

**CONTRIBUTION OF THE GERMAN NEUKIRCHEN MISSION IN THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN TANA RIVER COUNTY,  
KENYA 1885 - 1986**

**BY**

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**DECLARATION**

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented in any other university/institution for consideration of any certification. This research thesis has been complemented by referenced sources duly acknowledged. Where text, data (including spoken words), graphics, pictures or tables have been borrowed from other sources, including the internet, these are specifically accredited and references cited using current APA system and in accordance with anti-plagiarism regulations.

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## **DEDICATION**

I heartily dedicate this work to the following groups of people: My dear wife Dart Wanjiku for undivided loyalty and maximum support; my three children Timothy Kimani, Mark Mwangi and Tabitha Wambui, who would never forget to seek God's indulgence for this undertaking even when praying for meals; my Mom Nancy Wambui Kimani for indefatigably investing in her children's education and one time predicting or rightly prophesying that I would reach this level of education; Mr Lisania Buya of Ngao – posthumously- who looked forward with a lot of enthusiasm towards the completion of this work but as fate would have it, passed on in 2016; my students, former and current, many of whom I have humbly become a role model and an inspiration.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ADC – African District Council

AIC- African Inland Church

AIE – African Indigenous Education

AIM – Africa Inland Mission

AMISOM –African Union Mission to Somalia

ASAL – Arid and Semi-Arid Lands

AU – African Union

BEA – British East Africa

BMZ – Germany’s Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development

BOG- Board of Governors (since renamed Board of Management)

CBC – Competency Based Curriculum

CBO- Community Based Organisation

CCK- Christian Council of Kenya

CCM – Consolata Catholic Mission

CDE- County Director of Education

CEO – Chief Education Officer

CMS – Church Missionary Society

CoG – Church of God

CSM – Church of Scotland Mission

CUE- Commission for University Education

DAAD- German Academic Exchange Service

DC – District Commissioner

DEB- District Education Board

DEO- District Education Officer

DO- District Officer

DOE – Director of Education

DQASO – District Quality Assurance and Standards Officer

ECDE- Early Childhood Development and Education

EDAR – Education Department Annual Report

FAM – Friends African Mission

FBO- Faith Based Organisation

FGDs – Focus Group Discussions

FPE – Free Primary Education

GAS – Government African School

GEA – German East Africa

GEAC- German East Africa Company

GEC- Girls Education Challenge

GER – Gross Enrolment Rate

GMS – Gospel Missionary Society

GNM – German Neukrichen Mission

GOK – Government of Kenya

GTZ- Germany Technical Assistance

HELB- Higher Education Loans Board

HGF – Holy Ghost Fathers

IBEAC – Imperial British East Africa Company

KAR- Kenya African Rifles

KBC- Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

KCA- Kenya Communications Authority

KCPE – Kenya Certificate of Primary Education

KENATCO- Kenya National Transport Corporation

KICD- Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development

KISA - Kikuyu Independent Schools Association

KKEA – Kikuyu Karing’ a Education Association

KNA – Kenya National Archives

KNBS – Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

KNH- Kenyatta National Hospital

KNLS- Kenya National Library Services

KSMS- Kenya School of Monetary Studies

KSTC- Kenya Science Teachers College

KNUT – Kenya National Union of Teachers

KUCCPS- Kenya Universities and Colleges Central Placement Service

KUPPET – Kenya Union of Post Primary Education Teachers

LIM – Lumbwa Industrial Mission

LNC – Local Native Council

MHM- Mill Hill Mission

MDG – Millennium Development Goal

MMS – Methodist Missionary Society

MOE – Ministry of Education

MOU – Memorandum of Understanding

MP- Member of Parliament

NACOSTI – National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

NAYS – National Adolescents and Youth Survey

NCPD- National Council for Population and Development

NEB- National Education Board

NER – Net Enrolment Rate

NGO – Non Governmental Organization

NKJV- New King James Version

NMK- National Museums of Kenya.

OBA – Output Based Aid

PC – Provincial Commissioner

PDE- Provincial Director of Education

PEO- Provincial Education Officer

PS- Permanent Secretary (since renamed Principal Secretary)

RC – Roman Catholic

RCM – Roman Catholic Mission

SDA – Seventh Day Adventists

SDG – Sustainable Development Goal

SMC – School Management Committee

STEM – Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics

TRDAR – Tana River District Annual Report

TSC – Teachers Service Commission

TTC- Teachers Training College

TVET – Technical and Vocational Education and Training

UMC – United Methodist Church

UMCA – Universities Mission to Central Africa

UMM – United Methodist Mission

UNEP- United Nations Environmental Programme

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UON- University of Nairobi

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VOK-Voice of Kenya

YBA- Young Buu Association

WERK- Women Educational Researchers of Kenya

WWI – World War One

WWII – World War Two

WWW- *Wasichana Wote Wasome* (Let All Girls Learn)

3Rs – Reading, writing and arithmetic

## ABSTRACT

The study examined the contribution of the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM) in the establishment of Western education in Tana River County, Kenya 1885 to 1986. Western education and Christianity in Africa were introduced by Christian missionaries from Europe as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century but took root in around the mid-nineteenth century. Later on, Colonial Governments further augmented the missionaries' endeavours of offering formal education to Africans. A lot has been researched and written on missionary activities at the Coast, Central and Western regions of Kenya. Tana River County embraced Christianity and Western education through the works of the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS) and German Neukirchen Mission (GNM). The MMS and a few other missionary organizations like Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF) experienced hardships and shifted to the interior of Kenya where they registered great success. The GNM hang on and was doing well until World War I broke out and later World War II. These wars resulted in the repatriation of GNM missionaries who kept on struggling to come back and have maintained contacts to date. The reasons behind the success and resilience of the GNM in an area in which other mission groups failed deserve to be unveiled. Whereas extensive studies on the activities of other missionary groups like the Church Missionary Society (CMS), African Inland Mission (AIM), Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF), Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) and Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) among others have been carried out, not much has been done on the GNM. The study had three objectives which were: To trace the origin and the ideology of the GNM; to examine the role of the GNM in the establishment and growth of Western education in Tana River County and to assess the impact of the establishment of Western education in Tana River County. The time frame was 1885 to 1986. This period covers the time Africa was partitioned and shared out among European powers – which influenced missionary work- to the year the first secondary school was established at Ngao i.e 1986. Ngao served as GNM's mission base or station since the arrival of the missionaries in the region. The study was historical in nature and utilized a historical research design. Sources of data were both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources were mainly drawn from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) and schools and churches in Tana River. At the KNA for instance, vital primary information on GNM activities in Tana River and on educational commissions and reports that informed educational policy in Kenya in the study period were obtained. Document analysis was also utilized as a data collection method. The research instruments were interview schedules and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Respondents to these research instruments were retired educationists, civil servants and politicians, church leaders and village elders selected through purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Collected data was analyzed through qualitative and quantitative methods while documents were analyzed through external and internal criticism. The research findings acknowledged the contribution of the GNM in the advent of Western education in Kenya in general and in Tana River in particular and the impact of this education on the community, learning institutions and individuals ever since the missionaries' arrival to present day and in future. This was achieved through identifying schools that were established by the GNM and still exist; the curriculum that was offered; the students who were products of these schools and how the latter impacted upon the Tana River community then and now. Recommendations were made on policy, infrastructure, archival materials and the possibility of reviving the GNM-Tana River relations. For instance, it was suggested that a tertiary level Educational Complex or Institution could be established in Tana River to propagate the educational initiatives of the GNM missionaries and educationists as well as meet the growing need of such an education in the region. Finally, areas related to the study topic that need further research were suggested.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study, limitations of the study, assumptions of the study, theoretical framework, conceptual framework and operational definition of terms and acronyms.

#### **1.2 Background to the Study**

The nineteenth century is a very critical period in the history of the African continent. This is because it witnessed the coming of Europeans first as explorers and missionaries at the middle of the century, and later as colonizers towards the end of the century. These two events marked a turning point in the continent and their after-effects have shaped the lives of the people of Africa to date.

One of the remarkable milestones resulting from this interaction was the introduction of Western or formal education. It is important to note that this was not the first form of education for Africans, not even the first foreign one. Africans had since time immemorial enjoyed and sustained an informal traditional education based on customs, values and physical environment (Sifuna and Otiende 1994, p.149).

Islamic education preceded Western education having been introduced along the Eastern African coast back in the seventh century A.D by Arabs fleeing from political and religious persecution back in Arabia (Bogonko, 1992, p.11). As Furley (1978, p.68) informs us: Islamic education was the first foreign form of education to reach East Africa. Koranic

schools had sprung up in and around the mosques which the first Arabs built for their worship. By 1333 A.D, such schools were well established.

Furley (1978, p.69) rightly asserts that, “the first Western education reached the Kenyan coast (East African coast) in 1498 with the arrival of the Portuguese; amongst them were their own chaplains... whose duties included Christian instruction.” This became the second non-indigenous system of education to be introduced in Kenya. These pioneer missionaries were from the Roman Catholic group of the Christian religion and had accompanied the renowned explorer Vasco da Gama (Barrett et al {eds}, 1973, p.29). The Portuguese ruled the East Coast of Africa for slightly over 200 years, concentrating largely on reaping the profits of the lucrative Indian Ocean trade than on offering education or evangelizing. East Africa received the attention of more Christian missionary teachers from Europe towards the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Barrett et al {eds}, 1973, p.30; Furley, 1978, p. 169).

The introduction of Western or formal education in Africa and Christianity are two historical phenomena that are inextricably intertwined. The ‘*modus operandi*’ of missionaries involved establishing a mission station which encompassed a church, a school and where possible a health centre. As Sifuna and Karugu (1988, p.5) rightly observe, Christian missionaries were an important factor in the development of formal education in East Africa. They controlled most of the schools with the consequence that areas without missionary influence lagged behind in education.

Although Christianity was first introduced in Eastern Africa by the Portuguese back in the early sixteenth century, Western education never really took root in the region until the arrival of John Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebmann both of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1844 and 1846, respectively (Anderson 1970, pp.10-11; Barrett et al {eds}, 1973; Furley, 1978 pp. 69-70; Sheffield 1973, pp. 8-9). Krapf’s arrival marked the dawn of an

important phase in formal education in Kenya. Within a short period of his arrival, he began translating parts of the Bible into Swahili and Rabai {languages} to provide reading material for his pupils in their preparations for baptism (Sifuna & Otiende 1994, p.180).

The CMS was followed by other missionary groups from Europe notably Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), United Methodist Free Church (UMFC), Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF), Consolata Fathers, Mill Hill Fathers (MHF), African Inland Mission (AIM) and the Quakers or Friends African Mission (FAM). By 1917, there were 82 mission stations and 410 village schools with enrolments of 11,563 and 118,587 pupils respectively throughout Kenya. Of the 16 missionary bodies (sic) working in the country in 1918, the Roman Catholics and CMS shouldered the largest proportions (Barrett et al {eds}, 1973, pp. 21-24).

In spite of Western education first being introduced at the Coast, it was embraced faster in the interior, thanks to the construction of the Kenya- Uganda railway line from 1899 to 1901 which enabled the missionaries to have easy access to upcountry regions. The main reason for the failure of the coastal people to adopt Western education was because it was associated with Christianity and this was a region that had embraced Islam several centuries earlier.

In 1884-1885, major European powers met in Berlin, Germany under German Chancellor Otto von Bismark to partition and consequently colonize Africa in what was to later be famously referred as the Berlin Conference. Evangelization preceded colonization. British East Africa (BEA) – or Kenya - to give its later name (from 1920), became a Protectorate of Britain on 1 July 1895 (Furley, 1978, p.68). Following the formal declaration of a protectorate over Zanzibar in November 1890, the British used it as a base for the conquest of the rest of BEA (Boahen 1990, p.17).

At the Berlin Conference, Tanganyika was one of the colonies given to Germany. However, the partition of the region had not been finalized. Two German brothers Clemens and Gustav Denhardt staked a claim of Wituland on the mainland of Lamu Island. This area subsequently attracted the attention of the Neukirchen Missionary Society (NMS){Mambo,1980 p .72}.The names Neukirchen Missionary Society (NMS) and the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM) are used interchangeably in different writings. One of the underlying factors for this interest was as a result of the NMS being aware of the Methodists' unsuccessful attempt to establish a Galla or Orma Mission. The Orma are Cushitic speaking co-inhabitants of Tana River together with the Bantu speaking Pokomo.

Apart from the Rabai mission in Mombasa, CMS missionaries also extended their work to other parts of Coast Province. Sifuna and Otiende (1994), further explain that the CMS was joined by United Methodist Free Church (UMFC) to extend their work among coastal tribes after the 1880s. Around the same time, the Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF) established mission stations in Mombasa and Bura in Taita (Sifuna and Otiende 1994, p.179). The CMS also opened schools at Sagala (Taita) in 1882 and Taveta in 1890. The United Methodist Mission (UMM) opened schools at Ribe, Jomvu, Lamu and Golbanti (Lugumba, 1973 p.1).

The German Neukirchen Mission (GNM) also established itself among the Pokomo to the North of Mombasa by 1895 (Furley & Watson 1978, p.71 as cited in Bogonko 1992, p.18).

Furley (1978, p.71) further writes:

The German Neukirchen Mission diversified their agricultural instruction to include the cultivation of millet, maize, rice, bananas and beans, as well as giving instruction in the 3Rs. The brighter pupils had a chance of learning English. Such instructions were very uncharacteristic of mission education in Kenya before 1918 and one wonders why the German mission pioneered such a linguistic policy. Perhaps their leaders hoped that the British Government would grant subsidy for English teaching as the Germans did to missions teaching German in their colonies.

The earliest missionaries to arrive in Tana River were therefore from the United Methodist Free Church in 1884. They were followed by the German Lutheran Missionary Society of Neukirchen otherwise known as German Neukirchen Mission (GNM) in 1887 who based themselves at Ngao. In 1888, a Swedish mission was opened at Wenje only to be abandoned a year later; but luckily the GNM revived it in 1902. The Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers had opened a station in 1889 at Kosi, but later abandoned it in 1900 (Abreu 1982, p.204). In 1886, Reverend John and Mrs Alice Houghton of the Methodist Church were murdered at Golbanti (Mambo 1980, p.65). This incident largely contributed to the withdrawal of Methodist missionaries from the area with the Golbanti station taken over by the GNM. The death rate of the GNM missionaries was even higher. "Between 1887 and 1913, 48 brethren and sisters had served in the Tana field (including Lamu). Of these, 17 died, 14 in Africa and the other three back in Europe soon after return probably as a result of diseases that had infected them while in Tana River. The death rate, they reckoned was 35.4%" (Nitsch p.125 in Mambo, 1980, p.83).

Apart from Ngao, the GNM opened other stations and schools along the River Tana namely Kulesa, Makere, Ngatana, Hola and Wenje (Mambo, 1980, p.78 & 136). Mambo describes the curriculum of GNM schools in the following words:

The curriculum in the Neukirchen schools included the alphabet, reading, writing, simple addition and religious instruction. The Ngao dialect of Kipokomo was used as the medium of instruction and Kiswahili was taught as a subject. English was taught to a few advanced pupils. Before the deportation of the German missionaries in 1914, the Neukirchen school system catered for about 250 pupils (Mambo, 1980, p. 136).

Following the deportation of GNM missionaries after the outbreak of WWI, Tana River lost grants-in-aid to CMS Rabai School because the government policy dictated that such financial assistance could only be given to areas inhabited by missionaries for effective

supervision (Mambo, 1980, pp. 163-164). The Local Native Council (LNC) ordinance which was passed in 1924 saw many schools started through local financing but British officials thought Tana River was unprepared for this initiative. This position could be attributed to the fact that the pace of developments in education most likely reduced after the departure of the GNM missionaries. The GNM were allowed back in 1926 after much lobbying by the local people and the grants-in-aid resumed. By 1941, the government was maintaining two schools and a further four were opened through LNC and central government collaboration (KNA Tana River District Annual Report 1941).

GNM missionaries were sent away again in 1939 following the outbreak of WWII. The local people did not give up on educational matters, but probably influenced by developments in Nyanza and Central Kenya started an Independent Movement called the Young Buu Association (YBA). Buu is one of the Pokomo clans mainly found in Ngao. Abreu (1982) reports:

The Buu, far from being discouraged by the course of events formed the Young Buu Association under the leadership of a German trained teacher Kaleb Komora Madyawa in 1944, at a meeting held near Ngao. The aim of the Association was the upliftment of the Buu through education, commerce and agriculture. In October 1945, a public meeting was held at Ngao. Besides appealing to the Government to expand education facilities in the area, the Association decided to take over all schools whose grants had been stopped, as well as help teachers who had been suspended (Abreu 1982, p.206).

The resilience portrayed by GNM in persevering to continue in an area other missionary organizations like the UMM, the HGF and the Swedish mission had abandoned; this in spite of registering high death rates, calls for the need to establish its ideology. Secondly, there is need to find out the educational activities that took place in the GNM centres already mentioned as well as establishing whether there were more mission stations and schools opened by the GNM. Finally, the study looked at the lasting effects of the educational

endeavours of GNM on the Tana River community and the country at large, as well as on educational institutions and specific individuals.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Western education along the Coast of Kenya was introduced in three key areas namely Mombasa (courtesy of Church Missionary Society- CMS), Taita (through Holy Ghost Fathers-HGF) and Tana River (by United Methodist Mission-UMM). The UMM pioneered the work of introducing formal education in Tana River. Nevertheless, in the late 1890s and early 1900s, it diverted much of its attention to Ribe and Meru. Much has been documented on the Methodists' impact in the interior in evangelization and education but there is little said about the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM) which actually took over or replaced UMM when the latter gave up on the Tana. The educational work of GNM as the sole missionary organization in a much shunned area deserve to be brought to the fore because existing literature does not appear to have exhausted its contribution in the advancement of formal education.

Most of what there is on missionary work tends to have focused less on Germany based missionary organizations. Historians may have knowingly or unknowingly relegated anything German to the annals of history probably because of her perceived role in largely triggering the two World Wars. The following excerpt on Tanganyika confirms this state of affairs:

Nevertheless, there were seven other German protestant mission societies in the East African colony whose work has not all been researched in-depth. They were the rather small Bielefeld, Herrnhut, Leipzig, Neukirchen and Schleswig-Holstein mission stations as well as the Adventists and the Protestant Africa Society. Together they had 89 stations with 112 missionaries, 76 European helpers- mostly doctors and craftsmen- and 41 mission sisters {Google Books (n.d), p.64}.

Any educational gains realized in the study region during the colonial period and even beyond must be seen in the light of the role played by the GNM in evangelization and education in the area. The researcher was intent on giving credit where it is due. The study aimed at uncovering the facts as they were then with regard to the contribution of the GNM missionaries to education in Tana River County in particular and in the country in general. The study identified schools, churches and any other institution that was established by the GNM and any beneficiaries of the same including the impact they had on society. The study aimed at tracing the origin of GNM, its ideologies, its activities at the Coast of Kenya and the impact of these activities on education.

The study period was 1885 to 1986. This period covers the time Europeans colonised Africa, which influenced missionary work, to the year a secondary school was established at Ngao under the inspiration of the GNM missionaries. Failure to undertake such a study would leave us less informed about the contribution of the GNM in the establishment of Western education in Tana River County and we would equally miss out on drawing insights from her ideology and appreciating the accrued educational gains and other benefits from the Tana River – Germany interaction.

#### **1.4 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to explore the contribution of German Neukirchen Mission (GNM) in the introduction and establishment of Western education in Tana River County, Kenya, from 1885 to 1986.

## **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study were:

- (i) To trace the origin and ideology of the German Neukirchen Mission.
- (ii) To examine the role of the GNM in the establishment and growth of Western education in Tana River County, Kenya.
- (iii) To assess the impact of the establishment of Western education in Tana River County by the GNM, 1885-1986.

## **1.6 Research Questions**

Specifically, the following research questions were formulated and an attempt was made to answer them:

- (i) What was the origin and ideology of the GNM?
- (ii) What was the role of the German Neukirchen Mission in the establishment and growth of Western education in Tana River County between 1885 and 1986?
- (iii) What was/is the impact of the establishment of Western education by the GNM in Tana River County?

## **1.7 Justification of the Study**

Firstly, a wide range of existing studies in the development of Western education in Kenya in general and at the Kenyan Coast in particular have laid more emphasis on Mombasa, Taita and Kilifi counties with scanty information on Tana River County. These studies include but not limited to the CMS (Kipkorir 1969, Smith 1973, Karani 1974, Odwako 1975, Lohrenz 1977); MMS (Nthamburi 1982), AIM (Gration 1973), FAM (Kay 1973, Nabiswa 1999) and HGF (Osogo 1970). This study is thus an addition to the growing literature on the

development of Western education in other parts of the former Coast Province in particular and different parts of Kenya in general.

Secondly, the German Neukirchen Mission is unique in that it attempted to spread Christianity and Western education in a British colony which fought against Germany in the two World Wars. The works of missionary societies from Britain and her close allies like USA and France e.g. the Church Missionary Society (CMS), Mill Hill Fathers (MHF), United Methodist Mission (UMM); African Inland Mission (AIM), Gospel Missionary Society (GMS- from USA) and Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF-from France) in East Africa are well documented (Welbourn 1965, Macpherson 1970, Barrett et al 1973, Nthamburi 1982). These missionary organizations must have felt at home while working in Kenya; at least as far as the colonial power in charge of the region was concerned. The German Missionaries on the other hand did not enjoy this benefit and must have persevered a lot of hardships while operating in an unfriendly physical and political environment. This calls for a need to want to know the underlying philosophy behind such resolve.

Thirdly, The GNM came in at a time when other mission groups like UMM and HGF were pulling out of the study area. The HGF for instance had opened their first mission at Kosi in Tana River in 1889 which hardly lasted a year before they relocated to Mombasa (Barrett et al {eds} 1973, p.31). In addition, the GNM appeared to be making headway where others had failed. An in-depth study of the GNM – its role in the establishment and spread of Western education in Tana River will not only enrich information on existing knowledge but also bring to the fore GNM's contribution in laying the foundation on which future stakeholders built. Finally, there are lessons to be learnt from GNM's experience which can be useful in addressing present day issues of education in Tana River County.

The study starts in 1885 because this is the year Europe subdivided Africa ready for colonization with the partitioning largely influencing missionary work. The study ends in 1986 when Ngao Secondary School was established as a fulfillment of GNM's dream in the 1930s of establishing a national school in the area of the calibre of Alliance High School.

### **1.8 Significance of the Study**

Firstly, the study of the contribution of the GNM in establishing formal education in Tana River County was aimed at appreciating the contribution of various stakeholders in the advent of Western education in the study area. It recognized the fact that different churches and missionary societies played a part in the establishment and development of formal education in Tana River County. In this regard, this study underscored the role of religious sponsors of educational institutions in laying the foundation for Western education.

Secondly, since the education sector is still majorly under the control of the National Government in Kenya, educational planners and policy makers at the national level will benefit from the successes and failures of the GNM to help them make informed decisions on how to address the challenges facing the education sector in the study area. Moreover, the Tana River County government will likewise benefit from the knowledge gained to be able to augment National Government efforts to offer improved educational services in the region. Improved educational standards in Tana River County would go a long way towards making devolution successful through availability of skilled labour. Moreover, the importance of education in the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) cannot be over-emphasized. The Goals are 17 in number touching on pertinent areas in human life notably poverty alleviation, health, education, peace and environmental sustainability (SDGs 2015).

Thirdly, the study has brought to the fore the contribution of the GNM in evangelization and education in Tana River County and rekindled memories of the desire and vision of the German missionaries on the region. This Germany- Tana River/Kenya relationship need to be re-ignited and expanded and possibly used to undertake more joint projects for the benefit of the people of the two countries.

Fourthly, the study has brought to the limelight any former or current beneficiaries of the advent of the GNM in Tana River in terms of education; be they individuals or institutions. Such benefits have needless to say trickled down to the wider Tana River community and even beyond.

Finally, an in-depth study of the contribution of the GNM in the establishment of Western education in Tana River County has added more information to the existing body of knowledge in History of Education as a discipline.

### **1.9 Scope/Delimitations of the Study**

The study dealt with the contribution of the GNM in the establishment of Western education in Tana River County. Tana River is one of the counties where scanty research has been done in relation to the development of Western education in Kenya. Studies available here seem to focus on the United Methodist Mission (UMM) or Methodist Missionary Society (MMS) which gave up and left by 1900, with GNM scarcely being mentioned.

The study limits itself to the period 1885 to 1986. The year 1885 is the year major European powers agreed to partition Africa in readiness for colonization. Claims of a share in Africa by the interested European powers influenced or were influenced by missionary activities. The study ends in 1986 which is the year Ngao Secondary School was opened. Ngao town was the base from where GNM missionaries carried out their activities. The GNM did not operate

in any other county in Kenya apart from Tana River and that is why the study limited itself to this county only.

### **1.10 Limitations of the Study**

The researcher faced several problems in the field while collecting data. Firstly, there was the challenge of infrastructure. Tana River County is huge yet has no tarmac roads apart from a small section of the Garsen- Hola Road. Accessing certain villages was difficult especially during the rainy season in the months of April, May, October and November due to floods occasioned by River Tana bursting its banks. Secondly, a few of those targeted for providing information were very old, sickly and senile making it hard to solicit any meaningful information from them. Such respondents would struggle to remember the events in question properly or narrate them coherently. In such instances, the researcher would disregard information from such respondents or terminate politely an interview of that nature altogether and instead rely on information from those exhibiting consistency and coherency. There was one such respondent in Hola. Thirdly, others could neither communicate in Kiswahili or English forcing the researcher to engage an interpreter. Reverend Jillo Enes Yotam of Hola and Reverend Francis Tumaini of Ngao served as interpreters of Pokomo language to English and Kiswahili. Fourthly, some interpreters had to be brought on board to help translate some texts and statements on documents from German to the English language. Mrs. Lucy Migwi and Mrs Bilha Bekker, both High School teachers of German helped in this. A case in point was translating from German to English the writings on tombstones of some of the German missionaries buried at Wenje.

