

Pre-Colonial Traditional Organization of The People of Vihiga and Their Early Response to Friends' African Mission's Educational Initiatives in Kenya

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Abstract

This paper describes the pre-colonial traditional organization of the people around Kaimosi, in Vihiga District Kenya, in terms of religion, and socio-economic organization. The paper also deals with the nature of early education in the area, the relationship that existed among Friends African Mission schools and lastly, the educational developments at Kaimosi Girls and Chavakali High Schools. Being a historical study, the historical method of inquiry into the past was adopted. Primary sources of data consulted included oral testimonies of actual participants or witnesses of events in Vihiga District. Other primary sources used were archival documents either personal or institutional such as correspondences, photographs, mission publications, minutes of meetings and colonial government annual reports. The main secondary sources utilized were published and unpublished articles and books. Prior to the coming of Europeans, the local community had a religious structure. One of the key elements of kinship structure among the Abaluyia was the family. Traditional education was largely informal since in most cases, there were no definite institutions such as schools. Information was mainly disseminated orally from acknowledged traditional authorities to the target audience. Learning was not systematized by adherence to a specific curriculum. Individuals simply learned by experience in the course of their interaction with members of the community and the physical environment. Every adult played the role of a teacher. Content grew out of the actual physical and social situation of the learner which made it relevant and meaningful. Thus education was a community responsibility. One of the chief responsibilities of adults was to provide the learning situation and the guidance necessary while children, on the other hand, were there to acquire the essential knowledge, responsibility, skills, attitudes and values from the learning environment be it physical, social or spiritual. There was a lot that children learned by listening to myths, legends, folk tales proverbs, riddles, folk songs, rhymes and other aspects of oral literature. Besides promoting mental development, oral literature was entertaining and it was a form of pass time. Then there were social ceremonies which gave children opportunities to learn about the social organization of the clan, the general mode of living, some aspects of tribal culture, customs and the laws that governed the way of life including taboos, religious beliefs and superstitions.

Keywords: Pre-Colonial, Traditional Organization, People, Vihiga, Response, Friends African Mission, Educational Initiatives, Kenya

Introduction

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

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

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

The other missionary group which has done a lot in uplifting the lives of the people of Western Kenya is the MHM. Although this Mission's initial focus was in Uganda where it started its work in 1895, the MHM later extended its activities into Kenya where it founded its first station at Kisumu in 1903. Gale (1959), Ogotu (1981) and Burgman (1990) in examining the history of this missionary group point out that its coming to Uganda was necessitated by the country's religious rivalry of the time which pitted the Catholics against Protestants. It was hoped the presence of these missionaries was going to kill the prevailing notion at the time that Protestantism was English while Catholicism was French. From its mission station in Kisumu, the MHM quickly spread to other parts of the region including North Kavirondo where a good number of the Abaluyia people were initiated into the faith. And just like other groups, the MHM also look education as an asset in spreading its activities.

The above studies, however, show that the MHM educational activities became very inferior in comparison to that of Protestant groups because of their insistence on catechism. This did not augur well with its adherents, a thing which impacted negatively on its work and sometimes led to the collapse of some of their stations. This assertion is supported by Sifuna (1977b) who argues that the MHM's failure to establish themselves at Mumias at first was partly due to their myopic educational goals which emphasised on catechism more than anything else. Sifuna also notes the key role played by African chiefs in facilitating missionary activities by stating that unlike the co-operation which the MHM received in Uganda where it was able to open St. Joseph's College Namilyango in 1910, Mumia's negative attitude to this Mission's activities had serious implications to its work at Mumias. With time, the MHM's narrow perception of its education system changed out of fear that insistence on catechism was definitely going to make them lose converts to Protestants. It therefore embarked on a heavy educational investment which led to the establishment of their Central School at Yala in 1929. This school later developed into a junior secondary in 1939.

