

## The Impact of Education on Integral Development: A case study of early Missionary Education in Colonial

**Onyango Emily**  
**St. Paul's University**

### **Abstract**

*The central argument of this paper is that Christian missions played a key role in transformation and development in colonial Kenya. This was mainly through mission education. The main aim of mission education was evangelism or bringing people to the knowledge of Christ. They were convinced that if a person was converted to Christianity it would bring holistic change and development. The aim of education was closely tied with the agenda of development within the society. The main target was to bring holistic change. The main agenda of the missionaries was to create a middle class. The first focus was literacy work, mainly academic education with an aim of creating Christian leaders who would lead and transform society. Most of the people educated in the mission school became the educationists, administrators, clergy and politicians or members of the Local native councils and the legislative assembly. The other focus was religious education. The main focus of Christian religious education. The main focus of Christian religious education was to create values which would assist people to bring change. The focus was on a curriculum which would enhance integrity, an important element of transformation. Religious education also enhanced a Christian work ethic, which was very key to development. Another focus of religious education was transformation of culture, leading to the formation of African Christian culture, as culture is very key to development. Another major focus of mission education was imparting skills and vocational training. The missions were key to imparting new farming methods and giving new seeds plus encouraging the growth of cash crops. The missions through education imparted skills on carpentry, masonry and other fields. They also trained people for different professions, and were also chief employers, hence they played a key role in economic development. The mission churches were therefore key players in spiritual, social, economic and political development.*

**Key Words: Mission, Education, and Development**

## **Introduction**

The call of the Church is to fulfil the mission of Christ. Jesus Christ summarized his mission in the Nazareth manifesto as written in the gospel of Luke. The emphasis of Christ was on holistic mission i.e. physical, social, material and spiritual development. The Church has historically participated in holistic development of the society. This is clearly seen in the work of the missionaries in the early colonial period in Kenya. According to the missionaries their major call was evangelism. The missions understood evangelism as holistic mission. The first aim of evangelism was personal knowledge of Christ. Secondly after knowledge of Christ, must respond to social, political and economic issues as shown by Christ. In order to establish this kind of mission, the missions had to focus on mission education.

However, the Church in Kenya have tendency to spiritualize the mission of Christ. The main focus is on personal salvation and receiving eternal life. Most Christians do not participate in community issues and at times feel that politics is a dirty game. Although most of the schools in Kenya have their foundation on mission work, the Churches are not keen on schools. This is a major challenge because it is important for the Church to influence the curriculum, so that can both influence the values and also participate in developing leaders for tomorrow. The church should both have a prophetic role in society and also participate in development. It is therefore important for the Church to learn from the history of the missionaries in early Kenya.

There is already a lot of literature on development, education and history of Kenya. Gatheru(2005) and Ochieng (1989) focus on the political and economic history of Kenya. However, they hardly focus on the roles of missions or Churches on the political and economic development or liberation of Kenya, which is a major focus for this paper. Peet(1999) focuses on theories of development, while Belshaw (1999) highlights the role of faith in development. Crane (2014) focuses on how Christian widows have used their faith in development. Otiende & Sifuna (1996) and Eshiwani (1993) survey the history of education in Kenya, especially focusing on the different policies of education. This paper mainly focuses on history of education and development. The main focus is mission policies on education and how this contributed to transformation and development.

**Hypothesis:** Mission education played a key role in bringing change and transformation in colonial Kenya.

## **Research Objectives**

1. Outline the education policies used by the missionaries in the early colonial period
2. To study the impact of these policies in bringing change and transformation in society
3. Study the lives of individuals who went through mission education

## **Research Questions**

1. What were the education policies used by the missionaries during the early colonial period
2. What was the impact of the education policies in bringing change and transformation
3. How did the products of mission schools appropriate this education

## **Methodology**

This paper uses historical method of research. The focus will be mainly using primary data from the period of the events. The documents will be mainly from the archives. I will also use transcripts from oral interviews mainly kept at St. Paul's University archives and Nairobi University. I will mainly apply qualitative method for data analysis

Education plays a key role in bringing change and transformation to individuals and society. This is mainly through the implementation of relevant education policies. Mission education played a key role in bringing transformation and integral development in colonial Kenya. The main aim of mission education was evangelism, i.e. to bring people to the knowledge of Christ. This would be in fulfilment of the Nazareth manifesto as outlined in Luke In this, Christ outlines God's mission, which is holistic i.e. social, spiritual, economic and physical.

