

**THE ESTABLISHMENT AND IMPACT OF FRIENDS CHURCH AMONG THE TIRIKI
OF WESTERN KENYA.**

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DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my beloved wife Ronah K. Simwa for her support and encouragement.

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|---|
| ADC | - African Divine Church |
| AINC | - African Israel Neneveh Church |
| C.O.G | - Church of God |
| CMS- | Church Missionary Society |
| D.O | - District Overseer |
| DEC | - District Executive Committee |
| EAYMA | - East African Yearly Meeting Archives. |
| EAYMFA | - East African Yearly Meeting of Friends Archives |
| FAIM | - Friends African Industrial Mission |
| FAM | - Friends African Mission |
| FUMA | - friends United Meeting Archives |
| HGF | - Holy Ghost Fathers – Catholics |
| L. C | - Local Church |
| MHF | - Mill Hill Fathers-Catholics |
| NEC | - National Executive Committee |
| P.A.G | - Pentecostal Assemblies of God |
| PAOC | - Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada |
| S.A | - Salvation Army |

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ABSTRACT

The study assesses the establishment and the impact of Friends Church among the Tiriki of Western Kenya. The roles played by the Friends Church in development the Tiriki people's economic condition, standard of living, modernizing them and the local people uptake of Christian teachings were key objectives of the research. Using a combination of interview, focus group discussion and questionnaire technique, the study covered the activities of the Friends church among the Tiriki by investigating the experiences of missionaries in Tiriki and what informed the reaction of the Tiriki towards the Christian missionaries. The study also sought to detail the impact of Christianity on the Tiriki. From its findings, this study achieved its objective by identifying and discussing the factors that led to the establishment of Friends church among the Tiriki, it assessed the impact of Christian Missionaries on the Tiriki and discussed the Tiriki socio-religious cultural aspect in view of inculturation of the Christian message.

To achieve the above stated objectives the study utilized the modernization theory. It answered the questions such as was Christianity an agent of modernization? Were the Tiriki people ready to be modernized? The study is the first empirical investigation in Tiriki that focuses on the relevance of Christian missions on members' standard of living in rural communities and villages in remote Africa. The study shed light on how rural communities function, how their relationships with Christian missionaries developed, how the missionaries promoted modernity. It has also provided more evidence on the importance of land ownership, and how this is affected when land is alienated. It has also provided insights into the development of rural businesses, how Christianity became an agent of change in many rural areas. The study breaks new ground in analyzing Tiriki relationship with the Friends Missionaries at Kaimosi. This helps to appropriately identify the roles of Africans in rural evangelism. However, participation in Christianity does not lead to African wholesome profitability. It has also provided more evidence on the importance of modernity, land ownership, and how this is enhanced when rural communities have access to education. It has also provided insights into the development of rural areas. In this way, the study makes a significant contribution to our understanding of rural communities in developing Christianity. The study contributes to knowledge in specific areas as discussed above.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Christianity was introduced to East Africa in the 1840s, but it was the work of David Livingstone that led to intense missionary efforts. His programme of action was to have the Central and East African interior penetrated along the waterways and lakes by missionaries, as well as what Europeans considered as upright and godly settlers who were to give Africans an insight into what was referred to as superior commercial, social system and Christian morality by adopting European religion.¹ The results were intense protestant missionary efforts during the 1860s and 1870s to penetrate inland and establish stations near the Great Lakes. Protestant activity stimulated the Roman Catholic Church to enter the field of missionary enterprise. The pioneer missionary work in East Africa was led by Dr Johann Ludwig Krapf, a representative of the Church Missionary Society (hereafter CMS) of England. He had been sent to work among the Galla of southern Ethiopia in 1837. It was hoped that by doing so he might effectively spread the gospel across much of north-eastern Africa. However it proved to be a disappointment, in 1844 Krapf came south to Zanzibar hoping to obtain permission to cross to the mainland and approach the Galla from the south. A few months later he crossed to Mombasa and established a mission at Rabai where he was joined by two colleagues, Johann Rebmann in 1846 and Jacob Erhardt in 1849.

Krapf saw the Rabai station as the first of a series of mission-chain in East Africa. The chief missionary objective at that time was the interior of East Africa because Islam had strong roots at the coast. The account given by European explorers and travelers showed that the routes were accessible and conditions suitable for mission work. The 1880s saw more missionaries moving inland due to the scramble and partition for Africa. The scramble for Africa was a religious as well as a political phenomenon for, paralleling the imperial partition of the continent. A variety of European and American missionary groups competed intensely to divide and occupy Africa for their respective churches just in the same way the colonial powers did. The initial result of this religious scramble was the establishment of hundreds of mission stations which were manned by the Europeans. The late 1890s saw a dramatic outburst of mission energies as the Uganda Railway and the new colonial administration

¹ R. Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in Eastern Africa*, London: Longman, 1965, pp. 9-12.

opened up the previously inaccessible interior of Kenya.² When the British took over the administration of the Uganda Protectorate in 1894, the Eastern Province of Uganda including Luhyaland and the rest of Kavirondo came under their influence. In the same year an administrative substation was built at Mumias by the order of the then Commissioner for Uganda Sir H. Colville. Mr. F. Spire was put in charge of the station. In 1895, the second Sub-Commissioner, Charles Hobley arrived at Mumias to take charge of the first permanent administrative district of North Kavirondo. Hobley later became the first Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza which remained part of Uganda until 1902.³

As Hobley was effectively introducing colonial rule in most parts of the Southern Luhya land (including Tiriki), he found that less violent tactics were necessary for the sub-tribes were offering no serious armed resistance, due to the presumed superiority of the whites. In 1896 Hobley, probably accompanied by Mumias agents and Sudanese soldiers travelled through southern Luhyaland. At intervals he assembled local clan leaders asked them to nominate leaders, then recognized these people as the local authorities. Where he met resistance his men confiscated cattle as a warning which acted as a lesson to those who hoped to resist. The Luhyia quickly accepted the colonial arrangement. The appearance of Hobley in Luhyia-land was very important for it signified the advent of peace. Prior to this, clans and communities had fought each other and with outsiders. Incursions by the cattle-raiding Nandi and Luo were especially troublesome and the Luhyia welcomed Hobley's efforts to stop local warfare.

Mumia the ruler of the Wanga who had earlier been appointed a paramount chief of the entire North Kavirondo District used this opportunity to expand his influence. He sent out his agents to the south, recognized leaders in the most powerful clans as his representatives and collected cattle as tribute. For instance, in 1899 his men entered Tiriki and recognized Mwanga, a war leader in the largest Bulukhoba clan, as his representative in Tiriki.⁴ In 1902, the Luhyia, and the Tiriki in particular, witnessed a major change when the eastern province of Uganda was made part of the British East Africa from the Uganda Protectorate. There were many reasons given for this change, but the most important one was that this decision was made in order to supply the European farmers in Kenya with labour which was plentiful in Kavirondo.

² R.W. Strayer, *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa*, London: Heinemann, 1978, p.30.

³ C.W. Hobley, *From Chartered Company to Crown Colony: Thirty Years of Exploration and Administration in British Africa*, London: HF and G. Witheerby, 1929, p. 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*

In the same year, the Tiriki witnessed a vigorous effort in tax collection when Hobley, with his detachment of askaris (soldiers), toured the region, collected taxes, heard cases and issued orders to local leaders and councils. In 1903 efforts were begun to improve the system of administration in Tiriki.⁵ With the establishment of colonial rule, the Tiriki were subject to a number of forces working towards change. Their incorporation into a new, very large political entity, which threw together many formerly independent African peoples and which also attracted European and Asian immigrant created an entirely new political context which would have far reaching effects on them. Along with a radically new political order, colonial rule also set in motion Christian evangelical forces which worked to diversify religion among the Tiriki.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Four main issues prompted this study. First, while the experiences of missionaries in Africa have been widely documented, very few studies have focused on the experiences, circumstances and impact of missionary work to a specific community such as the Tiriki of western Kenya. What informs the Tiriki reaction to Christianity and what are the experiences that this community had with Friends Missionary group. Second, did the Friends Missionary group impact on the Tiriki who defied Christianity? While Early Christian converts did not want integration with the so called people of the world, how were the circumstances of those who did not convert to be explained in relation to local integration? Third, Missionary work entailed social and economic dislocation in the form of disruption of family relationships, networks and livelihoods. What were the implications of this dislocation on the Tiriki people? Integration with non-Christians in the early years of missionary work was fraught with challenges in the form of discrimination, language and cultural barriers as well as, for many uneducated Tirikis, lack of skills. Fourth, what were the implications of Christianity on the Tiriki people regarding their performance of gender roles as subsumed in cultural definitions? The study addressed these issues.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall goal of this study was to examine the establishment and impact of Friends church among the Tiriki of western Kenya and how to make the Gospel ministry more fruitful/meaningful in this community through inculturation. The study aimed to explain the

⁵ Ibid.

impact of the establishment of the Friends Church in Tiriki. The objectives of the study can be summarised as follows:

1. To examine the factors that led to the establishment of Friends Church among the Tiriki of Western Kenya.
2. To assess the impact of Friends Church Ministry on the Tiriki community.
3. To investigate the Tiriki socio-religious-cultural aspect in view of inculturation of Christian message/Gospel.

1.4 Justification of the Study

The literature reviewed in this research work demonstrates that in spite of a sizeable literature on the Friends Christian Missionaries among the Tiriki, the factors that explain the establishment and impact of the gospel ministry among the community remains on the periphery. The Friends church has a long history stemming from 1902 during colonial period. This creates an interesting scenario because if the missionaries came to modernize the Africans, then why did most Tiriki members reject Christianity? This research will attempt to uncover the truth behind the reasons for most Tiriki members not being receptive to the Friends Gospel message. It was therefore important to understand the root factors that made most Tiriki members not to be receptive to the gospel message and later on joined other faiths that came after the Friend's missionaries. Such a research will enrich the scholarly works on gospel evangelization among the Tirikis and in other communities. This research gave better understanding of the social, religious, economic and political impacts in any given community.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The researcher has identified gaps in the literature and also reveals the depth of studies that cover the activities of the Christian Missionaries in Western Kenya. The study mainly focused on the establishment and impact of the Friend's Gospel message among the Tiriki people.

1.6 Literature Review

Several works on Christian missions in Africa have inspired, and provide an invaluable background to this study. J.F. Ajayi examines the aims, methods, nature and the impact of Christian missionary enterprise and the African attitude to the missionary work in Nigeria

and shows that the main aim of the missionaries was the propagation of the Christian faith.⁶ To do so effectively, missionaries discovered that literary education was necessary for the converts so that they later could be able to read the bible and other religious materials by themselves and thus help to enhance evangelical work. However, the missionaries limited their education to the 4R's- religion, reading, writing and arithmetic- besides recruiting apprentices for carpentry, architecture and brick- making. The author claims that training in these trades and in agriculture was aimed at creating a middle class of Africans in Nigeria. This middle class was needed if evangelization of Africans was to succeed, hence agriculture and trade were encouraged for the role they played as civilizing agents. In doing this, the Bible and the plough went hand in hand as tools of Christian civilization. Medical services were also used as an agent of evangelization. Although Ajayi examined missionary concentration on 4R's, he did not explain why some missionaries like the Friends Church, failed to have an impact on the Tiriki community.

E.A Anyandele's work focuses on the political, social, educational and economic impact of missionaries in Nigeria and argues that missionaries prepared the way for economic and political exploitation of the country by the British.⁷ They condemned African customs and names as heathenism and although they preached the brotherhood of men, Africans were not allowed the same status as Europeans. He, however, shows that missionaries preserved African vernaculars and also started western formal education, built hospitals and introduced new agricultural methods. The author argues that of all African customs polygamy was the most hit by the missionaries' work. The author, however, did not explain why some could not have a positive impact on some communities as in the case of the Tiriki community and the Friends Church.

Ikenga-Metuh argues that the phenomenon of conversion in Africa has attracted the attention of social scientists and religious historians for many reasons. The most striking one is its phenomenal impact on African lives.⁸ He argues that the period of massive conversion in Africa corresponded with a period of rapid colonialism, industrialization and modernization which swept Africa into the mainstream of world activity. Therefore, any explanation of the

⁶J. F. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891*, London: Longmans, 1965.

⁷E.A. Anyandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842 - 1914*, London: Longmans, 1966.

⁸E. Ikenga-Metuh, "The Shattered Microcosm: A Critical Survey of Explanation of Conversion in Africa" in K. H. Petersen (ed), *Religion, Development and African Identity*, Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1987.

phenomenon of conversion in Africa must answer a number of crucial questions: what are the reasons for the massive movement from African traditional religion to Islam and Christianity? If this massive conversion indeed came in the wake of colonialism and rapid socio-cultural change, what if any is the reason for concentration to some regions and not spread equally to all regions? Which reasons were they using to chose regions of concentration.

Terrence Ranger argues that in much of Africa the history of rural development or underdevelopment is inseparably linked with the history of the African Christian movement through which peasants expressed their hopes and ambitions.⁹ Christianity in Africa has been essentially rural change and peasants have used Christianity for different economic and social ends. Consequently, the social history of rural Christianity should be understood in order to understand the criterion of choosing areas of church concentration as well as to understand the general history of rural Christianity.

Jarle Simensen discusses religious change as a transaction and considers it part of the totality of transaction between missionaries and the local population.¹⁰ He advances the concept of transaction in the belief that it may provide a clear understanding of religious change as part of a process of social transformation. He asserts that the basic aim of missionaries in Africa was gaining religious adherents. Apart from the gospel, they helped to promote a wide range of material means, goods and services which might further this aim. Some of this formed an integral part of the evangelization process covered by such concepts as charity and health.

Bengt Sundkler stresses that an African church history needs to be commensurate with all parts of the hopes and vicissitudes of the continent's historical development.¹¹ "And yet, it is from the local perspective of the village and town that a continental profile of church history can be shaped. It is the numerous encounters by groups and communities with the Christian message that provide the theme for Africa's church history. A history of this kind requires an actor-centred approach. It was often through individual and group initiatives that the Christian faith was irradiated in communities. In cases where Christian faith concentration to some communities, which individuals or group initiatives influenced Christian faiths to concentrate in Tiriki?

⁹ T. Ranger, "Religion, Development and African Christian Identity" in K.H. Petersen, op. cit.

¹⁰ J. Simensen, "Religious Change as Transaction: The Norwegian Mission To Zululand" in K. H. Petersen *ibid*

¹¹ B. Sundkler, "African Church History in a new Key" in K. H. Petersen, *Ibid*.

There are also various invaluable works on the role of Christianity in socio-economic transformation in East Africa generally, and Kenya in particular. These works tackle various themes that act as background information to this study. Roland Oliver, in his book *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, shows how the missionaries were responsible for the growth of European interest in the region.¹² In a critical way he indicates the differences in approach of the Roman Catholic and protestant missionaries. The Catholic Church came to East Africa not to establish new provinces of the Roman Church. Consequently, there was no question of preparing the African church for autonomy. In contrast to the Catholics, Protestants of all shades of beliefs came to Africa to found autonomous churches which would one day be independent from the mother church, though not necessarily in schism. He also argues that pioneer missionaries in East Africa made it their duty to introduce the arts and sciences of civilization, a factor that was universally accepted in Protestant Churches. The author also discusses the aims of missionary education and missionary medical services in Africa. He argues that the missionaries hoped to change the African society, but did not disclose why some communities were preferred in Christian faith than others. For instance, why did the Friends Missionaries prefer to establish a station in Tiriki and not in the neighbouring communities?

Anderson in his book, "The church in East Africa" argues that as soon as the railway line reached Kisumu "missionaries went west". The FAM, led by Willis Hotchkiss, were the first, and they established a station at Kaimosi, because of the nearby forest and the availability of water supply. He also discusses the cooperation of various missionary societies in western Kenya and the various approaches to missionary work. He gives reasons why the FAM missionaries considered setting a station at Kaimosi, mostly because of FAMs industrial approach, but the argument falls short to explain why other Christian faith Churches would prefer Tiriki land.