Closely connected to the above studies is the work of Lohrentz (1977) which among other things sets out to examine the pattern of educational developments in Central and Southern North Nyanza. Lohrentz contends that mission presence per se could not be adequate in showing the patterns of educational growth that were experienced in the said areas. He argues that the African leadership, population pressure as well as the people's dispositions were very instrumental in the successes or failures registered by those who ventured to evangelise them (Africans). The study points out that those areas that were evangelised by the CMS advanced faster in terms of African education than those of the MHM and CGM due to their differences in theological beliefs, social values and their perceptions of their mission purpose. It is further argued that although evangelism was the primary objective for these three groups, it is the CMS that were right from the beginning keen to use education to achieve that goal. The MHM and – the CGM, however, emphasised more on the religious aspects than the 3Rs in their educational programmes. The study points out that these two missionary groups were only able to make a few advances after the Government started a definite involvement in their educational programmes from 1924. This enabled them to establish Kima and Yala as their Central schools in 1923 and 1929 respectively.

Studies by Karani (1974) and Odwako (1975) show the role played by the CMS in the development of African education in Western Kenya. They argue that the CMS together with other groups that evangelised this part of the country did a lot in laying the foundations on which the country's education system was later built on. Soon after establishing themselves at Maseno and Butere in 1906 and 1912 respectively, these missionaries took education as one of the most important tools in their evangelical activities. Having laid their elementary foundations, the CMS became pioneers of secondary education in the region when they started a junior secondary school at Maseno in 1938. The school later developed into a full secondary in 1948, the only one at the time in the said area. These studies show that the establishment of a mission school at Maseno was a response by CMS missionaries to African demands for secondary education. Increased demands during the 1950s and 1960s forced the CMS to shift its interest from primary to secondary education programmes at Maseno and Butere. Butere, established in 1957, became the first girls' secondary school in the region.

It is this effort by the CMS that has made it have a very immense impact on the socio-political and economic transformation of the Kenyan society as a whole. Kipkorir (1969) examines the historical development of Alliance High School and its contribution to the emergence of African elite in Kenya. He argues that this first African secondary school established in 1926 by the Alliance of Protestant Missions was meant to prepare a better educated African Christian leadership to serve both Europeans and Africans. The study notes that the school became a formative ground for individuals who have ended up serving the country in different capacities. Smith (1973) just like Kipkorir has documented the history of Alliance High School but in a chronological manner. With this approach, he has been able to highlight some of the major events in the running of the school from 1926 up to 1969. The study shows how Alliance influenced Kenya's destiny through some roles which its old students have played so far. Smith attributes this to the Christian spirit dedicated towards the enhancement of African education especially at secondary level.

Closely connected to the two studies above is the work of Greaves (1969) which documents the activities of Carey Francis, a CMS missionary in Kenya. What emerges clearly from this study is Francis' influence on Alliance High School. His tireless efforts laid the foundation of Alliance as the most admired school in the country thereby becoming a model for other schools. Strayer (1973) examines the genesis of mission schools in the country by focusing on Freetown and Buxton schools sponsored by the CMS along the Kenyan coast (Mombasa). This study points out that the CMS just like the FAM, the subject of this study, took education as a means of not only converting Africans but also as an effective tool for assisting them establish a self-supporting African Church. Of significance to the present study, is Strayer's argument that Africans were not passive recipients of European education but participated actively in directing its course.

Osogo (1970) looks at the role of the Holy Ghost Fathers towards the development of secondary education in Kenya by documenting the history of Kabaa-Mangu, the first Catholic Secondary School in the country. This paper also assesses the efforts of these missionaries towards the general development of the country. It is pointed out that in all their activities, these missionaries led to the emergence of industrious persons who have served Kenyans in different capacities. Shanguhya (1996) investigates the role played by the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG) missionaries in influencing the lives of the people of Western Kenya through its educational activities at Nyang'ori, a neighbouring station to that of the FAM at Kaimosi. While Nyang'ori developed over time to higher levels on the same site, the present study in documenting the history of the Friends Secondary School has tried to examine some of the factors which forced the relocation of this school from Kaimosi to Kamusinga.

Statement of the Problem

It is observable from the foregoing section that the coming of the Friends African Mission into Kenya was religiously motivated. However, the mission did provide some western education to their early converts, although this was a subsidiary concern aimed at achieving religious success. The missionaries sought to train African catechists who could be used in the process of spreading the gospel and winning Africans to Christ. The schools which missionaries opened first were prayer houses meant to teach Christianity. Missionaries needed to erect mission stations, to provide food for their residents and later to meet government requirements in industrial training for grants-in-aid to missions.