Missions played a key role in education, because most of the education offered during the colonial period was exclusively done by the missions. The first educationists, administrators and politicians were products of the mission school. The first agents of change in society were therefore products of the mission. The main policy in operation during the early period of mission education was mainly Church Missionary Society mission place.

## **CMS Policy on Education and Development**

The Church Missionary Society played a key role in education and development. The main ideas which influenced education in this early period was David Livingstone's and Henry Venn's policies. Both of them were influenced by the evangelical revival. The emphasis of the evangelical revival was personal salvation or getting a personal knowledge of Christ. However, knowledge of Christ led to engagement with holistic mission. This included humanitarian action and fighting for social justice. David Livingstone was a missionary in Africa and was very concerned about abolition of Slave-trade. Slave trade was a very rampant practice in Africa. Livingstone exposed the inhumanity of slave trade. He argued that dehumanization in Africa can only be solved through the introduction of 3C's, i.e. Christianity, commerce and civilization (education).

Both David Livingstone and Sir Bartle Frere argued that there is a big relationship between expansion of Christianity and abolition of slave trade. They argued that if slave trade is destroyed, it would bring both dignity and prosperity. Slave trade was to be exchanged with legitimate trade. Legitimate trade was mainly through agriculture i.e. applying modern agricultural methods. This progress was to be accompanied by spiritual growth

Another policy influencing education policy for CMS in Kenya was Henry Venn's three self-policy. Venn who was CMS Secretary General had focused on the dignity and self-worth of the African people and the Church. He argued that when people looked outside for leadership, they develop low self-worth. Venn's emphasis was on three self-policy i.e. a self-governing, self-supporting (integrity) and self-propagating Church. The African Churches had to develop their leadership in order to implement this policy. Hence the main focus of education had to be leadership training. Self-supporting churches meant that there had to be economic empowerment. Education was therefore very key to leadership development and socio-economic empowerment. The aim was to create a middle class through creating African Christian professionals. Venn also maintained that the government should take a key role in economic development. He believed that if people's economic needs were met, it reduced their participation in sin.

According to Henry Venn, to achieve the three- self's education was very key. Education is the foundation for political, economic and social development. Education for Africans was a priority so that they could assume full responsibility in government, the Church or commerce. This is echoed in Bishop Alfred Tucker's<sup>1</sup> vision for education. Bishop Tucker's vision was to create a Christian nation. The emphasis was therefore education for leaders. The aim of education was to mould their character so that they discharged their duties faithfully and responsibly. The instructions were based on 3R'S- reading, writing and Arithmetic. The idea was to have a generation of rising leaders who were smart and clever but also God fearing men who realized their responsibility in life and were equipped for it. The schools were also emphasising on industrial education for economic development (Tucker,1899:366).

The first education to be offered at the Kenyan coast was through CMS agents Krapf and Rebmann in 1847. They started the first school in Rabai whose focus to teach literacy. The aim was to teach the newly converted Christians how to read and write so that they could read the Bible. This approach was not very helpful and the missionaries were challenged to offer an education which was more relevant by responding to the context.

However, there was a change in approach, when highly trained African agents were sent to assist Rebmann in Rabai. CMS sent two highly trained African freed slaves to work in Mombasa to implement Venn's policy. William Jones, Ishmael Semler and George David were freed slaves who had been trained in India. They had first been placed in Indo-British schools, a government agriculture and trade school but run by the missionaries. After this, they were sent to money school modelled on British public school, an elite school in Indian society that had a Christian basis and aimed at academic excellence. The focus was education for leadership (Reeds, 1997:20). Jones and Semler, were then placed at the Bombay Freed Slave settlement to teach the freed slaves and at the same time sharpen their industrial skills. This was in preparation for their mission work in Africa. In 1864, CMS sent William and Jemima Jones, Ishmael and Grace Semler and George and Priscilla David to work under Rebmann in Rabai. They focused on teaching literacy and salvation. However, with time both the wives of Semler and Jones died and they had to return to India.