Fifthly, at the Kenya National Archives (KNA), where the researcher gathered substantial information, he had to wear a mask to prevent a respiratory infection while analyzing the documents which were dusty and emitted foul smell due to the effects of close to a hundred

years of existence. Sixthly, the education offices in Tana River lacked certain requisite information as envisaged by the study; for instance enrolment figures in a number of primary schools established by the GNM. However, the churches had useful information though the church leaders informed the researcher that many documents had been lost, stolen or vandalised over time. Such church leaders included Reverend Michael Gafo Hiribae of Wenje and Reverend Francis Tumaini of Ngao. They explained that many documents and sites had been destroyed during the perennial tribal clashes pitting the Pokomo and the Orma; clashes which were fuelled by political, religious and economic interests. The Pokomo are predominantly farmers while the Orma are pastoralists and they often clash over grazing and farming land. The Pokomo are mainly Christians while the Orma are Muslims. Political leaders make capital of these differences during elections to lure followers to their side. Indeed, the researcher was in constant fear of insecurity while out there collecting data especially bearing in mind the proximity of the County to Somalia believed to serve as *al-shabaab* militia hideout. Luckily, the researcher and his assistants never faced any attack.

Lastly, some written documents had faded over time depending on the type of pen, paper, ink and typewriter used to write them. Others were tattered, disjointed or had decayed. There were documents which had been eaten by rodents making it hard to read them to get the information being sought. Nevertheless, the interviews conducted and the documents gathered and analyzed were adequate to consolidate the findings into a historical report.

### **1.11 Assumptions of the Study**

During the study, it was assumed that:

- i. Adequate relevant data would be found in the Kenya National Archives (KNA), schools and churches in Tana River County.
- ii. Secondary sources available would support, corroborate, augment and be consistent with data acquired through primary sources.
- iii. Research tools used would enable the researcher to obtain vital data to lead to reliable conclusions and recommendations.
- iv. All respondents would provide factual information about the GNM and education matters during the study period as required.
- v. A significant number of respondents who witnessed or participated in the evangelization and educational activities of the GNM would still be alive and able to provide the needed information.

### **1.12 Theoretical Framework**

A theory is a set of properly argued ideas intended to explain a phenomenon. It is a system of explaining a phenomenon by specifying variables and the laws that relate the variables to each other. A Theoretical Framework is an examination of the existing or self-formulated theories in relation to the research objectives (Oso & Onen, 2009 pp. 47-48).

In this study, the Modernization Theory whose main proponent is W.W Rostow was found to be relevant. The theory gained prominence in the 1950s and 1960s when majority of colonized nations in Asia and Africa were gaining independence from European powers. Rostow argued that it was tradition that was holding young nations back. Aid and internal

agents educated in and committed to Western ways of working were needed to break free from tradition and ‘catch up’ with the USA and Western Europe (Holmes, 2007 p. 156).

Rostow (2000/1960) set out five stages of economic growth that he thought wealthy nations had followed to modernize in a hundred years or so. Developing nations were starting at the same point and were obliged to follow the same steps. These are: Primitive Stage, Pre-Industrial Stage, Industrial Stage, Mass Consumption and Modern Stage.

As already indicated, one of the main reasons for the coming of missionaries to Africa was to ‘civilize’ Africans as they put it. Missionaries believed that African religions were primitive and bordered on pagan worship. Dr David Livingstone of UMCA influenced his home country to stamp out slave trade, introduce legitimate trade and exercise colonial control in Africa as a way of uplifting the continent economically with Britain benefitting as well. Livingstone also saw it as a way of making missionary work easy.

It has also been mentioned how missionaries used Western education to evangelize. Indeed, Africa owes much to Christian missionaries when it comes to the establishment and development of Western education. In this study, much credit goes to the GNM as far as Western education in Tana River County is concerned. Rostow envisaged modern values being diffused through education and technology transfer.

In this study, the origin and ideology of the GNM are independent variables. Through the Western education introduced by the GNM, the Tana River community established learning institutions, hospitals and churches whose positive impact was felt then and now. There was

general improvement of the standard of living in the community. These outcomes of the establishment of formal education are the dependent variables.

One major competing theory against the Modernization Theory is the Dependency Theory (Frank, 1972 and Rodney, 1988). The Dependency Theory attributes the relatively strong economic and political status that USA, Britain and other Western nations have in the world today to the benefits they acquired from colonialism and slave trade. The Dependency Theory was not found to be suitable for this study because the gist of this work is the benefits accruing from the GNM-Tana interaction on the part of Tana River people especially Western education and not vice versa.

Nevertheless, one major weakness of the Modernization Theory is that it ethnocentrically assumes that Western culture is superior to other cultures and that there are no other alternative routes to development that exist apart from the Western blueprint. Stockman (2000) acknowledges the fact that China followed a different path towards economic success. China embraced communism as a system of government and means of production as opposed to capitalism which was pursued by Western Europe and USA. Rodney (1988) appreciates that Africa should not be dismissed on the global arena socially, politically and economically before interacting with the Europeans because it was equally civilized in its own right. African societies like the Asante of Ghana, Shona of Zimbabwe and Buganda of Uganda sustained elaborate systems of governance and economic structures long before the coming of Europeans.

### **1.13 Conceptual Framework**

Kombo and Tromp (2006) explain Conceptualization as inventing or contriving an idea or explanation and formulating it mentally. It is the act of creating or formulating something by linking up particular ideas or actions intended to deal with a problem or situation. Oso & Onen (2009, p.51) define a conceptual framework as a scheme of concepts (or variables) which the researcher will operationalize in order to achieve set objectives. It is a schematic or diagrammatic presentation of the (theory or) line of argument.

Mugenda (2008, p.111) says that, “A conceptual framework is a concise description of the phenomenon under study accompanied by a graphic or visual depiction of the major variables of the study.” The diagrammatic representation is intended to aid the researcher to improve and sharpen his or her ideas concerning the study and aids in the preparation of the narrative. On the other hand, the conceptual framework is essential to the reader who seeks to understand what the researcher is trying to accomplish. The main factors involved in an issue and the interplay therein are put into consideration and the summative contribution to the actual state of affairs acknowledged.

In this study, several factors or variables came to play; namely GNM’s origin and ideology, GNM’s contribution to Western education in Tana River between 1885 to 1986, challenges faced by GNM and the lasting impact of its activities in the Tana region.

The study sought to find out the contribution of the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM) in the establishment of formal Western education in Tana River County, 1885 to 1986. The starting point was to seek to understand the connection between its origin and the philosophy or ideology that propelled it in its activities. The GNM came from Germany and the missionaries were mainly Lutheran in orientation (Abreu, 1982). This was the dominant

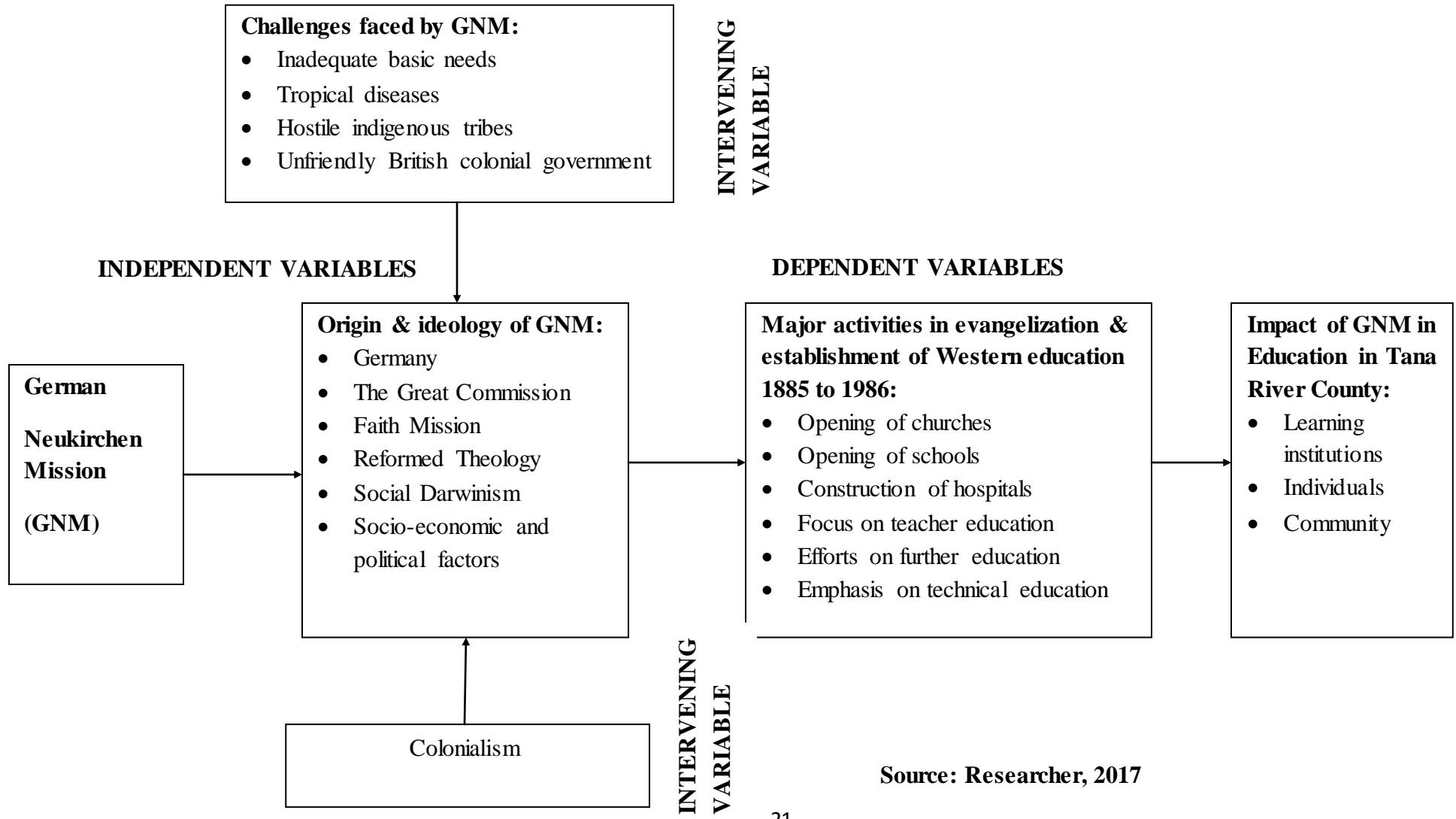
church in Germany having been founded by Martin Luther, himself a German and renowned for spearheading the Reformation Movement in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. A study of the Lutheran doctrine is critical in understanding the GNM as a missionary organization. Other aspects that inform its ideology are The Great Commission, Social Darwinism, Socio-economic and Political factors as well as GNM as a Faith Mission. In addition, an examination of GNM's ideology would shed light on its driving force that propelled its missionaries to come to Africa and endure the hardships that they went through.

The coming of GNM to British East Africa (BEA) is related to colonialism as was the case with other missionary groups. Missionary organizations were sent by mother churches from back home in Europe. The activities and the challenges faced by the GNM and how the challenges were tackled would inform its ideology as well as serve as a reference point on how to address similar setbacks today especially in educational matters. The main activities undertaken by most missionary organizations were establishing churches, schools and hospitals. The GNM missionaries in Kenya experienced several challenges, the main ones being inadequate basic needs e.g food, clothing and shelter; tropical diseases, hostile tribes and indifferent British officials.

The culmination of the study was a critical look at the impact of the education provided by the GNM on the Tana River people. The impact here is measured by identifying learning institutions started by the GNM and which have continued to serve many learners over the years. In addition, certain personalities educated by the Missionary Organization later served the local community and the Country at large in different capacities. There is also the overall transformation of the community at large through benefitting from Western education introduced by the German evangelists.

The origin and ideology of the GNM are independent variables. In the study they are taken to be constant or intrinsic and not affected by external factors or forces. In its activities, the GNM was influenced or affected by colonialism and challenges experienced in a far away country. These are the intervening variables. The outcome of the GNM activities in Tana River, 1885 to 1986 is evangelization and establishment of Western education. The formal education established by the GNM missionaries impacted on the community through learning institutions and individuals educated by the GNM. The outcomes are the dependent variables for they have depended on the independent and intervening variables. Figure 1.1 below shows the conceptual framework of the contribution of the GNM to the establishment of Western education in Tana River County, Kenya 1885 to 1986.

**Fig. 1.1: A Conceptual Framework of GNM's Contribution to the Establishment of Western Education in Tana River County, Kenya 1885 -1986**



Source: Researcher, 2017

## **1.14 Conclusion**

It has been shown that Christian missionaries were instrumental in the advent of Western education in Africa. In Tana River County, Kenya; several missionary organizations pioneered evangelization and formal education. These were the United Methodist Mission, the Holy Ghost Fathers, the Swedish Mission and the German Neukirchen Mission. All of them withdrew from the area apart from the GNM due to a multiplicity of challenges. An indepth study of GNM's ideology and activities in Tana River was undertaken by this study and its bearing on education.

Chapter Two of this thesis looks at Review of Related Literature. Chapter Three is on Research Design and Methodology. Chapter Four addresses the three objectives of the study; the first one being on the origin and ideology of the GNM. The second objective concerns the role of the GNM in the establishment and growth of Western education in Tana River County. The last objective deals with the impact of the establishment of Western education by the GNM in Tana River County. Chapter Five gives the summary, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

### **1.15 Operational Definition of Terms**

**Apostles' Creed:** The Statement of Faith or doctrine of the Christian faith as spelt out by Jesus Christ's first converts who came to be known as the disciples or the apostles.

**Central Schools:** A term used during the colonial period in Kenya to refer to Upper primary school from class five to eight.

**Concessions:** Official permission by authorities of an area for individual merchants or companies to undertake trade activities as it happened to Europeans interested in Africa before colonialism.

**Congregationalists:** Adherents of GNM who believed in abandoning the comfort of their homes and home countries to go and live together/congregate in other places usually far away regardless of accompanying hardships for the sake of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

**Contribution:** The role played by the German Neukirchen Mission in education in Tana River County.

**Establishment:** The introduction of Western/formal education to Africans in Tana River County through holding literacy classes in churches and later in the construction of schools.

**Expedition:** Exploration of newly discovered lands in Africa by European travellers and missionaries with an aim of subduing them, exploiting them for resources or spreading Christianity.

**Galla Mission:** A missionary undertaking envisioned by Johann Ludwig Krapf of CMS and later attempted by UMM to convert the Galla or Orma of Tana River in Coast Province to Christianity though most of them had already embraced Islam.

**Gospel:** The teachings on which is anchored Christianity as a religion as recorded in the Bible.

**Grants-in-aid:** Financial aid given out by the Colonial Government to missionary organizations which were managing African schools.

**Growth:** The advancement and spread of Western/ formal education in Tana River County through increased enrolment and construction of schools.

**Ideology:** A philosophical conviction which serves as a guiding principle to an individual or a group of people, institution or government on how they perceive life or undertake certain activities.

**Impact:** Both short term and long term positive effects of the introduction of Western/formal education in Tana River County.

**Independent schools:** Schools started by mission-educated Africans during the colonial period that were free from missionary or colonial influence.

**Koranic Schools:** Schools whose curriculum has a strong bias on Islamic faith emphasizing mainly on teaching the recitation of the Koran; otherwise known as *Madrassa*.

**Legitimate trade:** Legal trade based on goods as opposed to illegal trade based on human beings; otherwise known as slave trade.

**Mission:** An organization made up of missionaries sent by a mother church from Europe or drawn from different Christian denominations on voluntary basis with an aim to evangelize in far away lands.

**Qualitative data:** Data gathered by non-statistically based methods in that it is in the form of words or pictures but which can be quantified and subjected to statistical tests.

**Quantitative Data:** Data gathered through statistical methods and presented in tables, graphs, and pie charts.

**Settlers:** European farmers who occupied the most fertile lands in Kenya (especially in Central Province and Rift Valley) in the early twentieth century dubbed the “White Highlands”.

**Social Darwinism:** Belief that some societies are more advanced than others based on Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution.

**Sponsorship:** The oversight role on spiritual matters that a church has over a school or a learning institution on the basis of having been instrumental in the establishment of the school or institution.

**Tonic Solfa:** A method of showing musical notes by the first letters of the words in the sol-fa system. Amos Chadhoro used to teach this skill.

**Village Schools:** Schools which had classes 1-4 and mainly were offering catechism with very little secular education.

**Western/The West:** Countries in the western part of Europe (e.g. Britain, France and Germany) and by extension United States of America.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the existing literature related to the study. The researcher aimed at bringing out the existing knowledge gaps in the contribution of the German Neukirchen Mission in the establishment of Western education in Tana River County, Kenya. The origin and ideology of the GNM will be discussed. The contribution of Christian missionaries in establishing Western education in Kenya will be expounded with a keen focus on the German Neukirchen Mission from Germany, which concentrated its work in the Tana region. Finally, the impact of the GNM missionary work on education in Tana River County will be addressed.

#### **2.2 The Origin and Ideology of the GNM**

Neukirchen is a small town in Schwalm-Eder district in Hesse, Germany (Wikipedia, 2016). The Germany Empire came to being in 1871 with William I of Prussia being proclaimed the first emperor (Encyclopedia Britannica vol. 5 2003, p.219) but it was Otto von Bismarck, the Prime Minister who in the period between 1871 and 1890 became ‘the chief figure in domestic politics in his country and the international field’ (Mahajan 2013, p. 10).” In 1884-1885, Bismarck, then the Germany Chancellor chaired the Berlin Conference that saw the sub-division and eventual colonization of the African continent by European powers. The Europeans’ main interest in Africa throughout history has been largely motivated by the gains accruing from their interaction with Africans. These gains are unexploited market, raw materials, cheap labour and settlement for surplus population made possible by an improved standard of living courtesy of the Industrial Revolution.

Surprisingly, a large section of Europeans hypocritically continue to maintain that colonialism was meant to benefit the African people. Morel (1970, pp 3-4) asserts:

....although international jealousies contributed very largely to the Berlin Conference of 1885, it is unquestionable that the spirit displayed at the Conference and the policy it laid down were alike inspired by humanitarian motives –practically humanitarian... motives to check , as far as possible, inter-tribal warfare and the slave raiding operations of Arab half castes; and to maintain and develop trade...it being universally recognized that commercial intercourse, is above all things the surest medium for the advancement of communities from state of primitive barbarism to greater knowledge of arts and crafts and generally speaking, to a higher conception of life.....

True, there erupted once in a while inter-tribal wars among African communities. This is not a phenomenon of the Africans per se but a common feature of humanity. The many wars fought in Europe and Asia with far reaching repercussions make the African case a child's play. When Morel says that Europeans intended to come to Africa to stop the slave trade, one recalls that the same Europeans had hitherto benefited from the same trade for over four centuries. Slave trade only became unpopular among the Whites when it was no longer economically viable. Europeans realized they needed Africans in Africa to produce for them the raw materials highly required in European factories (Rodney 1988, p.107).

Bismarck himself while opening the Berlin Conference indicated that the nations present were motivated by a desire to open up Africa to civilization. He says:

In convoking the Conference, the Imperial Government was guided by the conviction that all the Governments invited share the wish to bring the natives of Africa within the pale of civilization by opening up the interior of the continent to commerce (Quoted in Morel 1970, p.4).

No people should claim to be civilized more than others. However, through interaction people can borrow cultural practices from each other. Bismarck was initially opposed to colonial expansion. The main reason behind this earlier stand being that he saw overseas exploits as a panacea to a possible conflict with England. England used its naval power to

venture far and wide in its imperialist endeavours. Bismarck believed that Germany should be a continental state and should avoid overseas expansion. Germans supporting him argued that overseas expansion was costly in terms of money and manpower which could otherwise be utilized at home. It is like Bismarck had a premonition of a major European show down should Germany and Britain find themselves on a collision course. This came to pass in the First and Second World Wars.

Taylor (1954, p.213) explains Bismarck's change of policy stand in the following words:

The merchants of Bremen and Homburg wanted new markets for the surplus goods and a source of supply of raw materials. Missionaries wanted colonies to convert people to Christianity. The patriots demanded colonies to add to the glory for their country. There was also a problem of surplus population of Germany which was migrating to USA. It was felt that Germany must acquire colonies to find homes for the surplus population of Germany which was otherwise being lost to the nation on account of their migration to independent states. The pressure of these factors was so very great that Bismarck had to adopt the policy of colonial expansion. Merchants and Missionaries led the way.

Consequently, Germany had inevitably joined the bandwagon of European powers out to share the resources in the unexploited African continent. As can be seen, the Missionary factor was part of the colonization process because missionaries requested their home governments for permission to go and evangelize in areas that interested their governments or once out there requested for government protection. Grant (1984) highlights the *Mondus Operandi* that was followed in the colonization process: "Colonizing proper seems to mean the settlement of alien districts with White inhabitants ..... The arrival of traders or missionaries is usually the first step. After that, the situation leads gradually into a sphere of influence, a chartered company, a protectorate, or to full economic or political control" (Grant 1984, p.316).

During the Berlin Conference, European nations claimed a territory on the basis of having influenced it through trade, exploitation or missionary work. Once assigned, an area fell under the protection of a certain European power. Chartered companies were registered business organizations which were mandated by their home governments to carry out trade in the overseas colonies. These were the ones which eventually handed over full colonial control of the Protectorates to their home governments. In East Africa, such chartered companies were the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) of Sir William Mackinnon and German East Africa Company (GEAC) of Dr. Karl Peters. Sir William Mackinnon got a concession from the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1887 with his new company; British East Africa Association. He got the entire Sultan's power to the mainland from the River Umbe to Kipini (Handerson 1962, p.118). In 1888 the name of Imperial British East Africa Company was adopted.

The second reason as to why Bismarck accepted the colonies was to maintain Germany's prestige as a great power because acquisition of colonies was seen as sign of greatness. European powers namely Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Portugal were literally scrambling for Africa. 'Clearly if Germany did not act promptly, the few remaining regions of the world suitable for exploitation would be appropriated by others' (Handerson, 1962, pp.4-5). The following is the sum total of Germany's colonial possessions:

The Germany colonial empire eventually had an area of a million square miles and an estimated native population of about 15 millions. Most of the colonies were in Africa. The largest and most promising was GEA (Tanganyika) with an area of 384,000 square miles. Valuable tropical products such cotton, rubber, tobacco and coffee could be raised. Some of the highlands were suitable for White settlements. There were adequate ports..... On the west coast of Africa, Germany secured three colonies – South West Africa (322,450 square miles) the Cameroons (Old Cameroons 192,000 square miles and New Cameroons 100,000 square miles) and Togoland (33,000 square miles). South West Africa included much desert but diamonds were found in 1908 and some districts were suitable for white settlement. Other German colonies outside Africa were in Shantung (China) and the Pacific Islands (Handerson, 1962 p.ix).

As shown earlier, European powers claimed areas for colonization which they had earlier ventured into through trade, exploration and missionary work. For instance Von der Decken, a German, had surveyed the southern slopes of Mt Kilimanjaro (Tanganyika) in 1861-62 (Handerson, 1962). But it is Carl Peters who is largely credited as the founder of German East Africa (Handerson, 1962, p. xii). In 1882, 'Kolonialverein' (colonial society) was founded. Carl Peters chapter of the same, 'Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonization (Society for German Colonization) of 1884 hoped to raise money to finance colonial enterprise in East Africa (Handerson, 1962, pp.4-5). The latter became German East Africa Company (GEAC).

Carl Peters signed several treaties with African chiefs of the interior Tanganyika (German East Africa) securing the area for his country. But being over-ambitious he ventured into north, an area Britain believed to be hers, hence attracting the wrath of British officials. As has been mentioned, the Anglican Church based in England had way back in 1844 and 1846 sent two missionaries to East Africa through its missionary organization, the CMS. However, the two missionaries, Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebman were German. Christopher Wilson (1952) captures the mood in Britain that time:

The German adventurer succeeded in spite of the peaceful efforts of the British government to stop him in making his way up the Tana River ....he burned {IBEAC's} station at Bokore (where he shot the Galla chief )and Korokoro...the behaviour of this German pioneer whose work was tacitly approved by his government ...(Wilson 1952, p. 119).

As has been mentioned, this is the kind of conflict with Britain which Bismarck was wary of when initially he was reluctant to acquire colonial territories. As will be seen later, when WWI broke out in 1914, British colonial officials were quick to deport GNM missionaries in Tana River back to Germany. One cannot fail to see a connection between these initial differences between Germany and Britain in the occupation of Africa and the harsh treatment of the GNM missionaries.

Around the same time, two brothers, Clemens and Gustav Denhardt staked a claim in Wituland on the mainland of Lamu island (Mambo, 1980, p.72). Wituland was part of the Tana region (Appendix 37). This area subsequently attracted the attention of the Neukirchen Missionary Society (Mambo, 1980). The stalemate between Germany and Britain over East Africa was finally solved through Anglo-German treaties signed in June and July 1890. Germany surrendered her shadowy 'protectorate' over Witu and so gave up her attempt to establish a new colony north of the British sphere of influence. Germany accepted the British protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba. Britain ceded the island of Heligoland to Germany (Handerson, 1962, p.20).

It is worth noting that although Germany lost the Tana region/Wituland to Britain, the GNM missionaries from Germany did not withdraw from there but were determined to continue with their missionary activities. They could have easily resolved to join their colleagues in Tanganyika because GNM missionaries also undertook evangelism there. Missionaries tended to do better in areas colonized by their home countries because of the evident support given either directly or indirectly. The opinion of Dr David Livingstone of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) gives a candid link between missionary work and colonialism:

Livingstone, oppressed by his intimate associations with savagery had longed for the European trader and settler to follow in his footsteps and bring the order and security of civilization into the wilder regions of the continent. He knew that it could only be prolonged contact with civilized men that barbarism could be eliminated. Had he not said that 100 years would pass before the Africans to whom, he was trying to preach the gospel would be able to appreciate the Principle of Christianity? His vision was no longer of unsupported missionary effort but the introduction of civilization, of law and order backed by a strong alien government. In his opinion, this was the only hope of salvation for the African (Wilson, 1952, p.23).