Jesse Mugambi's work has interesting data on the background to missionary activity in Kenya.¹³ He argues that the African responses of acceptance and rejection of the Christian faith are closely associated with the way in which Christianity was introduced in East Africa through the modern missionary movement that gained momentum in the late 19th and early 20th century. He shows that the African understanding of Christianity was greatly influenced

¹² R. Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in Eastern Africa*, London: Longman, 1965, *op. cit.*

¹³ N.K. Mugambi *op. cit.*

in some cases positively and in others negatively by missionary enterprise through which African individuals and communities became exposed to the Christian faith. The modern missionary movement based its major objective of spreading Christianity from Europe to countries abroad on assumptions which are both historically and theologically questionable. Historically, the movement was often (though not always) in apparent alliance with the colonial administration, to the extent that missionary organizations and individuals operating in Africa sought the protection of their government. Sometimes, missionaries from different colonial powers clashed in the mission field not only because of doctrinal disagreement, but also because of their countries of origin.

Mugambi also argues that missionary activity in Africa consisted not only in teaching Africans essential proclamations of faith, but also imparting their respective western cultures in an attempt to undermine the African cultural and religious heritage. This historical development, he argues, thrived on a theological assumption which was scripturally erroneous, that western culture was part and parcel of Christianity and therefore the spreading of the Christian faith to non-European people automatically meant also imparting western civilization to them. That assumption was strengthened by the belief in "progress" which at that time was anchored in the development of modern nationalism in the western world and maintained the attitude of superiority which was dominant in the western world during the 19th century, that African people were culturally primitive and religiously deprived. African societies were, therefore, expected to denounce and abandon totally their heritage and adopt the culture of the missionary masters as a pre-condition of conversion. Mugambi's idea sounds great but does not fit well in the Tiriki setting where cultural attachment remains strong and yet most Christian churches chose Tiriki.

The history of modern missionary endeavour in Kenya has been discussed by Horace Philp who argues that this endeavour can be divided into definite periods associated with political events.¹⁴ The first period (1843-88) was that of the pioneers, and the outstanding personality of this period -was J.L. Krapf. The second period 1888-1908 was one of penetration and perseverance. The third period (1907-18) was the period of consolidation and the Great War. He says that FAM pioneered missionary work in western Kenya, a factor that led to the aggressive occupation of the region by its missionaries and those of other churches. The

¹⁴ Horace R. A. Philp, *A New Day in Kenya*, London: World Dominion Press, 1936.

views by Horace Philip are plausible by revealing that missionaries were rushing to western Kenya. However, Horace does not explain why concentration of churches among the Tiriki during colonial period.

Kevin Ward's PhD dissertation examines the development of protestant Christianity in the period between 1910 and 1940, with particular reference to its bearing on the history of missionary thinking and ideology and the growth of an African Christian consciousness.¹⁵ The dissertation considers the range of theories and pre-conception with which missionaries approached the problem of spreading the gospel and establishing a church in Kenya, the reasons why these theories were adopted, and aspects of Christianity which African converts found meaningful and which they used to build up a distinctive tradition of Christian thought and practice. The author also discusses the World Missionary Conference which met in Edinburgh in 1910, where the delegates were united in their belief that Africans stood at a lower stage of development both morally and intellectually. The African religion was represented as rooted in fear and Africans in bondage to spirits and witchcraft. He argues that the above view formed the basis of evangelization in Kenya. It will be interesting to investigate if the same reasons influenced the Tiriki choice by most Christian churches.

A.J. Temu's book deals with British Protestant missions and gives insight into the aim, nature and impact of missionary work in Kenya between 1844 and 1929.¹⁶ He argues that missionaries cooperated in establishing British imperialism in East Africa. Missionaries' also grabbed African land, supported and even practised racial segregation and disdained African beliefs and customs, such as dancing and polygamy, making abstinence from such practices a requirement for baptism. Although this book reinforces the idea that missionaries were strongly opposed to African beliefs, it will be interesting to investigate whether the Tiriki were the first to abandon these beliefs or why was their land preferred by most Christian churches as the base from where they spread to the rest of Western Kenya.

Robert W. Strayer examines the evolution of Christian communities associated with the Anglican Church missionary society on the coast and the highland of Kenya.¹⁷ These communities, he argues, were among the most significant institutions that served as networks

¹⁵ Kevin Ward, *"The Development of Protestant Christianity in Kenya 1910-1940"*, PhD., Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1976.

¹⁶ A.J. Temu, *British Protestant Mission*, London: Longmans, 1972.

¹⁷ Strayer, *op. cit.*

for interaction between European and Africans in colonial Kenya. These communities gave rise to schools and Churches both in independent and in orthodox variety. They participated in most of the political crises in the colony and reflected within themselves many of the tensions and conflicts of colonial society. Roberts' work recognizes the reasons why some coastal communities took active participation in missionary work but does not seem to fit in the Tiriki case where the community did not have any political influence.

J. Mbula has discussed the impact of Christianity on the family using the Akamba of Kenya as a case study. The study provides insights on how various communities were transformed with the coming of Christianity.¹⁸ Mbula shows that missionary Christianity was one of the major agents of change in Ukambani. She stresses that different missionary societies in Kenya utilized different methods to evangelize and convert Africans. Some were keener on establishing schools while others specialized in agriculture, industrial development and medical provision. More importantly, she shows how the Akamba locals participated in Christian work. It will be interesting to investigate if the Tiriki played similar roles in order to influence concentration of churches to their territories.

John Karanja's book attempts to identify the extent to which the Kikuyu Anglican Church was indebted to indigenous models and experiences for its impetus, dynamism and direction.¹⁹ The significance of his study is the light it casts on Kikuyu society's ability to negotiate and compromise over specifically Kikuyu institutions. It was this readiness to consider and, if necessary, renounce objectionable and irrelevant customs, and to modify the adoptable ones that gave the Kikuyu Anglican Church its distinctively indigenous character. The study by Karanja sheds light to this study and it will be interesting to investigate if the Tiriki society's scenario was similar to that of the Kikuyu.

E. H. Odwako argues that the coming of Europeans to western Kenya at the beginning of the 20 century radically altered the African social, political and economic set-up.²⁰ As a result, the traditional arrangement could no longer effectively prepare Africans for life in the new society. He shows that the attitude of CMS society towards the people of western Kenya was inevitably influenced by its home background. Due to the two different cultural traditions,

¹⁸ J. Mbula, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ John Karanja, *Founding an African Faith*, Nairobi, Uzima Press, 1999.

²⁰ H. Odwako, "The Church and Education: The Contribution of the Church Missionary Society to Education in Western Kenya 1905-1963", Master of Arts Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1973.

occasioned by their different environmental circumstances, the Europeans naturally tended to favour their customs and adopted a hostile attitude toward African practices. Believing that western tradition was superior, Africans were not only considered inferior, but also primitive. Although the work by Odwako shows the reasons why missionaries came to Africa, it does not explain why Tiriki land was preferred by both European missionaries and African independent churches.

Ogutu's PhD thesis examines the origin and growth of the Roman Catholic Church in western Kenya and argues that within the region, Christianity was both American and European in origin. Conversion to Christianity demanded a physical break with the traditional way of life.²¹ The extent to which the break was religious remained a nagging problem of cultural continuity and change and a dilemma to the missionaries. He stresses that western Kenya was not a religious vacuum as the missionaries claimed. Ogutu also discusses the establishment of various missionary stations in western Kenya and the reasons for the wider spread and acceptance of Catholicism in the area. Although Ogutu's focuses on the Catholic Church in western Kenya, it is invaluable to this study particularly in the aspect of mission's choosing areas of concentration.

Ezekiel Museme Kasiera shows that Pentecostal missionaries came to western Kenya after other missionary societies had already been there for some years.²² He discusses the shift of many of FAM followers to PAG, development of PAG educational programme and the rise of separatist churches in western Kenya. Although this thesis is valuable to the present study from various dimensions, including the history of FAM, the comparison between FAM and PAG and why Africans chose to move from FAM to PAG it does not explain why most European missionaries and African independent churches chose Tiriki land as their base of operation.

There have been several, general studies of the Friends in Kenya. A brief general history of the Friends African Mission is provided by an American Quaker who was connected with the formulation of mission policy and played a role in post-war development of the Friends

²¹ G.E.M. Ogutu, "Origins and Growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Kenya 1895 -1952", PhD Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1981.

²² Ezekiel. M. Kasiera, "Development of Pentecostal Christianity in Western Kenya: With Particular Reference to Maragoli, Nyang'ori and Tiriki, 1909-1942", PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1981.

Church in Kenya.²³ His book, *The Hill of Vision*, gives some good account of the various activities of the Friends in East Africa from 1902 to 1965, and thus forms a good background to this study. The book is an account of the Christian work at Kaimosi and the primary purpose which led the Americans to establish a self-supporting and self-propagating Church. While being an important source for this study, the book looks at the establishment of Friends church in Kenya without looking at establishment of other Christian churches and why they were attracted to some regions.

John Rowe wrote an insightful history of the Quaker Mission in Kenya from 1902 to 1946 for a Master of Science thesis.²⁴ He based his study largely on records available in Jachmond, Indiana, and from Friends United meeting but without the benefit of oral or written sources available in Kenya. The study is, however, important in explaining the history of the Quaker missionaries in Western Kenya and the establishment of the Friends industrial mission that was an integral part of the new wave of western culture.

Clifford Gilpin's work focuses on the Friends and the Luhyia of western Kenya and spans the period from the arrival of the first FAM n party in 1902 until the achievement of autonomy by the EAYM in 1963.²⁵ The study included material based on interviews with about one hundred and fifty African Friends and is concerned mainly with the impact of the FAM on the people of western Kenya. It shows that the FAM missionaries used both spiritual and secular means in trying to establish the kind of African society they wished to encourage. Gilpin argues that FAM Missionaries transferred the concept of the 'pastoral idyll' as the good life to western Kenya. They promoted Christian villages as centres of community life based on the traditional social tiers and concept of mutual support. At the same time, Gilpin sees education as a central item in the dynamics of modernization and innovation. Indeed, his discussion on agriculture, wage labour and employment and the role of Christian villages in economic transformation is essential to the present study. One major weakness of Gilpin's study is that he concentrated on the Maragoli and Bukusu at the exclusion of the other sub-ethnic groups such as the Tiriki.

²³ K.L. Painter, *op. cit.*

²⁴ J. Rowe, "Kaimosi: An Essay in Missionary History", Master of Science Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1958.

²⁵ W. Gilpin, *op cit.*

John Lonsdale examines the economic and social factors which affected the development and role of Friends church in Kenya, in what is by far the most important general historical study of the area.²⁶ Lonsdale analyses the implication of new social and economic groups in the political development of western Kenya. He provides important material and analysis on many topics, which have so far been denied separate treatment. While being very important, the work's major drawback is that its analysis stops at 1945. Second its main emphasis is on political developments at the exclusion of other subjects, such as reasons why missionaries preferred some territories as their bases over others. To Bode, the Luhyia were the focus of much activity by the early missionaries. The missionaries preached a new faith and inculcated new forms of behaviour and new values. Furthermore, they offered training in European skills, not the least of which was literacy. These skills were used in turn by the Africans to regain some control over their lives. The Luhyia were, therefore, exposed to many new influences during the colonial period. One major weakness of this thesis is that emphasis is on leadership and politics among the Luhyia while reasons for choosing specific regions by missionaries as the base of their operation are scarcely discussed.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The relationship between Christianity, its spread and concentration to some parts of Africa can be best explained using the modernization theory. Proponents of the Modernization theory argue that the contemporary world is strongly characterized by twin aspects of modernity and modernization that are expressed in technology, differential patterns of economic development and institutions, political ideologies and modes of protest and participation.²⁷ That this acted as incentive to people from the West to spread the aspects of modernization, which originated in the West, throughout the world. Max Weber discussed the aspects of modernization and applied it to the study of its spread beyond Europe. Weber's basic concern was how to explain the specificity and uniqueness of European modernity, to explain why it was that only in the West and not in other civilizations.²⁸ And as was the case in Europe, the Christian church was largely instrumental in introducing modernization to Africa.²⁹ Most missionaries were disciples of Livingstone, who had advocated for the Introduction of Commerce, Civilization, Christianity and change in African communities which were perceived to be backward. The early Europeans who arrived in Africa in the

²⁶ J.M. Lonsdale, *A Political History of Nyanza, 1883-1945*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

²⁷ S.E. Eisenstadt (Ed), *Patterns of Modernity*, New York: New York University Press, 1987, p.2.

²⁸ Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were “shocked” at the black people’s standards of living, which were completely different from that of Europe. The disparity in levels of development, social structures, human-dynamics, and concerns of life between Europe and Africa was so enormous that the explorers convinced their home countries to “civilize” Africans.³⁰

Modernization theory, therefore, succinctly explains the reasons why the Europeans missionaries chose to concentrate their efforts in Africa. They believed that, they had a responsibility to westernize and transform backward society. To them, many factors can limit a society's commitment to innovation and change, including its values, beliefs, degree of contacts with other societies, and physical environment.³¹ Modernization is thus a transformative process. Societies must drop their traditional structures and ways of thinking, if they hope to be modernized. In fact, the word “modernization” means Westernization, that is, adopting and adapting Euro-American innovations. Modernization theorists thus justify cultural imperialism by Western powers as a reason for European moving into African society. This theory points to the major concepts that this study used. The European and American missionaries came to Africa with a fixed mind that they were coming to transform Africa. In order to achieve their goals they chose the regions from where they would operate from. These regions were chosen because of various reasons, the main subject of this study. This theory was used to gauge the reasons that influenced the European missionaries and African independent churches choice of Tiriki land as their main centre from where they spread to other parts of western Kenya. Secondly, if the missionaries came to modernize the Africans then why did they concentrate in Tiriki, when the PAG group came they decided to set up a station few kilometers from the Friends Mission at Kaimosi. Furthermore, why were the Tiriki the first ones to break from the European Missionary Churches founded African Independent churches and still set them up among the Tiriki?

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ G. Lenski and Patrick Nolan, *Human Societies: An Introduction to Microsociology*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1991, p. 9.

1.8 Hypotheses

1. Various factors led to the establishment of the Friends Church in Tiriki
2. The Friends Church gospel ministry among the Tiriki is not as fruitful as it should be for lack of proper inculturation approach to Christianity.
3. The Tiriki socio-religious and cultural aspects affected their view of inculturation of Christianity

1.9 Methodology

This study employed various methods that assisted to achieve its objectives. The study analyzed the available literature on different churches in Kenya, which included narrative reports, noting the recurrence of certain phenomena and discovering linkages between policies, plans, strategies and reasons for various churches of choosing their areas of operation as part of the process of gaining useful insights from the available data. Analysis of oral informants' data therefore, formed the primary technique that was employed in this research. Particular attention was directed towards literature relating to the work of various churches working in western Kenya. The study made use of primary written sources. These included the records Churches available from the EAYM offices at Kaimosi, the Kenya National Archives (hereafter KNA), and in the microfilm department at the University of Nairobi Library. More recent records of various Yearly Meetings in Kenya were found at the headquarters of these Meetings, namely, Bwere, Chavakali, Chwele, Kakamega, Kapsabet, Kitale, Lirhandu, Lugari, Lugulu, Malava, Nairobi, Tongaren, Vihiga and Vokoli. Records of MHM at Mukumu, PAG records at Nyang'ori, SA records in Nairobi and National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) records in Nairobi, were also consulted.

The Kenya National Archives (KNA) records that were consulted include District deposits for North Nyanza, Elgon Nyanza, Kakamega, Bungoma and Vihiga: Provincial deposits for Nyanza and Western Province: Government's Ministries deposits that include; Office of the President files, particularly, Complaints and Petitions, Religious Societies Disputes and Provincial Administration and Internal Security; Ministry of Agriculture; Ministry of Education; Ministry of Health; Ministry of Land and Ministry of Labour. It was on the basis of the content of such available documents and other literature that key variables abstracted. Much of the materials for the study were derived from oral interviews that were conducted in Western Kenya and Nairobi. Interviews were held with individuals who were knowledgeable about church activities in western Kenya.