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<sup>1</sup> Alfred Tucker was the Bishop of the Church of Uganda. However, the Anglican churches in the western part of Kenya were part of the church of Uganda until 1921. This meant that the policies of education implemented in the whole of western Kenya were CMS policies in Uganda

By 1871, George David was the only one of the three men from Bombay left in East Africa. George David was very influential with the African Christians but had a lot of tension with the missionaries. George David both from his African background and mission training advocated for a more holistic approach to missions. George David acquired a farm out of the desire for more involvement in the local community and culture, and expressed a sense of belonging. George David also saw the need for farming for socio-economic development. George David was also appointed by the CMS to assume responsibility over the Church in Rabai. He was later given responsibility over the locally founded freed slaves' settlements. George David was therefore a mentor both on African leadership and socio-economic development.

### **Education and Development through Frere-town**

In 1873, Sir Bartle Frere, who was a governor in Bombay India visited the Coast of East Africa on behalf of the archbishop of Canterbury. He noted that Christianity was not making any progress. Sir Bartle Frere a British governor observed:

The birth of Christianity is practically the same thing as both extinction of both slave Trade and slavery. In the book of Acts Christians were not just taught a new doctrine but they joined a completely new community. Christians must therefore give people modern skills (Anderson, 1976:9)

This led to the establishment of Frere-town, which started off as the first freed slave's settlement in East Africa.

In 1874, William Price who had been the head of the settlement at Bombay, and a team of freed slaves from Bombay set out for Frere-town. William Jones and Ishmael Semler, who were both remarried were part of the team. William Price on his arrival made the following observation on the plight of the slaves:

'In one day from my window I have seen a poor woman with heavy chains on her legs so that she could only jerk herself a few inches at a time, bearing a load upon her head; a little girl of about 8 or 9 years with iron chain on her neck, several feet in length and at the same time carrying a burden on her hand; a little boy of the same age in the same condition; and a poor man emaciated and covered with sores, who in consequence of his heavy chain and extreme weakness could only move in a sitting position (Reeds, 1997:49).

These stories led to advocacy so that such people could be liberated and placed in a settlement. As a result two centres were set up for freed slaves, in Raba and Frere-town. The emphasis at Frere-town was on education as the major tool of evangelism. The initial focus was literacy or 3'Rs' i.e. reading, writing and arithmetic. Reading was key in the curriculum so that people could learn how to read the Bible. The foundation of the curriculum was religious education and catechism. Most of the teaching was initially done in English and included writing and dictation. The boys were taught up to the upper classes. Most of the teachers were Bombay Africans, who had received their training in Bombay. They also acted as mentors to the young people. Frere-town even introduced night classes for those who were employed, since literacy was an important pre-requisite to catechism. Later on the institution focused on industrial education, and agriculture and trade were introduced in the curriculum. In 1899, a divinity class was introduced at Frere-town, whose main aim was to train young men to be teachers and evangelists (William Price, CMS Annual Report: 1899). In 1903, the foundation stone for St. Paul's divinity was laid by Rev. Binns. St. Paul's divinity school was later moved to Limuru and is present day St. Paul's University.

### **Case Study Of Ezekiel Apindi**

Ezekiel Apindi was also a graduate of Frere-town. Apindi attended school in Kijabe in 1905 and later on proceeded to train as a teacher and evangelist at Frere-town. He became the founding teacher and evangelist in Nyanza. Apindi founded a mission centre in 1910, and named the place '*Ng'iya*' or observe me as it was in a hilly place and visible from all directions. He allocated around seven acres of land for the mission station. This became the centre of mission work, education and work among women and girls. Apindi introduced Sunday services and the idea of seven day a week service to the people.

Ezekiel Apindi's method of evangelism was preaching, teaching, training evangelists, development and fighting for justice. He taught people how to read and write and after they acquired these skills they joined the catechetical class. The catechetical classes were eventually turned to normal education classes. Apindi used development work alongside preaching as a method of evangelism. He introduced the protestant work ethic to the converts as he would wake at dawn for prayers, then go to the garden, teach the classes and in the afternoon do evangelism. He cleared part of the forest and developed a model garden, where he did gardening and introduced new crops such as white maize.

He took people around the garden and instructed them on new farming techniques, providing them with seeds. This method was very successful because of the recent famine in the area (Indalo, 1978:6-8)

Apindi challenged and violated some of the cultural practices which slowed development among young people. He put up a home as a bachelor contrary to Luo culture. This was to enable him to have space for development. In 1918, Ezekiel Apindi was appointed to teach in Maseno normal school and teachers' college. The teachers were trained to work as both teachers and evangelists who headed both schools and teachers. Apindi greatly influenced the government policy on development.

