300 Kambe at Sekoke Hill between Malindi and Jilore joined them. Kauma and Chonyi declared themselves ready to take up arms for the company and Blauchi soldiers were sent from Mombasa. However, the entire threat turned out to be a hoax –conceived by some Giriama who hoped to scare the Europeans away. The perpetrator of the false alarm was arrested, and sent to Mombasa for trial. The mission station had thus become a target for Giriama opposition to growing British influence as well as a catalyst for support of that influence by some Giriama. When the British found themselves in conflict with some of the coastal Arabs four years later, the Giriama living in the immediate area of Jilore mission quickly lent their support to the British.

4.3.5 Early African converts experienced social challenges

The Africans catechists endured some challenges in the evangelism activities. The life of a Christian Giriama was a difficult one. They were forced to adopt European manners and reject almost all traditional customs. Most of the missionaries, like Rev. Douglas Hooper, ruled the settlements very rigidly and a firm hand was kept over the adherents. This divided families, which caused internal friction. In 1910, CMS officials became concerned about the social disruption of the converts. It became quite clear to the missionaries that while they were condemning all the social and cultural values of the Africans as evil and heathen, they had not been able to provide alternatives acceptable and understandable to their few converts. It was not the discipline and immoral behaviour of the unconfirmed that the missionaries were concerned about, but that of converts who, displaced from their tribal authority and codes and without firm footing in the ways of the white missionaries and western

civilization, had become a social problem.¹⁹³ The bishop of Mombasa moved to remedy this, at least among the CMS adherents. The CMS conference meeting at Mombasa in 1912 responded and set up a small committee composed of the Bishop, Archdeacon Binns and George Wright, to approach the government to press for the formation of Christian Councils of Elders in Christian settlements, to exercise tribal laws similar to those exercised by Kayas.¹⁹⁴ In perhaps quite a different way, the CMS was responding to the Native Tribunals Rules of 1911, in which the government established council of elders in accordance with traditional customs. The CMS, perturbed at the social disintegration and lack of moral or civil codes among their converts, which the mission had brought about, sought therefore a duplication of the same councils in their own Christian settlements. In other words, they were asking the government set up reserves for the Christian converts with a Christian council of elders similar to those formed and recognized by the government in the native reserves, to enforce tribal law.

4.3.6 Racial prejudice against African catechists

In Kaloleni, the Africans catechists who served as agents of the CMS missionaries were dissatisfied with the menial role they had to play under the tutelage of Europeans.¹⁹⁵ The problem of the relationship between missions and its African employees as exemplified by the situation at Kaloleni did not engender proper working relationship. Many missionaries regarded Africans as essentially and racially different from them. They were treated as little children who had to be guided and patronized in every way.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³Robert, W Strayer. *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa*. (London: Heinemann, 1978), pp. 156.

¹⁹⁴Oral interview, Rev. Alex Banda, Kaloleni, 20th September, 2013.

¹⁹⁵Oral interview, Silas Wara, Kaloleni, 25th September, 2013.

¹⁹⁶Ibid.

4.3.7 Inadequate teachers

The CMS missionaries also had challenges in spreading formal education among the Giriama due to shortage or lack of trained teachers and requisite learning equipment and materials. Therefore, African teachers were trained hurriedly by the missionaries and sent out to teach in the bush schools, which African communities began to build around the mission centers. Some unfortunate aspects resulted from these activities. Second, a majority of the missionaries were not generally prepared for education.¹⁹⁷ They also lacked funds to build schools and a proper education curriculum was not available. Worse still, missionaries who had no educational training were expected to train teachers for the bush schools.¹⁹⁸ They themselves varied in background; some of them were graduates but others had little education. The idea that Christian Africans could only be effectively civilized out of their pagan environment, contributed to the setting up of boarding schools especially in mission stations. The bush school reflected the type of instruction their teachers had received and, in a majority of cases, were unable to provide more than a token of what was considered education.¹⁹⁹

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that although the CMS missionaries faced many challenges in Kaloleni, they worked very hard to improve the social and economic status of the Giriama. By building schools in Kaloleni, the missionaries exposed the Giriama to western education, which enabled them to get employment in the colonial administration. In addition, the technical education that was provided by the CMS missionaries in Kaloleni also enabled the Giriama to improve their economic

¹⁹⁷Oral interview, Lawrence Bennetti, Vishakani, 25th August, 2013.