Purposive sampling method selects a sample from the participants or group of participants that were judged to be appropriate, or especially knowledgeable, for the purpose of the research. For this study, the church policy on choosing Tiriki could only be accurately evaluated, if the sample was purposively selected to include the following major categories: namely, Yearly Meeting Leaders, including women and youth; pioneers church teachers – evangelists and their families; church educated elite; commercial elite; agricultural elite; provincial administration officials; and peasants and remittance families. At each level of purposive sampling, the critical sample size was obtained by the snowball sampling method. Names of pioneers converts and their families, and provincial administration officials were obtained from records in the Kenya National Archives and EAYM archives. These names constituted the initial respondents on the categories identified in the purposive sampling above. Members of each category were identified, interviewed and asked to identify other people who were knowledgeable on the history of the church in Kenya and possess the characteristics of interest to the study. In this way, it was possible to obtain the required number of respondents in each purposive category.

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

CHAPTER TWO

THE ARRIVAL OF FRIENDS MISSIONARIES AMONG THE TIRIKI OF KENYA

2.1 Introduction

Willis Hotchkiss became the first Friends missionary to arrive in Kenya in 1902 after a long and chequered history in which the church had undergone turbulent periods of transformation, both in England and the USA. He provided the immediate link that brought evangelical American Friends into the mission field among the Tiriki people of Western Kenya. Once in western Kenya, the pioneer FAM missionaries established the first station in 1902 at Kaimosi, among the Tiriki one of the Luhyia sub-ethnic groups. At the time, the Luhyia were also undergoing a process of change, which had had been introduced with the establishment of colonial rule.

2.2 Arrival of the Friends Missionaries in Tiriki

As stated above Willis Hotchkiss, a Friends' minister provided the link that brought evangelical American Friends' mission to Western Kenya. Hotchkiss had received his training at the Cleveland Bible Institute and while there, he received the "call" to work in Africa. He had earlier tried to work with the Africa Inland Mission Party among the Kamba of Kenya. However they failed due to lack of financial support. The missionaries had earlier hoped for the consequent development of a self-supporting African church but contrary to their expectation, the missionaries did not find the Kamba eager to accept the Christian message. This is because the missionaries insisted that in order for the Kamba to become Christians, they had to be converted to the belief or faith in God, repentance of what Christians perceive as sin, and confession of Jesus Christ as the Son of God.³²

It was after the failure to convert the Akamba that Hotchkiss was converted to the industrial mission concept or the holistic development policy, which entailed both evangelical and secular propagation of Christianity. This concept meant teaching and developing the African by impacting them with skills.³³ After failure in Ukambani, Willis Hotchkiss returned to the USA in what can be said to be a reorganization trip. While in the USA he got support from Arthur Chilson and Edgar Hole who were ready to accompany him to East Africa to engage in missionary work. In April 1902, the trio sailed to East Africa to initiate the work. The three

³² EAYM, Friends Africa Industrial Mission Annual Report, 1902.

³³ *Ibid.*

missionaries stopped over in England and Ireland, where members of the British Yearly Meeting donated the metal Devonshire house which was shipped to Kenya in 1903.³⁴ The three missionaries arrived at Mombasa on June 24, 1902. Using the newly constructed railroad, they arrived at Kisumu in July. When the three pioneers arrived at the then rail terminal on Lake Victoria, the railway officials and C.W. Hobley, the District Commissioner, were very helpful. Hobley, a scholar as well as a government official, had collected valuable information on the local people like the Maragoli. He passed on to the missionaries a dictionary of several hundred Luloogoli words, which became the basis of the Friends study of that language.³⁵ He also assisted the missionaries with planning a tour through North Kavirondo and Nandi districts and invited them to accompany him on a visit to Mumias, his district headquarters.³⁶

Thus, the Friends arrived in western Kenya with a clear advantage and a considerable fund of goodwill from other missions and the administration.³⁷ After eight weeks of trekking during which both Hotchkiss and Hole were often disabled by malaria, a suitable site was found on the 10th of August at Kaimosi. The missionaries decided to work among the Tiriki in what had become North Kavirondo district of western Kenya because the area seemed suitable for implementing the Friends' ideas about salvation and civilization. Events leading to the selection of Kaimosi site were recorded in a letter Chilson sent to Emma Malone, the secretary of the AFBFM. Chilson wrote that, Kaimosi was a place with many things favourable for a mission location, more than any place we had³⁸ found yet. There is quite a tract of land unoccupied by the natives, and splendid drinking water. Hundreds of natives live within reach.

This area was called Kaimosi, situated about twenty kilometres north of the then railhead at Kisumu. It lay on the uninhabited border between the Tiriki and Nandi. The Nandi had a reputation for being warlike. The area's high elevation promised fertile soil and climatic conditions both bearable and conducive to agricultural work. Water power and timber were also available for the industrial programme and Hobley had reported the presence of a

³⁴ E. H. Chilson, *Ambassador of the King*, Wichita: The Friends Bible Institute, 1943, pp. 3 – 9.

³⁵ K.L. Painter, *op.cit.*, pp. 21 – 22.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.22.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ EAYM, Arthur Chilson's Journal Entries, 10/8/1902.

relatively dense population and people who were peaceful and industrious.³⁹ Hobley commanded the nearest Tiriki headman, Isiaho, to give possible assistance needed to the new mission.⁴⁰ Thus, the missionaries were establishing themselves among the Tiriki people who had not been affected by the establishment of colonial rule in area. It was also a society which treasured such values as kinship and communalism, values that were necessary for holding the society together, and which were anchored by the society's religious beliefs.

It should be noted that the establishment of FAM stations in Kenya was a slow process. The early missionaries endured hardships such as uncertain safety as strangers in a foreign and hostile land, personal tragedies and diseases. The first two decades of FAM's work were, thus, primarily a pioneer homesteading operation. By 1918, however, the Friends had established a vibrant and growing church among the Tiriki and spread to other Luhya, particularly among the Maragoli and the Bukusu. As noted above, the three pioneer Friends missionaries in Kenya were Willis Hotchkiss, Arthur Chilson and Edgar Hole who were to a large extent assisted by Hobley, the North Kavirondo DC, to establish their station at Kaimosi. This no-man's land lay between two antagonistic groups, the Tiriki to the east and Nandi to the west. In 1902, Hobley gave the missionaries permission to occupy the Kaimosi site, on a temporary basis. He granted approximately 850 acres of land, for a fee of Sh.4.60 (68, USA cents) per acre. An additional 150 acres was obtained on a leasehold basis. So Friends obtained approximately 1,000 acres for use as a Christian mission.⁴¹

The missionaries began "erecting temporary buildings in September 1902. They hired thirty-five African men to assist in the work. The workmen cleared eight acres of land and planted two acres of crops consisting of wheat, millet, potatoes and garden vegetables. The missionaries purchased two oxen, two milk cows with calves, fourteen sheep, four goats and sixty chickens.⁴² In anticipation of the arrival of Dr. Elisha Blackburn in 1903, the missionaries also built a grass dispensary and "a decision was made to erect a mill both for producing lumber and grinding maize on the Falls of Goli Goli River, which ran through the newly acquired mission property".⁴³ The construction of a dam began in late 1902, using African labour. The mission staff at Kaimosi was reinforced by the coming in 1903 of Elisha

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Report, 1902.

⁴¹ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1902.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Blackburn, a medical doctor, his wife Grace, a teacher and Adelaide Hole, also a teacher and wife to Edgar Hole. Emory Rees and his wife Deborah also joined the mission in 1904, as teachers.⁴⁴ By 1904, therefore, FAM had established a homesteading station at Kaimosi.

Hobley the then DC in Mumias instructed Mujela, the newly appointed Tiriki chief and his headmen to help the missionaries settle and carry out their duties in the area.⁴⁵ Initially, the FAM missionaries generally found the Tiriki leaders and their people to be welcoming. During those early days, the Tiriki were receptive because they viewed the missionaries as allies, who could be counted on to help defend them against “the disturbances caused by the cattle-raiding Nandi, their neighbours to the east”. Hence, they did not interfere with the work.⁴⁶ The advent of new Tiriki settlers east of Kaimosi, however, did nothing to deter Nandi raids against the Tiriki.⁴⁷ On their part, the Nandi proved quite hostile toward the Friends for two reasons. First, the presence of the missionaries interfered with their raids for Tiriki cattle. Second, the Nandi resisted the coming of British rule and had put up a vigorous and protracted fight to preserve their independence. To the Nandi, the FAM missionaries were an extension of European rulers, who were to be annihilated. Consequently, for the next three years, the disturbances caused by the Nandi interrupted the routine at the station and proved somewhat of an annoyance.⁴⁸ To stop the menace, in March 1903, the colonial administration used the Kaimosi FAM station as a base from which to launch punitive expeditions against the Nandi.

Hobley the DC by then and a detachment of about 900 soldiers conscripted from Sudanese, Baganda and Mumia’s forces camped at Kaimosi, from where they harassed the Nandi, confiscated their livestock, burned houses and shot and killed about 5 of the Nandi raiders.⁴⁹ Hobley then left ten African soldiers behind to provide protection to the missionaries.⁵⁰ Despite the soldiers’ presence, a group of Nandi warriors raided the Kaimosi station in 1904, and killed William Wendt, a Friends missionary who had just joined the mission.⁵¹ The

⁴⁴ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1904.

⁴⁵ Sangree, *op.cit.*, p.101.

⁴⁶ EAYM, Friends African Mission, Reports 1905.

⁴⁷ KNA, MSS/54/67, Minutes of Annual General Meeting, 20/12/1909.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ EAYM, Friends African Mission, Reports 1905.

⁵⁰ Oral Interview, Mr. Malira, Senior Pastor, Bumuyange Village, Tiriki, 21/08/2015.

⁵¹ Painter, *op.cit.*, p.29.

colonial government then turned this into an excuse for reinforcing troop-strength at Kaimosi in order to initiate a showdown with the Nandi which ended in 1905.

FAM missionaries had come to “bring to Africans the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, the saviour”.⁵² To this end, the missionaries hoped to convert the Tiriki to Christianity. Consequently, in order to be truly converted FAM missionaries demanded that the Tiriki reject those cultural forms that were deemed to be opposing Christian tenets. These included a renunciation of traditional religious beliefs; abandonment of the practice of ancestral propitiation; prohibition of traditional dancing, drinking alcoholic beverages (or even participation in the making of such beverages), pre-marital sex, polygamy, seeking out the assistance of diviners or traditional healers, among many others.⁵³ The purpose of the FAM in Tiriki was clearly outlined in the first issue of the mission’s reports, in early 1903 which outlined that the primary object of the Friends African Industrial Mission is the evangelization of the heathen. The industrial feature is introduced into the work for the purpose of exerting continuous Christian influence over the natives employed, with the hope of obtaining the following results: Teaching them habits of industry and ultimately, establishing a self-supporting native Christian church.⁵⁴

For nearly two decades, the Friends missionaries monopolized evangelism among the Tiriki. This monopoly however, came under threat in 1924. In that year, the Pentecostal East African Mission (hereafter PEAM) established a station at Nyang'ori, about 20 kilometers from the FAM station at Kaimosi and began wooing Friends converts.⁵⁵ Similarly, the Salvation Army (hereafter SA) with colorful paraphernalia and martial spirit invaded Friends territory a few years after establishing itself in Nyanza province in 1926.⁵⁶ By the 1930s, the Friends missionaries continued to protest against this invasion of their sphere, despite clear advice of the protestant alliance that the spheres of influence policy needed to be modified in view of the development of African Christian thought and religious consciousness. For instance, in 1932, reports indicated that converts to PEAM in South Maragoli were asking for a place of

⁵² K.L. Painter, *op.cit.*, p.24.

⁵³ K.L. Painter, *op.cit.*, p.25.

⁵⁴ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1903.

⁵⁵ H. Misigo Amatsimbi, *The Friends Church and Economic Transformation Among the Luhya of Western Kenyan 1902-1988*, Ph.D. Thesis, pp.53-100.

⁵⁶ J. Asamoah-Gyadu. ‘Renewal Within African Christianity: A Study of some current Historical and Theological Developments within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana’ (Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., University of Birmingham, 2001), pp.90-124.

worship, and were also being refused by the Baraza in which the Friends' influence is strong.⁵⁷ Indeed, many converts to the Salvation Army claimed that the mission offered a more joyous mode of religious observance than the Friends church. It seems clear that the band and bright uniforms of the Army are attractive to the Africans, and it may well be that a large number will find in it a relief from austere practices of the other societies, and will secede from them to the Army. Salvation Army brought off a spectacular coup by the enlistment of chief Amiani under their banner. His conversion to the tenets of the Army was followed by that 50 of his people all formerly Friends.⁵⁸

The Friends made strong efforts to prevent the establishment of Pentecostal schools in the 1930s, but the government was more interested in promoting elementary education than in preserving spheres of religious influences.⁵⁹ In the early 1930s discontented and dissident elements in Friends churches started switching their allegiance to the new denominations. Not only did the Africans have the unedifying experience of watching different mission groups squabbling over converts and areas for churches, but also schisms arose within Friends missions over matters of changing doctrine, mission's policy and religious practice. Seizures and trance states, apparently encouraged by the Pentecostals condoning of visions and speaking in tongues, reached almost epidemic proportions in several African Friends Meetings in the south. The Friends missionaries, while generally opposed to such displays of uncontrolled emotionality, were divided as to how the situation should be best dealt with.⁶⁰ One group favoured severe disciplinary measures for those converts who persisted in such behaviour, while the other group, led by Arthur Chilson a charismatic missionary, favoured revivalism to awaken the Friends' church in that era of competition.

The FAM religious revivals of the 1930s were consequently sparked off by Arthur Chilson, who laid particular emphasis on spontaneous public prayer, public confession of sin and repentance, and seeking grace through baptism and the Holy Spirit. Widespread revival meetings then took place among the southern Luhya. However, several Friends missionaries and African Friends Church elders reacted against what they regarded as extremism. Chilson was transferred to Rwanda, but the revival continued. The revivalists had a new message

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ H. Misigo Amatsimbi. *The Friends Church and Economic Transformation Among the Luhya of Western Kenya, 1902-1988*, PhD. Thesis, pp. 3-10.

⁶⁰ Sangree, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

which emphasized spiritual and communal harmony in place of economic progress. Consequently, a confrontation seemed imminent inevitable and when attempts at reconciliation failed, large numbers in the southern locations left the Friends Church, in 1932. Some defected to the Pentecostal missions while many more rejected the confines of any mission church and formed the Independent African Churches. Among these independent churches were African Israel Nineveh Church founded by David Zakayo Kivulu in 1942 and African Divine Church founded in 1949 by followers of Pentecostal East African Mission. Throughout the period of early missionary establishment, Africans were expected to observe a disciplined routine on daily basis.

At the beginning of each day, African workers at the mission were assembled for a half hour gospel service. During these services, the missionaries enunciated what they considered to be the “four basic needs of the African, the gospel message, habits of industry, clothing and medical care”.⁶¹ Indeed, the early FAM missionaries emphasized that, “the great hope of Africa must be realized by means of native evangelization”.⁶² The missionaries stressed that “the planting of Christianity in the African heart and African society can be done most effectively by Africans themselves”.⁶³ The pioneer missionaries at Kaimosi, therefore, wanted African leadership to be realized. The first objective of the missionaries was to teach the African to read the Bible, in Swahili and later on Luloogoli (the Maragoli dialect) which was to become the medium for education.

The teaching objective was dual in nature, education and Christianity.⁶⁴ The first pupils were station workers, who did not understand, at least initially, what their response to the missionary invitations to conversion actually entailed.⁶⁵ They were mostly attracted by the reputation the missionaries and became determined to learn how to read, write, and to be able to teach with conviction, as they saw the missionaries doing.⁶⁶ Others came seeking employment, having learned of wage labour opportunities, such as working on the establishment of the mission station and construction of roads. They were also eager for money to buy new commodities, particularly clothes, which were becoming available from

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1904.

⁶⁴ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1905.