Ezekiel Apindi also fought for social justice. Kenya had been declared a British protectorate in 1895 and a Colony in 1921. This meant that the policies that were instituted were favourable for British rule. The first governor Sir Charles Eliot had declared Kenya to be a white-man's country. The British therefore encouraged white settlers to come and settle in Kenya, farm and make money which could support the country. To support this system, the British had to come up with several policies which were very oppressive, including land, labour and taxation policies. During the first and second world wars, Africans were forcibly recruited to join the military and Nyanza province was hosting one of the chief recruitment camps.

Ezekiel Apindi challenged the oppressive policies of the colonial government. He challenged the labour policies and especially labour recruitment camps which characterized Nyanza landscape. He also fought forced labour in the tea and sugar estates in Kericho and Miwani. This also included employment of under-age women and children, plus fighting for the elimination of hut tax and Kipande (Indalo, 1978: 3-4). Ezekiel Apindi and other mission school products from Maseno School led the formation of the nationalist movement. In 1921, the teachers in Maseno mobilized a meeting of the residents of Western Kenya to conscientize them about the implication of Kenya being turned into a British colony. The meeting was held in Lundha-Gem and people came up with a memorandum demanding for self-rule, fairer taxation system, doing away with Kipande and forced labour (Kyle, 1999:20). This led to the formation of the Young Kavirondo Association, a nationalist movement.



Ezekiel Apindi is also credited with fighting for gender justice, especially, the rights of girls and women. He led in challenging practices like early marriage of girls, polygamy and widow inheritance. Apindi is credited with establishing formal education for girls in Nyanza, later the missionaries built on the foundation that he had laid. He worked with the chiefs to ensure that the girls went to school. Ng'iya became the main girls' school in Nyanza and also the centre for women's evangelism. Girls who went to school challenged some of the negative cultural practices. One of such practices was the cultural food taboos, in which women and girls were not supposed to consume poultry and poultry products. Eating poultry was the preserve of men as it symbolised male authority and not femininity. The community formed songs to censor them for breaking taboos:

Observe the school girl, see how she behaves, she runs with chicken legs  
and intestines mistaking them for beads (Atieno-Odhiambo & Cohen, 1989: 111-12)

The women responded with resistance songs:

My hen, My hen will know me. The chick will enter my throat and my  
daughter will eat with me, Apindi the husband of husbands is the only  
one in the village (Indalo,1978:9)

Women who had gone to school also established themselves as agents of new ideas and leaders within Church and society. The women opposed cultural practices oppressive to women. Leah Ogony, who later married Rev. Samuel Okoth was the first to discard the Luo cultural practice of removing the six lower teeth. Women like Sarah Ongeche were persecuted and ridiculed was discarding '*Chieno*'- the Luo woman's traditional cloth, which was a symbol and modernity.

Ezekiel Apindi also set up a Christian village in Ng'iya, where Christian women played a key role in development. The women were among the leaders in the Christian village. Wives of migrant workers and Christian widows established themselves as teachers and workers in these Christian homes. Women like Eba Aloo, Flora Awich, Sofia Oloo were some of the first Christian converts. They set up Christian homes in the absence of their husbands contrary to Luo cultural practices (Atieno-Odhiambo & Cohen,1989:114-15).

## **Case Study of Daniel Mkuba**

The products of Frere-town used the education they received to transform their societies and also for economic empowerment. Samuel Mkuba was one of the first preachers to work in the interior of Kenya. Mkuba, who was an assistant chief, went to Mombasa around 1913, in search of employment. He accepted the Christian faith and enrolled for the evening class at Frere-town. In 1919, he went back to Ngiriambu in Kirinyaga where he gathered a group of followers and established a Church in Kabare. Mkuba challenged some of the unhealthy cultural practices of that time, like throwing away newly born twins. He would secretly follow the procession of people who went to throw twins from a distance. After the children were left in the bushes he would pick them up. This action brought him in a series of confrontations with tribal medicine men and magicians. Mkuba's life was always under threat. Mkuba later joined the divinity school in Limuru between 1932 and 1933. He was however not ordained because he felt called to be a teacher and evangelist. Samuel Mkuba is the father of the former Archbishop of the Anglican Church, David Gitari. He was a major influence to Gitari's life, resulting in his joining the ministry and focusing on the fight for justice.