¹⁹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹⁹Oral interview, Katana Jefwa, Kilifi, 29th September, 2013.

activities. Besides education, the CMS missionaries provided medical services in Kaloleni. The missionaries therefore improved health and sanitation among the Giriama.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study has traced the origin of Christianity at the Kenyan coast in the 19th century and its spread to the interior of Kenya among the Giriama in Kaloleni. Right from coast, it was hard for the missionaries to gain converts because of various reasons. For a long time, the conservative nature of the Africans made them unreceptive to Christian teachings. Apart from this, the missionaries were very few and did not understand the local languages. Moreover, the missionaries were not acquainted with the tropical environmental conditions and most of them succumbed to ill health. Therefore, the first encounter of the CMS missionaries with Africans was marred with various challenges that truncated their ability to win many converts.

Fortunately, the coming of the Bombay Africans to Freretown from the 1840s provided an incredible impetus to the activities of the CMS missionaries. As demonstrated in chapter two, the Bombay Africans were familiar with the surrounding communities and were multilingual. This enabled them to woo Africans to join Christianity. Indeed, the initial African readers, teachers, catechists, and pastors were all freed slaves who settled at Freretown. The initial engagement between the Bombay Africans and the missionaries was marked with cooperation and the missionaries really appreciated their contribution. However, this was just for a short duration. In the last quarter of the 19th century, the missionaries began to undermine and disregard the role of the Bombay African catechists in the spread of Christianity and relegated their status in the missionary camps. It was against this background that the Bombay Africans withdrew their support, fled Freretown, and joined their fellow Africans in the hinterland. The harassment that was meted against the Bombay African catechists painted a grim picture on the missionaries and depicts their racial prejudice against

African converts. The racial practices of the CMS missionaries were later witnessed in Kaloleni. For example, the missionaries radically detached African catechists and teachers from their social and cultural practices, and this made them lose contact with members of their communities. Moreover, the African catechists and teachers in Kaloleni were relegated to secondary roles such as building bush schools, working in the missionary schools often with little or no pay at all.

As already mentioned, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) had enjoyed little success prior to the establishment of colonial rule in 1895, and it was only after the conquest and the establishment of a colonial administrative structure that the CMS missionaries gained a foothold in the interior of Kenya. The arrival of the CMS missionaries among the Giriama at the turn of the twentieth century was marked with serious resistance because the Africans believed that missionaries were conspiring with the British to subjugate them. As discussed in chapter two, the Giriama remained detached from the outside world and lived in fortified establishments called Kayas where they barricaded themselves from intruders. Moreover, the Giriama being a very conservative community were not ready to abandon their traditional ways of life and believed that the missionaries were unnecessary evil.

In order to surmount the Africans resistance to convert to Christianity, the CMS missionaries employed various mechanisms. For example, in Kaloleni, the missionaries had to bribe and sometimes give presents to the Giriama chiefs to allow them traverse their territory. The idea of making contacts with community leaders acted as a tool for gaining acceptance among the Africans. Besides this, the CMS missionaries used education, health, and building of churches in spreading Christianity. This indeed shows that the missionaries were very tactful in spreading Christianity among the Giriama and it is worth noting that they took advantage of

African challenges to convert them into Christianity. For example, the CMS missionaries having realized that the Giriama were plagued with endemic lethal diseases, they immediately established makeshift dispensaries in Kaloleni where they offered basic medical therapy to the sick. In the process of treating patients, they preached and advised them to join Christianity in order to remain healthy. In terms of education, the missionaries provided students with basic items like clothes books and shoes. Such items were used to magnet African children to join missionary schools. Therefore, it can be argued that missionaries masqueraded as philanthropists, yet their main intention was to spread Christianity.