The colonial history of Germany (The home of GNM) is short lived lasting for only 35 years (1884-1919) as compared to that of Britain for instance which lasted for over 80 years. Germany lost all her colonies in 1919 following the resolution of the Treaty of Versailles in France after losing WW I. Her colonial Empire was partitioned among the victors, the territories being held as mandates for the League of the Nations (Encyclopedia Britannica vol. 5 2003, p. 210). Historians and researchers have tended to be more attracted to the European powers which stayed longer in the African continent. Handerson (1962) reports:

The story of Germany's colonial empire has often been inadequately treated in general works on European history. The results of Germany's acquisition of territory overseas and on foreign policy are generally recognized, but the development of colonies themselves is frequently neglected (Handerson, 1962, p.1).

If developments in the Germany colonial empire have been largely ignored by historians and researchers then it means that even the work of German missionaries including the GNM in the evangelization and establishment of Western education has suffered the same fate. This is one of the gaps this study wishes to fill.

Whereas we cannot overlook the fact that 35 years is not a long time, Handerson contends that "changes which in the overseers possessions of other countries were a matter of gradual evolution took place much more rapidly in the German colonial empire" (Handerson, 1962, p. x). The achievements of GNM in the Tana region albeit under very difficult circumstances far outweigh those of the United Methodist Mission (UMM) or the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS), giving a true testimony of this statement. What we are learning here is that Germans as a people have a tendency to work with speed with a result oriented mentality. If we take the Industrial Revolution for instance, it is a well-known fact that it started in Britain then spread to other Western European countries (Lane 1978, pp 5-6). Germany is reported to have caught up and even surpassed Britain with speed. Koch (1978) elucidates:

Christopher Dawson, Thorstein Veblen and others have drawn attention to the peculiar nature of Germany's Industrial Revolution, a view restated recently by Ralf Dahrendorf, emphasizing the importance of the speed and thoroughness with which it was carried out. What in Britain, for instance was achieved over a period of 150 years, took in Germany barely one-third of that time. The index of industrial production (1913=100) rose in Britain from 34 in 1860 slowly but steadily to 53 in 1880 and 79 in 1900; by comparison the figures for Germany are 14 in 1860, 25 in 1880 and 65 in 1900 (Koch 1978, p.279).

The above figures show Germany catching up with Britain fast in the industrialization process. If this is anything to go by, then a need for an in depth study of their 35 years of colonial activities including missionary work cannot be over emphasized.

Germany has been generally accused of having caused WW II (Stoessinger 1998, p.209). This appears to have influenced many historians and researchers to fail to do an objective research so as to ascertain the positive side of Germany colonial empire and by extension the enduring work of their missionaries. British government and media influenced a lot the opinion of the day in Europe both during WWI and the years which followed. Handerson (1962) further explains:

During the First World War... in order to blacken Germany's name in neutral countries, English publicists (such as Northcliffe) and eventually the British Government embarked upon a campaign to brand the Germans as inhuman monsters who had maltreated the natives in their colonies in the vilest fashion...(Handerson, 1962, p. xii).

While taking over the colonial territories of Germany during the Versailles Treaty of 1919, the Allies claimed that they were acting from the highest motives and that they were rescuing millions of down-trodden natives from a cruel and despotic rule (Handerson, 1962). This is an extreme judgment on Germany. The truth is that colonialism was oppressive and exploitative in nature regardless of which European power had colonized which country in Africa. As Perham (1941) puts it; the aim of all conquering people in history (is) the increase of their own power and wealth (Perham 1941, p.53).

With such a negative opinion on Germany controlling the mind and thinking of the Europeans in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, one would not expect much to have been researched and documented on a Germany missionary society such as the GNM. (Handerson, 1962) concludes with a well stated way forward:

Much of what has been written on Germany's overseas possession is tainted in propaganda. The difficulties that bar the way to the discovery of what really happened in the German colonies between 1884 and 1914 are a challenge to the historian. It is of importance that the grain should be sifted from the chaff and that the truth should be ascertained. (Handerson, 1962, p. xii)

It is in the small town of Neukirchen in Lower Rhine land by the River Moers that Pastor Doll and his well-wishers established an orphanage for boys in 1882 (Mambo. 1980, p.72; Nthamburi 1982 p.49). It can be deduced that they did so in line with the teachings of Christianity about lending a helping hand to the needy in the society. This is well captured by the following quotation from the book of James in the Bible: "Pure and undefiled religion before God and the Father is to visit orphans and widows in their trouble, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world."(The Bible: Authorized King James Version (AKJV): James 1:27).

Later on, the benevolent Neukirchen Church became interested in missionary work in Africa. The pioneer work of Ludwig Krapf and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) on the East Coast of Africa seems to have attracted them to the area. Dr. Krapf had been urging the Methodists to start a "Galla Mission" in Tana River after declaring that there was much potential for missionary work in Tana River and among the Galla. The Neukirchen missionaries were aware that the Methodists had not yet succeeded in establishing any such station.

The Denhardt brothers who had staked a claim in the study area in 1886 wrote to GNM: "I hold 250 hectares of fruit bearing land for the purpose of your missionary ventures and will

be pleased if good work can be advanced” (Mambo, 1980, p.73). Thomas Wakefield of the United Methodist Mission (UMM) objected to the coming of GNM to Tana River claiming that the Tana was a Methodist zone. But in reality the Methodists were really never adequately keen or aggressive in their undertaking in the region (Wakefield p. 147). In spite of the opposition from the Methodists, the GNM went ahead and opened up a post at Ngao in 1887 (Mambo, 1980, p. 75).

Ngao town is situated along River Tana, 10 km off Malindi-Garsen road in Tana River County. It is about 30 km from Garsen town. The GNM chose Ngao as their base. They faced many challenges that included competition from Methodists, harsh climate, attacks by Somalis, floods and harassment by the British Colonial Government. Nevertheless they did not give up (Mambo, 1980, pp.75-79). A map of the study area is at Appendix 7.

### **2.2.1 The Ideology of the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM)**

Otiende (1982, p.36) agrees with Murray (1978) and Cairns (1965) that the missionary societies would best be understood within their ideological background. The fact is that it was the Western missionary ideology of their time that culminated in their endeavours in Africa and elsewhere. The ideology of the GNM can be examined under five major perspectives.

#### **(i) Faith Mission**

Faith Mission is a term used most frequently among evangelical Christians to refer to a missionary organization with an approach to evangelism that encourages its missionaries to trust in God to provide the necessary resources. These missionaries are said to live by faith. Most faith missionaries are not financially supported by denominations (Tucker, 1983). The Faith Mission is an interdenominational agency which works closely with all Christian

churches that share a similar concern for passionate evangelism. Anthony Norris Groves is referred to as the father of Faith Missions (Dann, 2004).

Nthamburi, 1982, p.55) explains what was meant by a faith mission: ‘Faith missions drew their missions from different denominations. They were evangelical in theology and did not have a guaranteed income. Missionaries were responsible for raising money for their support in the mission field. Major faith missions in Kenya were AIM, the Gospel Missionary Society and the Pentecostal Missions’ (cited in Philip, *A New Day in Kenya*, p.123).

The Neukirchen Mission had been founded in 1882 by Pastor Doll as a ‘Faith Mission’ (Nthamburi, 1982, p.49). As indicated above, Faith Missions were evangelical in nature. The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines the word ‘evangelical’ as ‘certain Protestant Christian churches which believe in the importance of faith and of studying the Bible, rather than in religious ceremonies.’ The second definition is ‘showing great eagerness in spreading one’s own beliefs or ideas.’ Both definitions fairly describe the nature and activities of the GNM. The kind of resilience the missionaries exhibited shows great faith in the God and Gospel they were propagating. Bible lessons were given much emphasis and no one was baptized before they could read and write. The missionaries sacrificed a lot, often going for days without basic needs like food and medicine, yet did not relent in their resolve to evangelize among the Tana people (Nthamburi, 1982, p.54).

## **(ii) Reformed Theology**

Erwin Fahlbusch in the Encyclopedia of Religion distinguishes the GNM from other German contemporary religious organizations in the following words: The Neukirchen Mission (1882) was the only Reformed Society. Inspired by Muller, it begun with an orphanage and later added other works in Kenya and Java.’ As will be shown later, much of its work especially in education is credited to Hermann Muller who arrived in Lamu in 1930.

The term Reformed Society, is well understood when we examine Reformed Theology.

Broadly speaking, Reformed Theology includes any system of belief that traces its roots back to the Protestant Reformation of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Of course, the Reformers themselves traced their doctrine to scripture, as indicated by their credo of 'sola scriptura'. So Reformed Theology is not a 'new' belief system but one that seeks to continue apostolic doctrine... Reformed theology teaches that Christians are in the world to make a difference spiritually through evangelism and socially through holy living and humanitarianism. {Reformed Theology (n.d)}.

Martin Luther (1483-1546) of Germany is the brainchild of the Protestant Reformation Movement which saw the Catholic Church doctrine challenged; culminating in the emergence of splinter groups which generally came to be referred to as Protestants. The Reformers argued that Christians ought to study the Bible in its totality and realize that salvation is by God's grace not by works; otherwise, the rich would have undue advantage (Belloc, 1975; Hurstfield, 1965).

A Reformed society was simply perpetuating the work of the Apostles of Jesus Christ who went about preaching, healing the sick and helping the needy especially among believers. This must have been the driving force behind the idea of the GNM starting an orphanage in Germany and later getting interested to come to Africa. The first explorers and travellers to come to Africa from Europe had painted Africa as a 'Dark Continent' inhabited by 'primitive' and 'backward' people (Wilson, 1952). The GNM saw a window of opportunity to practice humanitarianism among the Africans through introducing Christianity and Western education. The GNM was therefore Lutheran in orientation, a product of the Protestant Reformation.

Suffice it to say that even though Dr Johann Ludwig Krapf had pioneered missionary work in East Africa way back in 1844 under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society (CMS)

based in London, Britain, Krapf himself was a German of the Lutheran orientation. Smith (1973) writes:

The CMS had been founded in 1799, but as late as 1843, since no British missionaries could be found for service in East Africa, it had to employ Lutherans trained at Basle for work in this field. Krapf was one of these.

Lutherans are highly academic because they believe Christians must be able to read and interpret the Bible themselves; no wonder the GNM missionaries never baptized any convert who could not read and write.

### **(iii) Social Darwinism**

In his book entitled, *“The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or The Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life,”* first published in 1859, Charles Darwin argued that species were in constant struggle for meagre resources and only the fittest survive (Darwin C. 1971, p.81). The theory appeared to give scientific backing for the belief in the superiority of the European race. Those who ascribed to Social Darwinism were influenced by the ideas of Charles Darwin. The later day Darwinians justified the conquest of what they called ‘subject races’ or ‘backward races’ by the ‘master race’ as the inevitable process of ‘natural selection’ by which the stronger dominates the weaker in the struggle for economic existence. Thus they preached that might was right. Charles Darwin held that in their bid to survive, perpetuate themselves and avoid extinction, species evolved into more complex forms in order to cope with the changing environment. Social Darwinism saw the ‘Negroid’ or black race positioned lower in the ladder of evolution with the Europeans or Caucasian at the top and the Asians or Mongoloid at the middle.

Influenced by this theory, one of the reasons for the coming of missionaries was to ‘civilize’ Africans. If Africans were ‘uncivilized’, it meant in the opinion of missionaries that their religion, education and other cultural aspects were uncouth. This is well captured in

Christopher Wilson's book, *Before the Dawn in Kenya* (1952) where he described Africans as "living in a spiritual nightmare and their lives as being haunted by the unholy trinity of custom, superstition and witchcraft (Wilson, 1952, p.29). Even the title of the book itself shows a foreigner who had already formed a negative opinion on the Black people.

Consequently, missionaries were convinced that they had a moral obligation to free the Africans from their ignorance and backwardness. It therefore became a 'White man's burden', i.e., it was the responsibility of Europeans to uplift the socio-cultural and economic standards of the African to get near or come to the same level as the Europeans. According to (Otiende, 1982, p.135),

The mission stations, established by missionaries were seen as centres of western civilization in the middle of savagedom, and on numerous occasions, it did not quite matter whether or not they were winning followers to Christianity; what was important was the civilizing influence of the missionaries' very presence in Africa for their contact with the African societies would eventually change the latter's moral and spiritual outlook.

The feeling of superiority of the Whites against Africans at this time is further reflected in the utterances of a missionary by name Allen in 1898 as recorded in the diaries of Peter Cameron Scott, the founder of the African Inland Mission (AIM). The Diaries are a collection of writings entitled "Hearing and Doing". Allen says, "Of course we are in Africa and must not expect so much from these dark sons of Ham as we would those in the homeland" (*Hearing and Doing III,2* (1898) 5 Quoted in Gratton, 1973, p.36).

Ham was one of the sons of Noah (The Bible: Genesis 9) who looked at his naked father when the father forgot to cover himself after getting drunk. The other two sons Shem and Japheth rebuked him and while closing their eyes took a piece of cloth and covered their father. The theory behind this story is that since Noah cursed Ham, the latter must be the

father of Africans (Hamites) who were condemned to be slaves of their brothers. Some Eurocentric minded people have used this theory to justify slavery and colonization of the Africans.

Allen continues: “The natives are so stupid and indescribably lazy. If one is set to work no matter what the work is, he must be watched, or he will either go to sleep, or be picking jiggers out of his feet” (*Hearing and Doing IV,6* (1900) 4 (Gration, 1973 p.37). This reflects the White man’s ethnocentricity and biasness at this point in time. Was this not the same African who before the coming of the White man was cultivating the land for food, keeping livestock, trading with neighbours, engaging in domestic crafts like pottery and basketry as well as sustaining elaborate systems of government (Rodney, 1988, pp.72-75)? With such mentality and attitude as held by Allen, missionaries from Europe believed that Christianity and Western education (and to a large extent Western culture) would salvage the African from the doldrums of ignorance. Cairns (1965, p.20) summed up the European superiority complex versus African purported ignorance and the inevitable way forward in the following words: “Superiority was a trust and its usage had conditions attached. The fact of superiority was not in question, but rather obligations. Contentment sprang from well-being, the consciousness of superiority justly utilized.”

No culture is superior to the other. The best approach could have been for the Europeans and the Africans to blend their two cultures through each one of them borrowing from the other what they lacked or deemed appropriate. This was not possible because the Europeans viewed themselves superior to the Africans and consequently dismissed wholesomely the African practices and traditions. These included traditional religion and African Indigenous Education (AIE).

Such was the general feeling and position of the Europeans of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Africans were considered backward people and Europeans had to sacrifice to help them as a service to God. The GNM missionaries were out to serve the local people to rid them of ignorance and disease (Fritz & Hanna Gissel, 1991, p.31).

#### **(iv) Socio-Political and Economic Interests**

There is a thin line between evangelization in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in Africa by Europeans and the West's imperialist expansion. The motivations behind the two tend to have a common meeting point. This is to exercise control over weaker peoples for selfish gains in the belief that the ripple effect of the gains realized would also benefit the conquered peoples. This state of affairs can be seen through the words of Dr David Livingstone, a Scottish missionary doctor, largely credited for initiatives to bring an end to slavery and slave trade in Eastern and Central Africa, including opening up the region for the Gospel. He argues;

That you may have clear idea of my object; they are not merely exploratory for I go with the intention of benefitting both the African and own countrymen... I hope it may result in an English colony on the healthy highlands of Central Africa ...” (Murray-Brown 1977, p.33 Quoted in Otiende, 1982).

In a speech he gave at Cambridge University in 1857, Livingstone added, “I go back to Africa to make an open road for commerce and industry. Do you carry out the work I have begun? I leave it to you” (Smith 1973, p.4). Otiende (1982, p.34) further adds that Livingstone believed in the integration of Christianity with commerce and civilization, in order to rejuvenate Africa. Civilization meant Africans being subjected to European rule for easy introduction of Western culture among the purportedly backward Africans.

One of the reasons for the scramble for Africa by European powers apart from economic exploitation was political prestige. The more colonies a country acquired the more powerful it was perceived to be. France for instance sought colonies in Africa to compensate for her loss

of the mineral rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany in the Franco- Prussian War (Encyclopedia Britannica Vol 5, 2003, p.219; Mahajan 2013, p.213). Adrian Hastings (1967) further elucidates:

Church history...forms part of the complex rough and tumble of social and political history...the missionary penetration of Africa in the years 1880-1900 at times preceded but other times depended upon the general European penetration of the continent (Quoted in Gratton, 1973, p.43).

Germany which had emerged as a new super power in Europe would not be left behind in the acquisition of colonies in Africa. By hosting the Berlin Conference of 1884/85, she had joined the group of titans or who was who in Europe in as far as international affairs were concerned. The Berlin Conference resolved that where there was a conflict of interest between two powers, the two would amicably hold talks and agree on the boundaries. By the time Britain and Germany were agreeing on boundaries in East Africa (1890), the GNM was already in Tana River/ Wituland, courtesy of the Denhardt brothers. The United Methodist Mission (UMM) was also in the area. Wituland finally ended up with Britain. The GNM did their work both in German East Africa (Tanganyika) and British East Africa (Kenya).

#### **(v)The Great Commission**

Christianity was founded by Jesus Christ of Nazareth with a strong base from Hebrew heritage spanning many years since the days of their patriarch Abraham son of Terah (Sifuna and Otiende, 1994, pp.46-48). The term Christianity is derived from Jesus' surname "Christ". His initial followers were first called Christians in Antioch (The Bible: AKJV: Acts 11:26). Before his ascension to heaven, Jesus instructed his disciples to continue with his work in the following words:

Go ye therefore, and teach all nations baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you... I am with you always, even unto the end of the world (The Bible, AKJV: Matthew 28:19-20).

The Command in Matthew 28:19-20 came to be known in Christian circles as “The Great Commission”. Later day disciples were referred to as missionaries. The Great Commission was also known as “Mission” to reach the unreached. Consequently, those who volunteered to go for the Mission were known as Missionaries. They were ready and willing to persevere all manner of suffering and persecution because of the great reward in heaven of those who suffered for the Gospel (The Bible: NKJV Matthew 5:10-12 and Revelation 2:10). Jesus Christ himself had set the example of laying down his life or sacrificing to die as a ransom to guarantee the forgiveness of sinners (John 3:16; Romans 5:8).

The Great Commission therefore is the instruction of the resurrected Jesus Christ to his disciples to spread his teachings to all the nations of the world. Although the command was initially given directly only to Christ’s eleven remaining Apostles, evangelical Christian theology has typically interpreted the commission as a directive to all Christians of every time and place, particularly because it seems to be a restatement or moving forward of the last part of God’s covenant with Abraham in Genesis 12 and 22. God promised Abraham that he would make his descendants as numerous as the stars of the sea and as sand which is on the seashore. The Great Commission eventually became a tenet in Christian theology emphasizing Ministry, Missionary work, Evangelism and Baptism.

The term ‘Great Commission’ does not appear in the Bible but was first used by Dutch missionary Justian von Welz then later popularized by Hudson Taylor (Castleman, 2018). Undoubtedly, the Great Command by the founder of Christianity, Jesus Christ motivated missionaries of various Christian denominations to leave their home countries and go and spread Christianity in faraway lands. Education was one of the tools the missionaries used to enable them spread the Gospel.

The Le Zoute Conference held in Belgium in 1926 and majorly attended by Protestant Missionaries heavily influenced the Missionaries' policy on African education. It resolved that African education should involve character development based on religion, hygiene, reading, writing, and arithmetic. It also emphasized on agricultural education, industrial education and physical education (Nthamburi, 1982).

Otiende (1982) notes the true resolve of the missionary to preach the Gospel in the following words:

It is evident that there were very deep personal and religious convictions behind the efforts of many missionaries. These outweighed considerations of health, personal hostility and ignorance of Africa.... The missionary zeal was frequently excessive and appeared to be motivated by deep religious principles which often took little account of danger (Otiende, 1982, pp.30-31).

The missionaries believed, according to scriptures that the gains in the eternal kingdom of God of those who lead others unto righteousness far outweighed any kind of suffering including death. Death therefore became the ultimate sacrifice for a worthy cause.

The GNM missionaries were taken aback by the hostile coastal environment and constant attacks by rival Muslims. They were also pushed out after Germany lost the First and Second World Wars but still returned in 1926 and 1970. By 1928, 17 out of 48 missionaries working in Tana River had lost their lives; yet the remnants never gave up the work (Mambo, 1980, p.83 in Nitsch p.125).

### **2.2.2 Conclusion on the Ideology of GNM**

Ideology can be described as a strong belief and conviction about something which becomes a driving force for the accomplishment or undertaking of certain activities or tasks by an individual or institution. Questions arise as to what could have been the underlying force behind the GNMs resilience in Missionary work in Tana River where others had given up.

Moreover, there was the never ending animosity from a British colonial government which culminated into the GNM being chased away during the two World Wars.

The geographical, historical and religious realities make the GNM not to be looked at in isolation. The geographical factor entails the fact that most of the missionary groups came from Europe. The historical happenings in Europe at the time for instance the Industrial Revolution eventually impacted upon the entire European continent. The Industrial Revolution triggered a need for more raw materials, cheap labour, an expanded market and new frontiers for settling surplus population. In addition, missionary groups based their call on the teachings of the Christian faith.

The ideology has also been looked at in several perspectives because many forces come to play. First, there is the Great Commission by the founder of Christianity, Jesus Christ who commissioned his disciples then and afterwards to go to the entire world and preach the Gospel. Since one missionary society could not cover the entire world alone, it was prudent to be certain where to focus. Still on the same religious front, a deeper look at the GNM portrays the features of Reformed Theology whose brain child was Martin Luther, a German. This is deemed important because missionary groups did not have a homogeneous spiritual and moral blue print as their guiding principle. Moreover, the GNM was one of the few so called 'Faith Missions' which based their faith on sacrificial service and self-denial as well as strict adherence to scriptures.

Furthermore, missionary societies did not operate in a vacuum and the social- political and even economic interests of governments of their home countries influenced their activities. This is because the missionaries required support from back home. They had to play a reciprocal role of supporting their home governments' occupation of Africa. The same

governments justified laying claim in an area which their missionaries had earlier ventured into.

Finally and unfortunately, we cannot overlook the perception of Europeans that time as regards the Black race against a backdrop of the influence of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. Missionaries believed that they were undertaking a noble duty of 'civilizing' Africans. Western formal education inevitably became the tool to spread Western civilization and religion among the African people.

One would still rightly say that the above discussed factors influenced in one way or the other all the missionary organizations in terms of their worldview and the activities they undertook. This study wished to go further and establish whether there could be more about the GNM that informs its ideology bearing in mind that the mission group appears to have done more in the study area compared to other missionary organizations operating in Africa that time.

### **2.3 The Role of the GNM in the Establishment and Growth of Western Education in Tana River County**

It is worth noting that at this preliminary stage of missionary work, evangelization went hand in hand with the establishment of Western education as it was only through the latter that the subjects could understand the Bible, read it on their own and teach others. That explains why the first literature to be translated into local languages was sections of the Bible. The inextricability of evangelization and Western education is well affirmed by the following excerpts:

Western Christian missionaries had become involved with formal education almost from the moment they arrived in Africa for a number of critical reasons specific to their proselytizing mission: the need to stamp out the slave trade and substitute it with other morally acceptable and peace- and-stability- inducing economic activities; propagate literacy to facilitate religious instruction and develop a cadre of local teachers and pastors to accelerate evangelization (Lulat 2005, p.2009).

Interestingly, Europeans believed that Western education would liberate the African mind and make him realize the evil associated with slave trade forgetting that Europeans had perpetuated the same trade for over four centuries. Foster Watson Vives also shows the interconnectedness between education and religion:

There is nothing in life more fearful or more excellent than the cultivation of the mind through what we call the branches of learning (disciplinae), by means of which we separate ourselves from the way of life and customs of animals and are restored to humanity and raised towards God himself (cited in Bantock 1980, p.106).

We see in this statement, a deliberate attempt to associate Western formal education with a civilized way of life and thereby undermining cultures devoid of this particular education. This education is portrayed as the only way towards worship of the true God. Dr .W.R.S Miller, the superintendent of CMS mission in Hausa land in northern Nigeria puts it more succinctly:

It is of course a principle of all our work that education is never separated from the teaching of the Christian faith...the dense ignorance that breeds disloyalty will only break down in this country through two means ,Christianity and education (Quoted in Graham 1966, p.33).

Gration (1973, p.3) reiterates that for many years church and school were practically synonymous.

In Tana River, the first missionary station was opened at Golbanti in 1885 by the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS) sent by United Methodist Free Church (UMFC). This was as a result of an invitation by Dr Ludwig Krapf of the CMS, who had encouraged the MMS to reach out to the Galla (Orma) in the area. Reverend Michael Gafu of Wenje clarified to the

researcher that the United Methodist Mission (UMM) and the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS) are used alternatively in different writings because they refer to the same organization. He added that the missionaries preferred to simply being known as the Methodists. Between 1864 and 1882, Thomas Wakefield, the founder of MMS made four trips to the Galla country before the station was established. In 1886, ‘a missionary couple Rev. John and Mrs. Alice Houghton was dispatched to Golbanti. Their stay there was short lived. These two pioneers met their deaths at the hands of the Kwavi /Iloikop Maasai on 23 May 1886 (Berrett et al {eds} 1973, p.22; Mambo 1980, p.65, Nthamburi, 1982, p.46). Such incidents among other hardships made Wakefield to flee to Lamu and later move to Durumaland at Ganjoni (now Mazeras).The first baptism at Golbanti took place on 30 August 1896 presided over by Pastor Omerod; but with his death three years later, the Galla Mission had practically ceased to exist.(Mambo, 1980, p. 67, Nthamburi, 1982).