⁶⁵ See for example, J.E Nelson, *Christian Missionizing and Social Transformation: A History of Conflict and Change in Eastern Zaire*, London: Praeger, 1992, p. 32.

⁶⁶ Oral Interview, Mr. Malira, Senior Pastor, Bumuyange Village, Tiriki, 21/08/2015.

new Indian merchants in the area.⁶⁷ Later, they would need money with which to pay taxes. The medical clinics set up by the missionaries attracted people as well. Many stayed to become involved in the growing church community, which offered a chance to learn to read and write.⁶⁸

The Christian teachings that the workers were taught, however, remained somewhat of a mystery to them. After life on earth, a person had to take one of two roads; “one leading to heaven and the other to a great darkness, where people wait for a fiery judgment”.⁶⁹ A fear of death was, therefore, the primary essence of what they felt.⁷⁰ Indeed, to many of the workers at the station, God's judgment appeared to be something greater than the harsh punitive measures exacted by the new colonial authorities.⁷¹ To become converted, Africans had to go through some form of training. Training included six-month periods of inculcation into church life. On weekdays, workers at the station, who also doubled up as the first pupils, typically attended an early morning prayer and worship service and then spent the mornings in classes; the afternoons were spent on communal garden projects, from which the subsistence for the entire community came. Pioneer pupils were taught the basics of reading and writing, initially in Kiswahili and later, Luloogoli, using pamphlets containing select biblical texts translated by Rees. The emphasis was on rote memorizing of Bible verses. Hymns were learned along with other practices of Christian worship. Doctrine classes, taught by Arthur Chilson, instructed the pupils on the imperative of knowing Jesus Christ as the Lord and Saviour of one's life. Combined with this was a promise of eternal life in heaven, with further rewards for a good life lived on earth, and harsh warnings of a terrible judgment for those who refused to accept these truths.⁷²

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

⁶⁷ Oral Interview, Ruben Shimbiro, Virembe Village, Tiriki, 12/09/2015.

⁶⁸ Oral Interview, Ruben Shimbiro, Virembe Village, Tiriki, 12/09/2015.

⁶⁹ Oral Interview.

⁷⁰ Oral Interview, Grace Misigo, Senende Village, Tiriki, 15/08/2015

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

do, but that God would richly reward them in heaven for their efforts.⁷³ The afternoons were spent fulfilling the gardening quotas that were assigned to each student. For instance, Edgar Hole taught Africans new “maize growing techniques and encouraged them to grow more vegetables in their *shambas*”.⁷⁴ Each station also developed and maintained at least 2 acres of garden, where the missionaries grew food for their home consumption.⁷⁵

Upon successful completion of training, pupils were baptized (in a ceremony that eventually became a large annual event), after which they became teacher-evangelists. Teacher-evangelists would maintain a house on the mission station, which they would make available to their students to live in while on the mission station, as they continued to prepare for baptism.⁷⁶ The mission station thus became a very active community, with about 100 people involved in different aspects of the FAM’s work.⁷⁷ Another programme, established first at Kaimosi and then duplicated in other mission stations, was a resident school for girls. In the belief that quality Christian ministry depended on strong Christian homes, an effort was made to educate girls in a “Christian” environment at the mission. These girls became a pool from which wives for the pioneer teacher-evangelists would be chosen.⁷⁸ In the mission stations, any breach of the moral code was quickly dealt with. Culprits would be brought before the missionaries and the elders of the church if accused of smoking, drinking, stealing, lying or adultery. Guilty persons, who confessed, could remain in the community but they were prohibited from participating in communion services for several months. If they did not repent, they were immediately evicted from the station.⁷⁹

It should be noted that the rate of conversion among the Tiriki was disappointingly slow, despite the efforts at the translation of the Bible into languages that the natives could understand, preaching and concerted attempt at conversion by the missionaries.⁸⁰ Although the missionaries continued to encourage Tiriki headmen like Isiaho and Isalano to attend evangelical services at Kaimosi, the Tiriki residing in areas surrounding Kaimosi still remained suspicious of the missionaries and were “afraid of them.”⁸¹ They called the

⁷³ Oral Interview, Grace Misigo, Senende Village, Tiriki, 15/08/2015.

⁷⁴ EAYM, Friends African Industrial Mission Reports, 1909.

⁷⁵ Oral Interview, Mr. Malira, Senior Pastor, Bumuyange Village, Tiriki, 21/08/2015.

⁷⁶ Oral Interview, Ruben Shimbiro, Virembe Village, Tiriki, 12/09/2015.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Oral Interview, Selina Ingasia, Jirwani Village, Tiriki, 13/08/2015.

⁸⁰ Oral Interview, Grace Misigo, Senende Village, Tiriki, 15/08/2015.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

missionaries “*amanani*” (man-eaters in the Luhya folklore) because the “coats they wore were so long at the back that they resembled tails”.⁸² The pioneer African converts and the missionaries had “the difficult and yet challenging task of explaining about these white men and women, and persuading the people to accept them as human beings”. To a few others, particularly the workers at the station, the strangers were too novel and interesting to be avoided for long. Gifts of salt, rice and pieces of cloth helped allay some of their fears. Consequently, although a few of the Tiriki including Petro Inyasa , Marita Mugotso, Benjamin Sangale, Stephen Shimejelo and Elisha Shivarenje were put on probation status, of those who were yet to be baptized, the majority of the Tiriki resisted attempts by the missionaries to change their lives and the rate of conversion subsequently remained low.⁸³

Tiriki resistance to Christian conversion was largely due to the strength of traditional religious beliefs. Religion among the Tiriki sub-ethnic groups was an integral part of their entire culture, and it proved impossible to divorce these traditional beliefs from the minds of the people, without first accomplishing changes in many social areas. Among the Tiriki reverence for supernatural forces was vital to a cohesive way of life and actions and attitudes of the individual were believed to affect the health and welfare of the entire lineage and clan, and conformity was the highest ideal. Early converts were, therefore, essentially non-conformist individuals, who were maligned by traditionalists striving to keep their society and beliefs intact. Consequently, the early converts were ostracized by their families and were forced to seek refuge at Kaimosi.

Tiriki girls received protection at Kaimosi since the missionaries refused to return girls to their communities, where “they had been mistreated”.⁸⁴ Such girls, who sought refuge at the mission station later, became the brides of early non-Tiriki Christians.⁸⁵ The Tiriki also increasingly became infuriated by the hostility the missionaries expressed toward their secret circumcision rituals. Among the Tiriki, circumcision and initiation rites constituted an individual’s entry into membership of an age set. Thus, the rites were not only of enormous importance to the organization and maintenance of both warfare patterns and peace time activities, but they were also the principal symbolic basis for a sense of sub-ethnic identity

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.8.

⁸³ EAYM, *History ye Livugana lya Valina (Friends Quakers)*, 1971.

⁸⁴ Oral Interview, Ruben Shimbiro, Virembe Village, Tiriki, 12/09/2015.

⁸⁵ Oral Interview.

and unity.⁸⁶ Consequently, the Tiriki disliked the missionaries' attempts to block, or discourage, circumcision and initiation practices. The missionaries also encouraged Tiriki converts to undergo circumcision at the hospital, thereby putting to test the Tiriki traditional view that "non-Tiriki could not circumcise a Tiriki man, without attrition befalling the society by affliction of diseases and famine".⁸⁷ The Tiriki thus wrongly attributed the drought and famine of 1907 to the circumcision of Tiriki boys at the hospital.⁸⁸

Furthermore, any Tiriki attending FAM schools, who left the classroom to undergo the traditional operation, faced difficulties in continuing education afterwards. This was because parents feared that initiates might be forced by the missionaries to reveal secrets of the ceremonies. In addition, the young Tiriki 'adults' felt embarrassed and humiliated sitting in the same classroom with "uncircumcised boys, those who were circumcised at the hospital or those circumcised in other traditions".⁸⁹ To the Tiriki, the men from other sub-ethnic groups were considered to be "children, because they did not undergo the same circumcision rigours and rites".⁹⁰ The Tiriki, like all other Luhya sub-groups, also disliked the FAM missionaries for their intractable stand on Luhya customs. FAM missionaries had labelled as sinful such Tiriki pastimes as dancing, smoking and beer drinking. The Friends also took a very firm stand against polygamy and adoption of monogamy became one of the acid tests for Church membership. This requirement proved difficult for the Luhya to comply with, since polygamy was deemed to be a social virtue. The Tiriki thus remained unwilling to accede to missionary demands that they abandon activities and customs long deemed as socially important. Ultimately, the emotion-laden issue of male circumcision generated outright anger and hatred between the FAM missionaries and the Tiriki.⁹¹ The Tiriki persistence in clinging to tradition, pitted against the missionaries' overzealous criticism of these customs, eventually informed FAM's change of policy.⁹² Instead of concentrating its work at Kaimosi, FAM missionaries began to open more new stations. It was from these new stations that the FAM missionaries hoped for greater success in reaching a larger segment of the Luhya.⁹³

⁸⁶ Sangree, *op.cit.*, p. 125.

⁸⁷ Oral Interview, Mr. Malira, Senior Pastor, Bumuyange Village, Tiriki, 21/08/2015.

⁸⁸ Oral Interview.

⁸⁹ Oral Interview, Selina Ingasia, Jirwani Village, Tiriki, 13/08/2015.

⁹⁰ Rose Adede, *Joel Litu: Pioneer African Quaker*, Wallingford: Pandle Hill, 1928, p. 15.

⁹¹ Oral Interview, Mr. Malira, Senior Pastor, Bumuyange Village, Tiriki, 21/08/2015.

⁹² Oral Interview.

⁹³ Oral Interview, Ruben Shimbiro, Virembe Village, Tiriki, 12/09/2015.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the establishment of the Friends Church among the Tiriki people of Vihiga County. Missionary bodies played an outstanding role in the transformation of the Tiriki. The chapter has indicated that the first missionary station in the whole of Nyanza was that of the Friends African Mission which was founded at Kaimosi in 1902. But the story of the Friends in western Kenya is along one. In April 1902, three Friends American missionaries, Willis Hotchkiss, Arthur Chilson and Edger Hole sailed to East Africa to initiate missionary work. They were received by C.W. Hobley, the District Commissioner, who was very helpful. Hobley, a scholar as well as a government official, had collected valuable information of the local people like the Maragoli. It was on the foundation of early missionaries that the Friends African Mission would expand due to various factors.

CHAPTER THREE

IMPACT OF THE FRIEND'S GOSPEL MESSAGE AMONG THE TIRIKI PEOPLE

3.1 Introduction

Much of the focus in this chapter remained on the historic Friends African Mission at Kaimosi because of the key role they played as the conscious or unconscious agents of modernization within African society. But they were not alone on the mission field. Canadian Pentecostal missionaries established themselves at Nyango'ori. Theological variations did, on occasion, lead to different nuances in both strategy and practice. But denominational affiliation made little difference to the aim of claiming the world for Christ or, from another perspective, colonial domination. However we evaluate the impact of the Friends African Mission on the Tiriki people of western Kenya.

3.2 Friends African Missionaries as Agents of Modernizing the Tiriki

There can be little doubt that the missionaries introduced to Africans a Christian faith which had been inseparably interwoven with European culture. There can be little doubt either, that virtually all missionaries of this period regarded African culture as heathen or pagan, and were convinced that conversion to Christianity would and should lead to the adoption of the superior ways of European civilization.⁹⁴ But we misunderstand their vision and motivation if we fail to recognize that their primary commitment was to spreading the gospel and planting an indigenous church according to their understanding of the apostolic mandate of the New Testament. From the onset the Protestant missionaries were the heirs of the Evangelical Revival, an event which transformed Christianity in Europe in the eighteenth century and led to the formation of the missionary societies which spread to the world. The missionaries' rejection of the Tiriki culture arose not only because of their own sense of European superiority they shared settler racial arrogance on this point but also because their reading of the Bible convinced them that they were encountering heathen darkness.⁹⁵

As it was in the days of the apostles, converts had to turn away from superstition and un-evangelical lifestyles and embrace an entirely new way of life. As they were not trained in the critical analysis of culture or society, and were of a generation pre-dating by far any training

⁹⁴Harold Turner, *History of an African Independent Church* (2), pp. 371-372.

⁹⁵ Sackey, 'A brief History of the A.M.E. Zion Church West Gold Coast District,' in *The Ghana Bulletin of Theology*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1957.

in inculturation as a missionary methodology, their blind spots may in part be excused. But they remained blind spots nonetheless, with serious short and long-term consequences during their establishment among the Tiriki people. It must be said that a few missionaries did value certain aspects of Tiriki culture if any. But the more general condemnation of the Tiriki customs and institutions, and the attempt to replace them with European moral codes and practices which the Friends missionaries regarded as having universal validity, were an essential part of a comprehensive process of social change and political subjugation of the Tiriki people.⁹⁶

The Friends missionaries argued, led to civilization, and that inevitably meant reshaping everyday life of the heathen Tiriki people. More specifically, by way of illustration, it meant replacing polygamy with monogamy, 'heathen nakedness' with European dress, round huts with square houses, education and training in literacy and basic skills, and the inculcation of a belief in the 'dignity of labour. Yet it would also be a misunderstanding of their intent if we assumed that civilization' was the chief goal. The missionaries insisted strongly that 'civilisation without Christianity among a savage people is a mere matter of clothes and whitewash. The goal of their mission was salvation; civilization was simply an important by product, and a sign of redemption. But the gains of civilization were not unambiguous.'⁹⁷

It is observed by this study that African culture had in-depth roots in respect of its diversity and it is important to recognize the extent to which traditional Tiriki culture and its customs the role of ancestors, initiation rites, bride price, and polygamy were interrelated, and fundamental to social, economic and political power relations in Tiriki society, that the Friends missionaries often failed to recognize any religion among the Tiriki. To challenge the Tiriki customs in the name of the gospel was to threaten the very fabric of society and undermine the authority of both the elders and the ancestors.⁹⁸ It was, in fact, to threaten the well-being of the community for which the elders were responsible both to the living and the 'living dead'. Culture was therefore a terrain of struggle against colonialism and its agents, especially the Friends missionaries. The traditional initiation ceremonies amongst the Tiriki, for example, are especially noteworthy given the fact that the Tiriki were not ready to let go. The Tiriki believers were beginning to question the Friends missionary condemnation of the

⁹⁶ David Beckmann, *Edens Revival* (St. Louis. Missouri: Concordia Publishing House Ltd. 1975). p.24.

⁹⁷ Sackey, 'A brief History of the A.M.E. Zion Church West Gold Coast District,' in *The Ghana Bulletin of Theology*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1957.

⁹⁸ Oral interview, Selina Ingasia, Jirwani Village, Tiriki, 13/08/2015.

ancestor cults and traditional practices such as bride price, polygamy and circumcision. But even if some African Christian leaders did believe that it was necessary to abandon such traditional beliefs and practices, they also believed that some could be tolerated and even accommodated within Tiriki Christian converts.⁹⁹

Although faced with a lot of resistance from the Tiriki traditionalist believers, the Friends African Mission cannot be denied a fact that sociologically they were a revolutionary influence within the Tiriki society. They undermined traditional customs and structures from within just as colonial and trading efforts undermined them from without weakening them from all coners. While some missionaries, unlike other agents of colonization, sought to protect the indigenous people from the rapacity of white farmers and entrepreneurs, missionary policy and practice nonetheless led to serious cultural disorientation and social dislocation.¹⁰⁰ As the British government engaged in political colonization and entrepreneurs in economic colonization, it was pre-eminently the role of Friends African missionaries to colonize the Tiriki people through evangelization and education. The initial role of all missionaries working in western Kenya was to facilitate the cultural reorientation that accompanied black accommodation to the social reality of British white power. Regardless of its doctrine or national origin, the Friends African Missionaries mission in Tiriki performed this function. By relocating Tiriki converts to Kaimosi Mission Lines, the missionaries separated them from their cultural roots and the social structures which had previously supported and controlled their lives. They were the colonizers of consciousness.¹⁰¹

If the Kaimosi Mission Stations separated converts from their culture and traditional support structures, the introduction of new agricultural techniques and technologies especially the plough together with the notion of individual land tenure and cultivation, thrust Africans into the emerging capitalist economy and prepared the way for their subsequent proletarianization. African communities were transformed from being self-sufficient, autonomous villages into interlocking and dependent communities of peasants, living on attenuated tribal lands, and wage labourers working in areas owned by the British Settlers.¹⁰² The Friends missionaries in Kaimosi accepted that the proletarianization of the peasantry was inevitable and necessary. Hence much of their educational effort was directed towards enabling the integration of

⁹⁹ Oral interview, Mr. Malira, Senior Pastor, Bumuyange Village, Tiriki, 21/08/2015.