## **Ng'iya Mission Station-Focus on Gender Justice**

In 1923, Ng'iya was the second mission station established in Nyanza, and it was unique because its main focus was work among women and girls (Moller, AL 1923). The mission station was founded on the work done by Ezekiel Apindi. Women played a dominant role in the establishment and development of the work at Ng'iya Mission station. They were central to evangelism, teaching, daily administration and leadership. Fanny Moller, a missionary from Australia arrived in Ng'iya on 5<sup>th</sup> October 1923. The school was established in response to CMS concern for having organized work among women and girls.

Education had already started at Ng'iya through the work of Apindi, however, most people were not very enthusiastic about girls' education. However, at this point, most of the people were getting positive towards girls education, due to the influence of Dr. Aggrey of Phelps-Stokes commission. Aggrey from Gold Coast was a member of the Phelps-Stokes team who had visited Nyanza. He urged the Luo, that the only way to achieve progress was through education. He maintained that if you educate a man, you educate an individual, but if you educate a girl, you educate the community.

The local Christian leaders also played a major role in encouraging girls' education. Rev. George Samuel Okoth went around the District and used the influence of the headmen and chiefs to encourage the parents to send their daughters to school (Moller, AL, 1924). Clergy like Simeon Nyende also pushed for the education of girls through the Local Native councils. The LNC even agreed to include estimates in their budget to fund the education of girls (LNC, Minutes, 1928).

Parents changed from their conservative stand after seeing the fruit of education of girls. The girls who had gone to school and were employed built for their parents' corrugated iron sheet houses, which was a symbol of status and social mobility in the society. The girls paid fees for their younger sisters and brothers. Some even paid taxes for their parents. The educated girls were revolutionaries and agents of new ideas in the society.

In the larger context, education of girls had been pushed by the CMS missionaries. In 1908, the missionaries in Africa felt that in order to be effective in women's work, they needed durable structures. They decided to focus on institutions for both girl's education and vocational training. The main priority was to train women teachers and evangelists and to oversee women's work.

One major focus of Ng'iya girl's school was the training of teachers (Moller, AL, 1924). Most of the girls used their training as teachers as a spring board for leadership in the society. The education was also used as a spring board for starting the women's movement which was key to the empowerment of women. Esta Lala was one of the ladies who was trained as a teacher at Ng'iya girls' school and was in charge of women's work. Seta Lala was widowed and left home to stay at the mission station. This was to avoid dehumanizing rituals that were expected of her and also for her own economic empowerment. Esta Lala was eventually employed as a full time worker, co-ordinating the women's work. In 1928, Esta was left in charge of the school, when the head-teacher was away. Esta worked in conjunction with Pleydell and Olive Owen to establish the women's movement. This was the fore-runner for mother's union and was a spring board for fighting gender justice.

## The Establishment of the Women's Movement

In 1918, at the Kikuyu Conference of protestant missionaries, Owen proposed that there should be a separate women's council to deal with their issues (Hooper to Moller, 11 August 1918). The emergence of women's organisation became an aggressive line for challenging male domination in the Church. They proposed to use the principles of Mother's union in England. However in the Anglican Church of Kenya they developed the contextual versions of Mothers union. In Ng'iya they developed '*Buch Mikayi*'<sup>2</sup> or the senior wife's forum which became the springboard for women's leadership and empowerment in the Church. '*Buch Mikayi*' was an initiative of Luo Christian women to recover the role played by '*Mikayi*' in decision making and leadership in traditional Luo society. The concern for the recovery of the role emerged because Luo women had little space to make decisions in the newly established Church structure. This was demonstrated in the decision not to have represented in African Church Councils. Women therefore participated in '*Buch Mikayi*' and made decisions on issues affecting them like polygamy and widowhood rites. This can be seen in Owen's letter:

Women's monthly meetings all over Kavirondo and in the townships have Developed extensively. Between three and four thousand women attend These gatherings. All kinds of subjects are discussed, a recent subject being The position of widows, especially the inheritance of widows. One of its objects Is to get the public opinion among the women, especially with regard to features Of African tribal life which are a hindrance to Christian life (Owen, AL/1939).

*'Buch Mikayi*' also helped to mentor girls into leadership and encourage them to develop self-esteem.