As earlier indicated, more mission stations were opened along the Coast in the next couple of years by different missionary organizations. The construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway line was a milestone in the region and the missionaries made good use of it by extending their work to the interior of Kenya (Berrett et al {eds}, 1973, p.22 & 33). By 1910, missionaries from different denominations had spread throughout Kenya and had established schools without the colonial government’s help {Education Department Annual Report (EDAR), 1930, pp. 4-5}. Table 2:1 below shows different Christian denominations in Kenya by 1910.

**Table 2.1 Different Christian Denominations in Kenya by 1910**

<b>DENOMINATIONS</b>	<b>YEAR OF ARRIVAL</b>
FAM	1902
LIM	1905
Consolata Fathers	1902
MHF	1903
CSM	1898
HGF	1890
RCM	1890
CMS	1894
AIM	1901
GMS	1902
Italian Fathers	1902

**Source: Oliver R: 1965, pp. 169- 170**

As can be seen from Table 2.1 above, the United Methodist Mission (UMM) and the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM) have not been included by the author who seems to have focused more on the interior of Kenya where Christianity thrived. These Christian denominations or missionary organizations made much success in the interior of Kenya as compared to the Coast. They established many mission stations and schools as they took advantage of the

railway line and the fact that up-country people had not fallen under any other foreign religious influence as had their coastal counterparts. Table 2:2 below shows Mission Stations and Schools opened in the interior of Kenya by various Christian denominations by 1912.

**Table 2.2: Upcountry Mission Stations and Schools opened by various Christian Denominations by 1912**

DENOMINATION	REGION/STATION/SCHOOL
CMS	Kikuyu, Maseno, Embu.
CSM	Kibwezi, Kikuyu, Tumutumu, Chogoria.
AIM	Ukambani, Kikuyu land, Maasai, other parts of the Rift Valley.
GMS	Kambui, Ng'enda (Kiambu).
CCM	Nyeri, Meru.
HGF	Limuru, Kiambu, Mang'u.
MHM	Yala, Central Nyanza, Kakamega, Nyabururu.
SDA	Kamagambo, Gendia, Nyanchwa (S.Nyanza).
FAM	Kaimosi, Vihiga.
CoG	Mwihila (North Nyanza).

**Source: Bogonko, S.N (1992, p. 19) {The table is my own creation}.**

To date, areas which embraced Christian missionaries have remained ahead of others in educational matters. Most of the well performing national schools are found in these areas notably Alliance High School, Alliance Girls High School, Mang'u High School, Loreto High school, Limuru, Limuru Girls High School and Maseno School (Eshiwani 1993, p.52).

Furley (1978, p.71) states that the GNM established itself amongst the Pokomo to the north of Mombasa about 1895. Barrett et al (eds) (1973, p.22) shows that the Neukirchener Mission (NM) begun in 1887 in Lamu and later moved to Ngao, Tana River. Furley further explains that the GNM did not only teach religious education but also agricultural instruction, the 3Rs and English language.

Furley (1978) and Barrett et al (1973) do not say anything more about GNM. Nevertheless Mambo (1980) in his PhD Dissertation at Colombia University entitled: Challenges of Western Education in Coast Province of Kenya, 1890- 1963, has fairly focused on the GNM though concentrated more on challenges as the title of his work entails. He derives most of the background information of the GNM from the work of a German historian Wilhelm Nitsch (1914) entitled 'Traenensaat and Freudenernte in Ostafrika : Ein Rueckblick auf 25 Jahre Neukirchener Missionarbeit am Tana ('Sowing with tears and reaping with joy in East Africa: A review of 25 years of mission work along Tana River of the Neukirchener Mission).

The story of the GNM must start in 1882 when it was founded {Fahlbusch, E. (n.d); Nthamburi, 1982, p.49}. The founder Pastor L. Doll died in 1883 and was succeeded by Inspector I. Stursberg (Mambo, 1980, p.73). The success of the GNM in the mission field is associated with Stursberg for his courage and determination. The GNM had started an orphanage and it is from this group of youthful men and women that missionaries were sought to reach out to the heathen in faraway lands. To show the seriousness of the task at hand, a magazine was launched called "Die Heidenboten "(Messenger for the Heathen ) and volunteers ready to go out to proclaim the Gospel had to undergo a 3 years training programme. Subsequently two young men were dispatched to Egypt to found a mission station there (Mambo, 1980). The fact that the volunteer missionaries had to undergo training

clearly shows the keenness with which the GNM treated the matter of skills and knowledge acquisition as a prerequisite for success in its endeavours.

It will be remembered that Clemens and Gustav Denhardt had successfully put a claim on Wituland and acquired land rights of approximately 250 hectares. They wrote to the GNM to consider the region for missionary work. A decision was arrived at to abandon the Egyptian mission. One of the reasons for the change of mind was because there was likelihood to succeed among the heathen in the Tana than with the Islamized Egypt. "Moreover, there was a growing national pride among missionaries to prefer working in foreign areas under the colonial administration of the motherland" (Mambo, 1980).

It was related how the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS) gave up on the Galla mission. No sooner had the GNM landed in the area than the MMS once again started showing interest in the Galla Mission. Nevertheless, evidence available shows that the MMS did not do much beyond the opening of the Golbanti centre (Nthamburi, 1982).

In 1887, Inspector Stursberg authorized the dispatch of an expedition up the Tana under Reverend Ferdinand Wurtz. The expedition located Ngao, a Pokomo village, a few miles above the Methodist post at Golbanti. The Neukirchen pioneers soon opened up a post at Ngao (Nthamburi, 1982, p.75). Ngao became the main base or headquarters from where the GNM operated throughout the period they were in the Tana region. Other stations were opened up along the Tana valley. 'These included Kulesa, Makere, Ngatana and Hola to name only a few. At each of these stations, catechist schools emerged.' (Nthamburi, 1982, p.79). This statement by Mambo (1980), "to name only a few" clearly shows that there were more stations and schools opened by the GNM hence the need for further study. Nthamburi (Nthamburi, 1982, p.46) on his part reports that "the Germans opened a chain of stations up

the Tana as far as Hola.” More needs to be brought to the fore about this chain of stations. This is another research gap which this study wished to fill.

The first African to be baptized was called Abdullah (Nthamburi, 1982, p.77). The researcher gathered through FGDs undertaken at Ngao that the actual name is Abadula, a Pokomo name which the writer (Nitsch) confused with Abdullah, a Swahili/Muslim name probably because of the closeness in spelling and pronunciation. By 1894, the number had grown to 8 ‘who became helpers that is teachers and preachers.’(Nthamburi, 1982, p.79). These had learnt to read and write, could recite the Apostles’ Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord’s prayer in their mother tongue. The number of converts increased rapidly in the next fifteen or so years after starting off slowly. One key feature of the GNM that makes it stand out among other mission groups is the fact that their missionaries never baptized children but preferred to baptize grownups of twelve years and above who had learnt how to read and write. They believed this made them better converts who could not only read the Bible on their own but also assist in reaching out to others. This policy ensured that their followers embraced Western education faster and at a higher rate when compared to their contemporaries. Nitsch (1914) reports:

In the Neukirchen Mission, the ability to read and write could be ascertained by the number of conversions among the people. Unlike other protestant organizations, the Congregationalists in the Tana mission baptized only those who were fully grown; children were excluded. This practice in effect had the added need for would –be converts to learn to read in order to find the truth in the Bible. In the 1894, 8 youths were baptized .Ten years later in 1904, over 150 people had been baptized .By 1911, 442 had been baptized (Nitsch p.126, Quoted in Mambo 1980, p.79).

GNM once again portrayed itself as being first among equals when in 1895 it took one of the first eight converts; Tschadoro (Chadhoru) Tutu to Germany for further studies. This is probably the first Kenyan or East African to go overseas for further training in the history of

this region –courtesy of the GNM. He undertook a course in seafaring. He returned home in 1896 and became the pilot of the mission's boat, *Naghea*' (Nitsch pp79-82 in Mambo, 1980, p. 80). This boat became very instrumental in accessing the Pokomo villages spread along River Tana. The only means of transport those days was mainly by navigating along the river. The only other missionary organization to take an African abroad around the same time was probably the CMS which took James Mbotela of Frere Town in Mombasa to Britain for technical training in 1905. On returning, Mbotela helped in missionary work in Central Kenya (Barrett et al {eds}, 1973, p. 23).

Another interesting development at this time worth mentioning is the teachers' awareness of their right to demand for better terms of service. The pioneer converts who became teachers were paid five rupees cash per month in 1896 (Nitsch, 1914, p.92). These same helpers staged a teachers' strike in 1908 for pay raises of up to 20 rupees a month (Nitsch, 1914, p.114). Probably, this was the first teachers' strike of its kind in British East Africa (Mambo, 1980, p.80). If this is the case then a history of trade unionism among teachers in Kenya ought to begin in 1908. Workers' consciousness of this magnitude at such a time ought to be seen not as a sign of rebellion or indolence but as an indicator of the seriousness with which the pioneer teachers held their work.

The idea of further education for the natives seems to have been of interest in the thinking and planning of the GNM. An agreement had been reached to open an institution of higher learning in Lamu town where those who did well at Ngao could proceed to for further studies. Lamu was chosen because it was secure from the frequent Somali attacks witnessed at Ngao. On several occasions Lamu Island served as a city of refuge to GNM Missionaries when faced with challenges of attacks and floods at Ngao. The GNM even tried to get

converts in Lamu but failed due to stiff Muslim opposition. Nitsch says the following about the proposed school in Lamu which actually failed to take off at that time due to the teachers' strike of 1908:

Here the 'helpers' who had learned everything one could acquire at Ngao would have had an opportunity to further their studies in Writing, Reading, Reckoning, World History, Earth Science, Missionary History {and} English (Nitsch, 1914, p.113).

Everything was moving on well for the GNM in the Tana region until 1914 when the First World War broke out. The War put Germany and Britain on opposing sides. This had obviously a negative effect on the work of the GNM missionaries who all of a sudden found themselves in enemy territory. The British government did not treat them as innocent or harmless missionaries but declared them *persona non grata*, consequently, deporting them. Of course they reasoned that since the war was also fought in the East African front between the two European powers colonizing the region, patriotism could tempt the missionaries to support the German government in one way or the other. In fact, Germany is reported to have given Britain stiff resistance in East Africa before succumbing to defeat.' {General} Von Lettow Vorbeck made a long and gallant resistance against superior numbers' (Handerson, 1962, p.10).

One may be tempted to think that the German historian Wilhelm Nitsch who has written widely on the GNM may have been biased in favour of the group while reporting its achievements. This is not so when we look at other reports written by non Germans. In 1922, a delegation of the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS) visited the Tana to look at the possibility of perpetuating the work initiated by the GNM. As if aware that MMS could not match the level of sacrifice portrayed by the GNM, a Mrs. Butler of MMS was full of praise towards GNM:

...their hurried departure...even the tombs of their dead, made us feel a great regret and sorrow. These men and women must have had burning hearts and been fervid Christians to have chosen to live in such an unhealthy climate in such lonely surroundings .We often thought that it was a great pity they could not return (Butler 1924, p.277).

Butler's prayers were eventually answered in 1926 when the British colonial government allowed the GNM to return to Tana River. During the period of their absence, i.e., 1914 to 1926 the MMS reluctantly took over their work with little or no impact. In fact, the resolve of the 1922 MMS delegation had been that they could not inherit the GNM missions because of the cost repercussion bearing in mind that they had opened more stations in the interior of Kenya notably Ribe, Mazeras and Meru (UMC Annual Reports 1914-1925). With much reluctance, MMS accepted to preside over the GNM stations and in 1923 sent Reverend B.J Ratcliffe to Ngao. "However the Reverend was often away on meetings in Meru. He also seemed to lack the funds to do a good job" (Mambo,1980, p.134).

In his report, the DC Tana indicated that the MMS was not equal to the task it had agreed to undertake. He says, "Altogether the undertaking appears to be quite beyond the scope of the Mission concerned; that would at present appear to be taking little or no interest in it" (KNA, Tana River District, Annual Reports 1925, p.14). In other words the DC seemed to imply that the GNM had done a good job which MMS was unable or unwilling to sustain. Mr. W.H Taylor, Ag Inspector of Schools at the Coast acknowledged the enormous role played by the GNM in establishing Christianity and Western education in Tana River. He wrote in his report:

A large section of the Wa –Pokomo and the Wa –Galla are Christians... This has been the direct outcome of the intensive German missionaries' effort concentrated over the ten years prior to the outbreak of the Great War.(KNA, Office of the PC Coast; Sectorisation Report of the Tana River District, 8th July 1929).

The report by Mr. Taylor indicates that the GNM had managed to reach out even to the Galla and therefore succeeded where MMS had failed. After the departure of the GNM, evangelization and Western education growth faced a major setback and started deteriorating. Mambo (1980, p.137) regrets this turn of events when he says that this position was pathetic when about ten years earlier the Tana River region seemed to be on the threshold of establishing a firm foundation on which to develop Western education among the people.

Nevertheless, the GNM missionaries appear to have won the hearts of the local people because the Pokomo did their best to sustain the churches and schools which the GNM had started. As earlier stated, they had approached a reluctant MMS to oversee the work left by the GNM. The DC reported in 1916 the high dedication and sacrifice of local teachers to their work:

The native teachers still continue giving elementary instruction –reading and writing etc; but under difficulties -no pay and shortage of books and slates. No fees charged. (KNA, Tana River District, Annual Report 1916-1917, p.22).

Such was the level of consciousness in the value of education instilled among the local people by the GNM to the extent that teachers could work without asking for fees. The GNM missionaries were allowed back in 1926 after a lot of lobbying both by the Tana River people and themselves. They would work for the next 13 years before another World War broke out in 1939. Upon return, the MMS even handed over their flock at Golbanti to the GNM (Mambo, 1980, p.195). This was an indication that Methodists had completely given up on the Tana region.

In the 1930s, schools in Tana River as well as Ngao Hospital were receiving grants- in- aid from the Colonial Government courtesy of the GNM (Mambo, 1980, p. 192). Grants-in-aid was a Government policy of financially supporting missionaries in providing education to

Africans following the recommendations of the Fraser Commission of 1909 (Sifuna & Otiende 1994, p.193). This was a tremendous contribution by the GNM because had they abandoned the area like other missionaries, Tana River would have missed out on the grants-in-aid since “Without {Mission schools} the colonial government could not provide any grant-in-aid” (Mambo 1980, p.208).

Back in 1924, the Local Native Council (LNC) Ordinance was passed. The LNCs were established “with powers to vote tax levies and set up new schools which were secular and divorced from mission influence” (Sifuna & Otiende, 1994, p. 209). The LNC was a local initiative to improve the education of Africans who felt that the government of the day and even the missionaries were not doing enough to increase their education opportunities. By the end of 1934, LNCs had helped in establishing schools at Narok (1922), Kericho (1925), Kajiado (1926), Tambach (1928), Loitokitok (1929), Kakamega (1932) and Kagumo (1934) (Furley, 1978). LNC policy took effect in Tana River in 1937 (Mambo, 1980, p.192). The 13 years delay was as a result of the colonial officers in the area especially the DCs not giving it the necessary backing. For instance Mr. E.H Windley, Tana River DC in 1935 had this to say: Owing to the nature of the District and its population, it appears that not very much useful purpose would be served by the introduction of a LNC at present (KNA, Tana River District Annual Report, 1935 p.6).

One would wonder why he could hold such a position bearing in mind that other arid and semi-arid areas like Narok and Kajiado had managed to start LNC schools. Besides the Tana people had already demonstrated their willingness to embrace Western education and therefore would be more than willing to pay levies to expand the same. Suffice it to say that these African schools were offering elementary education.

The first secondary school established for Africans was Alliance High School in 1926 .It was started by an alliance of Protestant Missions of Church Missionary Society (CMS), Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) and the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS) {Kipkorir 1969, Smith 1973}.By 1939, there were only four secondary schools in Kenya for Africans namely Alliance, Mang’u, Maseno and Yala (Bogonko, 1992). This means that when the GNM educationist Herman Muller set out to establish a secondary school in Tana River in the 1930s, albeit unsuccessfully, he was out to place the District at the same level in education with other very few privileged regions in the country.

Table 2.3 below shows the structure of African education in 1926. Sub-standards are the equivalent of Early Childhood Development and Education (ECDE) today. Elementary is Lower Primary from Class 1 to 4. This means that majority of the Primary Schools in Kenya at this time; Tana River District included, were offering elementary education save for CMS Maseno and CSM Kikuyu.

**Table 2.3: Structure of African Education 1926**

Normal Age	Below 6	6-7	8-9	10,11,12	13,14	15,16,17,18
Standards & Forms	Sub-standards	I-II	III-IV	V,VI.VII	1,2	3,4,5,6
Grade of Schools/Stage of Education	A	B		C	Junior	Senior
	ELEMENTARY				SECONDARY	
Examples				CMS Maseno CSM Kikuyu	Alliance High School	

**Source: Kipkorir, 1969, p.145**

From the discussion above, it is clear that by the time GNM missionaries were deported again in 1939 following the outbreak of WW II, Western education gains in the study region can

only be credited to these German evangelists. Educational losses incurred by their departure, any further educational endeavours embarked on, the number of GNM Schools started that time and whether they still exist and lessons to be learnt from GNM missionaries' experiences are research gaps that this study addressed.

#### **2.4 The Impact of the Establishment of Western Education in Tana River County by GNM**

A German couple Fritz Gissel and Hannah Gissel were part of the GNM missionaries who arrived in the Tana region in 1930. They left for Germany just before the outbreak of the Second World War but returned again to Tana River in 1970. They have consolidated their report, whose final part is based on eye witness accounts, into a book entitled "Einhundert Jahre Neukirchener Missions Am Tana 1887-1987" (A Hundred years of Mission in Tana: The Neukirchener Mission 1887-1987).

As earlier mentioned, the first GNM missionary to arrive in Tana River was Reverend Ferdinand Wurtz who arrived at Ngao village on 17<sup>th</sup> March 1887. He immediately started preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ earning the nickname *Bwana Mwalimu* (Mr Teacher) from the local Pokomo people. Rev. Weber and his wife joined him in 1888. (Gissel & Gissel 1991, p.225). In 1890, Rev. Wurtz and several other missionaries who had joined him with the help of a local pioneer convert named Abadula composed the first Pokomo dictionary and the first written book in Pokomo language about the Pokomo people (Gissel & Gissel, p.226; Mambo, 1980).

In 1893, the first church was built at Ngao by the GNM. The researcher visited the site where the church still stands on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2017 and took a photograph (See Appendix 31). It is important to note from the outset that in the early years, the church served both as a place of

worship and as a classroom. The GNM missionaries who were at Ngao then were Rev. Wurtz, Rev. Weber, Kraft, Bocking, Schwester, Christine Sonnischen, Muhlhoff, Wilhem Schmidt, Heyer, Becker and Eva Velte (Gissel & Gissel, p.227).

On 1<sup>st</sup> March 1894, the first eight converts to Christianity were baptized. These were Kiripa, Chadhoru, Kirage, Lulutya, Subo, Gudina, Zamani and Abadula (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.227; Mambo, 1980). These pioneer converts helped Reverend Wurtz to translate the New Testament section of the Bible into Pokomo language as well as compose a song book in Pokomo. Today, the entire Bible has been translated into the Pokomo language as well as many English hymns from the Golden Bells hymn book. Credit must be given to these pioneer missionaries. Unfortunately, as fate would have it, this pioneer GNM missionary, Reverend Wurtz died in Marseille France while on a return journey to Germany at a young age of 36 years in 1894 (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.227). Other writings by Reverend Wurtz that impacted on education included a small grammar book in English (1889), A Practice Book for Beginners in Faith (1890) and Translation of the Gospel of Mark into Pokomo (1894).

In 1894, Mrs. Anna Weber began a Girl's school at Ngao. The first enrolment had 15 pupils who were taught reading and stitching (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.229). This was probably the first Girls' School in the country. Her aim was to raise girls who would be empowered to help their families and community at large as well as escape the temptations and vulnerability of early marriages. Today, in Ngao town there is Ngao Girls Secondary School whose origin can rightfully be traced back to the work of Mrs Weber, a German missionary (Buya et al, 2011). Unfortunately she died the following year i.e 1895 (see Appendix 27). Nevertheless her work was sustained by her fellow teachers and evangelists until the outbreak of the First World War.

In 1895, the GNM brought a motorboat dubbed *Naghea 1* to Ngao to ease transportation along River Tana. *Naghea* is a Pokomo word which means peace. Pokomo settlements were (and still are) located mainly along the Tana river spreading from Hola in the far west to Kipini in the east as you head to the Indian Ocean. In the same year, GNM took Chadhoru Tutu, one of the pioneer converts to Germany to learn the art of blacksmith and seafaring for two years. He returned in 1897 (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.229). He would be of major help in the maintenance of the motor boat as well as ferrying the missionaries from village to village to monitor the churches and schools they had started. As said earlier, this is probably the first case of an indigenous/native Kenyan going to Europe for further studies. It is unlikely that other missionary groups in Kenya that time could boast of such an achievement. Any study or interest in the impact of overseas studies by Kenyans ought to begin with Chadhoru Tutu and credit must go to the GNM.

In 1896, six more Christians from Ngao were baptized and they received Jesus Christ as their personal saviour. These were Christian (Duo), Filipino (Kagala), Nataniel (Didila), Mungatana, Gwiyo and Jillo (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p. 228; Mambo, 1980). This was after undertaking baptismal lessons. The researcher was informed through FDGs that the Pokomo have a tendency of pronouncing foreign names using local dialects. Filipino is the corruption of the English name Phillip while Nataniel is derived from Nathaniel.

In 1897, missionaries from Sweden completed their station at Makere ya Gwano. Unable to continue with their missionary work citing hardships, they approached the GNM to purchase the mission. This was agreed and the mission was bought at 1400 rupees. The missionaries' in charge were Wartenberg and Langenbach. They later transferred the station to Wenje. Other missionaries who went to Wenje were Bamberger, Weidt, Wiebe and Herman Schmidt (Gissel & Gissel, 1991; Mambo, 1980). Once again, we see a case of another missionary

organization giving up on the Tana but the GNM holding on and going ahead even to purchase a mission station from the Swedish missionaries. Today, this place where the mission was transferred to stands Wenje Secondary School. The researcher visited Wenje on 18<sup>th</sup> October 2017 and was shown among other things the photographs of Wartenberg and Herman Schmidt (mentioned above) by Reverend Michael Gafo Hiribae (See Appendix 23).

In 1900, a school was built at Ngao so that classes would no longer be carried out in the church or missionary houses. It was named Ngao Primary School, whose name was changed to Arap Moi Primary School in 1979. The researcher visited the school on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2017 (See Appendix 30). A Bible School was also built to train preachers and their helpers. Missionaries involved were Langenbach, Muhlhoff, Kraft and Eckhardt. Mr. Pieper and Mr. Fink served as teachers. In the same year; they sent one of the local converts Jillo Kutii to Germany to train in carpentry. He was out in Germany for one year and upon coming back spearheaded the making of benches for churches and schools and any other furniture required (Gissel & Gissel, 1991; Mambo, 1980). Jillo became the second Pokomo man to be taken to Europe from Tana River by the GNM for further training. This is a clear indication that Germans valued vocational and technical education probably better than other missionary organizations of other countries; if financing an African for further studies abroad for the same is anything to go by. The researcher was shown Jillo Kutii's grave at AIC Ngao by Reverend Francis Tumaini, the presiding pastor on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2017.

In 1901, Mrs. Kraft finished the translation of the New Testament section of the Bible into Pokomo; a project which had been started by Rev. Ferdinand Wurtz. Wurtz had also translated selected Old Testament stories including the book of Psalm (Gissel & Gissel, 1991;

Mambo, 1980). These texts were used in schools as religious instruction formed the core of the content taught in schools that time.

In 1906, the GNM opened a new special training school in Lamu with the aim of producing teachers who would teach in schools opened by the mission group. The school would offer a 2 year programme. The first batch of teacher trainees was eight, five of them from Ngao. On completion they would teach basic Christian knowledge, 3Rs (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic) in lower classes and World History, Geography, Mission History, further Arithmetic and English (Gissel & Gissel, 1991; Mambo, 1980). Lower classes were called A and B, While upper classes started at class 1. This school in Lamu can be equated to a Primary School Teachers College today. This again puts the GNM ahead of other missionary groups of that time because although the school failed to be sustained due to the teachers' strike of 1908, no other missionary organization considered such an idea at that time.

In 1909, the GNM opened another station in Hola (Nthamburi, 1982). Reverend Pfeifer and Reverend Weidt were sent to pioneer missionary work there. Heinrich Ciliox and Hermann Schmidt later joined them (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.229). By opening a station in Hola, GNM was in essence endeavouring to cover the entire Tana River County in their missionary work which was both Christianization and formal education.

In 1910, a new motorboat, *Naghea II* was brought from Germany to replace the first one that had sunk in 1902. Those charged to oversee the schedules of the boat were Mssrs. Engelen, Jungist, Mungatana Ndumari, Nathanael Didila and Chadhoru Tutu. Mr. Poppinga would be in charge (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.231). As can be seen, more Africans were being trusted for administrative and technical tasks; opportunities which came after undergoing formal and

technical training. As shown earlier, Ndumari, Didila and Tutu had already been baptized so could read and write as well as communicate with the German missionaries.

In 1913, the first baptism took place at Hola mission and attracted converts from Makere Gwano to Makere Milalulu totalling to 469. Hola being a young mission station had only 5 converts. School children at that time in Tana River County were estimated at 623 (Gissel & Gissel, 1991). The researcher visited Hola Mission on 16<sup>th</sup> October 2017 and interviewed five church elders.

In 1914, WW 1 broke out putting Germany and Britain, the colonial power ruling Kenya in different camps. As indicated earlier, the GNM missionaries were repatriated back to Germany and their churches and schools placed under the supervision of the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS).