¹⁰⁰ Oral interview, *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Oral interview, *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Harold Turner, *History of an African Independent Church* (2), pp. 371-372.

mission converts into the new scheme of things. The Friends African missionaries were certainly not innocent of the fact that their evangelizing, civilizing and educating endeavours were forcing the Tiriki people into the capitalist system and thereby boosting European economic interests.¹⁰³

While some of the Friends African missionaries were critical of the spirit of capitalism and its confusion with Christianity, there can be little doubt that missionary education, in accordance with the ideological convictions of nineteenth-century Protestant Christianity, engendered a spirit of individual initiative and discipline in tune with the forces of modernization among the Tiriki. The Friends African Mission helped to foster entrepreneurial skills consonant with the emerging capitalism of agriculture and industrial techniques among the Tiriki rural setting. The Friends missionaries were, in fact, the creators of a new class of Africans. The impact of Protestant evangelists as harbingers of industrial capitalism lay, as the fact that their civilizing mission was simultaneously symbolic and practical, theological and temporal. Missionary converts among the Tiriki became committed to the Protestant work ethic and the virtues of private property and individual land tenure. All missionaries and mission stations taught about the dignity of labour and condemned laziness as sin that could deny one a chance to go to heaven.¹⁰⁴

Once the Friends missionaries established themselves at Kaimosi, the Tiriki converts became more dependent on the education offered by the missionaries as the only access into the new colonial order. Whereas previously, the Friends mission stations were primarily centres of evangelization, by the 1930s they were rapidly becoming centres of education where literacy and numeracy skills necessary for economic progress in colonial society could be learned. Just as the missionaries believed that by establishing mission stations they were taming the wilderness thereby justifying their occupation of Tiriki land so education was not simply a matter of literacy but part of a comprehensive strategy to reconstruct African culture. Missionary education transformed the coercion of colonization into the cultivation of civilisation.¹⁰⁵

The problem in learning was the entrenchment of English as the medium of communication

¹⁰³ Oral interview, Mr. Malira, Senior Pastor, Bumuyange Village, Tiriki, 21/08/2015.

¹⁰⁴ Walter L. Yates, 'History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in West Africa, Liberia, Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria, 1900-1939' (Ph.D thesis, Hartford USA, 1967).

¹⁰⁵ David Beckmann, *Edens Revival* (St. Louis. Missouri: Concordia Publishing House Ltd. 1975). p. 24.

and transvaluation. In fact, the importance of English was widely acknowledged by missionary converts as 'the key to knowledge. Without mastering English a person, it was argued, remained one of the uneducated, living in the miserably small world and therefore without any real future. After establishing themselves, there was a tendency amongst missionaries in Kaimosi Mission to move away from the earlier multiracial mission policy of assimilation into an English literate society. One influencing factor was that the contours of English-speaking settler society including the colonial church were becoming more firm, thus establishing clearer boundaries of social behaviour between converts and the heathen.¹⁰⁶ But there was also a discernible shift in racial perception and ideology linked, as the nineteenth century entered its final decades, to the new creed of social Darwinism and pseudo-scientific theories of eugenics.

The decision to focus on an education which would enable Africans to work within their own communities rather than within white society was reflected in the differences between European education and that of Africans. Indeed, by 1920s, the British colonial government made industrial training obligatory for the receiving of funding. Despite this, missionary education provided the only access into broader society unless, of course, it was simply through menial labour and even then the doors of opportunity were strictly limited.¹⁰⁷ Fundamental to the educational policy of the colonial authorities and the missionaries, then, was a social Darwinism which assumed that Africans were culturally unprepared as yet to take their place as adults in society. This not only reinforced the racism which was so inherent in settler society, but it also provided the ideological basis for the redefining of the missionaries' identity and role. As trustees, the missionaries represented the best interests of their African wards and, as such, their task was to educate and prepare Africans for a future within British colonial society so that they might be able to represent themselves without missionary tutelage. While the missionaries agreed with settler society that the evangelization and education of Africans did not imply immediate social equality, their aim so they claimed was more long-term. Africans, it was argued, were members of an adolescent race in need of missionary guidance and discipline in order to reach their potential.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Sackey, 'A brief History of the A.M.E. Zion Church West Gold Coast District,' in *The Ghana Bulletin of Theology*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1957.

¹⁰⁷ J. Asamoah-Gyadu. 'Renewal Within African Christianity: A Study of some current Historical and Theological Developments within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana' (Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., University of Birmingham, 2001), pp.90-124.

¹⁰⁸ Walter L. Yates, 'History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in West Africa, Liberia, Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria, 1900-1939' (Ph.D thesis, Hartford USA, 1967).

Educated Africans sometimes accepted the assumptions of social Darwinism, but refused to regard themselves as less than equal to Europeans or incapable of the same educational achievements. The Friends missionaries at Kaimosi thus placed traditional leaders in a serious quandary. Whether they responded positively to, or opposed, the missionaries, their position was adversely affected. Initially, the colonial authorities regarded missionaries as a vital arm of their policy and interests. Even if hostilities threatened, they were encouraged to stay at their posts.¹⁰⁹ The Friends missions in Tiriki land were, in fact, part of the social and ideological reconstruction which followed the destruction of traditional Tiriki society, a policy which enlisted the elders in controlling the growing number of landless people.¹¹⁰ Although the missionaries may have thought of themselves as the protectors of their converts, on occasion finding themselves caught between the interests of their African followers and those of the British colonial rulers and the British settlers, the distinction between missionaries and other whites, and between Christianity and European civilization, was often blurred in the minds of Africans, settlers, colonial officials and even the missionaries themselves.¹¹¹

The traditionalist Tiriki people who had rejected Christianity argued, the British colonialists were not the only ones who had occupied their land, so too had the missionaries. Converts, meanwhile, increasingly found themselves trapped between their loyalties to their tribe, on the one hand, and to the missionaries, on the other. Sometimes referred to as ‘the black English’, they suffered severely at the hands of other Africans loyal to their traditions. Christianity had helped to divide the Tiriki people, and colonialism had conquered.¹¹² By the early nineteenth century the subjugation of the Tiriki was complete, and the missionaries no longer needed the support of the elders to pursue their goals. In any case, many elders, along with their followers, began being converted to Christianity, even though they seldom did so out of any real interest in the gospel message preached by the missionaries. It was more often a means to gain access to resources and obtain legitimations which were otherwise denied. There were some Tiriki people, however, who converted to Christianity primarily in response to the gospel, and who also sought to establish their rule according to the teaching of the

¹⁰⁹ Sackey, ‘A brief History of the A.M.E. Zion Church West Gold Coast District,’ in *The Ghana Bulletin of Theology*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1957.

¹¹⁰ Harold Turner, *History of an African Independent Church* (2), pp. 371-372.

¹¹¹ David Beckmann, *Edens Revival* (St. Louis. Missouri: Concordia Publishing House Ltd. 1975). p.24.

¹¹² David Beckmann, *Edens Revival* (St. Louis. Missouri: Concordia Publishing House Ltd. 1975). p.24.

Bible.¹¹³ The real extension of Christian faith, values and influence, and of modernization, within the Tiriki society was generally not undertaken by elders, but by the many converts who were educated at missionary institutions.

From the onset of Friends missionary work among the Tiriki in 1902 onwards, and especially following the subjugation of the Tiriki people by the British, Christianity expanded rapidly amongst the African population. The major evangelistic gains, however, were not entirely due to the efforts of the missionaries.¹¹⁴ Most of the credit must be given to the efforts of African converts. Sparked off by a series of revivals which resulted from the visit of several evangelist movements from America and Europe there was large-scale evangelistic penetration specifically after the arrival of the Canadian Pentecostal Missionaries at Nyango'ri, and a rapid increase in the number of indigenous church workers. African converts, critical of the missionaries' lack of evangelistic achievement, took the missionary mandate into their own hands with considerable success. Particular emphasis was placed on temperance, healing, prayer meetings and revival services, all of which had a powerful influence in shaping the character of the African church in the entire western Kenya.¹¹⁵

Despite the early African converts taking positive move in Christian missionary work among the Tiriki, however, there was a growing tardiness on the part of the new generation of missionaries regarding the ordination of Africans to the ministry. For a variety of reasons, couched in terms of standards and worthiness, but invariably influenced by the presuppositions of their 'social Darwinism', they generally did not believe that Africans were ready for such a step, and many converts were trained instead to be evangelists and lay-helpers. Nonetheless, the training and ordination of indigenous converts gathered momentum, providing a new cadre of African leaders within both the churches and the broader society.¹¹⁶ The possibility of becoming a convert provided Africans with opportunities in education and career previously denied. This also gave them access, limited as it was, to colonial society where so many other white-collar work opportunities were closed to Africans whether educated or not. Conversion into Christianity was 'the most promising avenue for the upwardly-mobile African. Some African converts soon discovered,

¹¹³ Walter L. Yates, 'History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in West Africa, Liberia, Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria, 1900-1939' (Ph.D thesis, Hartford USA, 1967).

¹¹⁴ Oral interview, Mr. Malira, Senior Pastor, Bumuyange Village, Tiriki, 21/08/2015.

¹¹⁵ Sackey, 'A brief History of the A.M.E. Zion Church West Gold Coast District,' in *The Ghana Bulletin of Theology*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1957.

¹¹⁶ Oral interview, Isiyu Musituni, Shibala Village, Tiriki, 10/08/2015.

however, that this did not lead to equality in social standing. Instead, it often emphasized the gap between white and black within the church. African converts were even regarded by some missionaries as an economy measure, doing the work for less pay than white ministers. As a result, there was understandably reluctance amongst some of better educated Tiriki to enter the Friends ministry.¹¹⁷ This was also a major reason for the rise of African Independent Churches in Tiriki.

While the subjugation of the Tiriki people and their traditional administrative system and the burgeoning agricultural sector led to the proletarianization of the African peasantry, missionary education did more, then, than enable Africans to enter the labour market. It created an elite corps of well educated, often de-tribalized, and inevitably mobile Africans with an excellent command of English and other skills necessary for leadership within the black community referred to by the larger Tiriki society as the 'school people' in distinction from the non-educated Africans of the time.¹¹⁸ These mission-educated African Christians saw their future well-being as well as that of the African population as a whole as dependent upon acceptance by and inclusion within the broader English-speaking European society. A new bourgeois class within African society had been created which would provide much of their leadership in the new nationalist phase of political struggle. They were committed to non-racial ideals gleaned from Christianity and supported by what became known as liberalism, a tradition which they often idealized to their cost. They wanted to be able to compete economically with whites, especially with regard to the purchase of land, and they did not want to live under 'Native' customary law.¹¹⁹

There are many periodicals which followed, substantial comment about political and social events and issues. Much of this reflected the opinions of the missionaries, but not always. There was, in fact, growing disagreement between the missionaries and leaders within the black Christian elite in Tiriki. Forced to fight on the linguistic and conceptual terrain of white colonial society, the African elite were unwilling to accept missionary representation on their behalf. The results of missionary education were undoubtedly ambiguous. In some respects this ambiguity is most striking in the impact of missionary education on African women. As soon as the Kaimosi Mission was started, women students were admitted to the boarding

¹¹⁷ Sackey, 'A brief History of the A.M.E. Zion Church West Gold Coast District,' in *The Ghana Bulletin of Theology*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1957.

¹¹⁸ Oral interview, John Ingosi, Jidambuni Village, Tiriki, 02/09/2015.

¹¹⁹ Oral interview, Ruben Shimbiro, Virembe Village, Tiriki, 12/09/2015.

school in order to be trained for domesticity. As part of this training they were required to lay aside their cultural lifestyles and adopt European standards and dress codes. Yet opening the doors of learning to African women was, in hindsight, a radical step in the transformation of African culture, and eventually contributed to the partial undermining of traditional patriarchy.¹²⁰ One of the characteristics of mission-educated African society was, in fact, not only the availability of educated wives and home-makers, but also the role which they played beyond the home in pursuing the goals of the African Christian elite. The long-term effect of this can be seen in the leadership which African women have played in twentieth-century Kenya. Missionary education created, the ‘ambiguity of dependence’ amongst African converts.¹²¹

Establishing a truly African church logically meant one which, under African control, laid claim to that missionary goal. At the same time, this goal facilitated the creation of an institution through which African nationalism could express itself when this was virtually impossible elsewhere. African political assertion, crushed by colonial force or controlled by legislation, thus found an outlet in religious independent churches a movement of churches ‘founded in Africa, by Africans, and primarily for Africans. The reasons for the rise of African Independent Churches were undoubtedly complex, and the immediate causes of secession varied from one group to another. Personalities of missionaries and of those African leaders who broke away were undoubtedly important factors. Causes were also cumulative in effect, and events quite beyond the control of either missionaries or African leaders often provided the catalyst for separation. Many different causes have been listed by scholars.¹²²

These may include the stimulus of European ecclesiastical secession; reaction against over-strict disciplining of African converts by European missionaries; the desire of some African separatist ministers to increase their personal power and status by administering church property and monies; the creation of tribal churches in which due respect was paid to African custom; and a rejection of the colour bar in many European-controlled churches. Some perceptive scholars argued that emergence of Independent Churches were not simply a reaction against the missionaries, but ‘a political counter-culture aimed at redressing the loss

¹²⁰ Oral interview, Selina Ingasia, Jirwani Village, Tiriki, 13/08/2015.

¹²¹ Oral interview, Grace Misigo, Senende Village, Tiriki, 15/08/2015.

¹²² Walter L. Yates, ‘History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in West Africa, Liberia, Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria, 1900-1939’ (Ph.D thesis, Hartford USA, 1967).

of African independence to colonial regimes. This was the main cause of political dissatisfaction among the mission-educated African elite. In some instances, independent churches movement was also an attempt to restore religious control to African political chieftains. The independent churches pioneers were not rejecting Christianity, they were trying to take the message of the gospel seriously whatever their own faults. The tragedy for all concerned was that in order to achieve their goal of equality, they had to further break the unity of the church and pursue a path of separation. But whatever the reasons, Europeans reduced this complex set of causes to one political resistance.¹²³

3.3 Education

The Missionary activities at Kaimosi can be well described through influence on education, health, Christianity and economic impact. Starting with education, it should be noted that by 1924 three new developments took place in education in Kenya. First was a trade school was opened at Kabete near Nairobi to offer courses in handcrafts and hygiene. Secondly, in 1926 Jeanes School was opened in Nairobi for training technical African teachers as well as a few denominational missions made plans to open Alliance High School higher education. Thirdly, a new Education Bill was passed which opened the way for advanced schools with more diverse curriculum.¹²⁴

An American lady by the name Elizabeth Haviland arrived in 1927 to take charge of the Girls Boarding School at Kaimosi, and in 1929 Everett J. Kellum and his wife Ruth arrived to take charge of the Boys Boarding School at Kaimosi. With the assistance of a government grant in-aid the first block of classrooms became available for the boys' full Primary School in 1931. This same year 1931, Teacher Training course was added to the curriculum of the boys' School at Kaimosi. Standard VIII was added to the school the same year. Thus by 1932 Kaimosi became a full Primary School. This made it possible for boys to complete proper preparatory studies for entrance to Alliance High School. The Alliance High School opened, opportunities for a few boys from Friends Schools to receive the benefit of secondary education there.¹²⁵

The immediate and preliminary work was to establish communication between the natives and the missionaries. This involved learning the local language by some missionaries and

¹²³ Harold Turner, *History of an African Independent Church* (2), pp. 371-372.