Simple industrial education in agriculture and technical training helped solve these problems. The overall objective of these strategies was to make missions self-perpetuating. Literary education was never a priority in mission schools. It was the pressure from Africans which eventually forced missionaries to tilt their evangelical work by adding doses of academic education. By 1910, most of the missionary bodies had established central schools as well as village schools. Despite the crucial role played by the Friends African Mission in education, this has largely escaped scholarly attention. This paper, therefore, focuses on the advent of the Friends African Mission at Kaimosi with a specific emphasis on its impact in the propagation of formal education both at Kaimosi and in the adjacent areas.

Limitations of the Study

The Study relied heavily on opinions of old men and women who witnessed the coming and activities of European missionaries' Friends African Mission Fathers, headmasters, teachers and administrators. To reduce the effects of the above limitations on the results of the study; the researcher used a large sample of informants that corroborated conflicting viewpoints and opinions.

Materials and Methods

The study was conducted in Vihiga District, one of the five districts of Western Province. Being a historical study, the historical method of inquiry into the past has been adopted. It is a method which attempts to establish facts so as to arrive at conclusions concerning past events and determining their relevance to the present circumstances. The interpreted facts also formed a basis of prediction of future events. The case study method is also a blend here with the historical research method.

This study was heavily dependent on historical source of information because of its inquiry into the past. These sources are both primary, regarded as fundamental to historical research (Sidhu, 1990, p. 97) and secondary sources and secondary sources which have been used in the absence of Primary sources as a supplement for the same. Primary sources consulted included oral testimonies of actual participants or witnesses of events in Vihiga District. Apart from oral testimonies other primary sources used were archival documents either personal or institutional such as correspondences, photographs, mission publications, minutes of meetings and colonial government annual reports. The main secondary sources that were utilized are published and unpublished articles and books. They acted as a useful check on any errors reported orally. This check was necessary since some of the respondents were not real players in some historical situations of the study. Also most of the respondents suffered from memory loss, on the actual year in which an event occurred.

Methods used to collect data were through document studies, questionnaires and interview schedules. Documents were read and notes on relevant information will be taken. The questionnaires used were structured into open- and closed-ended type of questions. Interview schedules consisted of questions of a special category meant for explanation on various aspects which were restricted to the questionnaires alone. The interview schedules were guided by oral interviews which were blended in the process especially for the respondents who were unable, for certain reasons, to fill in the questionnaires. Procedures on data collection included field interviews on established population sample and notes were taken. For the sake of clarification and the need for more information some respondents were interviewed more than once. Visits were made to various quarters to read documents on the information being sought. The places visited were the Friends Africa Mission headquarters at Kaimosi, The University of Nairobi and the Macmillan Library in Nairobi, as well as the Kenya National Archives.

Most of what is described is based on information given by testimonies of actual observers and participants as well as on published sources. The guiding principles to this process of verification was been subjecting the gathered information to historical techniques of internal and external criticism. External criticism is a process of seeking to determine the authenticity of the documents studied and the person giving information it seeks to answer the question “is” the source what it seems to be? This helps to determine whether or not the document is original or derived from expurgated versions. On the other hand, internal criticism is the process which undertakes to analyze the meaning of statements within documents or a reporter which or who have already been established as genuine, and to determine their accuracy and trustworthiness. This involves finding out the intent meaning of various statements made by respondents and documents consulted.

Results and Discussion

Economic Organization of the People around Kaimosi

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

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

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

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

1. A standard basket used for carrying grain, flour or meat (*Ekihinda*).
2. A deep basket lined with cow-dung used mainly when carrying grain to the grind stone (*Ekisia*).
3. A flat tray-like basket usually made in the coiled technique (*Ekidelu*) (Interview, Miriam Masinza, 10-4-2008).