One of the most remarkable impacts of the GNM missionary work is that native teachers whom they had trained continued teaching in the schools they had established after the departure of the GNM missionaries. These teachers included Simeon Ubo in Ngao, Reuben Dala, Benjamin Ndumari in Mwanathamba, Mishael Bahari in Garsen and Maweni, Emmanuel Joseph in Kulesa and Abae Galana in Wenje (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, pp. 231-232). Some of these teachers also doubled up as preachers for example Simeon Ubo who was also a reverend (See photograph at 4.5.9).

In 1920, Rev. Hopkins of the Methodist Church visited the missions opened by the GNM. The aim of the tour was to see how Methodists would take over the work left by the GNM after being mandated to do so by the Colonial Government. On arrival, he baptized 370 Pokomos who had already completed baptismal classes and converted to Christianity under

the GNM trained teachers and evangelists (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.232). This again points to the local initiatives of the Pokomo teachers and evangelists who had been trained by the GNM.

In 1926, the ban on GNM missionaries was lifted by the British Government in Kenya and they were allowed back to the country (Nthamburi 1982). The first to arrive were Mr. August Kraft, Mr. and Mrs. Becker and Mr. Wilhelm May. In 1927, August Kraft went to Hola and re-opened the mission station there. In 1928, Mr. Benjamin Ndumari and Mr. Manasseh Oyipe were sent to Uha in Tanzania to help GNM missionaries to evangelize. This is a clear indication that the two had undergone thorough training to be considered good enough to be posted to another country. These are probably the first native Kenyan teachers to work outside the country; credit must be given to the GNM. More mission stations and schools were opened at Malalulu and Bura Karara (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.232).

In 1930, Mr. Hermann Muller arrived in Lamu. He was followed by Mr. Fritz Gissel and Mr. Walter Steubing. The wives of Gissel and Steubing followed later. Hanna Gissel re-opened the Girls' School at Ngao which was supported by the GNM (Gissel & Gissel, 1991). The Girls' School had been opened by Mrs Weber way back in 1894. The school must have deteriorated and eventually closed following the departure of GNM missionaries after the outbreak of the First World War. This again affirms that the German missionaries had a special interest in promoting the plight of the girl child.

In response to increasing cases of sickness that were claiming many lives of the locals, the GNM started constructing a hospital at Ngao in 1931. Similar work was started at Hola. These constructions were completed in 1932 (Gissel & Gissel, 1991). In 1933, Sister Lina Leukel who was in charge of Ngao hospital trained Mr. Duda Mungatana, Mr. Mashiloo

Sitefano and Mrs. Sara Kirage as health workers or nurses. Mrs Marta Gudina served as a midwife (Gissel & Gissel, 1991). Fritz and Hanna Gissel worked both in Hola and Ngao. At Ngao, Hanna Gissel taught in the Girls' School and majored in biblical studies. At this time, Wilhelm May was made the head of Evangelism while Herman Muller was to preside over the education sector that encompassed all primary schools, the teachers' college and the Special School for Girls (Gissel & Gissel 1991, pp. 233-234). The teachers college that had failed to take off in Lamu had been re-located to Ngao (Mambo, 1980).

Between 1935 and 1936, Muller took three local teachers to Jeanes School, Kabete for further studies. These were Mr. Amos Chadhoru, Mr. Israel Gudina and Mr. Kaleb Madyawa (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.234; Buya & Pakia 1992). They graduated as trained teachers and went back to Tana River to help the missionaries as evangelists and teachers. Chadhoru took over as head of the Bible School after Mr. Karl Becker and his wife Rosina Becker returned to Germany around the same time.

In 1938, Mr. Herman Muller appointed Mr Amos Chadhoru the son of Chadhoru Tutu to be the Headmaster of Ngao Hill Primary School. Kaleb Madyawa would be in charge of the Sub-standards (Nursery School) and the Boarding Master of Ngao Teachers College and Ngao Primary School. Israel Gudina was made the Head Teacher of Ngao Elementary School. Mr. J.M Paul Pakia would teach people clerical skills and assist Mr. Muller in administrative work. Mr. Muller would remain the senior inspector of all the schools in the District and the Principal of the Teachers College (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.234).

In 1939, Muller took the final year students at Ngao Teachers College for an interview in Malindi where the regional government official in charge of education was based. The students passed well and were awarded certificates (Gissel & Gissel, 1991). Muller planned to

go with them as he proceeded for holiday in Germany so that they could undergo further studies and upon returning help him open a secondary school in Tana River of the calibre of Alliance High School. Alliance High School had been established in 1926 as the first fully fledged African secondary school by an alliance of major protestant denominations in Kenya (Lugumba, 1973, p.17). Muller's initiative never materialized that time due to the outbreak of the Second World War on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1939, which lasted up to 1945.

Consequently, Mr. Herman Muller was unable to return to Tana River. The remaining German missionaries and teachers who included Mr. and Mrs. Wilhelm May were deported back to Germany. A few local preachers and leaders among the Pokomo who were products of the GNM education volunteered to sustain the work begun by GNM missionaries. Rev. Benjamin Ndumari, Mungatana Ndumari's step brother, would be in charge of Lamu; Rev. Simon Ubo who had been stationed in Hola was sent to Ngao; Rev. Isaiah Mwaninjwa who had been operating from Marenbo was also transferred to Ngao. The teachers from the Bible School at Ngao and Lamu taught in all the villages (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.235; Mambo, 1980).

In 1945, a major conference was held in Pokomoland under the initiative of the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK). The aim was to help the communities in the area reach an agreement on which denomination would oversee the churches and schools in Tana River following the departure of the GNM. The people of Engatana, Kulesa, Marenbo and other inhabitants of the upstream northern part of the District preferred to be under the Methodist Church. The people downstream (lower or southern part of Tana River) like Wabuu, Kalindi, and even Lamu resolved to remain under the GNM. They reiterated that it was the GNM that had brought 'light' to them that enabled them to know the true God and Heavenly Father and

abandon the ways of *Kijo, Ganga, Ngadzi* and *Fufuriye* {These are different types and levels of witchcraft and superstition} (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.236; Buya & Pakia, 1992).

However the difference between the English and German missionaries did not divide the local people. The Pokomo decided to work with all missionaries and renamed their church The Tana River Independent Church (Gissel & Gissel, 1991; Buya & Pakia, 1992). They seem to have been influenced by what was happening in other parts of the country especially Central Kenya where the locals opened churches and schools detached from missionary and colonial government's influence mainly under two main organizations namely Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA) and Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association (KKEA) {Otiende et al, 1992, pp.50-51}.

In 1947, various Protestant missionary groups held a meeting in London, England. The Neukirchen Mission was not invited. The meeting agreed that there was no need of the GNM returning to Tana River as evangelization and education matters were then being handled by the Methodists (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.238; Buya & Pakia, 1992). This is a clear indication that missionary organizations based or affiliated with England and by extension the British Government, were not willing to see the GNM return to Tana River.

The following year, Reverend Simon Ubo blocked Reverend Matthew of the Methodist Church from meeting the Ngao church for not seeking his permission. He blamed the Methodists for stopping the return of the GNM missionaries. Methodists were only allowed to deal with education but not evangelization. Reverend Mathew who was the MMS Superintendent returned to Ribe where the MMS was based. He reacted by closing all schools of Wabuu (Wapokomo) and through his influence the government withdrew its grants-in-aid to the schools. The teachers were also sacked. The locals countered this by sourcing for

teachers through their association called Young Buu Association (YBA). This took place between August 1948 and July 1950. These teachers were working without any pay. Most students in the Wabuu schools performed well and proceeded to Shimo la Tewa School for secondary education.

In 1950, Lamu DC presided over a major meeting in Lamu between all church leaders in Ngao and MMS officials. The GNM church leaders and MMS preachers were advised to work together amicably. On educational matters, Mr. Amos Chadhoru was reinstated to serve as the Assistant Inspector of schools from Nderani to Kipini in Lower Tana. Mr. Ezekiel Jara became Assistant Inspector of schools from Gwanoni to Milalulu in the Upper Tana. Later on Mr. Joseph Bahola was appointed overall School Inspector in the entire Tana region (Gissel & Gissel, 1991; Buya & Pakia, 1992). All these African education officials were products of the education provided by the GNM.

In 1955, Mr. Amos Chadhoru who had by then retired from teaching together with a few other elite Pokomo elders tried to register Tana Independent Church that would operate free of Methodists' influence. The Government officials refused to register this local church (Gissel & Gissel, 1991; Buya & Pakia, 1992). The Independent Movement by Africans had come to be viewed by the British Government as part and parcel of African resistance to colonial rule and as an avenue used by the African elite to fight for political independence (Aseka, 1992).

In 1967, following the failure to be registered as an independent local African church, the GNM churches in Ngao resolved to partner with the African Inland Church (AIC) which had promised to pursue with the Government the matter of the GNM missionaries returning to the

country. Towards the end of August 1969, Mr. Amos Chadhoro passed away (Gissel & Gissel, 1991, p.237; Buya & Pakia 1992).

In 1970, the efforts of AIC church bore fruit and the GNM missionaries were allowed to come back to Kenya. The Methodist Church tried to block this new development but it did not materialize. Among the missionaries who came to Kenya from Germany were a couple, Mr. and Mrs. Wilhelm May who were among those who had been deported in 1939 following the outbreak of WWII. This was after 31 years. Fritz Gissel and Hanna Gissel also came back at this time. Fritz Gissel was a preacher while Hanna Gissel was a teacher. The Gissels solicited for funds from well-wishers in Germany which they used to initiate an irrigation project in Ngao. They also built a new church in the same town since the old one had been taken over by the Methodists. The new church was officially opened by President Daniel Arap Moi in the company of Bishop Mulwa of AIC in 1979.

The Gissels continued preaching the Gospel and helping the sick, widows and orphans. Through their initiative, Hermann Orphardt built and equipped the first library in Tarasaa which is about 4 km from Ngao on the way to the Malindi- Garsen Road (Gissel & Gissel 1991, p. 238). The library was opened in 1984 by the Gissels. Among other activities undertaken by the Gissels was the translation of more songs and sections of the Bible into Pokomo. They also bought sewing machines for Pokomo women and started sewing lessons that took place every Saturday (Buya & Pakia, 1992). This was consistent with GNM tradition of endeavouring to empower women through education and training. One would believe that this initiative of educating and training women transformed their lives and that of their families and the society at large.

On 31<sup>st</sup> march 1986, Fritz Gissel passed on at the age of 82 years. Until his death, he had served as a missionary in various places for 56 years (Buya & Pakia, 1992). In the same year, Ngao Secondary school was opened to fulfill the dream of German educationist Herman Muller. In 1987, churches in Tana River allied to the GNM gathered at Ngao in a major celebration to mark a hundred years since the German missionaries set foot in the area to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ and introduce formal education (Buya & Pakia, 1992).

## **2.5 Research Gaps from the Literature Review**

From the foregoing literature, it is evident that the GNM exhibited unparalleled resilience in establishing Christianity and Western education in Tana River County which calls for a need to look into its ideology. Additionally, it has been shown that the missionary group did much in evangelization and education probably more than it has been appreciated. This could partly be as a result of historians on German colonial history focusing more on mistreatment of Africans at the hands of the Whites as well as the two World Wars which broke out during the colonial period and the perceived role of Germany in causing the same.

Another research and knowledge gap that this study wished to fill is that so many studies have been carried out on other missionary societies save for the GNM. Such studies cover missionary groups such as the CMS, CSM, GMS, MMS, AIM, FAM, HGF, MHF and the SDA among others. This study wishes to acknowledge the contribution of still some more missionary organizations like the GNM, in the establishment of Western education in Kenya.

Admittedly, several studies have been carried out on the GNM but still left gaps which this study wished to fill. Abreu (1982) discusses the Independent Movement among the Pokomo and concentrates on Ngao only. Sifuna and Otiende (1994) also address the African initiatives at the Coast and acknowledge that the Pokomo sustained the education gains realized under

the German missionaries following the latter's internment due to the WW II. They do not go further than that. Furley and Watson (1978) in Bogonko (1992) note that the GNM established itself amongst the Pokomo but fall short of documenting their work in education and evangelization. Nthamburi (1982) appreciates that the GNM opened a chain of mission stations up the Tana as far as Hola but does not unveil them nor discuss the activities undertaken in these stations. The German historian Nitch heavily quoted by Mambo (1980) concentrates more on the challenges the GNM faced in its attempts to introduce Christianity and Western education in Tana River . No wonder Mambo himself names only five mission stations established by the GNM which are Ngao, Kulesa, Makere, Ngatana and Hola (Mambo, 1980, p. 79). The GNM missionaries Fritz Gissel and Hanna Gissel (1991) have given a detailed account of the GNM missionary work in Tana River but have portrayed a bias in favour of evangelization at the expense of education.

As earlier stated, most mission groups tended to be attracted to areas colonized by their home governments. The GNM is a unique case because it continued struggling and returning to an area under the colonial jurisdiction of the British, even after being treated harshly. The study of GNM is therefore a good case study of the contribution to Western education in Kenya by a non-British missionary group. It will be remembered that GNM was teaching English and not German as the language of instruction. Understanding its ideology would help explain the uniqueness with which it carried out its activities.

The study of the advent of Western education in Kenya clearly shows that ultimately, it was a collaborative effort or a tripartite role of the missionaries, the colonial government and African themselves. Several studies have over-emphasized the contribution of the missionaries and colonial government but under-rated the contribution of the indigenous people. However, there is growing literature on African initiatives. Studies by Abreu (1982),

Kamere (1992), and Ombati (1994) to name but a few have appreciated as pertinent the contribution of Africans in the advancement of their own education. Kamere (1992) for instance shows that as much as the establishment of GAS Kitui in 1909 was a Government initiative, the local population donated land, provided labour and urged their children to go to school. Contrary to the common belief held by many that such African initiatives were deficient at the Coast, this study wishes to show that similar initiatives existed among the Tana people, not in isolation but emanating from the work initiated by the GNM before their deportation in 1914 and 1939.

There is much doubt as to the existence of adequate literature on the GNM and particularly its role towards the establishment and growth of Western education in Kenya. There is evidence of many schools having been opened by GNM than has been documented so far. The researcher wished to know what educational impact the library built by Hermann Orphardt in Tarasaa and opened in 1984 has had on the people. It would be of necessity to look into the role played by pioneer beneficiaries of GNM education in the expansion and spread of Western education among their fellow African people. Such educationists include Amos Chadhoru, Kaleb Madyawa, Israel Gudina, Permena Mungatana, Yuda Komora and J.M Paul Pakia. This study therefore aimed at adding more information on the existing body of knowledge in History of Education especially as concerns the role of missionary societies in the establishment and growth of Western education in Kenya.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

The Chapter looked at the genesis of Germany as a nation in 1871; being the home of the Neukirchen Mission which is the focus of this study. Germany as a country grew first in

terms of international influence such that by 1884/85, it hosted the Berlin Conference which led to the partition and colonization of Africa.

Colonization cannot be divorced from evangelization. Von der Decken and Karl Peters both Germans, had explored the East African region prior to the Berlin Conference setting a basis for Germany to claim the area in the Conference. Two more Germans; Clemens Denhardt and Gustav Denhardt had laid a claim on Wituland where Tana River is located. These developments in the political arena together with the advice of CMS German missionary Dr. Ludwig Krapf influenced the GNM to venture in the Tana River region.

The ideology of the GNM has been discussed under five perspectives namely Faith Mission, Reformed Theology, Social Darwinism, Socio-Political and Economic perspective and The Great Commission. The coming of missionaries to Kenya has been discussed in general before narrowing down to to the Tana River area. The MMS and GNM pioneered evangelization and Western education in the region. Five mission stations were opened in Tana River District namely Ngao, Kulesa, Makere, Ngatana and Hola. In these stations, a church was constructed followed by a school and where possible a hospital. The GNM constructed hospitals at Ngao and Hola.

The impact of the GNM activities in Tana River County is seen in the light of books that were translated from English to Pokomo, number of literate Pokomos identified through baptismal classes and enrolment in the primary schools, opening of a Girls' Special School at Ngao and a library-cum bookshop at Tarasaa.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter will discuss the research design and methodology of the study, the location of the study, sources of data, sampling techniques, research instruments, data collection procedures or techniques, data evaluation, data analysis and logistical and ethical considerations.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

Henn and Foard (2009) define research design as the plan or strategy of shaping the research. It situates the researcher in the empirical world, and connects the research questions to data. In other words it is the means or channel through which the researcher will get to the solution being sought in the study. This can only succeed through collection of the right information in the field (data) and proper treatment of the same (data analysis). In this study, data was coded to correspond to the research questions. Oral interviews, FGDs, document analysis and archival sources were used in triangulation to compensate one another.

#### **3.3 Research Methodology**

A methodology shows how research questions of the study topic are aligned with questions asked in the field in order to arrive at credible conclusions. The outcome of research justifies the significance of the methodology utilized (Clough & Nutbrown 2007, p.23).

This study adopted the historical research method because it aims at unearthing and clarifying historical facts and realities of the phenomenon in question. Historical research is therefore defined as: “The systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in

order to establish facts and draw conclusions concerning past events” (Sifuna in Mwiria & Wamahiu (eds) 1995, p.66).

Another definition of historical research has been given by Suter (2006):

“{It} is the collection and objective study of documents and artifacts related to a past event, often including a description of patterns or trends in an attempt to explain phenomena or test a hypothesis with present day relevance.”(Suter 2006, p.325)

Historical research therefore entails careful discernment of a worthy topic of study about a past event or events followed by analysis of the source of information available so that the findings can be beneficial to present day circumstances. Suter adds that learning from the past has the potential to forecast [future] trends.

Apart from predicting the future, another advantage of historical research in education is that it provides insights into educational issues that cannot be gained by any other technique. Moreover, most current events tend to have a history and therefore real significance of a current issue could only be properly appreciated through acquaintance with the historical developments of the same. Additionally, historical research may also be precipitated by the researcher’s endeavour to establish accurately an account of the past.

In spite of the merits of historical research discussed above, it still remains probably the most difficult type of educational research as argued out by Sifuna in the following words:

Many problems are not adaptable to historical research methods and cannot be adequately treated using this approach. Other problems have little or no chance of producing significant results, either because of the lack of pertinent data or because the problem is a trivial one (Sifuna 1995, p.68).

The researcher considered the reality of this assertion and ensured beforehand that there are adequate sources of information on the research topic. In addition, as was demonstrated in the review of related literature in Chapter Two, the research problem is not a trivial one but rightly warrants investigation. This is so given that it appears much was accomplished by the GNM in matters of education in Tana River County than has been acknowledged or even documented so far.

### **3.4 Location of the Study**

The study was conducted in Tana River County in the former Coast Province. Tana River has been chosen because this is where the GNM mainly carried out their evangelization and educational activities in Kenya in the study period. The GNM made some attempts to work in Lamu but due to stiff Muslim opposition, they shifted their full focus to Tana River County. Tana River County borders, Garissa County to the east, Lamu County and the Indian Ocean to the south, Kitui and Meru counties to the west and Isiolo County to the north (Appendix 6 & 7). It is made up of three sub-counties namely Tana Delta, Tana River and Tana North. It covers an area of 35,375.8 km<sup>2</sup> (13,658.7 sq miles) {Tana River County Government, 2017}.

### **3.5 Sources of Data**

The study made use of both primary and secondary sources of data. According to Henn and Foard (2009), a primary source encompasses both written and non-written information, thus;

Primary materials are those that are written or collected by those who actually witnessed the events which they describe. They are gathered first hand and have a direct relationship with the people, situations or events that are studied (Henn & Foard, 2009, p.111).

Sifuna (1995) adds that a person who directly observes an event would be classified as a primary source. This would also apply to a photograph or sound recording of the event. The writings of a person whose life is being reconstructed as a history would also fall in the same category (Sifuna, 1995, p.70). This study majorly relied on primary sources and materials because the main aim was to produce an accurate account of the phenomenon in question which can best be realized by use of primary sources because of their authenticity and the ability to give firsthand information. Primary sources were also useful in filling existing knowledge gaps pointed at by secondary sources. In this study, primary sources refer to original writings by those who witnessed or participated in an event while primary materials refer to any artifacts collected or seen in the study area.

Hakim (1982) defines a secondary source as follows:

Any further analysis of an existing data set which presents interpretations of conclusions of knowledge additional to, or different from, those presented in the first report on the inquiry as a whole and its main results (Hakim 1982, p.1).

Sifuna (1995) further clarifies that a secondary source is the one in which the person describing the event was not present but has obtained his description from someone else who may or may not have directly observed the event. Mostly, history textbooks and encyclopedias are examples of secondary sources (Sifuna, 1995, p.72). Secondary sources have their place in historical research because they corroborate and augment information obtained from primary sources. Primary sources also serve to affirm and even rectify information documented in secondary sources. Therefore the two sources of data compliment one another in enhancing a research process.

### **3.5.1 Primary Sources and Materials**

Primary sources for this study included but were not limited to missionary correspondence e.g. letters, diaries and books, Government District Annual Reports, MOE Reports and official school records and minutes of school board meetings found at Kenya National Archives ( Nairobi), Tana River County headquarters, Tana River Education office and in the pioneer churches in the region. Primary materials included stoves, sewing machines, iron boxes, ladders, church bells, mission buildings and classrooms which were mainly found at Ngao and Wenje. Other mission centres visited included Golbanti, Kulesa, Ngatana, Makere ya Gwano/Wenje and Hola.

Oral testimonies were also utilized as a source of historical information on the study topic. This involved identifying people in the community with eye witness accounts of an event either by personally taking part in it or had witnessed it taking place. These included village elders (*Gasa*), retired church leaders, former politicians, retired civil servants and provincial administrators as well as former teachers and educational officers.

### **3.5.2 Secondary Sources**

Secondary sources included published materials like textbooks, journals, dissertations, theses and newspapers. These documents were found in university libraries as well as in other libraries in major towns in the region and its environs; specifically in Hola, Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa. The main university libraries from where the researcher obtained books that contained secondary information were Kenyatta University and University of Nairobi libraries. Appendix 45 shows a letter of authorization to use the University of Nairobi library. Other books were sourced from bookshops. Another secondary source is the internet which was utilized to add to the information in existing published materials.

### **3.6 Sampling Techniques**

Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were preferred in this study. In purposive sampling the investigator relies on his/her expertise or expert judgment to select units that are representative or typical of the population (Oso & Onen, 2009, p.85 and Orodho 2012, p.147). The researcher is at liberty to handpick respondents whom he/she feels have the information he/she is pursuing in accordance with the objectives of the study. Such respondents in this study included people who attended learning institutions started by the GNM and later served their communities in various capacities e.g. as civil servants, politicians and educationists. Eleven such respondents were identified through purposive sampling technique. These were Lisania Buya, Walter Eric, Francis Tumaini, Leah Hikisa Dullu, Hannah Mkegawa Komora, Michael Gafo Hiribae, Feiswal Obo, Abdi Noor, John Tangazo, Isaiah Obare and Joseph Abuor.

Henn and Foard (2009) explain clearly what snowball sampling is:

The researcher will typically build up a network of correspondents through an initial group of informants, who introduce the researcher to other members of the same population. These then serve as additional informants who may introduce the researcher to other potential respondents. This approach is often used to develop [respondents] from groups which are difficult to contact.(Henn & Foard, 2009, p.158).

Snowball sampling technique entails use of social networks because friends tend to have similar characteristics. The rationale of using snowballing is to bring an adequate number of respondents that the researcher may not get unless they are brought by their peers who know them as being acquainted with the information being sought (Mugenda & Mugenda 1999, p.51). The eleven respondents identified through purposive sampling directed the researcher to fourteen others whom they were sure could avail the same information being sought. These

fourteen were John Marigo, Faris Jillo Dhadho, Lazaro Deye, Yekoniah Deye Wayu, John Change Abagerera, Martin Galgalo Gharawa, Gideon M. Galana, Elizabeth Kanana, Enos Garisse, Kenneth Pakia, Hyslop Amos Ipu, John Makdii, Ceasar Mungatana and Thomas Semku Duda.

The researcher therefore purposively selected an initial number of respondents based on the fact that they were well known to have studied in GNM schools during their youth. Some had even documented their experiences with the GNM. Snowballing sampling technique was then brought on board through using these initial respondents to direct the researcher to their contemporaries believed to have the same information being sought. As has been indicated, the researcher purposively identified 11 initial respondents who then directed him to 14 others making a total of 25 respondents (See list at pages 217-218).

### **3.7 Research Instruments**

Two main research instruments were used in this study namely, Oral Interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

#### **3.7.1 Oral Interviews**

Punch (2009) postulates that the interview is the most prominent data collection tool in qualitative research. It is a very good way of accessing people's perceptions, meanings including definitions of situations and constructions of reality. It is one of the most powerful ways we have of understanding others.

There are two types of interviews: structured interviews and unstructured. In structured interviews, the respondent is asked a series of pre-established questions, with pre-set response categories. The unstructured interview is non-standardized, open-ended, in-depth interview, sometimes called ethnographic interview. The latter is used as a way of understanding the

complex behaviour of people without imposing any a priori categorization which might limit the field of inquiry. It is also used to explore people's interpretations and meanings of events and situations and their symbolic and cultural significance (Punch, 2009 pp. 147-148). Scott and Usher (2011, p.115) in support of the interview assert that "it is an essential tool of the researcher in educational enquiry. This is because the pre-conceptions, perceptions and beliefs of social actors in educational settings form an inescapably important part of the backdrop of social interaction". In this study, structured and the unstructured questions were combined in the same instrument because the researcher was of the view that this would help solicit authentic and wider information given the nature of the topic under study.

Oral interviews were carried out on some key respondents already identified through methods explained above (purposive and snowball sampling techniques). These included religious leaders, retired government administrators and politicians as well as former teachers and education officers with firsthand information on the contribution of the GNM in the establishment of Western education in the study area in the period 1885 to 1986.