¹²⁴ Simani Sang'ale, *Tiriki Community Customs and Traditions*, Nairobi: Kul Graphics Limited, 2005.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

teaching some selected local people some elementary Kiswahili and little English from the guard they had brought from Mombasa. Edgar Hole, six months after arrival at Kaimosi in 1903 assembled a group of youths and young men in what was to be the beginning of a school at Kaimosi. Edgar started this education programme with a group of fifteen youths in February 1903. The next stage was to teach these local youths how to read and write in vernacular and some numbers i.e. how to count. This teaching was done under a tree, as there was no classroom. Later on the missionaries taught some English although it was the policy of the British administration that no native should be taught English.¹²⁶

The teaching was not done in a classroom, as the people involved were mature persons, but on the job that is as people worked they picked up some English words and the missionaries picked up some luhya words. In fact the programme was that every morning before work all the employees attended morning prayers. This was followed by half an hour or so of teaching of vernacular alphabets, and combination of words into a sentence - and some numbers and counting. Then after this all would go to their various work assignments. The common jobs were Kitchen work such as cooks and other domestic work, gardener, hewing of wood. There was construction of buildings. Brickwork and carpentry- was also established. Manual brick making was established to make bricks for the construction of houses in the mission station. After work the employees would assemble under a tree and be taught the alphabet in vernacular and some counting such as numbers. The education was therefore just for the employees to be able to understand the master. It was not an examinable education.¹²⁷

By 1911 the British Colonial government made a proposition to make Kaimosi mission station into a centre for the education and manual training of the sons of the numerous chiefs of Nyanza and Western Provinces. This was a splendid opportunity for the mission to train the young men who will later become the future leaders of these people. The only problem at this period was facilities to fulfill the government proposition. It required boys' dormitory, boys' school, a chapel and a missionary home, a manual training shop and tools etc all estimated at U.S.\$ 5000. The missionaries started working on this project.¹²⁸

Village schools were being conducted at church grounds and by 1921 there were more than 80 Friends schools in their area of influence. The first brick school building at Kaimosi was

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Simani Sang'ale, *Tiriki Community Customs and Traditions*, Nairobi: Kul Graphics Limited, 2005.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

built in 1922 by artisans trained by Fred Hoyt in his trade school at Kaimosi. By 1924 there were no proper government regulations as regards education. The local British government officials assumed that Africans would not need training for positions in advanced education, and certainly they did not expect African to take responsible positions in government. Education officers considered it neither nor desirable to teach the English language to Africans In fact an education bulletin issued in 1914 gave instructions not to use English as a medium for classroom teaching.¹²⁹

At the beginning, the Africans were receiving education only up to standard three just to enable one to write in vernacular Luragoli and some counting. Hygiene was emphasized. Local communities had established some schools provided they could pay the teachers whose salary by 1921 was Ten shillings and Ninety-Two cents (Sh. 10.92) per month. By 1921 the Colonial Government set up teacher qualification standard for teaching in village schools. The requirement to be a teacher was four or five years of primary education. Kaimosi was now to start educating and manual training sons of chiefs and Sons of other prominent people. To begin with it was a five-year period of elementary education later the school was upgraded until it included the full eight years Primary education. Young men were supposed to be chosen by competitive examination for enrolment in the board school at Kaimosi. However there was a lot of favouritism and bias towards certain tribes.¹³⁰

3.4 Introduction of Modern Health Services

The Missionaries first established a dispensary and Dr. Elisha Blackburn was the first medical doctor to come to Kaimosi in 1903, in fact he was the first, resident doctor in Western Kenya. The, treatment was carried on in a grass hut dispensary. The supply of medicines was limited and hospital equipments were crude. The numbers of patients were very few to start with for Africans were very superstitious of the European treatment. Latter the dispensary grew up into a mission hospital after a brick house was built. Government officials and railway employees in Kisumu frequently came to Kaimosi for medical treatment. Dr. Blackburn made long trips on a bicycle to treat other Europeans in Western Kenya. Originally the facilities were for workers and their families and those people who had been converted to Christianity, but later it was open to the public.¹³¹

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Simani Sang'ale, *Tiriki Community Customs and Traditions*, Nairobi: Kul Graphics Limited, 2005.

Late in 1916, after the departure of Dr, Elisha Blackburn's family, Dr. Archie and Mira Bond arrived to take charge of the medical programme. Dr Bond remained at this station until 1951. The Hospital became very famous and was serving a large area of western Kenya. Kaimosi maternity wing was fully utilized. Pupils and students from the school received medical treatment free of charge. Dr. Bond was known all over the Western part of the country. In recognition of his services, some Tiriki families called their children "Bande" after Dr. Bond.¹³² The next medical doctor remembered by the community is a Germany doctor by the name Horst Rothe 1949 to 1958. He was popularly known as Dr. Horst Rothe locally known as Dr. Rotee or Malodwa, and is remembered for his surgical skills and was referred to as '*malodwa*'. That is the doctor who liked operating patients with a big knife.¹³³

3.5 Introduction of Christianity

Although it is believed that the Missionaries came to Africa to spread the word of God but in effect the church expanded alongside the Western colonial enterprises. The colonial government readily welcomed the missionaries and spheres of religious demonstration influences were encouraged and adhered to in order to pacify the natives so that colonial companies can exploit the natural resources of places. Thus looked at it from this point of view Kaimosi was not "the place of the Lord's choosing - the place he had promised to show us" as Edgar Hole wrote back to America on 1st October 1902.¹³⁴ The three pioneer missionaries saw a thriving enterprise in tropical hard wood forest at Kaimosi ripe and ready to harvest, the land was incredibly fertile, the climate just right and the people inconsequential. The Missionaries introduced Christianity in this part of the country. Christian teaching was therefore the main and the only source of Education.

The Bible was being translated into Kimaragoli for this purpose. People became very excited to be able to read some Bible stories and write simple sentences in vernacular. It was exciting to be able to communicate through letters and to write some sentences that would convey some message to another person. It was very common for a young man to be called to read or write a letter for an old person.¹³⁵ A church was built and Christian services were held therein regularly and a few Tiriki people were converted to Christianity. It is said that by 1914 the number of the church membership was about forty-three members.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Oral interview, Isaac Isiye, Kolokoli Village, 10/08/2015.

3.6 Industrial and Agricultural Development

The first three Americans who arrived at Kaimosi in August 1902 and within three months using African labour, they had cleared eight acres of land and had planted wheat, millet, potatoes and garden vegetables. They had purchased two oxen, two milk cows with calves, fourteen sheep, four goats and sixty chickens. They erected African type of house to start with.¹³⁶ The next project the American Quakers did was to construct a dam to harness the water of river Gologoli so as to provide power to drive a sawmill and power to grind grain into posho for a meal. Arthur Chilson who was a mechanic carried this out, and the dam was complete in 1904. The first thing was to build a road from Kisumu to Kaimosi. This was done by manual hand labour. Some parts of the mills were hand carried by porters. The heavy machines were carried by ox cart. The mill was in operation by the middle of 1905. At first porters and labourers came from Uganda but they were quickly replaced by local people. The posho mill was set and the sawmill was in operation before long. In few years, millions of feet of lumber came from this sawmill. Some timber was sold locally and most exported.¹³⁷

Water driven sawmill was established and lumbering was carried out extensively. Huge tropical hard wood trees were felled, brought to the sawmill and sawed into timber for sale. In addition to the sawmill, a Posho Mill was also established. Brick making became a major occupation in the industrial department and before the end of 1908 brick houses were being erected at Kaimosi. Bricks for permanent houses at Vihiga and Lirhanda were made at Kaimosi. A school to train African craftsmen was established by 1921 under the leadership of Fred Hoyt. The first intake was of twenty-five young men who had attained standard three or four years of education.¹³⁸

Before long furniture was being made at the workshop and sold to hotels and private homes. After three years training, Hoyt trained craftsmen were in great demand. Government officials recognized the value of this type of education and in time to come it were included in the primary school syllabus whereby a pupil came out as a Jua Kali artisan having been trained as a carpenter, a tailor, practical agriculture and brick laying. Hoyt remained at Kaimosi until 1945. Thus the first Tiriki carpenters trained by Hoyt were people like Chagona khwa Magumba at Bumbo and Joshwa Khagai khwa Musalagani of

¹³⁶ Simani Sang'ale, *Tiriki Community Customs and Traditions*, Nairobi: Kul Graphics Limited, 2005.

¹³⁷ Oral interview, Enes Ambayi, Mulundu Village, 10/08/2015.

¹³⁸ Simani Sang'ale, *Tiriki Community Customs and Traditions*, Nairobi: Kul Graphics Limited, 2005.

Shamakhokho.¹³⁹ In fact Chagona was the first Tiriki to eat food from a table and children used to sing that “Chagona Musungu a liraanga khu Mesa, Shimooli mwami a liranga haasi khu Lucho”.¹⁴⁰

The missionaries introduced a cash crop, that is, the growing of coffee. This was not only to provide some work for the local persons but also to produce additional financial income to run the mission station. Africans were not allowed to grow coffee but they could work in coffee plantations. The Missionaries had large coffee plantation at Sirwa and at Kaimosi itself.¹⁴¹ These two establishments created some employment for a lot of people around and the use of money as currency was introduced in addition to exchanging labour for Posho. The establishment of a mission station at Kaimosi made a lot of people from the neighbouring communities to come and settle in Tiriki especially from Maragoli and Isukha.

3.7 Conclusion

By the 1902 the pattern of the historic Friends African Mission was well established, it became an instrument of far-reaching changes concomitant with the agricultural economy revolution and its social and political consequences on the Tiriki people of western Kenya. The missionary work at Kaimosi injected new ideas into the African society. Symbolic of this change was the replacement of African traditions with European lifestyle. The age of change had finally come to Tirikiland as discussed in this chapter. The age of the Tiriki independence was finally over, and the era of colonial consolidation had begun.

¹³⁹ Oral interview, Zira Iraka, Jivovoli Village, 22/09/2015.

¹⁴⁰ Oral interview, Rev. Joseph Mido, Bumavi Village, 23/09/2015.

¹⁴¹ Oral interview, Simon Shavola, Bumbo Village, 13/07/2015.

CHAPTER FOUR

FACTORS THAT HINDERED UPTAKE OF FRIENDS CHURCH GOSPEL AMONG THE TIRIKI

4.1 Introduction

The emergence of Christian missionaries in Africa has been a phenomenon so rapid and widespread that it has forced its way onto the academic agenda. Since the penetration of Christianity academic research have pondered the cause (or causes) of the growth of Christianity without asking why some African communities opted to resist. Each African society has its peculiar and unique sets of reasons that have contributed to its emergence and development within its own national and local setting, and in spite of similarities, causes must not be universalized. As a whole, however, this chapter discusses reasons that led to the Tiriki to reject the Friends African mission work.

4.2 Causes for resistance to Friends African Mission Gospel by the Tiriki

Issues surrounding causation of the Tiriki to reject Friends African Mission work are rather complex. In discussing the question of causation, we must distinguish between factors that account for the rejection of western Christianity from those that should rightly be considered as contributing to its subsequent growth and development. In addition to this, one has to carefully evaluate what should be considered as background causes or secondary causes from those which are to be considered as primary causes.

4.3 Tiriki Religious Factors

Among the various theories that have been posited to account for the rejection of Christianity among the Tiriki is religion. The religious factors feature prominently. Although it is difficult if possible to make arbitrary distinction between religious factors and socio-political and economical ones, the general position of those, who advocate religious causative factors, consider African Independent Churches primarily, as a new religious movement responding to religious needs of the Tiriki people. Among the Tiriki traditional religion provided security, fellowship and spiritual guidance in the midst of the influx of foreign religious groups. Religious factors are usually based upon the traditional critique of western mission in Africa as one failing to meet the cultural and religious needs of Africans.¹⁴²

¹⁴² Oral interview, Rasoha Mwashii, Shibala Village, Tiriki, 23/08/2015.

The inability (or unwillingness) of western missions to appropriate Christ particularly and Christianity generally into a Tiriki people's context, in a way that was meaningful and affirmative of Tiriki, constituted a major reason why western Christianity was resisted. Reaction to European missions was the common cause for the rejection of Christianity by the Tiriki people. The western missions had exhibited a failure in love in their attitude toward African people. It wasn't just their insensitivity to the Tiriki people's culture that caused this apparent reaction to their message, however, but it was also the inadequacy of the message and its efficacy for an African cosmological outlook. An example of this was the church's altitude towards witchcraft and evil spirits, which was usually dismissive as opposed to recognizing that, for the African, they constituted a real and imminent threat against which one needed to be protected.

Roben Wyllie, in his study of prophet-healing churches in Africa, maintains that, the rejection of European gospel by Africans like what happened with the Friends African mission work by the Tiriki reflected a sense of disenchantment with orthodox mission Christianity, which seemed incapable of offering practical solutions to the kinds of problems that ordinary people could expect to face at anytime.¹⁴³ David Bosch speaking out of African context, but which also reflects to the Tiriki situation further argued that, the white missionaries often proclaimed a superficial and impoverished gospel. The preaching of the word and the Catechist, he maintained, did not touch on many facets of life or struggle of the Tiriki or African people. The inability of western mission churches to grasp the salvatory needs of the Tiriki was most clearly expressed in the area resistance of Christianity.¹⁴⁴ The missionaries, condemned traditional healing practices, and the provision of western medicine through hospitals and clinics was in short supply to meet the needs of the expanding Christian community throughout the western region.¹⁴⁵

Here, the church simply had no message and provided inadequate alternatives, which, therefore, left a vacuum aptly filled by a proliferation of faith-healing Prophets. In addition to the frustration and disenchantment with missionary Christianity experienced by African, there was also a reluctance to continue to accept the patronising attitudes and racialist

¹⁴³ Oral interview, Mary Mido, Bumavi, Village, Tiriki, 20/08/2015.

¹⁴⁴ David Bosch, 'God in Africa - Implications for Kerygma,' in *Missionalia* 1 (1), 1973.

¹⁴⁵ Harold Turner, *History of an African Independent Church (1) - The Church of the Lord* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

inequalities meted out by white colonialists.¹⁴⁶ Adrian Hastings, in discussing the causes and motivations of emergence of African independent churches noted that it was, still more, the racialism within the church, the impression in most cases, very well grounded that even able and experienced African ministers remained second-class members of the church, always inferior to even the most junior missionary recently arrived. This was a matter of authority exercised, of salary, of details of human behavior, such as the sharing of meals.¹⁴⁷ The missionary churches were so integrated into racialist society that their membership was profoundly alienating for Tiriki people.

4.4 The Quest for Self-expression and Freedom from Western Missionary Tutelage

The unfavourable reaction to missionary Christianity and their racial attitudes towards Africans in part precipitated a number of secessions from western mission churches in Tiriki. The Tiriki people, to varying degrees, were characterised by a desire for African self-expression and freedom from missionary control.¹⁴⁸ Some Tiriki opted to join independent churches where they adopted singing bands. The rigorous vernacular singing and music, which drew upon traditional African rhythms, were seen by the Friends missionaries' church authorities to desecrate the church, as well as belonging to the annals of their traditional fetish past. The Independent Church's usage of the vernacular and singing bands was in accordance with the growing national aspiration for African self-expression and a longing to worship freely and independently of foreign interference. Such secessions and the formation of indigenous church organisations were confidence boosters for the Tiriki people, who were previously considered too inept to be at the helm of church leadership.¹⁴⁹

4.5 Translation of the Bible into Lulogooli Language

The translation of the Bible into the Lulogooli vernaculars was also a key religious factor in the Tiriki rejection of Friends African mission work. The first Luhya Bible was translated and published by the Friends Mission at Kaimosi in Lulogooli language. Scriptural translation into Lulogooli was a significant contributing factor toward the development of African indigenous churches in Tiriki. The Tiriki felt that they were being undermined and dominated by the Maragoli. However, the translation of the Bible into Lulogooli was very important

¹⁴⁶ Oral interview, Luka Lugalia, Wasenye Village, Tiriki, 08/08/2015.