In 1928, Women at Tumu-Tumu formed the 'Shield of the young girls' in order to encourage girls' education and also protect the young girls who wanted to avoid female circumcision. The 'Shield of the young girls', which was the fore-runner of the women's guild fought for gender justice. In 1931, while addressing the LNC in South Nyeri, they maintained that female circumcision should be abolished and gave five reasons for the ban:

1. Men talk of female circumcision yet they do not give birth and feel pain. Some women die and others become infertile, and the main cause is female circumcision.
2. Circumcision should not be forced. People are caught like sheep, one should find her own way, either to be circumcised or not, without being dictated to about one's body

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<sup>2</sup> Mikayi or Senior wife among the Luo was the most empowered woman. She participated in decision making in my home and the society. She was also economically empowered.

3. Because Gikuyu say women cannot give birth without being circumcised, and because Gikuyu women have given birth without being circumcised, where then is the profit of circumcision.....We cannot see any reason.
4. Because among the Gikuyu, a girl who fails to give birth can be returned to her father even if she is circumcised, where then is the profit of circumcision
5. Because Gikuyu men have more power than women, we ask the government to help in order to avoid oppression (Peterson,2004:106)

### **Education for Leadership and Justice**

Samuel Olaka, who was a teacher-evangelist trained at Maseno preached to influential people, who brought transformation to Kowe village near Maseno. When he came from Maseno one of his first converts was Yona Obara, son of Ogumbo, a lineage elder who was Kowe's most influential man. Obara established a day school around his home and taught people reading and writing and the fundamentals of Christianity. Yona Obara preached to and converted his mother who was very influential and famous woman in her lineage:

‘Loye Elizabeth, the senior wife (Mikayi) of Ogumbo was famous throughout the lineage for her wealth and skills as a dancer and a singer. People praised her as ‘Wuon Bel’(owner of sorghum) because her granaries were always full. The other women recall that Loye’s home practically over flowed with sesame, ghee and other signs of prosperity. She accumulated a large herd of cattle on her own through the sale of her surplus crops (Hay, 1976: 101).

Elizabeth Loye converted to Christianity and burnt *chieno* (The tassel of sisal fibre around her waist which gave her status and identity in the society) and began to wear European cloth. This caused a major disruption within the home and Ogumbo drove her from the house he built for her. He later sought help from various sorcerers to destroy Loye and her son. However Loye persevered and enhanced her reputation even further. A skilful cultivator she experimented with white maize, cassava, groundnuts and other new crops. Through her other women acquired seeds and learnt how to work new crops into the agricultural circle. Loye was restored by Ogumbo due to her initiatives. Loye was the first woman in Kowe not to tear her clothes and wail at the death of her husband. She refused to be taken in leviratic marriage by one of his kinsmen. After

Ogumbo's death Loye succeeded him as "Jagolpur", or the one who begins cultivation for the family (Hay, 1976: 101).

These practices were deeply associated with the religious practices of the Luo because they involved rituals. Many people believed that Loye would encounter evil and not get any harvest.

However she was a very successful farmer and was eventually accepted in a position formerly reserved for men. Loye using her Christian faith and space created for women by Luo culture took initiative and assumed authority and remade gender relationships. Loye also used space created by Luo tradition that allowed a person to be independent in character to negotiate leadership. In Luo culture those women who were deviants, took the initiative and succeeded were celebrated as heroes and classified as 'Thuon' or Warriors. This is evidenced in songs composed for Christian women who during labour migration and World Wars took the initiative and even built their homes:

"Your mother built a home, your mother is extraordinary  
Olango K'Obilo your mother built a home. She is  
Wonderful, she is a warrior' ( Atieno-Odhiambo & Cohen, 1988: 86).

The CMS policy applied in the Western part of Kenya were policies from the Church in Uganda. This was because the Western part of Kenya was part of the Church in Uganda until 1921. Tucker, the Bishop of Uganda had advocated for education to form a middle class, who would be a great influence to the society. Education was meant to train leaders for a Christian society. The focus of the curriculum was literacy and the main aim of education was to mould character and shape their lives so that they could adequately discharge their duties and responsibilities. Bishop Tucker's idea was to have a generation of rising leaders, who were smart and clever but also God fearing men, who realized their responsibility in life and were equipped for it (Tucker, 1908:366). According to Tucker, the school had two goals, the first character formation and secondly preparing Africans for the wider society. At this stage the teaching was mainly in English. However, schools also taught industrial education. This involved imparting skills like carpentry, joinery, bricklaying and mechanics. Application of these skills would improve their standard of living and they were also expected to teach others.