Before the interview, the researcher would explain the purpose of the interview to the respondents, that it was purely academic. After that, the researcher would book an appointment with the respondents. Appendix 1, 2 and 3 show the interview guide with the questions used by the researcher in the interview. However, any other additional information pertinent to the study was considered after the researcher had gone through all the questions on the interview guide.

### 3.7.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) are also known as group interviews because the researcher works with several people simultaneously. They can be unstructured, semi-structured or highly structured. Punch (2009) shows the difference between Oral Interview and FDGs:

The role of the researcher changes in a group interview, functioning more as a moderator or facilitator and less as an interviewer. The process will not be one of the alternate question or answer, as in the traditional interview. Rather, the researcher will be facilitating, moderating and monitoring as well as recording group interaction. The group interaction will be [through] directed questions and topics supplied by the researcher (Punch, 2009, p.147).

Creswell (2009) advises that focus group interviews should have 6 to 8 interviewees in each group. FGD as a research tool has several advantages. Firstly, it is useful when participants cannot be directly observed. Secondly, the participants can provide historical information. Thirdly, it allows the researcher control over the line of questioning. FDGs are not without limitations, one being that they provide indirect information filtered through the view of interviewees. It also provides information in a designated place rather than the natural field setting. The other demerit is that the researchers' presence may bias responses. Finally, not all people are equally articulate and perceptive (Creswell 2009, p.179).

The researcher minimized the effects of these shortcomings by careful selection of respondents believed to have authentic information on the topic under study. He preferred the Council of Elders of Ngao (*Gasa*) to give more information on any contentious issue. It was felt that since the oral interviews may draw many respondents with a background of the GNM missionary work, the *Gasa* would definitely have members belonging to other faiths thereby minimizing the effects of bias in favour of the GNM. The meeting was held at Ngao town on 18<sup>th</sup> December 2017, the same place the GNM had used as their headquarters. The

researcher made known to the respondents that the study was purely for academic purposes and therefore the need for genuine and verifiable information. In addition, the investigator ensured that the interviewees understood the questions by repeating, rephrasing, paraphrasing and simplifying them when need arose. He also would provoke some of the participants in the FGDs who appeared less talkative to also comment on the issues under discussion to avoid dominance by a few.

In this study, FGDs were utilized to add to the information and also clarify issues raised in both primary and secondary sources as well as in the oral interviews. Like in the oral interviews, FGDs are constituted by bringing together people believed to be conversant with the information being sought. In this study, it is specifically the village elders (locally known as *Gasa*) who were appointed based on their advanced age and experience therefore were most likely to have witnessed the activities of the GNM. In addition, by virtue of being leaders of their community, they were in a better position to understand the history of their people and specifically such a conspicuous event as the interaction with the German missionaries. The *Gasa* of Ngao were preferred because the town had served as the headquarters of GNM. A total of 8 *Gasa* elders were subjected to the FGDs (Appendix 28; see also list at pages 217-218). These were not in the category of those subjected to oral interviews. These were Alex Mered Maneno, Miyomoni Jonathan, Steven Thomas, Ayub Mikiya, Gwiyo Hezeki, Daniel Manga, Martin Tsekea and Yonah Kongwe Galugalu.

A date for the meeting was set and a venue identified (18<sup>th</sup> December 2017, Ngao). The researcher had a guideline of questions at his disposal (Appendix 4). The FGDs came in handy to provide more information on the contribution of the GNM in the establishment and development of Western education in Tana River County. This additional information is what

the oral interviews may not have captured. The FGDs were also used to clarify and affirm information gathered through the oral interviews.

### **3.8 Data Collection Techniques**

Primary sources were obtained from Kenya National Archives (KNA) in Nairobi and in several institutions in Tana River notably churches, schools, County Commissioner's office and County Education offices. This entailed personal visits by the researcher in these specified areas in order to collect the information needed in line with the objectives of the study. Secondary sources which are mainly books were majorly sourced from university libraries and other libraries.

As earlier mentioned, more information was obtained from oral interviews targeting retired civil servants, politicians and educationists. Focus Group Discussions were mainly used on the village elders. The questions for these research instruments were arranged such that the first four questions addressed the first objective of the study; the middle fifth to eighth questions focused on the second objective while the ninth to twelfth questions focussed at the third objective. This would make data coding and eventual analysis and evaluation easy to undertake.

#### **3.8.1 Document Analysis**

Macdonald and Tipton (1993, p.188) define documents as "things that we can read and which relate to some aspect of the social world" (In Henn & Foard, 2009 p.113). Henn and Foard have further identified three ways of analyzing documents. The first approach is known as Positivism. Positivism views documents as objective indicators of phenomena to which they refer, and therefore concerned with analyzing the content of a document. The second paradigm is called the Interpretist Tradition which views the document not as a neutral result

but as a social construction that represents the way some people (those who produced the document) perceive the world. The third approach is referred to as the Critical Tradition. This one considers documents as objects of research in their own right. This approach accuses the former two of playing down the place of social structure in the generation of documents, text and discourse thus ignoring the key issues of power and ideology (Henn & Foard, 2009, p.111).

In regard to the nature of the topic under study, the researcher made use of the three approaches since each has its own strength and place in this study so as to obtain the information being sought. The researcher analyzed several documents including missionary records, government reports, and minutes of school board meetings, letters of correspondence, diaries, maps, songs, autobiographies, newspapers and dated photographs. These documents were used to give more information about the contribution of the GNM in the establishment and development of Western education in Tana River County between 1885 to 1986.

Nevertheless, several challenges were experienced by the researcher as has been indicated by Sifuna (1995) who observes that many archivists unlike librarians usually do not allow materials to leave the premises. Many normally require permission to examine such records. Some records may not be available and others are classified, meaning they are not available to the public. This makes them totally inaccessible or accessible for study only under certain conditions. For instance, some documents cannot be quoted directly or photocopied. Other institutions may allow a researcher to examine documents but not to quote them directly. These are some of the problems that researchers face in using primary sources (Sifuna, 1995, p.71). In this case, the researcher who had obtained permission to do research from relevant

authorities did his best to access the documents or the information therein so as to gather information for the study being undertaken.

However, at Tarasaa attempts to access the bookshop-cum library built by GNM missionaries which is no longer operational were not successful due to unclear official bureaucracy. Likewise, the researcher could not access all the rooms in the GNM missionary house at Ngao to examine any paraphernalia left by the German missionaries because it was already occupied and some of the tenants were absent at the time of the visit. At Makere ya Gwano/ Wenje, some respondents would mention some items like books, files and pictures they could remember they used to have but could not trace them at that moment. Others asked whether the Government could buy such items from them; this suggesting that may be with some incentive, they could look for such items more keenly or avail any they could be withholding.

Nevertheless, to a large extent, the researcher had the benefit of cooperative respondents who were willing to avail most of the documents being sought. One of the challenges experienced in document analysis was incomplete information resulting from an error of omission by an author e.g. a date or a name or part of the document being tattered, torn or chopped off. Another shortcoming was unlabelled photographs and illegible letters, files and minutes of meetings. A list of documents pertinent to this study is in Appendix 5.

### **3.8.2 Evaluation of Data Gathered from Documents**

The evaluation of historical data is usually referred to as historical criticism. Historical criticism is generally divided into two major categories: external and internal criticism (Good 1972, p.169 Quoted in Sifuna 1995, p.73). Suter (2006, p.326) explains that researchers focus on external criticism when evaluating the authenticity of historical documents and artifacts

(whether or not they are genuine). Given purportedly genuine documents, researchers consider their accuracy and use the term internal criticism to describe this concern. Internal criticism therefore entails the act of examining the correctness in terms of facts, of a genuine document.

External criticism seeks to determine whether truly the author of the document as claimed is actually the one. Focus is on the document itself rather than the content of the document. Once authenticity has been established, further scrutiny is necessary because a genuine document can still contain erroneous information. This is what is called internal criticism.

To ensure that the documents are original (external criticism), the researcher considered the author's characteristics and qualifications to establish their capability as reporters of events in question. In addition, the underlying factors and conditions behind the production of the documents e.g. time, place, circumstances of composition and type of material used such as paper and ink were also put into consideration. Moreover, matters like signatures, handwritings, spellings and language were considered (Sifuna, 1995, pp74-76.)

To be sure of the accuracy of the information derived from the data collected (internal criticism), the researcher looked at the competence of the reporters, their honesty and more importantly, whether the information given was consistent with other available information on the same topic by different people who witnessed the same events. Another way of confirming validity of data was to compare with other sources of information that have reported the same phenomenon at the same period in history.

### **3.9 Data Analysis**

Data analysis entails separation of data into constituent parts or elements, and examination of the data to distinguish its component parts or elements separately and in relation to the whole

(Oso & Onen 2009 op.cit p.99). The process of putting together a historical report after the basic research on sources is complete is referred to as the process of synthesis (Sifuna, 1995, p.77).

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses were used though the latter was used to a lesser degree than the former. Quantitative analysis came in handy where statistics like those involving school enrolment and attendance were under consideration. According to Suter (2006), “Qualitative researchers often use narratives to describe their observations. These stories capture a rich understanding which may not generalize beyond the research setting and unique characteristics of the sample. Researchers often opt for this approach when they believe that the educational outcomes are too complex to reduce to a number [as in quantitative analysis]” (Suter 2006, p.41). The process of qualitative data analysis is concerned with the qualities exhibited by the data more than with their quantities. Orodho (2005) postulates that qualitative research allows for discovery of unexpected and in depth investigation of a particular topic and is best for studying selected issues, cases of events in depth and detail. The study was best suited to be analyzed under the qualitative approach.

In support of qualitative statistics, Thompson and Priestely (1996) assert that, qualitative data are generally considered to be more valid than quantitative data but less reliable. Validity in this context means research which gives a more fruitful, in depth picture of the phenomenon being studied. Less reliable means less applicable to any other than those individuals or specific phenomena being studied. Validity of the historical method has also been discussed under document analysis whereby both external and internal criticisms were used to ascertain validity of the documents being analyzed.

Qualitative analysis is not without limitations but as Suter (2006) argues, its merits, especially in a typical case which at best can only be analyzed qualitatively; far outweigh the shortcomings. He says:

...many researchers believe that qualitative data analysis is a far more challenging, time-consuming, and creative endeavour than quantitative data analysis. Qualitative data analysis is less technical, less prescribed, and less 'linear' but more interactive ('back and forth') than quantitative analysis..." (Suter, 2006, p.327).

Suter (2006) adds that a good qualitative analysis discovers patterns, coherent themes, meaningful categories, and new ideas and in general uncovers better understanding of a phenomenon or process. The depth afforded by qualitative analysis is believed by many to be the best method of understanding the complexity of education in practice. Qualitative analysis is also well suited for exploration of unanticipated results. Above all else it is concerned with finding meaning embedded within rich sources of information.

A total of 33 respondents were interviewed between 2017 and 2019. Data was coded immediately after collection to ease categorization and ensure necessary clarifications were made where necessary (Miles & Huberman 1994). Collected data was analyzed through qualitative and quantitative methods while documents were analyzed through external and internal criticism. The researcher coded the data in respect to the objectives of the study.

Questions in the Interview schedule were arranged such that the initial 4 questions addressed the Origin and Ideology of GNM, the middle 5-8 questions addressed the role of the GNM in the establishment and growth of Western education in Tana River 1885-1986 and the last 9-12; the impact of GNM education in Tana River (Appendix 1 to 3). The FGDs had 12 general questions that were formulated to fill the gaps from information derived from the Interview Schedules (Appendix 4). Since the study had three objectives, the data was

grouped into three categories. Interpretation of data was based on generalizations, comparisons, explanations, descriptions and tables. The analyzed data was then presented in three different sub-headings in line with the three study objectives, which were organized as follows:

- i. The Origin and Ideology of the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM).
- ii. The Role of the GNM in the Establishment and Growth of Western Education in Tana River County, Kenya 1885-1986.
- iii. The Impact of the Establishment of Western Education in Tana River County.

The last chapter (Chapter 5) drew inferences from the research findings to give a conclusion on the contribution by GNM in establishing Western education in Tana River County including insights therein that are useful to present day educationists. A recommendation was given on more possible issues surrounding the study topic that need to be considered for future research.

### **3.10 Logistical Considerations**

The researcher obtained an introduction letter to relevant offices which allow the undertaking of research from the Educational Foundations Department, Kenyatta University. He then secured permit to do research from the National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) as legally required. The letters and permit from these institutions are in Appendices 41-44.

### **3.11 Ethical Considerations**

Oso & Onen (2009, p.109) assert that “the major ethical issues of concern are informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, anonymity and researcher’s responsibility.” Researchers are under the obligation to explain their study as fully as possible to all stakeholders for

instance sponsors, facilitators and research participants in ways that are likely to be meaningful and intelligible to them. This means that participants will take part voluntarily from an informed point of view. Accordingly, “participants should be allowed to terminate their involvement at any time” (Henn & Foard, 2009, p.81). This is called the doctrine of informed consent. Bulmer (2008) explains that research participants are able to consent positively to their involvement in research free from coercion and based on full and accurate information about the research to be undertaken (In Henn & Foard, 2009, p.85).

Privacy means that respondents’ names or identity should not be revealed by the researcher. It also means that respondents have a right to withhold any information as they deem appropriate. Confidentiality is an active attempt to remove from the research records any identifying features of the research participants. It means that even when the researcher identifies the participants through his/her interaction with them in the process of research, he/she has to keep it to himself/ herself and conceal any features that may lead to their identification or matching them with the information they have given. Anonymity means that those who participate in the research remain nameless and if names have to be used then pseudonyms are preferred. All these endeavours are concerned with separating an individual’s identity from his or her responses (Henn & Foard, 2009, p.94; Kombo & Tromp 2006, p.107).

As can be seen, ethical considerations in research call for a high level of responsibility on the part of the researcher. Apart from observing the above, the investigator should avoid all unnecessary physical and mental suffering and injury of informants. Moreover, the results of the research should be for the good of society, not random and unnecessary (Henn & Foard, 2009, p.81).

The researcher in this study clearly explained to the participants that the research in question was purely academic; it was intended, among other things, to help improve education standards in the study area. The respondents were requested to accept to be interviewed and to hold discussions with the researcher as well as avail any relevant document pertinent to the study. Such meetings needed not to be overly publicized so as to safeguard the respondents' privacy. They were free to give or not to give their real names. Where the information was sensitive or the informant requested for anonymity, different names or pseudonyms were used. A deliberate effort was also made to avoid mentioning names behind certain information unless where it was deemed necessary and safe. Nevertheless, in such instances, the consent of the respondent was still sought. The researcher assured the participants that the information they gave was to be treated with utmost confidentiality as much as possible. Most of the respondents were free from fear of victimization and unnecessary exposure; and hence were deemed honest enough. This enhanced the validity of the data collected and consequently enabled the researcher to get as close as possible to the facts of the topic being studied.

### **3.12 Conclusion**

This study adopted the historical research method because the topic under investigation was historical in nature. An attempt was made to bring to the fore hitherto unknown facts on the study topic as well as clarification of existing information on the same.

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used. Primary sources comprised original written documents and artifacts found in the study area. Secondary sources were written documents by people reporting the events but not first hand.

Data sampling techniques used in this study to get respondents were purposive and snowballing. Two research instruments were used in this study namely oral interviews and

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). The former were subjected to church leaders, educationists and retired civil servants-politicians. The latter were applied to the village elders.

Vital documents pertinent to the study were obtained at Kenya National Archives (KNA) and in churches and education offices in Tana River County. These documents were analysed through external and internal criticism.

Data collected was coded in line with the objectives of the study; then subjected to qualitative and quantitative analysis. The findings and interpretation of information gathered was presented in Chapter Four in line with the objectives of the study. Logistical and ethical considerations were addressed in this study as is required in research.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings, interpretations and discussion according to the three objectives of the study. The objectives of the study were, firstly, to trace the origin and ideology of the the German Neukirchen Mission. Secondly, to examine the role of the GNM in the establishment and growth of Western education in Tana River County. Finally, to assess the impact of the establishment of Western education in Tana River County by the GNM, 1885-1986. Suffice it to note that educational reports and commissions that informed educational policy in the study period will form part of the discussion.

#### 4.2 General and Demographic Information

The researcher conducted oral interviews on 12 church leaders, 8 educationists and 5 civil servants cum politicians. These were identified through Purposive and Snowball sampling techniques. A few people were easily earmarked as possessing the information being sought who in return guided the researcher to others known to be conversant with the same information. The Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) had 8 members who were also purposively identified, comprising the council of elders (*Gasa*) of Ngao where the GNM missionaries were based. Table 4.1 below gives a summary of the data return rate.

**Table 4.1 Return Rate of Respondents**

<b>S/R</b>	<b>CATEGORY</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>
1.	Educationists	8
2.	Civil Servants cum Politicians	5
3.	Church Leaders	12
4.	Council of Elders	8
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>33</b>

**Source: Researcher, Tana River 2018**

The researcher obtained various historical documents at the Kenya National Archives (KNA) in Nairobi, which were pertinent to the study. These included Missionary Reports, Annual Government Reports; other Government Reports prepared by DCs and minutes of Church and District Education Board (DEB) meetings. A few diaries were also accessed at the KNA. Other documents included school inspection reports and official letters by school administrators and colonial officials. Hymn books, earliest translated Bibles and baptismal cards were found in the custody of churches in Tana River County. Some marked graves of GNM Missionaries were also found especially at Wenje and Ngao (Appendix 26).

After going through the various sources of data i.e. archival materials, documents, secondary written sources, information gathered from oral interviews and FGDs, the researcher managed to piece together the following report on the Contribution of the GNM in the Establishment of Western Education in Tana River County, Kenya 1885 to 1986. The report has been discussed hereunder in line with the three objectives of the study. It has been

narrated following a chronological order of events as is required of the historical research methodology.

#### **4.3. The Origin and Ideology of the German Neukirchen Mission**

The first objective of this study was to examine the origin and ideology of the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM). The date 17<sup>th</sup> March 1887 is monumental in regards to Western education in Tana River as it is the day the first German missionary Reverend Ferdinand Wurtz set foot in the area. This information not only has been passed over orally but also documented in some of the writings on Pokomo history. One such document is entitled *Kufika kwa Ukristo Tana River (The Arrival of Christianity in Tana River)* {See Appendix 8}. It is undated but one of the authors Mr Lisania M. Buya told the researcher that they wrote it around 1992. Buya and the other author Mr. J.M Paul Pakia were civil servants and church elders of the African Inland Church (AIC) whose parents welcomed the German missionaries and were the first beneficiaries of formal education introduced by the Germans.

The researcher managed to secure an interview with Mr. Lisania Buya in 2016 a few months before he passed on aged 91 years (Appendix 33). Buya and one more educationist, Mr Enos Garisse Israel could remember precisely the actual date the GNM missionaries arrived in Ngao, Tana River while the other retired educationists stated that it was generally towards the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There was consensus among the educationists that Christianity in Tana River was introduced towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by both the Methodists and the GNM. The other groups of people interviewed namely civil servants/politicians, religious leaders and village elders generally held the same view.

On ideology, the educationists held that the GNM evangelists persevered many hardships for their love of education which was a requisite tool for preaching the Gospel and improving people's lives. The latter is contrary to what is documented in many books written by African authors on colonialism which rarely show any good intentions of Europeans coming to Africa, missionaries included (Rodney, 1982).

The motivation behind compiling the document entitled '*Kufika kwa Ukristo Tana River*' appears to have been a worthy endeavour to record what the authors witnessed through interaction with the Germans and what their ageing parents shared with them so that this information would not disappear upon their demise. The arrival of the GNM missionaries in Tana River is fondly remembered because there is general consensus that had the Germans remained in the area for a longer period, the County could have made unprecedented progress in education and development. Probably Tana River would have matched or even surpassed, in these aspects, upcountry places in Kenya which benefitted from the influx of missionaries and White settlers.

When asked about the ideology of the GNM, Mrs Komora, wife of the late Permanent Secretary/Politician, Mr Yuda Komora, had the following to say:

The GNM struck a very cordial relationship with my father Amos Chadhoru and other church people and teachers; which was not the case when it came to the government officials. We interpreted it to mean that they were committed to their call to preach the Gospel to all people in line with The Great Commission of Jesus Christ. They used education as a means to this end. The GNM reluctantly left twice during the World Wars and church and school in Tana River felt their absence. (Hannah Mkegawa Komora, Ngao Town 23- 11-2017).

The retired civil servants/politicians could remember over fifteen schools started by the GNM. They also held that the GNM related well with other missionary organizations though one of them was of the opinion that the Methodists insisted that the Tana Region was theirs

and that is why they received Government support. Methodists however, could not match the vigour of the GNM and were obviously challenged on the ground. A retired civil servant postulated:

The GNM were careful not to be at loggerheads with the British colonial government. They adhered to the official curriculum in their schools and even taught English and not German in these schools. However, in spite of their zeal, they appeared to be struggling with basic needs and other equipments needed for their work. Many times we donated food to them at Hola Mission and they appreciated a lot (Hola Town 17-10-2017).

The information availed by Mrs. Komora and the other retired civil servant supported The Great Commission and the 'Faith Mission' perspectives as underlying forces that influenced and propelled the GNM in its work in Tana River.

Notably, some of the church leaders interviewed had been civil servants before taking on church leadership upon retirement. Cases in point included Reverend Michael Gafo who was a former primary school teacher. Gideon Malibe Galana had served in the Kenya African Rifles (KAR) and participated in the Second World War before becoming a church minister with the AIC and later the Methodist church. Most of these leaders though now in Methodist, Lutheran and AIC Churches had originally been members of the GNM Church.

Seven of the Church leaders could remember the exact date the GNM missionaries arrived in Tana River i.e 17<sup>th</sup> March 1887. They explained to the researcher that it was easy for them to remember the date precisely because the history of GNM was normally read in most churches during anniversary celebrations. Most of the activities of the GNM were also documented in some Church texts for instance '*Kufika kwa Ukristo Tana River*' which has already been quoted in this study.

There was consensus that the AIC was directly affiliated to the GNM while the Methodist Church was not. However five Methodist Church leaders claimed that they had been GNM adherents but when the GNM left, they joined the Methodist Church. On ideology, all the twelve church leaders felt that the GNM pursued the Great Commission, Reformed Theology and that it was also a Faith Mission. Nevertheless, two of them felt further that the GNM missionaries like other White people in Africa were out to benefit their home countries and were racist in one way or the other. They however all agreed that the overall activities of the GNM ended up benefiting the community especially in education. There was consensus that sharp differences existed between GNM and the Methodists over the control of churches and schools in Tana River.

The FGDs comprised 8 respondents who were members of the Council of elders (*Gasa*) of Ngao. The members of *Gasa* were as follows: Alex Mared Maneno (82), Miyomoni Jonathan (76), Steven Thomas (72), Ayub Mikiya (96), Gwiyo Hezeki (89), Daniel Manga (72)- Secretary, Martin Tsekea (77), and Yonah Konga Galugalu (64) – Chairman. Reverend Francis Tumaini of AIC Ngao is the one who assisted the researcher to access the elders and invite them for the meeting (See Appendix 28). The *Gasa* members' average age was 86 years making them relevant for this study by virtue of being some of the oldest members of the community, and the fact that most of them interacted face to face with the German missionaries. This coupled with their administrative and oversight roles in the Ngao community meant that they were conversant with important events and experiences in the region from a historical perspective. The youngest was Yonah Konga Galugalu (64) chosen as the chairman by the rest considering his level of education. He was a retired headteacher of Ngao Arap Moi Primary School; and being younger than the rest, gave him the energy to organize and chair meetings as well as oversee other logistical matters of the Council.

All the elders agreed that the first missionary organization to conduct its activities in Tana River was the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS) followed closely by the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM). Others which followed were the Holy Ghost Fathes (HGF) and the Swedish Mission. The elders clarified that the term United Methodist Mission (UMM) is derived from the name of the mother church which is United Methodist Free Church (UMFC) and was used interchangeably with MMS to stand for the same group of missionaries from the same church. These missionaries were generally referred to as the Methodists. This then sets the record straight as to why MMS and UMM are used interchangeably in the Literature Review in Chapter Two. Both the Methodists and the GNM pioneered the work of evangelization in Tana River but it was the latter which persisted beyond the initial attempts.

On ideology, the elders unanimously agreed that the German missionaries were answering Jesus' call to preach in all parts of the world i.e. the Great Commission. The sacrifice they portrayed was rightly associated to them being a 'Faith Mission' organization. The emphasis on acquisition of literacy skills before baptism would agree with the tenets of Reformed Theology. The GNM missionaries coped with the challenges through help from the local population, well wishers from Germany, individual efforts and resilience of their members.

Five elders gave the opinion that there existed animosity between the Methodists and the GNM from the outset to Independence. Three of them felt that what transpired was just but minor differences. The bone of contention was about which missionary organization would control the Tana River region. The Methodists saw it as a right since they had arrived there first. The GNM boasted of having done much in evangelization and education than anybody else and therefore wanted other groups to recognize this and give them space.

GNM's origin being Germany is not only confirmed through the claims of the missionaries but also by the fact that several natives of Tana River County were taken by the German missionaries to Germany for further studies. Among them include Chadhoru Tutu, the father of Amos Chadhoru who did so in 1895 and Jillo Kutii nicknamed "Mseremala" (Carpenter) by his peers, who went for further training in Germany in 1900. The grave of Jillo Kutii is in the church compound of AIC Ngao. The other evidence of Tana River- Germany interaction is found in a Pokomo hymn book "*Meya ya Muungu*" (*Songs to God*) in which some German lyrics have been translated into Pokomo language (Appendix 9 & 10).