¹⁴⁷ Harold Turner, *History of an African Independent Church (1) - The Church of the Lord* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

¹⁴⁸ David Bosch, 'God in Africa - Implications for Kerygma,' in *Missionalia* 1 (1), 1973.

¹⁴⁹ Oral interview, Rasito Ngaira, Kimunono Village, Tiriki, 21/08/2015.

despite discounted from the Tiriki. The most important function that vernacular Scripture played was in enabling the African Christians to distinguish between what was taught by the missionaries and what was taught in Scripture. The Scripture translated into the vernacular became an independent standard of reference and it soon became apparent that much of what was taught by missionaries was more of a reflection of their own cultural baggage than from the Bible.¹⁵⁰

The Old Testament was of particular interest to the natives because it resonated with much of what was important within an African outlook on life: the importance of fertility and sexuality, the place of ancestors, polygamous practice, the importance of land and a host of other cultural and religious similarities. It was, above all surprising to see the practice of polygamy in the Bible, which the missionaries fought hard to eradicate by imposing strict prohibitions on members. Particularly striking was the agreement between the African worldview and that of the Old Testament. Protestants believed in the centrality of the Bible, they were not accustomed to making the connections or seeing the continuity between the Biblical context and the contemporary one that the Africans were discovering. The translation of the Bible into the vernacular was also a factor in a new process of growing self-awareness. A people, whose culture had been, hitherto, undermined, was nevertheless, important enough to have the Bible the Word of God in their own mother tongue. The impact of the Bible was so significant that, many of the indigenous church leaders modelled their leadership style and imagery on Old Testament Prophet Figures which were, probably, familiar figures in Africa before Christianity arrived.¹⁵¹

4.6 Social and Political Factors

During the latter part of the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth century, certain changes in the Tiriki society had a significant bearing on the growth and development of African indigenous churches and the rejection of the Friends African Mission Gospel. To a large extent, economic development was the main mediating force whereby the individualistic, competitive, acquisitive attitude and values of the West were introduced into the Tiriki society. Although before the nineteenth century new means of acquiring wealth and power was introduced through the sale of guns and gunpowder, this brought little disturbance

¹⁵⁰ Harold Turner, *History of an African Independent Church* (2), pp. 371-372.

¹⁵¹ Harold Turner, *History of an African Independent Church* (1) - *The Church of the Lord* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

to social order and scarcely affected the more loosely knit societies of the hinterlands. The social and political changes during this period, however, were more widespread and deeply felt by even those at the margins of society.¹⁵²

4.7 Indigenous Churches and African Nationalism

The researchers on African Independent Churches, that base their emergence upon socio-political factors, understand indigenous churches to be political protest movements against a background of colonial paternalism and the rise of Black Nationalism. Beckmann, for example, believes the independent church movement in Africa to be the religious counterpart of political nationalism. The training for leadership given to African ministers, and their growing self-confidence in working alongside Europeans, may be regarded as positive stimuli to the development of the nationalist movement. Though church organizations did not take a definite part in nationalist agitation, prominent members were often outspoken on political issues. In the growth of self-governing institutions, the churches were usually ahead of the government, and they provided some African leaders with a forum, and an unaccustomed freedom of expression, both in the pulpit and the press.¹⁵³ In his book, *Ethiopia Unbound*, Casely Hayford, who was also a distinguished politician and layman, accused the missionaries of haughtiness in their relationship with Africans and caricatured the type of Christians bred by mission churches. Such voices of dissent contributed greatly to this new African cultural assertiveness which decried the imposition of western religiosity upon the Tiriki people. What needs to be recognized, however, is that, this movement added significantly to the momentum that would, eventually, lead to the emergence of African indigenous churches in Tiriki and rejection of the Friends gospel. The language and sentiments of African nationalism, much of which came via the African American movement in the USA, coincided with a growing feeling of frustration that emanated from Africans in western mission churches and those that had seceded and formed indigenous churches.¹⁵⁴

4.8 Social Change

The development of African indigenous churches in western Kenya has been also closely identified with rapid social change that created a climate of anomy and uncertainty during

¹⁵² Oral interview, Simon Shavola, Bumbo Village, 30/07/2015.

¹⁵³ J. Asamoah-Gyadu. 'Renewal Within African Christianity: A Study of some current Historical and Theological Developments within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana' (Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., University of Birmingham, 2001), pp.90-124.

¹⁵⁴ Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (Indiana, USA: Indiana University Press), pp. 95-96.

the colonial period. To start with, the super-imposition of external authority of colonial rulers seriously weakened the powers of the elders, and the sanctions at their disposal. The prevention of intertribal warfare, for example, deprived them of their main means of gaining new prestige, territory and wealth.¹⁵⁵ Traditional gods also proved no match against the might of Europeans, who encroached upon traditional land, desecrated shrines and declared worshipping traditional gods, was tantamount to worshipping Satan and his angels. This, sometimes, led to harsh conflicts between Christianity and the traditional religion. Such conflicts more often led to the defeat and humiliation of elders and other such guardians of the traditional religion. The religious authority of the elders and their ability to invoke supernatural sanctions was, therefore, undermined by the introduction of Christianity which offered, not only the prestige of association with the ruling colonial government, but also the utilitarian advantage of education, which, in turn, led to wider economic opportunities.¹⁵⁶

The period was also marked by social and economic uncertainties. The new agricultural methods introduced by the Friends African Missionaries instigated an economic and social revolution in Tiriki. Thousands of people, uprooted from their villages, leaving behind many of the local traditional and ancestral gods, found new villages in the mission centre areas.¹⁵⁷ Economic boom and newfound wealth created a feeling of hedonism that found expression. These were new forms of socializing which involved young people, particularly young women, dancing provocatively and singing. When the value of agriculture, which brought great wealth to farmers, led to land alienation, this brought about much insecurity and resulted in increase anti-witchcraft beliefs, which, in turn, led to an increase in anti-witchcraft cults. Although the explanations of the rise of the witchcraft cults vary, the prevailing social disorientation and uncertainties played a key role in their proliferation. Traditional religion in its old form, which had been discredited by Christianity and to which many, who had migrated to unfamiliar areas, were not sufficiently engaged, no longer brought protection and meaning. It was within the new indigenous churches that many sought protection from witches and a 'place to feel at home.'¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ David Bosch, 'God in Africa - Implications for Kerygma,' in *Missionalia* 1 (1), 1973.

¹⁵⁶ Harold Turner, *History of an African Independent Church (1) - The Church of the Lord* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

¹⁵⁷ James Annorbah-Sarpei, 'The Rise of Prophetism – A Socio-Political Explanation,' in Asempa Publishers (ed.), *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1990), pp. 27-55.

¹⁵⁸ McCaskie, 'Anti-Witchcraft Cults in Asante: An Essay in Social History of an African People,' *History in Africa* 8 (1981), pp. 125-154.

4.9 Tiriki African Prophets

Although the religious and socio-political factors outlined above contributed greatly to the conception and rejection of Friends African message by some of the Tiriki people, emergence of indigenous churches, which mirrored the African cultural outlook, the character of African indigenous churches in western Kenya owed a great debt to African prophets. These were preachers who had a great influence of the mass conversions that ensued as a result of their preaching. They also provided a model in which the best of African traditional culture and Christianity could be exemplified. Their ministries were both timely and pertinent, because criticism of Christianity as a European brand which begun in a modest form. Members of the African intelligentsia were particularly vociferous criticizing Christianity itself and not only the missionaries. The ministry of the African prophets came as a breath of fresh air to many, who were torn between their Christian faith which came clothed in European garb and their African identity.¹⁵⁹

The impact of African prophetic ministry was far reaching, particularly for its significance in the development of African Christian expression. In African prophets, we see the embryo for the development of an African indigenous spirituality and Tiriki Christology. The power of the Prophet's ministry was best demonstrated in their ability to appropriate the Christian evangel into what was in Tiriki traditional context. Their use of water, a calabash, a tall rod or cane, would have been symbols that Tiriki and African traditional observers would have been familiar with. Even the use of a cross and a Bible as symbols of power would have reverberated with the Tiriki and African worldview that maintained that natural objects have a life force in and of themselves.¹⁶⁰

The efficacy of the African prophet's message and ministry, however, was demonstrated poignantly in their ability to strike at the heart of the African deepest 'soul-need, which was for protection and deliverance from the fear of oppressive and evil spirits. Through the African prophet's public triumph over witches and workers of evil spirits and magic, they demonstrated the supremacy of the power of Christ over all these powers, thus bringing peace to the African heart. It is here, therefore, that we can begin to see an inkling of an African Christ, who enters the Tiriki world view, and is victorious over its malevolent powers, which

¹⁵⁹ Oral interview, Simani Sangale, Jivovoli, Village, Tiriki, 11/08/2015.

¹⁶⁰ Oral interview, Mathias Irvonga, Shamakhokho Village, Tiriki, 11/08/2015.

are ubiquitous within it.¹⁶¹

The African prophets preached against the use of fetishes and charms, threatening to call down fire if the villages did not burn them. With their background and experience in the practice of witchcraft, their message appropriate in such a way that spoke meaningfully the needs of the people that formerly came to them for protection and revenge. As a result of these and other such ministries, hundreds of thousands of people came to faith in Christ in Tiriki. One of the key features of this new appropriation of the Christian message was its emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit, particularly in confronting issues of illness and witchcraft. This had struck a strong chord within the 'souls' of African people for whom traditional religion remained the strongest element of their culture. It was the ability to appropriate the Christian message into this worldview that led to the rapid expansion of African indigenous churches among the people of western Kenya.¹⁶²

Among the first African indigenous churches to be established in Tiriki was the African Israeli Church. Emergence of African prophetic churches was an indication that the evangelistic type ministries had entered a new era of African independence through the birth of African indigenous churches, churches that were led, financed and organised by Africans for Africans. These movements were not purely secessions and reactions to western mission Christianity, but a part of a wider receptiveness and responsiveness to the Christian message in Tiriki and across western Kenya. Independency was also a part of the primary movement of mass conversion of which mission Christianity enjoyed enormous numerical success, many of them were grossly understaffed and simply overwhelmed by the enormity of the African harvest. Hastily trained evangelists and catechists had to be trusted to teach the masses of converts, who wanted to be baptized. Many of the indigenous church prophets and founders did not set out to establish churches or to head mass movements, but were, essentially, taking on the missionary task, because it seemed so important.¹⁶³ For instance the Tiriki had a traditional specialist known as Mukhumu. Vakhumu were specialists who exclusively practised the art of divination, that is, the prediction and presentation of the causes of afflictions. To qualify to be diviner one must: possess an inherited natural tendency

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Oral interview, Catharine Imali, Kamunono Village, 14/09/2015.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

to practice Diviner, that is to say, an inherited disposition and also must have specially been taught and initiated by another practicing Mukhumu (diviner).¹⁶⁴

The inherited faculty or disposition to qualify as a diviner was always passed on from a father to his son, or from an uncle, or from a mother's brother to a sister's son, or directly from her mother to be daughter. Diviner can only be transmitted to a relative. The art of divination can remain dormant for generations and would suddenly be revived provided an ancestor who possessed the knowledge can be remembered. Clients came to consult divine. The diviner does not go to see clients in their homes. The most appropriate time for going to see the diviner was very early in the morning before dawn. The client when going to consult diviner must observe the rules of good and bad omens. He carried a small basket of vale or beans the diviner.¹⁶⁵

Mukhumu was a person who had to detect or diagnose a hidden force or the root cause of an illness or misfortune and to indicate counter measures to be taken to alleviate the illness or the misfortune. He was the person who sought to know the hidden things by instinctive means or through divination. The first thing Mukhumu did was to try and find out what agent was responsible for the illness, misfortune or accident. There are various agents so Mukhumu has to discover whether the cause of the complaint was through Vuloji, Vuvira, Vusekhu, Vukhwana, Vukhunzakhali, Luswa or a curse or blessing.¹⁶⁶ The presence of such beliefs compromised the Tiriki uptake of Friends Church Christian message. The diviners were strongly rooted that the Tiriki could let go and yet missionaries spoke against such beliefs as being satanic and ungodly.

4.10 Conclusions

The chapter examined the factors that hindered the Tiriki uptake of Friends Christian message. The chapter has outlined how the Tiriki viewed the European missionaries as other than simply agents of imperialism and destruction of Tiriki culture.

¹⁶⁴ Oral interview, Thomas Muhembi, Shamakhokho Village, 20/07/2015.

¹⁶⁵ Oral interview, Joseph Indasi, Musasa Village, 25/07/2015.

¹⁶⁶ Oral interview, Joseph Senerwa, S. A. Butiti Village, 21/07/2015.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This chapter is the concluding part of this research. It serves as a conjunction point that integrates the previous chapters together. It brings out the major aspects of the study and how they have helped in achieving the research objectives. The chapter gives the overview of the study and outlines the major findings of the study and finally highlighting the contribution of the study to knowledge and the implication of the findings. At the outset, the study aimed to detail the establishment of the Friends Church among the Tiriki of Western Kenya and the role of Friends Church in modernizing the area and the reaction of the Tiriki towards Christianity. This aim was broken down into three objectives as stated below. 1). to examine the factors that led to the establishment of Friends Church among the Tiriki of Western Kenya. 2). Assess the impact of Friends Ministry on the Tiriki community 3). to investigate the socio-religious and cultural aspect in view of inculcation of Christian message/Gospel.

5.2 Conclusion

This study, on the establishment and the impact of the Friends Church among the Tiriki of western Kenya, achieved its objectives by revealing the factors that led to the establishment of Friends church among the Tiriki. The study also revealed the impact of Friends Church Ministry on the Tiriki community and indicated the Tiriki socio-religion-cultural aspect in views of enculturation of Christian message/Gospel. While looking through the history of the Friends Church in Kenya, the central purpose of this study was to examine the uptake of Christianity and its impact on the Tiriki people. To achieve this aim study focused on aspects such as historical background of the Friends Church in Tiriki before illustrating the impact on the people.

Chapter discussed the arrivals of the Friends Missionaries in Tiriki land. This study obtained several findings and indicated that Willis Hotchkiss became the first Friends missionary to arrive in Kenya in 1902. He provided the immediate link that brought evangelical American Friends into the mission field among the Tiriki people of Western Kenya. The study revealed that the establishment of the Friends Church among the Tiriki people laid the foundation to modernity and changes in livelihood to those who embraced it. The research revealed that many of the Tiriki people indicate they are deeply committed to the practice of African culture and also incorporate elements of African traditional religions into their daily lives. For

example, the Tiriki believe that sacrifices to ancestors or spirits can protect them from harm than the Friends Christian God. The research found out that many people also consulted traditional religious healers when someone in their household was sick, and this raised issues with the missionaries.

A major feature that this research revealed about the Tiriki people was the impact of the Friends Church, and specifically that of the Western missionary enterprise, on African culture and identity. Among those missionaries who took the gospel to Africa there were some indeed, perhaps many who put the cultural identity of their hearers at risk by the pursuit of a Westernizing impulse often born out of a hubristic sense of their own cultural superiority. The point should be recognized, not least by those Westerners and, increasingly, others now engaged in cross-cultural mission. The Friends Missionaries failed to assert the kind of close supervision over local Christian life that official reports would like to believe was possible. African agency in the dissemination of Christianity is a major category in the transmission of the religion. This suggests that even the historical process of transmission was properly got under way only after local adaptation had been fully initiated.

The missionary enterprise as such had a very significant and deleterious impact on African culture. The study hypothesized that the presence of Friends religious missions, had a long-term positive effect on education. The presence of missionaries historically and educationally affected the Tiriki way of life. Schooling socialized individuals, teaching them to interact with one another, and this in turn increased the benefits to economic lifeline. The hypothesized link between the Protestant religion, education, and economic success has been examined explicitly by this study. Their study finds that the Protestant religion, by increasing human capital, exerted a positive influence on economic growth in Tiriki land. The study used data on the historic location of Friends Church in Tiriki, this information, combined with information on the historic locations of the Tiriki was used to calculate estimates of how exposed the different African ethnic groups were by missions and the spread of the Bible.