The principal traditional crops raised were ehilsine [orolo] sorghum [amavere] sesame [edzingano] sweet potatoes [amabwoni] beans [amaganda] bananas [amagomya] maize [amaduma] they traded with the crops they cultivate. They had a harvest enough to feed themselves and trade with other communities (Interview, Miriam Masinza, 10-4-2008). The principal features of the traditional hut among the communities around Kaimosi was a circular structure with a peaked roof resting as a separate element or rather low walls. Its framework was made of timber, the walls doubled with mud and the roof thatched with grass. A centre post gave additional support to the roof (Interview, Abraham Eboso, 10-4-2008).

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

The early evangelical and educational activities of the FAM around Kaimosi started soon after the arrival and settlement of African missionaries at Kaimosi in 1902. The FAM developed a fourfold plan in carrying out their activities in western Kenya. Included in the plan were evangelical, medical, educational and industrial departments which were taken to be the most effective means of winning Africans into their faith. It was through this plan that their (FAM) vision of a self-propagating, self-supporting, and self governing African church could be realized. For Instance, the realization by FAM that the school was an important tool for evangelizing Africans made these missionaries to build schools on their stations and out stations to give basic literacy skills to their faithful. This made the two activities to expand and develop almost at the same rate and to meet the missions' ideal of its future church. Consequently, a lot of emphasis in the Quaker schools was put on religious and industrial work.

Armed with this revelation, Fox embarked on a preaching mission to share what he had learnt publicly with other people. This preaching made him get a number of followers especially in the northern and western part of England. Most of these people also happen to have been "seekers of new ways of living having been fed up with the empty Christian living of the time (Whalen, 1982, p. 15). They quickly formed themselves into groups of what came to be known as "children of the light". With time, they acquired other titles such as "friends in the truth and from 1952, just "friends" (KNA: EAYM 151/80). They distinguished themselves from other Christians by their way of worship. This is in the sense that members just sat in silence waiting upon God to illuminate their inner light, a manifestation of God which informed the people's conscience (West, 1962, p. 14; Briton, 1964, p. 1; Whalem, 1982, p. 16). The society also never formulated any theological doctrines about God, the church or Christ. Instead, its followers were only called upon to lead Christ-like lives. Gorman brings out this conviction among the friends very well, when states that:

For friends, being a Christian was not a matter of conformity to doctrine and observance of forms but an overwhelming to them through the indwelling spirit of God (Gorman, 1969, p. 9).

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

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

With time the society realized their goal of revolutionizing the entire world as they had thought earlier on. This knowledge, coupled with the death of Fox in 1661, made its members fall into a period of quietism from around 1725 – lasting for almost a whole century. During this period, the society members decided to venture into their new life as revealed to them by God (Rasmussen 1995, p. 6).

The late 17th century migrations and settlements in America by Europeans also saw members of the religious Society of Friends settle in the eastern colonies of the continent. From around 1787, friends started moving westwards while running away from the institution of slavery. This practice had for a long time affected their conscience since it went against Fox's teaching about equality among humanity. The friends therefore became very much relieved when the Northwest Territory was opened for settlement with a condition that slavery was not to be introduced. They therefore took this as a solution to the problem leading to many migrations westwards. The movement was also partly in search of good farmland (Rasmussen, 1995, p. 8). This led to the establishment of a number of yearly meetings in different parts of the continent. It did not however take long before peace and unity among the members was brought to test. The society got itself embroiled in religious schisms which were sweeping across the Protestant denominations in America during the 19th century. With regard to this phenomenon, Conolly (1975) has observed that "it was a time when humble farmers became theologians' .obscure village youths formed bible institutes and strange girls became prophets" (p. 22).

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

It is the last group of Quakers [orthodox] who later on participated actively in missionary work which also led to the planting of Quakerism in Africa. The impetus came from the 19th century protestant revivalism. In America these revivals manifested themselves in emotional prayers, the giving of testimonies, shouting and singing as form of worship – things hitherto unknown among friends (Rasmussen, 1995, p. 150). This new wave of evangelism took an inter-denominational approach and emphasized so much on holiness, methodism with its fourfold gospel of conversion, sanctification, faith, healing and waiting for the second coming of Christ (Kay, 1973, p. 58; Rasmussen, 1995, p. 16). These beliefs were backed by "a fundamentalist reading of the bible which left little or no room for the traditional Quaker doctrine of the inner light" (Rasmussen, 1995, p. 16). The new evangelistic spirit awakened the friends concerned to spread the meaning of their personal fellowship with God to other people. This revival, in a way, rekindled their earlier evangelistic zeal of the 17th century that now fired them onto foreign missionary activity (KNA: EAYMF 151/80).