In the missionary schools in Kaloleni, the Christian teachings and western norms were mainstreamed into the curriculum and this was supplemented by the teaching of the 3Rs. The missionaries taught these skills because they knew that the success of their work was dependent on a person's ability to read and understand the bible. This explains why the missionary education was restricted, especially during the early years, to the basics, which would enable students to carry out evangelistic-catechetical functions. With some notable exceptions, the emphasis during the early missionary expansion was a basic education enabling pupils to become better Christians. Post primary education was not encouraged and it was in fact considered not useful by some who feared that those who achieved it would be unable to communicate with the masses.

Evidently, the missionaries' intentions in providing western education to the Africans differed from the Africans' interests and conflict was bound to ensue. The former were focused on teaching the message of the gospel to the Africans, along with the minimum literacy skills to support this primary concern. Some technical education to usher the Africans into western civilization and economy and to enable

the Africans to render services in the missionaries and settlers' establishments was also regarded as important. On the other hand, the Africans were interested in an education that would open them up to the new standards of life, and that would enable them interact with the Europeans on an equal footing. They also wanted superior education that would enable them participate in the new emerging economic and social conditions of life.

A common thread that runs throughout this study is the struggle of the missionaries to convert Africans to Christianity and the Africans participation in the same. In Kaloleni, the CMS missionaries were very few and their capacity to reach the Africans masses was crippled by a myriad of constraints such as lack of transport, language barrier, and lack of geographical knowledge. Worse still, the missionaries were treated with a lot of suspicion since the Giriama mistook them to be slave raiders because their complexion resembled that of the Arabs that often raided them for slaves. In light of these challenges, the missionaries hurriedly trained many Africans catechists and teachers and send them to go preaching to the Giriama. Therefore, the significant role of the African catechists and teachers in the spread of western education and Christianity in Kaloleni is worth highlighting because they shouldered the great responsibility of reaching out to the masses in the interior.

As discussed in chapter four, the missionaries introduced formal western education that supplemented traditional Giriama education through which elders passed on knowledge about the prevailing norms and practices to new generations. Although missionary education had positive attributes of enlightening the Giriama, it did interfere with their cultural practices, which the missionaries deemed barbaric. The failure of the missionaries to offer education that was relevant to the African needs made formal education unpopular among some of the Giriama because they felt

that missionary education was too bookish and did not have practical ramifications in the lives.

In terms of medical services, the Giriama in Kaloleni benefited from missionary health services, which enabled them to curb the spread of deadly diseases. Moreover, the missionaries sensitized the masses on how to maintain health hygiene. Such teachings enabled the Giriama to avert potential diseases. The missionary goal of spreading Christianity to the Giriama masses was negatively affected by a myriad of challenges such as poor transport and communication, Islam, slave, trade, and to a large extent African resistance. Despite these obstacles, the CMS did a remarkable work in Kaloleni.

A commonly held view by many Eurocentric scholars is that white missionary agents from the northern world exclusively spread Christianity in Kenya without support from Africans. By contrast, this study has revealed that African catechists, mission workers and people who had been Christianized were more effective in cross-cultural mission because they often learned other African languages more easily and had a ready empathy with the culture. Many of them were non-literate and they came with a message, but not with the kind of cultural baggage and notions of superiority that often accompanied most white missionaries. Thus, African teachers and evangelists were more effective in evangelist roles. In Kaloleni District, Africans took part in missionary education by donating land, construction materials and labour for constructing churches and schools. Even more importantly, Africans became teachers and evangelists. This indicates that Africans were not passive recipients of western education and Christianity.

Therefore, due to the untiring, dedicated, and selfless service of the African catechists and teachers, the spiritual and social life of the people of Kaloleni was

transformed. The African catechists and teachers released their people from the bondage of blind belief, superstition, illiteracy, and poverty and by their unflinching and impartial love and compassion; they did away with the stigma of dreadful diseases like leprosy, cholera, small pox among others. The welfare measures like education, health, and economic escalation that the government is undertaking in Kaloleni today are only the replication of the footprint that was left by the CMS missionaries. Thus, the CMS missionary activities are a milestone in Kaloleni and the Giriama people will remain indebted forever for the selfless services that were rendered to them by the CMS Christian missionaries and African catechist and teachers.

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