In 1906, Maseno School was established in line with this policy and the products of Maseno School became leaders in both Church and society. The aim of the school was to provide an all-round training of body mind and soul. Around 1908, industrial training was introduced to

enhance mission work. Agriculture was also very prominent in the curriculum of the school. Through the agriculture lessons, missions taught new farming methods and introduced new varieties of crops. All the students had demonstration farms and when they went back home, their farming attracted many people.

This gave them the opportunity to do evangelism. In 1920, Maseno became a normal school, whose main focus was on training teachers. The teachers doubled up as evangelists. Maseno School therefore produced the first leaders, most of them were Church leaders and also doubled up as political leaders.

In 1924, Local Native councils were introduced in order to capture the voice of the Africans and also to co-opt the emerging elite into running the affairs of their country. This was important due to the fact that the Africans had no representation in the legislative council. Through the LNC, Africans participated in decision making and development at the local level. The graduates of Maseno School, who generally became Church leaders after further training, were also political leaders and members of the Local Native Councils. The leaders included Rev. Simeon Nyende, Rev. Ezekiel Apindi, Rev. George Samuel Okoth, Mathayo Otoeno, Benjamin Owuor and Rev. Jeremiah Awori.

Rev. Jeremiah Awori, was one of the most outstanding leaders. Jeremiah Awori, was trained as a teacher in Butere in 1920, after which he went for further training in Maseno as a teacher-evangelist. Jeremiah Awori was also trained at St. Paul's divinity school and ordained as a Deacon in 1924 and priested in 1927. Awori's idea of evangelism was in line with his training i.e. to transform society. He believed that education was an integral part of the Church's work. He believed that Christianity went hand in hand with an improvement of the way of life of the evangelized. Awori was greatly influenced by the mission style of CMS missionary Walter Owen, who was the Archdeacon of Kavirondo between 1918 and 1945. The heart of Owen's ministry was concern for social justice. Owen, challenged the colonial government over the effect of land, forced labour and taxation policies on the Africans. Owen and his wife Olive also fought for gender justice. He believed that their major role was to liberate Africans from oppressive marriages which included forced marriages, polygamy and widow inheritance. Owen believed that the best way to empower the African Church was education and training, which included simple budget planning and book keeping (Gertzel, 2003:300).

Rev. Jeremiah Aware was appointed to be in charge of the Anglican Church in Nambale, which became a spring board of his development work. The first major focus of Awori was empowerment of young people through education, and mainly focused on the education of girls (N.Kavirondo LNC min. 1931). In line with his training both at Maseno and at the divinity school, Awori focused on farming.

In line with Bishop Tucker's policy he encouraged the members of the Church to be food secure. He set the example through his own farm, from where people would learn new farming methods and also provide a new variety of seeds (N. Kavirondo LNC min.938). By 1938, Awori was already growing cotton as a cash crop and had employed eight workers to assist him. However, during the period of depression, at the time of rinderpest and during famine, Awori organized for the provision of relief food. Apart from agriculture, Awori and his wife were also traders.

Awori spent most of his time preaching and counselling people as a pastor. However, he also participated in civic affairs by being a member of the \North Kavirondo Local Native Council (Present day Western Province). Although the powers of the LNC's were very limited, Awori and other members protested against settler controlled policies, especially on land and labour. They also imposed local rates, which helped in the development and progress of reserves. Awori also used this platform to give evidence to government commissions of enquiry, including the Kenya Land commission in 1933 (Gertzel, 2003:300)

Aware advocated for development as a process of opening up a market economy and developing modern capitalistic agriculture. He was greatly involved in increasing and developing local markets (N. Kavirondo, LNC, May 1935). His major concern was to uplift the lives of the Africans in the reserves, thus contributing to the social and cultural values of the society. Awori also focused on gender issues, especially the education of girls and the rights of widows. In 1941, he brought to the LNC, the issue of gratuity of war widows. A majority of members assumed that payments would be made according to traditional laws of inheritance that did not recognize the widow, Awori insisted that Christian soldiers would leave everything to their widows.

In conclusion, the products of mission school used the education to bring holistic change in both Church and society. They contributed to development through applying the skills they received in farming, doing business and other aspects of development. They used the values



imparted to them through missions to offer transformational leadership in the society. They fought for gender justice and worked for social and economic development in the country.

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