It was against this background that the missionary body AIM was founded. The initiative came from a group of students of Cleveland bible institute after they listened to Willis Hotchkiss, himself a former student of the college. Hotchkiss had spent five years among the Akamba people of British East Africa (Kenya) while working for the African Inland Mission [AIM], an American denominational missionary group between 1895 and 1899. He had come in the company of twelve other missionaries who were led by his brother-in-law, Peter Scott. By the time he decided to go back to America in 1899, he was the only one remaining in the field. Hotchkiss stirred the friends by appealing to them to establish a missionary field in Africa (KNA: EAYMF 260/80).

He attributed the failure of the AIM partly to lack of proper organization and also its failure to offer relief food to the Akamba during the worst famine of 1898-1899. For the friends to avoid a similar eventuality, Hotchkiss argued that it was necessary for them to establish an industrial mission to allow the teaching of both the gospel and practical skills to the natives. According to him, this was the only sure way through which Africans could be assisted to establish a self-supporting and self-propagating native church (Hotchkiss, 1901).

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

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

The main proponent of this type of mission for the African was to explicate his ideas when Hotchkiss decided to publish a book entitled *Sketches from the Dark Continent* in 1901 in which he gave a very moving story about his experience among the Akamba while working for the AIM between 1895 and 1899. This was purposely done to rally the support of the Quakers in America for the establishment of an industrial mission in Africa. His short stint in Kenya amidst many problems had convinced Hotchkiss that apart from converting Africans through evangelism, there was need to establish a self-supporting and self-propagating church (Hotchkiss, 1901, p. 148). Hotchkiss further argues that the dilapidated condition in which Africans found themselves necessitated that these people get exposed to western civilization which was supposed to go hand in hand with the process of evangelization. According to him, this was the best means through which the African society could be altered for the permanent implantation of Christianity. In arguing out the case for an industrial mission, Hotchkiss (1901) says that:

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

It was through such thought provoking arguments that Hotchkiss was able to convince Quakers in America to start an industrial mission in Africa. Such ideas made these missionaries to come to Africa as cultural imperialists (Kay, 1973, pp. 63-64).

Their only hope for success in this venture lay in God as there was little in the effort to make them a responsible people. This attitude was well captured by the early FAIM missionaries while reporting on their experiences in an FAIM document which stated as follows;

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

To achieve their goals, the FAIM developed a fourfold plan that combined evangelical, medical, educational and industrial work as an effective tool with which to launch their attack on African heathenism (Hotchkiss, 1901, p. 154).

Through this holistic approach, these missionaries were able to encounter Africans as true witnesses to the abundant life found in Christ (Painter, 1966, p. 20; Steeve & Steeve, 1954, p. 33). All this was done with an ultimate aim of creating a Quaker community that was to eventually live healthily and happily when conducting its affairs later on.

This negative attitude adopted by FAM towards Africans and their culture did not change until after two decades of evangelical work in western Kenya.

Thanks to the devastating blow inflicted upon European culture by World War One, the ATBM had to change its initial fundamental approach to their work in Africa (Rowe, 1958, pp. 124-125, 145). This paved the way for some liberal missionary workers to its field. However, the failure of the two camps to cooperate affected the missions' work, which included education from 1930s onwards.

Conclusion

This paper has given a brief history of the FAM and its early evangelical and educational activities in Kenya. As a prelude to this, a brief outline of the religious Society of Friends has been made. It has been shown that the 19th century protestant revival in North America impacted heavily on the original Quaker traditions that made its adherents acquire an evangelical position which forced them into missionary work. It was through this new initiative that the FAIM, one of the friend's missionary societies was born.

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

To realize their vision of a self propagating and self-supporting African Church, the FAM paid a lot of attention to the education of Africans. Schools were therefore set up on their stations and outstations to provide some basic skills to the friends' converts. These schools, however, stressed the 3Rs and the bible for the effective integration of Africans into the church.

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