A report compiled by the Inspector of Schools in Mombasa dated 20<sup>th</sup> November, 1932, following a visit in the Tana between 23<sup>rd</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> October 1932 on behalf of the Director of Education in Nairobi and filed at the Kenya National Archives, further confirms the origin and nature of the GNM. It is entitled, "Schools of the Neukirchen Mission, Tana River" and the following are the introductory remarks:

The Neukirchen mission has its base at Neukirchen in the Rheinland where there are a seminary, a high school, an orphanage and offices. Foreign mission work is carried on in three spheres – in Java, in Tanganyika territory near Tabora and on the Tana River. I further understand that their work in Java and at Neukirchen is state aided. I gather that this Mission is the one we should term as a congregational church and that there does not appear to be any doctrinal reason to prevent them from entering the Kenya Protestant Alliance. (KNA / DC/ TANA RV 6/1).

A congregational church is one which believes that effective evangelism should entail setting aside the converts from non-converts to enhance proper discipleship and prevent them from negative influence by non-believers. This practice by the GNM aided the establishment of Western education because it influenced the opening of boarding schools.

Another document indicates that the Mission of Neukirchener is named after a village East of Cologne (Germany) (KNA/DC/TRD 1/2 p.8). The name of this village is Neukirchen. Cologne by comparison is a bigger city. This helps us gather that the GNM did not originate from a big and luxurious city but a relatively small city. This humble background of the GNM could explain that it was this same humility that helped the missionaries to withstand many hardships that their cotemporaries were unable to endure. The researcher found out that there was nothing unique or peculiar about the Neukirchen village in coming up with the Neukirchen Mission with its unique characteristics other than that its ideologies and activities centred around the convictions of its founder Pastor L.Doll and his immediate successor upon his demise, Inspector I. Stursberg. The ideology of the GNM was discussed in Chapter Two under five perspectives. These are hereby further expounded from findings in the field. The researcher will acknowledge where there is agreement with written sources and note where differences emerge between written sources and oral interviews.

#### **4.3.1 The German Neukirchen Mission as a Faith Mission**

Faith missions had three main characteristics, namely: They were inter-denominational (Appendix 23), evangelical in nature and missionaries funded their own activities. Tana River DC. Mr. C.A Cornell in his 1930 Annual Report had the following to say of GNM missions:

The Neukirchener Mission at Ngao remains the only mission in the district. It is a purely evangelical trusting to a creed of faith, and for material support to voluntary donations from Germany and consequently appears somewhat poorly endowed (KNA DC/TRD 1/2 p.9).

The church leaders, village elders and retired educationists interviewed, all indicated that the German missionaries identified with their home town of Neukirchen and not with any big mainstream home Church like the CMS and the HGF; which had been sent by the Anglican Church and the Catholic Church respectively. They explained that they had been drawn from

different denominations but brought together for a common purpose to evangelize to far away lands which had not yet received the Gospel. As a result they did not have the benefit of enjoying funding from any mother church like their contemporaries. The 1932 Education Report indicate that GNM work in Java and Neukirchen was state funded but the researcher found no evidence in the field from those interviewed, of the German Government ever funding or extending any aid to GNM missionaries in Tana River. Indeed, the religious leaders interviewed enumerated several hardships experienced by the GNM missionaries; one of them being shortage of funds for lack of a consistent and reliable support from back home in Germany.

#### **4.3.2 Reformed Theology**

As earlier shown, the GNM adopted the doctrine of Reformed Theology whose proponent was Martin Luther of Germany in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. The Theology emphasizes on in-depth, keen and careful study and interpretation of scriptures, holy living, and helping the poor, needy and vulnerable in society.

One of the outcomes of Martin Luther's Protestant Movement was the establishment of The Lutheran Church or denomination. A denomination is a typical church started under the wider Christian faith and pursues a certain doctrine according to its typicality. A doctrine is a belief that is emphasized by a denomination that may differentiate it from other denominations in the Christian faith though they all agree on key fundamental principles or beliefs like on the founder, Jesus Christ. The place in Hola where the GNM opened a mission station is known as Hola Mission to this day and has several Lutheran Churches whose establishment was influenced by the GNM activities. The researcher visited several Lutheran churches in Hola and interviewed a number of church elders and adherents on the Lutheran doctrine; notably

Faris Jillo Dhadho (75), Lazaro Deye (80), Yekonia Deye Wayu (90), John Change Abagerera (70), Martin Galgalo Gharawa (92) and John Jarah Marigo (50) [Interviewed on 17-10-2017 in Hola town].

Archival information accessed at the Kenya National Archives (KNA) reveals that various DCs in Tana River concurred that the GNM missionaries and converts exhibited exemplary behaviour, thus appearing to affirm what Reformed Theology stands for. Mr. W.R. McGeagh, Tana River DC in 1933 had this to say: “The native converts are found to be law abiding. Their taxes have been very promptly paid and their general behaviour satisfactory” (KNA/DC/TRD 1/2 p.8). His successor the following year (1934) Mr. A.C.M. Mullins reported: “The adherents ... pay their taxes well, and are good workers when given the opportunity” (TRDAR, 1934). In 1935, Mr. E. H. Windley, Tana River DC echoed the same words when he described the mission followers as well disciplined and law abiding (TRDAR, 1935).

The fact that the administrators expressed such sentiments for the GNM converts shows that they had compared them with other converts; for instance those practicing traditional religion or converts of other missionary organizations and seen a remarkable difference. The government officials were British not German meaning that their observations could be taken to be fairly objective. Such attributes as law abiding, hard working and well behaved were the ideals that Reformed Theology propagated. The church elders and adherents interviewed at Hola Mission affirmed that these practices among church members have to a large extent remained to date.

### **4.3.3 Social Darwinism**

It has already been explained how the ideas of Charles Darwin on evolution influenced the development of Social Darwinism as an ideology which argued that different races were at different levels of evolution. Social Darwinists placed Africans at a lower level of development as compared to Europeans, thereby justifying the latter's exploitation of the former, including the need to introduce their superior civilisation upon them. The Europeans did not however openly admit that they were out to exploit Africa for Europe to benefit but did it under the guise of trade relations and opening up the continent for development for the wellbeing of the natives. As earlier stated in this study, this is what Otto von Bismarck emphasized in his speech while opening the Berlin Conference in December 1884.

Whereas this was the thinking in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries and largely determined how the Whites treated Blacks especially in colonised lands, there was no evidence found in the field about Germans looking down on Africans in Kenya/ Tana River County on the basis of their colour. If GNM missionaries felt their civilization and religion were superior, then they kept it to themselves.

Available documented evidence on European perception of Tana River people is from the provincial administration which was made up of British officials. In the 1917/1918 Tana River District Annual Report, the DC, Mr. J. W. K. Peaze described the Pokomo as 'a most unprogressive tribe...their villages are dirtier and more tumble down than ever' (KNA/DC/TRD I/1 1917-1926). The same words are echoed in the 1920/21 Report which reads in part, "The Wa-Pokomo who forms the bulk of the population are cultivators... They are unprogressive and show little change since 1914 when the present Ag. DC was stationed here... the level of their intelligence being by no means low" (TRDAR, 1920/21).

But it is Major A.W. Sutcliffe, the Assistant DC who in 1925 Report did not mince words in negatively portraying the Pokomo. He unashamedly asserted:

The Pokomo are typical swamp dwellers... disproportionately thin legged, they suggest the pugilist build, their feet are large, flat and 'splay' through generations of walking in mud and water... timid, shy, simple minded, ignorant, unambitious, unenterprising, lethargic, disease racked, alternately gorged without food or existing on bush fruits, highly inbred, living in an eternally fever impregnated state, drinking micaceous water drawn from the river, which is the water borne sanitary system of the whole tribe; they are undoubtedly a declining race which nothing short of absolute revolution of conditions can save. The foundations of this have been laid down this year (KNA/DC/TRD 1/1 1917-1926 p.82).

The Assistant DC in the last statement may have been referring to Colonial Government efforts to improve education standards in the area coupled with evangelization efforts by the Methodist Mission which was mandated by the British Colonial government to inherit the Neukirchen Missions. Though some of the observations he raises above could be true, one cannot fail to see the obvious bias, exaggeration, negative attitude and superiority complex of the White race against the Black race.

Sifuna and Karugu (1988, p. 3) while looking at education during the colonial period in German occupied Tanganyika say that German colonial policy like that of other colonial powers was to subjugate the cultures of the colonial people using Western Education. However, Government established schools and missions established schools slightly differed in their curriculum in that the former aimed at producing workers to serve in Government while the later majored on religious instruction. The German missionaries in Tana River appear to have followed the same policy of concentrating more on religious instruction and evangelism in order to avoid a conflict of interest with the governing power, which was Britain. The GNM however appear to have been cautious not to politicize their agenda in a

country governed by a different European power or could as well have resolved to stick to spreading the Gospel as it is, in which all people/ races are depicted as equal before God (The Bible: KJV Romans 2:11).

Such statements with racial undertones like those of Major Sutcliffe may not all the same be treated as the official position of the British administration though were most popular at the time and largely influenced how the average European perceived the African. Mr. W.H. Taylor, the Coast Inspector of Schools, reported in his 1928 and 1929 Reports that among the Pokomo, “It is noteworthy and altogether encouraging to find a tribe so keen on schools. This desire, it will be observed, is not confined purely to the male portion of the population. The girls and married women show a great keenness in learning to read and write as the boys and young men” (KNA/ED/1/4/3 Sectorisation Report of Tana River District 8<sup>th</sup> July 1929 p.4).

The married women referred to in these educational reports could be the ones who were learning in the Girls’ Special School opened in 1894 by Mrs Anna Weber. This clearly portrays the Pokomo not as lazy as Major Sutcliffe put it, meaning it could have been his personal perception. On spiritual matters, Rev. J. Jackson of the Methodist Church described the Pokomo in 1927 as “religious and reverent... with a genius for worship, a capacity for adoration, which does not come readily to the average Englishman” (Jackson, J. The Wapokomo in the Missionary Echo of the Methodist Church, 1927 p.70; Quoted in Nthamburi, 1982, p.48).

Rev. J.B. Griffiths of the MMS had earlier in 1918 while on a visit to Tana River encouraged MMS to continue with GNM’s work after the latter were banned following the outbreak of

WW II. He said, “The Tana is certainly unhealthy, but I plead with our people not to run away from one of the most responsible tribes in East Africa (United Methodist Church Annual Report, 1918 p.50). This then shows that there were mixed perceptions as to how Europeans viewed Africans even though Social Darwinism heavily influenced their racial standpoint. As concerns the GNM in Tana River, no evidence was gathered by the researcher either through the oral interviews or FGDs, that suggested that they considered and treated Africans as a lesser or inferior race.

#### **4.3.4 Socio-Political and Economic Interests**

As earlier seen, the sharing out of the countries on the African continent by the Europeans at the Berlin Conference of 1884/85 was pegged on socio-political and economic ties that may have existed between the interested European power and the region in question. In the 1880s, Clemens Denhardt and Gustav Denhardt (The Denhardt brothers) had staked a claim on Wituland on the Kenyan Coast which later attracted the GNM. It is likely they were influenced by the activities of Carl Peters of the German East Africa Company (GEAC) who had traversed the area hurriedly and signed treaties with some local chiefs to the dismay of the British Government which believed the region belonged to them. As Nthamburi (1982, p.57) postulates, the granting of charters to business companies by their home governments had a direct bearing on the expansion of missionary activities. The company owners encouraged missionaries from their home countries to start working among the people on whom they had some influence.

A hand-written diary found at the Kenya National Archives and seemingly authored by a British explorer but lacking his name and actual dates as some papers are missing gives an account of Carl Peters’ travels in the Tana. Its authenticity is ascertained by the fact that it

agrees with what is documented in Christopher Wilson's book, *Before the Dawn in Kenya* (1952) which was quoted in Chapter Two. The diary says in part:

Sethe (The Galla chief of the District: see April 1) was soon after I left murdered by the notorious Dr. Carl Peters, who followed me up the Tana and who went on to Uganda trying to get hold of all the country for Germany: but everywhere he was late... He got hold of the treaties I had made with the chiefs and the company's (IBEAC) flag I had given them and destroyed them. He then wrote to a friend in Germany, telling him what he had done. The friend immediately published his letters in a Germany newspaper, thereby proving most satisfactorily that I had been up before him and had established the British claim to the whole of the left bank of the Tana" {My Diary Account (n.d) }.

Though the name is not given, the author was definitely an official of the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) as he has explained how he would erect the Company's flag in a village after signing treaties with the local leaders. As earlier explained, the differences between the British and the Germans on their claims on East Africa were resolved after the Berlin Conference in 1890 whereby Tana/ Wituland remained part of British East Africa while Germany got compensated with Heligoland Island in Europe. By the time this treaty/ agreement was being signed, the GNM missionaries had already started their mission work in the Tana.

We can therefore not rule out the fact that the socio-economic and political factors in one way or the other influenced the coming of the GNM to Tana River especially when we consider that Karl Peters, himself a German had traversed the Tana region before the Denhardt brothers put a claim on the area. However, the respondents i.e the educationists, church leaders and village elders informed the researcher that the interaction between the Tana River people and the GNM missionaries did not portray the latter as out to benefit their country economically or even politically. Equally, the respondents were unaware of the underlying historical, socio-political and economic forces behind the coming of the missionaries.

#### **4.3.5 The Great Commission**

It has already been shown how the GNM did better than its contemporaries in its utilization of education for evangelization or responding to the Great Commission in that it only baptized grown-ups with proven ability to read and write. While in the field, the researcher also gathered another unique feature of the GNM which is that it believed that converts into Christianity needed to be separated from non-believers to protect them from being influenced back into heathen practices or backsliding. This was known as congregational doctrine.

The GNM missionaries initially lived with the pioneer converts in the missionaries' house on Ngao Hill (Appendix 32). The pioneer converts who lived with the Germans became very instrumental in helping the missionaries to preach, teach and translate the Bible, hymns/songs and other literature into Pokomo. One of the pioneer converts was Gudina Kanana believed to be the first literate person in Tana River County. The missionaries' house served both as a Church as well as a classroom. Later on, the pioneer converts were built houses in or around the Church compound. The researcher visited the house of Gudina Kanana, which is now occupied by his grandson, Mr. Enos Garisse Israel, son of Teacher Israel Gudina. Mr. Enos Israel told the researcher:

My grandfather was built a house by the Germans next to the church (GNM Church now AIC Ngao) as you can see, for being one of the earliest converts. Behind us is the family of Chadhoru Tutu the father of Amos Chadhoru. The families of pioneer converts are settled around the church. This was done so as to make it easy for them to access the church to assist the GNM missionaries in presiding over class work and baptismal lessons. Settling around the church and near the missionaries also helped the latter keep an eye on the converts to ensure they were not drawn back to heathen practices by the non believers (Mr. Enos Garisse Israel, Ngao town 23/11/2017).

Jesus Christ commanded his followers to teach the new converts to be keen disciples who could also spread the Gospel further (Bible: NKJV Mathew 28:19-20). The missionaries believed that the best teaching could only happen when the students were in close proximity, hence the congregational approach. The 1934 Tana River DC, Mr. A.C.M Mullins in his Annual Report took note of this aspect and appeared to be uncomfortable with it. He wrote:

The mission (GNM), in an endeavour to keep in close touch with its followers, works on the congregation system. Congregation is taken, however far too much in its narrower sense, and it is insisted that a member must live amongst the congregation (KNA/DC/TRD I/2 Tana River District Annual Report, 1934).

In 1935, the new DC, Mr. E.H. Windley equally discussed this policy in his Annual Report and also complained that it was conflicting with Government policy. He observed:

The Mission (GNM) controls their adherents by a system of congregations at various centres of influence. The congregations tend to usurp the temporal authority of the tribunal elders and they need suppressing in this respect... (KNA/DC/ TRD I/2 Tana River District Annual Report 1935).

The researcher noted that as much as the British authorities complained of the congregation system, the locals were for it and it is actually one of the reasons the Pokomo embraced the German missionaries more than the British missionaries e.g. those of the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS). This was confirmed by Yekonia Deye Wayu, a 90 year old resident of Hola Mission area in Hola town who told the researcher:

The German missionaries intermingled with us so freely like they were part of the Pokomo community. We would cook together rice and bananas and eat together. They grew very healthy from the Pokomo food. We loved them very much unlike other white people (Yekonia Deye Wayu (90), Hola town 17/10/2017).

This idea of separating converts from the general population appears to have been behind the establishment of boarding schools among the missionary organizations. Sifuna and Karugu (1988, p.5) have the following to say on the genesis of boarding schools:

The native student had to be kept away from retrogressive influences. Christian Africans had to be civilised; a process which could only be accomplished by taking them out of their pagan environment for a sufficient length of time. The [possibility] of pagan influence of students led to the necessity of boarding them.

Bogonko (1992, p.19) agrees with these sentiments when he says that with the establishment of mission stations came mission schools to teach the boarders. Welbourn (1965, p.84) alludes to the same fact that only in separated communities did there seem to be the possibility of teaching the Christian life in its fullness. The GNM also established boarding schools and according to the 1932 Tana River District Annual Report, the DC, Mr J.H.B Murphy indicated that the GNM had 8 night (boarding) schools.

#### **4.3.6 Summary on the Origin and Ideology of the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM)**

The German Neukirchen Mission (GNM) originated in a town known as Neukirchen, east of Cologne City in the Rhineland in Germany (Appendix 38). Unlike many missionary organizations at the time which were offshoots of churches back in Europe, the GNM drew its members from different church backgrounds on a voluntary basis with a deep sacrificial call to preach the Gospel in faraway lands. Such missionary organizations were known as Faith Missions. This partly explains why quite a number of them lost their lives in the area with those left not giving up but continuing to persevere in an area other missionaries of different denominations had abandoned due to a harsh climate, mosquitoes and attack from hostile communities especially the Somali.

The GNM was evangelical in nature and pursued the doctrine of Reformed Theology which was based on Martin Luther's Protestant Movement. This is evidenced by the presence of Lutheran churches in Tana River which were started by the converts of the GNM. Whereas most of the British colonial officials in Kenya openly portrayed themselves as a superior race to the Pokomo, the GNM missionaries were to the contrary, something that made them likeable among the locals. However, some positive remarks by some British colonial officials show that not all the British subscribed to the Social Darwinism school of thought.

The activities of business companies like the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) and the German East Africa Company (GEAC) definitely influenced missionary activities as missionaries preferred venturing into areas their country men had been to, or were interested in due to the benefit of familiarity or perceived help and support from their home governments. The GNM could have been influenced to go to Tana River region by the imperialistic activities of Carl Peters of GEAC and although the Tana ultimately fell under the colonial control of the British, they remained in the area and continued with their evangelistic activities.

Finally, the GNM missionaries were obeying Jesus' command to go to the whole world and preach and teach people the Gospel. Education would come in handy in realizing the Great Commission. No wonder the GNM only baptized the literate converts and separated them from non-believers so as not to be drawn back into paganism. Consequently, this led to the establishment of boarding schools, a phenomenon that was evident even with other missionary denominations. That way, Western education was propagated through evangelization. As a matter of fact, evangelization and Western education remained inevitably intertwined following the coming of missionaries from Europe to Africa.

#### **4.4 The Role of the German Neukirchen Mission (GNM) in the Establishment and Growth of Western Education in Tana River County, Kenya 1887 to 1986**

This section examines GNM's contribution to the establishment of Western education in Tana River County from their arrival to 1920; 1920 to 1940; 1940 to 1963 and finally 1963 to 1986. The first phase covers the period from GNM arrival to the period roughly covering WWI while the second phase coincides with the outbreak of WWII. The third phase is post WWII period to Independence and finally the first two decades after Independence which roughly coincides with the establishment of Ngao Secondary School. These demarcations are critical because the World Wars and Kenya's political independence affected the Germany-Kenya diplomatic relations and by extension GNM operations in the country. The year 1986 marks the end of the study period with the opening of Ngao Secondary School, which was a realization of GNM's long cherished dream.

##### **4.4.1 GNM's Contribution to Education in Tana River from 1887 to 1920**

The pioneer GNM missionary Rev. Ferdinand Wurtz who arrived at Ngao on 17/3/1887 immediately started offering baptismal lessons in his house to the locals. A Church was constructed in 1893 (Appendix 31) and the classes were moved there to accommodate the growing number of learners. In 1900, a school was built so that teaching did not have to be done in the Church. It is worth noting that the German missionaries did not only teach Christian Religious instruction but from the outset showed affinity for technical/vocational education as well as the 3Rs.

It will be remembered that in 1895, Mr. Chadhoru Tutu had been taken to Germany to train in mechanics, welding and seafaring to be able to sail and maintain the missionary's boat '*Naghea*'. This was also confirmed by his grand daughter Mrs. Sospeter Jato Chadhoru, a resident of Ngao. Five years later Mr. Jillo Kutii also sailed to Germany to train in carpentry

and masonry to help in the building and making furniture for GNM churches and schools. His nickname “Mseremala” (Carpenter) attests to this fact.

The activities of the GNM in Tana River should not be looked into in isolation because there was already a government in place – the British Colonial Government governing the British East Africa colony. The colonial office first showed serious interest in education in Kenya when it appointed Professor J. Nelson Fraser as educational advisor in East Africa in 1909 (Mutua, 1975, p.51). Before this initiative, education had largely been left in the hands of the different missionary organizations to run it as they deemed fit. Consequently, the kind of education offered to Africans was mainly religious in orientation. The missionaries were not enthusiastic about the appointment of Professor Fraser as they saw it as intrusion in a matter they had pioneered.

The Fraser Commission among other things supported the Colonial Government’s position of the “Dual Policy Doctrine” which meant separate development of the different races. In education, it meant that the different races in Kenya namely Europeans, Asians and Africans would follow different curricula. The Fraser Commission Report also stressed the necessity of giving technical instruction in African Schools for the promotion of economic development. To reinforce this recommendation, the Government introduced grants to mission sponsored schools which conducted technical instruction. This then means that as much as the German evangelists laid good emphasis on technical education, there was already a government policy in place providing guidance on education emphasizing the same. In 1911, the Colonial Government in Kenya established a Department of Education to regulate the conduct of education in the colony. The first director was James R. Orr who introduced payment of grants-in-aid based on results in passing technical subjects (Bogonko,

1992, p. 23). The reason for this government interest in African education and emphasis on technical education was in order to produce cheap African labour against a backdrop of rising expenses in hiring Asian labour.

In 1919, immediately after the end of the First World War, the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate was appointed to further advise the Government on how best to offer formal education to the natives (Mutua, 1975, p.52). By now, the three East African countries Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania were all under the British Colonial Government as Tanganyika had been surrendered to Britain from Germany as mandated territory by the League of Nations following the latter's defeat in the First World War. One critical recommendation by this Commission was that education of Africans should be left largely to the missionaries, with the state establishing its own system of schools only in areas inadequately served by missions. This posed a challenge to the Director of Education in overseeing and supervising educational activities; but was well received by the missionary organizations who saw it as an opportunity of regaining the earlier monopoly in educational matters.

The 1920/21 Tana River District Annual Report indicates that there were about 20 mission schools where the Wa-Pokomo learnt reading, writing and the elements of the Christian Religion (KNA/DC/TRD 1/1 1920/21). The respondents were all in agreement that apart from the GNM, no other missionary organization had opened and sustained a church or a school in the Tana region by 1920. The Colonial Government had by now only opened a handful of schools in areas not ventured into by missionaries. These were Kitui School in 1909 (Sifuna & Otiende, 1994; Bogonko, 1992, p.23), Machakos School in 1915 (Jones, 1924, p.119; Mutua, 1975, p.37; Bogonko, 1992) and Maasai Native School in 1921 (Jones,

1924).The nearest Government African School (GAS) to be opened close to Tana River around the same time was Waa School among the Wadigo in present day Kwale County (Sifuna & Otiende, 1994; Bogonko. 1992;Jones, 1924).Bogonko informs us that Waa soon changed hands to the management of the White Fathers Mission.

#### **4.4.2 GNM's Contribution to Education in Tana River from 1921 to 1940**

A most conspicuous educational development in Africa specifically in British occupied territories took place in the early 1920s courtesy of the Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund commonly known as the Phelps-Stokes Commission.The Phelps-Stokes Trustees, in cooperation with various Governments and missionary societies sent a Commission to West, South and Equatorial Africa in 1920-1921.The Commission to East Africa was recommended by the Trustees at their meeting on November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1923: that the appropriation of \$ 6,500 for the East African survey be authorized (Jones, 1924, pp. viiii-xix).

The Commission supported the recent appointment of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in 1923 with representatives from Government, missionaries and settlers. It also proposed the training of Natives to be visiting teachers to the numerous out-schools. An improvement was to be made on school supervision. This recommendation gave rise to the establishment of Jeanes School, Kabete from where one of the pioneer educationists in Tana River, Amos Chadhoru studied and did commendable work in school supervision in the 1940s.The Government was also charged to expand attention to Coast and North-Eastern areas (Jones, 1924, p.141).The following excerpt shows clearly that some areas in the country like the coastal region were being undermined in terms of educational provision:

Kenya is responsible for the education of approximately 500,000 Native children.The overwhelming majority of these children, amounting to 400,000, are in the South-Western section.The Coastal Province with only 40,000 children is comparatively unimportant (Jones, 1924, p.114).

The above scenario therefore justifies why the GNM deserves credit because of their educational endeavours in Tana River against all the odds. Any educational activity in Tana River County between the outbreak of the First World War and 1926 when the GNM missionaries returned to the area were sustained by local teachers who had been trained by the German evangelists. A sectorisation report of Tana River District dated 8<sup>th</sup> July 1929 by Mr. W.H. Taylor, Ag. Inspector of Schools confirms the above statement about the GNM having opened about 20 schools among the Pokomo in which some form of elementary education was being given (KNA/ED. 1/4/3 PC/COAST 2/10/11). That is quite an achievement coming at such a time.

Part of the Education Report (p.2 and 4) is in Appendix 11. The Education Inspection Report showed that in 9 locations namely Chara, Ngao, Salama, Ndera, Ngwano, Kinangkomba, Ndura, Zubaki and Malalulu all comprising 42 villages; there were a total of 1543 children of school going age (6-14 years old). Out of these children, 944 of them were receiving some form of elementary education in 19 village schools. This translates to 61.1% of children of school going age. It will be remembered that the German missionaries returned to Tana River in 1926 after their deportation in 1914 and would again be forced to leave in 1939. Table 4.2 presents a summary of the 1929 Education Inspection Report.