A number of factors determined the locations chosen for mission stations in rural Africa. The three most important appear to have been access to a clean water supply, a high altitude with as temperate a climate as possible, and the ability to establish an external trade route with Europe to import needed supplies. The reason that each of these factors were important is obvious. Access to water was crucial for the European missionaries, high altitude and

temperate climate reduced the likelihood of disease, and access to supplies from Europe were necessary not only for survival, but to build and development the missions. Other factors like population density also mattered, but the general effect is ambiguous. Some missionaries and societies intentionally built missions in more remote locations, where the word of God otherwise would not reach.

Other missionaries recognized the benefits and efficiencies associated with dense populations, and targeted these groups. The research shows that the influence of the mission extended far beyond the stations; it was felt in a great part of the surrounding communities like the Maragoli people. A large part of this success arose from was the provision of education, training, and health care, as an incentive for conversion. With increased European influence it became clear that a new era had arrived, and with education came power and influence. Christianity itself came to be seen as part of a larger order, comprising Western education, colonial administration, commerce and industry, with which everyone had henceforth to reckon. These changes created a much more favourable climate for conversion.

The people who were earlier exposed to missionary education made considerable advances in some of the more common and necessary arts of civilized life. Many of them built themselves convenient houses, some of them of stone, instead of their old smoky unhealthy huts. In place of the skins of animals which they used to throw over their bodies, the men adopted in part the European dress, while the women who had learned to sew made decent clothes for themselves and their daughters. Though they were previously not simply a pastoral and small scale people, but cultivated millet and other produce, yet now their husbandry was considerably extended. They obtained ploughs and other agricultural implements, and many of them occupied themselves in the culture of corn, which they sold to the British farmers for cattle, clothing, soap, salt, and other useful articles. Vaccination also was introduced among them. Education was so central to the conversion strategy of missionaries that education was almost exclusively provided by missions even during the colonial period. This study examined the relationship between historic missionary activity and educational attainment. The results show that the historic prevalence of Protestant missions, particularly when measured at the ethnicity level, have a strong robust positive relationship with educational attainment.

5.3 Recommendations

The nature of a master's research in most cases imposes some restrictions on the researcher which may include the scope and coverage of the study as a result of time and financial constraints. This study is not an exception to these constraints. The study is cross sectional which examines the phenomenon at a particular point in time. This may not provide a complete picture of the phenomenon studied. The researcher could not use longitudinal study due to lack of baseline data and time constraint. If this were to be available, the impact of Friends missionary work on the Tiriki people would be better measured using a longitudinal study which may have helped in tracing changes over a long period of time. Future studies may want to leverage on this by using the data provided in the study as baseline information for the conduct of longitudinal studies. The actual impact of the Friends Christian ministry on the Tiriki in terms the economic value of household and enterprise assets could not be determined. The study relied on the respondents' response only which may give room for bias and dishonesty since physical measure of the impact could not be ascertained. This limitation does not allow for comparison of values associated with Christian evangelism. Future researchers may wish to involve professional valuers to determine the ranges of value to be used for their study.

In addition to the above, the illiteracy level of the respondents made it difficult for them to personally complete the questionnaire without the researcher's assistance. This could create a mistake though adequate care was taken by the researcher in the field work. Since the respondents were not able to personally peruse the completed questionnaire before it was used for the study, it may likely affect the outcome of the study especially in areas where increase, decrease and additions are used. In this case, future studies may want to consider members who may have better level of education to be used as respondents on some issues which require a lot of accuracy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: LIST OF KEY INFORMANT

| | Name | Place of Interview | Date of Interview |
|-----|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | John ingosi | Virembe village | 3 rd January 2015 |
| 2 | Juma Isiye | Shipala village | 10 th January 2015 |
| 3 | Benjamin Agala Oyeli | Imangoro village | 9 th February 2015 |
| 4 | Abraham Konzolo | Mahanga village | 10 th Februaru 2015 |
| 5 | John Shitiavai | Chebara village | 16 th februaru 2015 |
| 6 | Mathias Iravonga | Jivovoli village | 14 th March 2015 |
| 7 | Thomas Irote | Mahanga village | 10 th January 2015 |
| 8 | Thomas Mayari | Jeptutui village | 9 th February 2015 |
| 9 | Simon Shavola | Bumbo village | 10 th February 2015 |
| 10 | Samason Munyeti | Shirebe village | 20 th March 2015 |
| 11 | Joseph Senerwa | Butiti village | 21 st March 2015 |
| 12 | Mrs Catherine Imali | Lamunini village | 17 th April 2015 |
| 13 | Mrs Erika Mwashu | Izara village | 19 th April 2015 |
| 14 | Mrs Enesi Ambayi | Mulundu village | 15 th may 2015 |
| 15 | Abraham Ludeshi | Senende villaghe | 18 th May 2015 |
| 16 | Mrs Mulira | Bumuyange village | 16 th May 2015 |
| 17 | Ziporah Khadambi | Seremi village | 20 th May 2015 |
| 18 | Richard Mwale | Jeptulu village | 9 th May 2015 |
| 19 | Mrs Esther Mweresa | Koibaraka village | 9 th June 2015 |
| 20 | Mrs Mary Mido | Bumavi village | 20 th August 2015 |
| 21 | Mrs Zirrah Amukuzu | Kamurowni village | 9 th June 2015 |
| 22 | Rasito Ngaira | Kamunono village | 21 st August 2015 |
| 23 | Mrs Rasona Murashi | Shipala village | 23 rd august 2015 |
| 24 | Luka Lukalia | Wasenye village | 8 th August 2015 |
| 25 | Mrs Grace Misigo | Senende village | 15 th August 2015 |
| 26 | Isaac Isiye | Kolokoli village | 10 th August 2015 |
| 27 | Joseph Indasi | Musasa village | 17 th July 2015 |
| 28 | RubenShimbiro | Virembe village | 12 th September 2015 |
| 29 | Mrs Selina Ingosia | Jirwani village | 13 th August 2015 |
| 30. | Thomas Muhembi | Shamakhokho village | 20 th July 2015 |
| 31. | Zira Irako | Jivovoli village | 22 nd September 2015 |

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES
M.A. IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES
RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dear respondent, I am a student in the University of Nairobi collecting data for my master's project on **IMPACT OF FRIENDS CHURCH AMONG THE TIRIKIS OF WESTERN KENYA.**

I request you to assist in giving the relevant information which will enable me complete my studies. This is purely a scholarly work and if you so desire your anonymity will be respected. Thanks in advance for your cooperation.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name:.....

Age:.....

District of Residence:.....

Division:.....

Location:.....

Sub-location.....

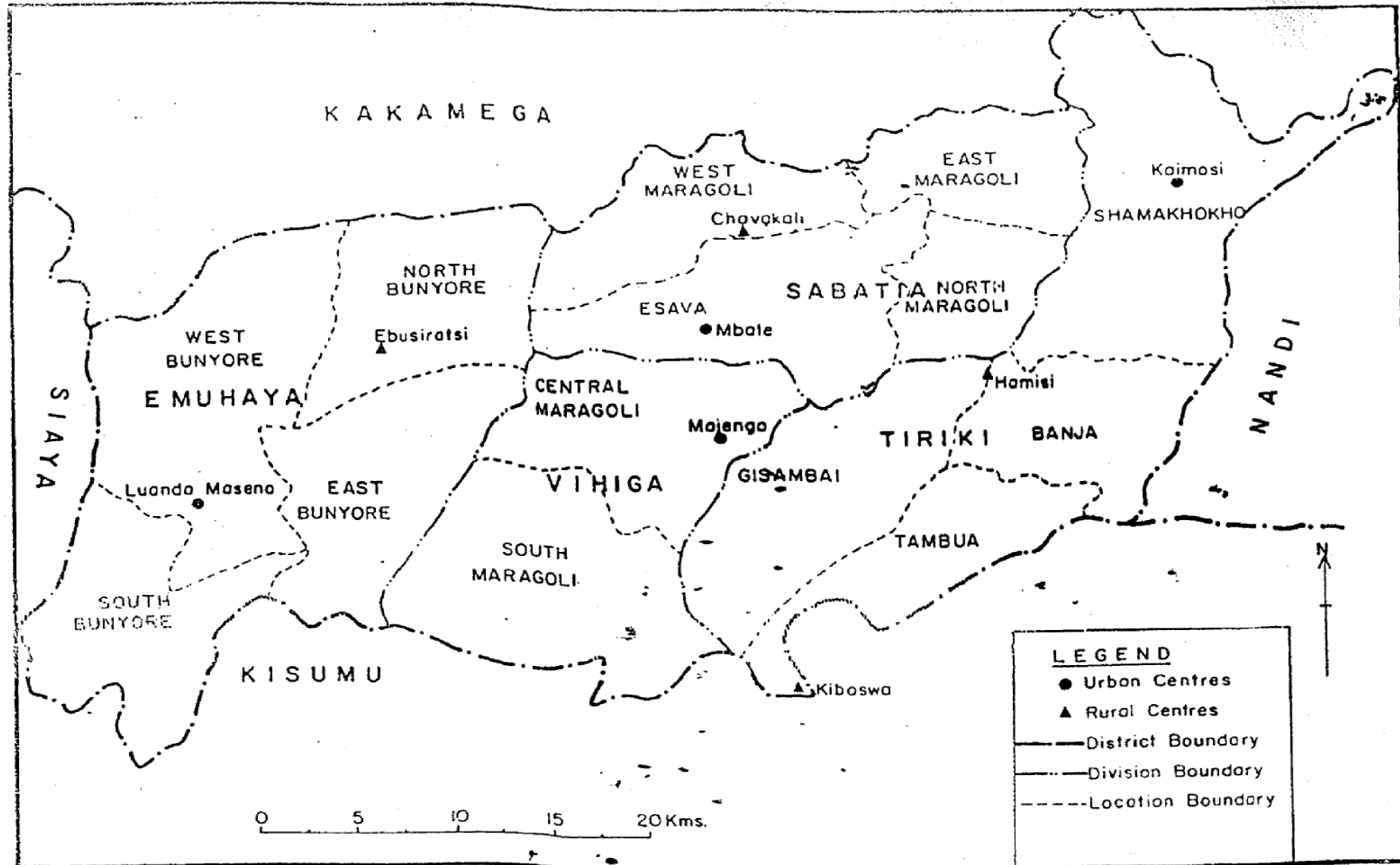
QUESTIONS

1. Which church are you a faithful of?.....
2. How long have you stayed in Tiriki land, in Hamisi District, Vihiga County?.....
3. When did Christianity begin in Tiriki and Vihiga?.....
4. Who were the early missionaries in Tiriki?.....
5. From which group did they belong?.....
6. Why did they choose Tiriki land?.....
7. How were the relationships of the missionaries and the Tiriki people?.....
8. When did the African Independent Churches emerge in Tiriki.....
9. Why did the African Independent Churches begin in Tiriki?.....
10. Who were behind the formation of the African Independent Churches in Tiriki.....

11. What is the influence of the African Independent Churches on the people
Tiriki.....
12. How did the Tiriki People impact on Christianity in Western Kenya?.....
13. What is the impact of the Friends Church on the people of Tiriki in Western Kenya:
 - Economically?.....
 - Socially?.....
 - Politically?.....

APPENDIX III: VIHIGA COUNTY ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES

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APPENDIX V: CENSUS OF 2009 POPULATION

HAMISI CENSUS 2009 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY: SEX, NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS, AREA, DENSITY AND ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

| | Male | Female | Total | Households | Area in Sq(Km) | Density |
|------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|------------|
| HAMISI DISTRICT | 70,469 | 77,790 | 148,259 | 32,096 | 156.4 | 948 |

JEPKOYAI DIVISION

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Jepkoyai Division | 19,321 | 21,186 | 40,507 | 8,913 | 42.9 | 944 |
| Gisambai location | 10,234 | 11,218 | 21,452 | 4,718 | 24.1 | 892 |
| Galona | 3,119 | 3,383 | 6,502 | 1,382 | 8.2 | 793 |
| Gamoi | 2,394 | 2,712 | 5,106 | 1,157 | 5.5 | 928 |
| Gavudunyi | 1,829 | 2,025 | 3,854 | 855 | 4.0 | 958 |
| Gimomoi | 2,892 | 3,098 | 5,990 | 1,324 | 6.3 | 947 |
| Jepkoyai location | 9,087 | 9,968 | 19,055 | 4,195 | 18.9 | 1,009 |
| Givole | 2,397 | 2,540 | 4,937 | 1,082 | 4.7 | 1,054 |
| Kapchemugung | 2,590 | 2,975 | 5,565 | 1,196 | 6.5 | 852 |
| Kitagwa | 1,689 | 1,730 | 3,419 | 781 | 2.7 | 1,254 |
| Tigoi | 2,411 | 2,723 | 5,134 | 1,136 | 4.9 | 1,039 |

SHAMAKHOKHO DIVISION

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Shamakhokho Division | 13,119 | 14,416 | 27,535 | 6,029 | 25.0 | 1,100 |
| Senende location | 3,774 | 4,224 | 7,998 | 1,710 | 8.3 | 965 |
| Kalwani | 1,592 | 1,854 | 3,446 | 757 | 3.6 | 948 |
| Senende | 2,182 | 2,370 | 4,552 | 953 | 4.7 | 979 |
| Shamakhokho Division | 9,345 | 10,192 | 19,537 | 4,319 | 16.7 | 1,167 |
| Jivovoli | 3,340 | 3,732 | 7,072 | 1,603 | 6.6 | 1,069 |
| Kisasi | 2,716 | 2,960 | 5,676 | 1,179 | 4.5 | 1,269 |
| Serem | 3,289 | 3,500 | 6,789 | 1,537 | 5.7 | 1,200 |

SHAVIRINGA DIVISION

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Shaviringa Division | 18,416 | 20,577 | 38,993 | 8,182 | 39.5 | 988 |
| Muhudu location | 7,798 | 8,861 | 16,659 | 3,417 | 19.9 | 837 |
| Kaptech | 2,221 | 2,537 | 4,758 | 1,025 | 6.6 | 718 |
| Muhudu | 2,868 | 3,153 | 6,021 | 1,258 | 6.0 | 1,000 |
| Mulundu | 2,709 | 3,171 | 5,880 | 1,134 | 7.3 | 811 |
| Shaviringa Location | 10,618 | 11,716 | 22,334 | 4,765 | 19.6 | 1,142 |
| Jeptulu | 2,576 | 3,068 | 5,644 | 1,189 | 5.0 | 1,141 |
| Makuchi | 3,381 | 3,691 | 7,072 | 1,484 | 7.5 | 940 |
| Shiru | 4,661 | 4,957 | 9,618 | 2,092 | 7.1 | 1,357 |

TAMBUA DIVISION

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| Tambua Division | 19,613 | 21,611 | 41,224 | 8,972 | 49.0 | 841 |
| Banja Location | 10,516 | 12,019 | 22,535 | 4,927 | 27.3 | 826 |
| Gasianga | 2,120 | 2,380 | 4,500 | 980 | 6.6 | 687 |
| Givogi | 1,973 | 2,361 | 4,334 | 943 | 5.6 | 770 |
| Kapsotik | 3,064 | 3,330 | 6,394 | 1,389 | 6.4 | 994 |
| Kipchekwen | 3,359 | 3,948 | 7,307 | 1,615 | 8.7 | 842 |
| Tambua Location | 9,097 | 9,592 | 18,689 | 4,045 | 21.8 | 859 |
| Gamalenga | 2,220 | 1,865 | 4,085 | 777 | 2.5 | 1,605 |
| Gimarakwa | 1,447 | 1,617 | 3,064 | 659 | 3.8 | 800 |
| Ivola | 2,099 | 2,344 | 4,443 | 1,017 | 6.2 | 718 |
| Kiptames | 1,427 | 1,622 | 3,049 | 660 | 4.0 | 757 |
| Mwembe | 1,904 | 2,144 | 4,048 | 932 | 5.2 | 785 |

NB:-Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (Kenya Census 2009)