**Table 4.2 Summary of the Tana River Education Inspection Report of 1929**

S/R	DESCRIPTION	NUMBER
1.	Locations	9
2.	Villages	42
3.	Number of children of school going age	1543
4.	Number of children receiving elementary education	944
5.	Percentage of child population in school	61.1%

**Source: Tana River Education Inspection Report, 1929 (KNA/ED/1/4/3)**

A similar inspection was carried out in 1932. It is important to note that these inspections and reports were carried out and composed by British Government officials and not Germans, as the country was under British colonial rule. Indeed, for the British rulers to commend the GNM on its endeavours in education means quite some remarkable progress had been made. The inspection report was entitled, "Schools of the Neukirchen Mission, Tana River." Among others, this 1932 report indicated that Mr Bekker had died and been replaced by Reverend Wilhelm May as the head of the Tana Mission.

Mr Herman Muller was acknowledged as the educationist cum missionary who had been trained as a teacher in Germany. This explains why he was very passionate and keen on ensuring that he engaged trained teachers in the GNM schools in Tana River; a conviction that made him initiate the opening of a Teachers' College at Ngao, probably the first of its kind in the region at that time. This Teachers College trained the teachers on how to teach and what was to be taught in the primary schools notably the 3Rs – Reading, Writing and Arithmetic as well as Christian Religious Studies. Knowledge on technical subjects like

Agriculture, Carpentry and Masonry was also part of the curriculum of the college. Other missionaries mentioned in the report were Mrs. Hanna Gissel and Mrs. Steubing who were presiding over the Special Girls' School. Part of the missionary house was being used as a classroom.

It is interesting to note that GNM missionaries were only sent from Germany after undergoing studies in English and Pokomo to enable them work in a British colony and among the Pokomo. They learnt these languages in Germany but Pokomo was further learnt upon arrival in Tana River with the assistance of already converted African catechists. At the Neukirchen Mission office in Germany, there were a few books written in Pokomo by pioneer German missionaries for training in the Language but translated into German. The number of village schools had increased to 22.

The 1932 Report shows that the GNM put emphasis on Girls/Women education at such an early period whereby apart from the usual curriculum of 3Rs, they were being taught Hygiene, Music, Needlework, Cooking, Child rearing and Sports. There was also a hut constructed to house the women boarders who were attending the Girls' Special School. It was called Special because it attracted grown up girls aged above 18 years who were engaged to be married or were single mothers who had surpassed the age of attending the ordinary school being attended by younger pupils. The girls/women undertook a course that lasted six months. Table 4.3 highlights the areas of training covered in the special course.

**Table 4.3 The Curriculum of the Girls Special School at Ngao**

<b>S/R</b>	<b>SUBJECT</b>
1.	Handwriting
2.	Reading
3.	Arithmetic
4.	Hygiene
5.	Music
6.	Sewing
7.	Weaving
8.	House Craft
9.	Child Rearing
10.	Sports

**Source: Tana River Education Inspection Report, 1932**

Several books had also been translated into Pokomo language namely the New Testament section of the Bible, first Pokomo Reader, An Explanation of Christian Doctrine, Catechism and a hymn book (KNA/DC/TANA RV. 6/1). Part of the report (p.1 & 2) is in Appendix 12.

Table 4.4 lists the books translated or written in the Pokomo language:

**Table 4.4 Books translated or written in Pokomo Language by 1932**

<b>S/R</b>	<b>BOOK</b>	<b>PUBLISHER</b>
1.	The 4 Gospels in the Bible-Matthew, Mark, Luke and John	British & Foreign Bible Society
2.	Books of Acts (Bible)	British & Foreign Bible Society
3.	Complete New Testament (Bible)	British & Foreign Bible Society
4.	First Pokomo Reader	Neukirchen Mission Office, Germany
5.	An Explanation of Christian Doctrine	Neukirchen Mission Office, Germany
6.	Catechism	Neukirchen Mission Office, Germany
7.	Hymn Book: 152 songs	Neukirchen Mission Office, Germany

**Source: Tana River Education Inspection Report, 1932**

Tana River District Annual Reports of 1933 to 1939 consistently indicated that the only education offered in Tana River County was only given by the Neukirchen Mission. Information gathered at the KNA portrays the GNM as having been very keen to adhere to official Government policy. This was done so as not to be at loggerheads with the British Colonial Government which had just allowed them back in 1926, after their deportation in 1914 following the outbreak of the First World War. A letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 1935 from the Education Department Head Office in Nairobi indicates that 20 of their schools were officially registered. These schools were Laini, Mudzi Mukuu (Mji Mkuu), Oda, Golbanti, Ngao, Mwanathamba, Kibusu, Garseni, Gardeni, Musizuei, Wema, Kulesa, Marembo, Mwina, Muwazini, Wenji (Wenje), Kiapani, Pumwani, Mikinduni and Hola (Appendix 13).

In a letter to the District Commissioner Tanaland dated 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1937, the GNM through Rev. Wilhelm May is informing the District Commissioner of their willingness to plant trees at the open space in front of their schools to commemorate the coronation of 'THEIR MAJESTIES' (Appendix 14). This clearly shows that the GNM respected the authority in the land and were eager to inculcate elements of honour and patriotism in their learners.

Another contribution to education in Tana River by the GNM was drawing grants-in-aid from the Government to Tana River which could only be released if an area had a missionary organization in operation. A copy of a letter by the GNM applying for the grant-in-aid in 1938 and signed by Mr. Herman Muller is at Appendix 15.

Mr. Herman Muller had arrived in Tana River in 1930 and took over as the one in charge of educational matters in the District leaving Rev. Wilhelm May to handle spiritual matters. As much as the GNM was commended for conspicuous efforts in matters education in Tana River, it was criticized for being out of touch with the rest of Kenya in terms of curriculum due to the marginalization of the District. Muller made this issue his first assignment as indicated in the 1939 Tana River District Annual Report;

From 1931 to 1933 the first attempt was made to give the new teachers a methodical teachers training while still the main focus remained on Bible training. Of the 7 candidates who came for this course, some have done valuable work (2 have passed the Teacher Examination; one became Jeanes Teacher). In 1935 a course was started in Ngao with 20 boys of different standards with the aim of training them as teachers on the lines of official syllabus. Of the last mentioned group, 4 finished their teachers training last year and are ready for their examination. 2 received part of their professional training in the Jeanes School and passed the examination well' (KNA/DC/TRD/1/3 Tana River District Report 1939).

This first Jeanes School trained teacher in Tana River was Mr. Amos Chadhoru who passed his examination in December 1936 (KNA/DC/TRD/1/2 1928-1937). Muller realized the need to have trained teachers teaching the pupils; that is why he began a Teachers Training College at Ngao Hill School. In addition, he took some of his teachers to Jeanes School at Kabete, Nairobi. The Jeanes School had been started by the British Colonial Government to train teachers with a bias in technical subjects to teach in African schools. The 1939 Report confirms what was mentioned earlier about the first trained teachers in Tana River District courtesy of the GNM, namely Amos Chadhoru, Israel Gudina, Caleb Madyawa and Seti (Seth) Musa.

It is important to mention at this juncture that if Herman Muller had succeeded in establishing a secondary school in Tana River in 1939 as he had planned, this would have been the fifth secondary school for Africans in the country after Alliance (1926), Kabaa-Mang'u (1930), Maseno (1938) and Yala (1939) {Sifuna & Otiende 1994; Bogonko, 1992}. All these schools were established by Christian missionaries. The Phelps-Stokes Commission which influenced the educational enterprise in East Africa all the way to independence summarized the educational needs in East Africa in the following words:

Advanced technical, agricultural and teacher training, and professional knowledge of medicine, law and theology are as essential to the complete school system in East Africa as they are in any other part of the world. It is of course, true that the present need for this stage of education is very limited. There are now only two schools south of Egypt and the Sahara that have any claim to recognition as colleges. One is Fourah Bay College in Freetown, Sierraleone, and the other is Fort Hare Native College in the Union of South Africa. Even the number of secondary schools is almost negligible (Jones, 1924, p.43).

The above observation by the Commission led to the establishment of Makerere College in Uganda, the first tertiary level institution in East Africa that drew students from all over the

region. It grew to become the first university in the area in the early 1960s. Yuda Komora, another leading educationist in Tana River discussed later in this study was the first resident of Tana River to study at Makerere.

#### **4.4.3 GNM's Influence on Education in Tana River, 1940 to 1963**

The fast pace of development in education in Tana River suffered an abrupt setback when WWII broke out in 1939. However, the foundation laid by the GNM influenced education in the region for several years long after the Germans had been deported. This is evidenced by a Second Term Inspection Report on several Tana River schools dated August 1940 by Amos Chadhoru which shows that the locally trained teachers continued relentlessly with the work started by the GNM. Part of the Inspection Report compiled in Kiswahili is at Appendix 16. The Report also showed the monthly attendance of pupils by gender including the average attendance every week. Table 4.5 below represents a summary of Mr. Amos Chadhoru's Report translated into English by the researcher:

**Table 4.5: 2nd Term Report, August 1940 on some GNM Schools**

S/R	SCHOOL	HEADTEACHER	QUALIFICATION	CHALLENGES
1.	Hola	Kaleb Majawa	T4	Low enrolment
2.	Wenje	Guyo Galugalu	UT	Pupils absent guarding farms against wild animals; Parents unwilling to pay a small fee
3.	Marembo	Luku Wayu	UT	Same as Wenje
4.	Kulesa	Yedija Lulutya	T4	Locals rejected the Headteacher for not coming from the area
5.	Wema	Tola Mishael	T4	Laxity and poor administration
6.	Gariseni	Yohana Dadye	T4	Pupils' indiscipline
7.	Ngao	Israel Gudina	T4	Low enrolment due to recent famine
8.	Mwana-dhamba	Samuel Balesa	T4	A church was being used as a classroom
9.	Golbanti	Seth Musa	T4	Pupils' absenteeism
10.	Mji Mkuu	Mikael Enos	T4	Famine had made pupils remain at home helping parents
11.	Laini	Yohana Petro	UT	Same as Mji Mkuu

**Key:** T- Trained Teacher 4

UT- Untrained Teacher

**Source: Education Inspection Report by Mr Amos Chadhoru, August 1940**

This report reveals that most of the elementary schools were headed by trained teachers.

During the colonial period, the training of primary school teachers was done majorly in

mission schools by the missionaries. In 1937, arrangements were made to remove the training from mission schools to central institutions staffed for this purpose. For Lower Primary, Maseno, Kahuhia, Yala, Mathari and Kabaa were identified. Butere, Tumutumu, Embu, Wusi and Asumbi were to train elementary teachers. Certificates for Primary school teachers were awarded according to the various levels in which primary schools were categorized i.e. Elementary, Lower Primary and Primary and the titles T1 to T4 were used (The Beecher Report, 1949, p.59). The terms P1 to P4 certificates were only used after Independence. Table 4.6 below shows a summary of teacher training results in the country as given by the Department of Education in 1936:

**Table 4.6 Teacher Training Results for Primary School Teachers in Kenya in 1936**

<b>CERTIFICATE</b>	<b>ENTERED</b>	<b>PASSED</b>
Elementary Teachers	165	70
Lower Primary Teachers	145	50
Primary Teachers	18	9

**Source: Smith, J.S. (1973, p.89)**

From Table 4.5 and 4.6 above, we can see that if by 1940 Tana River District had 9 trained elementary teachers (including Amos Chadhor), then the area was doing well considering that in 1936, the whole country could only boast of having 70 of such teachers having passed the college examination. Credit goes to the GNM and specifically to educationist Herman Muller who desired all practicing teachers to undergo training. It is only recently in 2017, that the Cabinet Secretary in charge of Education in Kenya in echoing what some of his

predecessors had expressed, issued an order that no teacher who is not trained should be engaged to teach in either public or private schools in the country. This means that the education sector in Kenya is still grappling with the issue of untrained teachers in the profession; an issue the GNM was on the verge of sorting out once and for all (at least in Tana River County) had they been given time and space. The respondents through oral interviews and FGDs informed the researcher that the problems and challenges highlighted by this Chadhoru Report are still evident today meaning that there is still need to come up with workable solutions.

At the end of the year (1940), the DC wrote to the Coast Inspector of Schools in Mombasa asking for certificates of teachers who had been trained under the GNM and advise on those who had been continuing with their training by the time the GNM left. Those who had completed their training and were awaiting their certificates included Kaleb Majawa, Seti Musa, Samuel Balesa, Mikael Enos, Tola Mikael, Johana Daji and Yedija Lulutiya (Handing over Report between P.F. Foster and Captain J.E.H Lambert (DCs) on 27/3/1944). The Handing over Report is at Appendix 17. Those who were yet to complete their training were Permena Mungatana, Guyo Galgalo, Azaria Nikodemo, Solomon Ananda, Salatiel Timoteo, Anania Teophlo, Levi Bernaba and Johana Petro. The DC also noted that there was demand for the opening of more schools specifically at Kulesa, Kibusu and Mwina. The DC acknowledged that the locals were supplementing the payment of teachers' salaries. Additionally, he requested for increase in grants-in-aid given towards education in order to manage to finance the rapidly increasing demand for education in the District.

In a letter dated 2/12/1940 by Mr. Amos Chadhoru to the District Commissioner Mr. R.G Darroch, Mr. Chadhoru is informing the DC of a workshop for teachers he had organized

scheduled to run from 1<sup>st</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> January 1941 at Ngao. It is written in Kiswahili but the researcher has translated it into English. It reads in part:

I am inviting you Sir to attend during the closing ceremony. The teachers will also display items made by pupils. Sir, come ready to address the issue of citizenship.

Topics to be covered are:

1. Arithmetic method on sub standards
2. Swahili method standard I & II
3. Drill/physical training
4. Health at home and in school
5. Geography
6. "Tonic Solfa" (Music) {KNA/ DC/TANA RV. 6/1}

The letter underscores the importance of technical education, knowledge on citizenship, Mathematics, Kiswahili language, Physical Education and Health Education. In this workshop, the pupils were to display items they had personally made with the assistance of their teachers; for instance combs, spoons, slippers, and blooms. This reminds us that the essence of technical and vocational skills was at the core of the Commission that recommended the introduction of the 8-4-4 system (Mackay Report, 1981). Technical and vocational skills are still a major focus of the newly introduced Competency Based Curriculum (2-6-3+3-3) launched in 2018 (KICD, 2019). This comes at a time when the country has realized that it was a disservice to the nation to undermine middle level and technical colleges in the last two decades or so in which most of them were converted into universities or constituent colleges of universities.

The 1941 Tana River District Annual Report showed that the Government grants to the mission schools continued even after the departure of GNM missionaries, with 12 schools being maintained. The 1943 and 1944 District Annual Reports appreciated that the Pokomo teachers though poorly paid continued with teaching duties with unabated zeal. There was a technical school at Belezoni "where a Pokomo carpenter trained by the Germans and now provided by Government with tools (was) supposed to be training a dozen or so of young

Pokomo boys.” This again affirms GNM’s efforts in promoting technical education among the locals.

The British approach to technical education offered to Africans seemed to differ with that of the Germans. Various commissions initiated by the British Colonial Government to look into African education in Kenya all supported vocational and technical education for Africans in order to meet local and administrative needs but also out of the belief that Africans could not cope with academic education. These commissions are The Fraser Report of 1909, The Commission for East African Education Report of 1919, The Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1923/24 and even The Beecher Report of 1949.

The Germans in Tana River treated technical education as a much needed type of education and as part and parcel of the entire education provided to Africans and not as some inferior education reserved for inferior people. At Ngao Primary School for instance, technical education was offered alongside literary education to the same pupils with no perception created to the effect that technical education was for people of a lower cadre. This was confirmed by John Change Abagerera who was interviewed at Hola on 17/10/2017. He said:

At Ngao Primary School, we were taught both academic subjects and technical subjects like carpentry, masonry and metal works. Equal emphasis was given to both. The Germans never treated technical education as inferior education. The story of Chadhoru Tutu and Jillo Kutii having gone abroad on account of technical training inspired young people like us. The technical skills I gained at Ngao helped me in life for a long time after school though I ended up becoming a teacher by profession. To me, vocational education by the GNM was not in any way an inferior education.

In 1948, the Education Department accepted responsibility for the payment of all the salaries of the teachers in the primary schools in the District in view of the small income of the Local Native Council (LNC). The United Methodist Mission represented by Rev. George Marthew

took over missionary activities but never posted any resident missionary, meaning native catechists continued offering spiritual services (KNA Tana River District Annual Report 1948).

The British Government was in favour of the Methodist Missionary Society taking over the GNM missions but the locals were unwilling to embrace the Methodists and instead demanded for the return of the German missionaries. Back in September 1945, Reverend Archdeacon Beecher of CMS and Rev. A.J Hopkins of MMS had visited Ngao but no decision was reached on the way forward. The locals continued to resist being under the Methodist Church. This is evidenced by the incident that took place in 1948 and which was described in Chapter two. Reverend Simeon Ubo blocked Reverend Marthew from meeting Neukirchen Church adherents at Ngao. This incident led to temporary withdrawal of grants-in-aid to Tana River District, stoppage on admission of Buu (Pokomo) students to Methodist intermediate schools and non- payment of teachers. In response to this, the locals formed the Young Buu Association (YBA) in the spirit of an Independent Movement to propagate education with or without British support. Some of the leaders of this movement were GNM trained teachers Israel Gudina and Kaleb Madyawa. Through their appeal to Government, the ban was lifted after one year, grants-in-aid restored and teachers reinstated to work (Pakia & Buya 1992, p.16; Abreu, 1982, p.205; Mambo, 1980 p. 276).

In 1950, there were 23 aided Primary Schools in the District (TRDAR, 1950). This means that although GNM missionaries had left in 1939, almost the same number of schools they had left had remained 11 years down the line. The Government and the MMS had in real sense not opened any new school. By 1951, the number of schools stood at 24, five of which

taught up to Standard 5. Standard 6 pupils and above joined Ribe School in Kilifi and Shimo la Tewa School in Mombasa.

Back in 1949, the Beecher Report had recommended a new education system for Africans, the infamous 4-4-4 i.e. 4 years of lower primary, 4 years of upper primary (Intermediate School) and 4 years of secondary education (The Beecher Report 1949, pp.55- 63). Consequently, an urgent need for Intermediate Schools arose; Ngao as expected became the first Intermediate school in Tana River in 1952. The DC reported as follows:

The Ngao Intermediate School came into being and despite the high fees, was filled. The school is housed in 4 buildings, the old primary school building put up by the German Mission, a new double classroom block and two dormitory blocks. The 3 buildings are 60 by 30 feet. With the exception of 40 drums of cement purchased from DEB funds, the whole of this work was done by voluntary labour (KNA Tana River District Annual Report 1952).

Again, there is clear evidence of local initiatives in the pursuit of education which cannot be divorced from the impetus created by GNM. The 1956 Report continues to lay bare the authenticity of this claim. It says in part:

There is a continuous demand for compulsory education from an influential section of the people in Ngao and Salama locations headed by the teachers.... In Salama location, the advocates of compulsory education even went so far as to try to compel parents to send their children to school by withdrawal of fishing rights (KNA Tana River District Annual Report 1956).

Demand for greater opportunities for Intermediate education continued. This is because Tana River residents wished to have more Intermediate Schools in the District to avoid the cost of taking them all the way to Kaloleni, Ribe and Shimo la Tewa in the neighbouring districts. Right from 1955, discussions regarding a second Intermediate School at Hola had kicked off. It will be remembered that Hola was another Mission station in the Upper Tana started by the

GNM. This initiative bore fruit in 1958 when Hola became the second Intermediate School in Tana River (KNA, Tana River District Annual Report 1960 p. 13).

The above fact is also confirmed by the minutes of Tana River District Education Board (DEB) meeting held on 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1959 at Garsen (KNA/CD/4/4; Appendix 20). Save for the Europeans, membership of the DEB comprised Pokomos educated by GNM – Ezekiel Jara, Joseph Bahola, Paul Pakia, Aser Benjamin, Israel Gudina, Mrs. Luice Pakia and Seth Meshak. All schools had been put under the DEB in 1955 when MMS even with the moral support of the Government decided that the wisest counsel was to quit superintending the Tana River schools (KNA Tana River District Annual Report, 1955 p.21). A look at the list of 26 DEB/Aided schools in Tana River in 1958 is again dominated by the same schools that were started by the GNM (Appendix 20).

Wenje became the third Intermediate School in Tana River in 1960. It will be recalled that the GNM had way back in 1897 purchased the Wenje Mission from Swedish missionaries. According to Revered Michael Gafo (81) of Makere ya Gwano/Wenje, a retired teacher and minister of the Methodist Church, the Swedish gave up on the Tana and left for Somaliland with some converts from Kulesa village. Rev. Gafo got this information from his father Hiribae who had worked closely with the GNM. Rev. Gafo also showed the researcher some GNM baptismal cards and pictures of German missionaries and their families at Wenje namely Herman Schmidt and Wartenberg (Appendices 23 & 24). Therefore, on the eve of Independence, Tana River had 3 Intermediate Schools namely Ngao, Hola and Wenje, all having grown from the elementary schools started by the GNM (TRDAR, 1960, p. 13).

#### **4.4.4 GNM's Influence on Education in Tana River from Independence to 1986**

In the early 1960s, Mr. Amos Chadhoro spearheaded a move to register the Tana Independent Church. This would bring together Christian converts who wanted to continue identifying with the GNM. His efforts never materialized. Together with the other Church leaders from Garsen, Itsoe, Furaha, Mwanadhamba and Ngao, they wrote letters to the P.C Coast Province and Neukirchen Mission Director in Germany asking for the return of the GNM to Kenya. Apparently, they were taking advantage of the fact that Kenya was now an Independent State free from British domination. The letters are dated 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1965 (KNA/CD/4/4 pp.99-100; Appendices 21 and 22). This initiative bore fruit and the GNM missionaries were allowed back to the country. Herman Muller travelled back to Kenya in the same year but more GNM missionaries arrived back in the country in 1970. The researcher met one of the adherents of the GNM who personally met Herman Muller on his return to Kenya. This is Gideon Malibe Galana (95) who met Muller in Mombasa in 1965. Galana told the researcher:

What surprised me was how Herman Muller could still communicate in fluent Kiswahili and Pokomo having left Kenya in 1939. I kept wondering whether he really ought to have come back after so many years. A lot had happened and changed. Most of us had already joined the Methodist Church and other churches; personally, I was already a minister with the Methodist Church at Kongowea, Mombasa. Muller wanted me to go with him to Tanzania where GNM had a theological college, study for 3 years then come back and preside over the African Inland Church (AIC), Mombasa. I declined. He was disappointed (Interview done at Makere ya Gwano/ Wenje on 18/10/2017).

There is need to mention important historical developments and policy issues in the country that affected the education sector in this period. In 1964, one year after Kenya attained independence, the Kenya Education Commission popularly known as the Ominde Commission was appointed by President Jomo Kenyatta to advise the Government on how to overhaul the education system in the country to be in tandem with the aspirations of the young nation.

One of the recommendations of the Ominde Report that was echoed by the Education Act of 1968 and which had a bearing on GNM activities in Tana River; was placing the management and administration of all religious owned educational institutions under the Government (Ominde Commission 1965 p. vii; Education Act 1968). For instance, one of the respondents told the researcher that Herman Muller had in 1966 organized to send 100 Pokomos to Germany for further studies. They were selected from Standard 8 to Form Four and would train in fields like Agriculture, Education, and Medicine at different levels depending on individual entry behaviour. Their passports were processed but the much anticipated trip failed to materialize. The respondent was one of them and felt quite disappointed. It seems the Government preferred that the religious organizations and FBOs reduce their influence on learning institutions to spiritual guidance and leave the rest to the Government. Nevertheless, the respondent together with two more interviewees, pointed fingers at the Methodists who they said must have advised the newly Independent Government against allowing such an undertaking; the reason being that such a big group of the learned elite from a single community could come back and cause problems to the young nation.

One wonders why the Government would turn down such an initiative bearing in mind that in the late 1950s and early 1960s Tom Mboya, Dr Julius Gikonyo Kiano and Kariuki Njiri had enabled hundreds of Kenyans to travel to the USA for university studies through the famous "Airlifts". They networked with their American friends like Senator John F. Kennedy, businessman William Scheinman and aviationists Sumant Patel and P.K Jani to raise the funds required and oversee other logistics. The first charter airlift taking 81 students flew off in 1959. During the next two years the numbers soared as enthusiasm grew all over Kenya and down through East and Central Africa.

In 1960 and 1961, they sent 295 and 322 students respectively, most of them from Kenya. By 1963, they had 1,011 in USA and another 100 in Canada (Mboya 1963 pp 137-138; Goldsworthy, 1982, pp 119-120). These graduates would later return to Kenya, secure senior managerial and administrative jobs in the Government and transform their lives and those of their communities. A notable example is Professor Wangari Maathai (who left with the 1960 airlift) who became the first woman in Africa to win the coveted Nobel Prize in 2004 for her efforts in environmental conservation and governance.

It is important to point out that these 'Tom Mboya Airlifts' were also opposed by a large section of the Kenyan elite who expressed fears that some of these students may never return home with some questioning why they could not join the already existing Royal College, Nairobi which was offering degrees under a 'special arrangement' with the University of London (Sheffield, 1971, p.38). Credit must be given to Tom Mboya and his team for their resilience and determination to make their agenda succeed. It is unfortunate that the Tana River initiative by the GNM did not materialize possibly because of lack of an influential and well connected person in the area, of the stature of Tom Mboya.

When the churches of Ngao, Mwanadhamba, Furaha and Garsen were denied permission to form the Tana Independent Church, they were advised by the GNM office in Germany to partner with the AIC as from 1967. AIC was a product of the Africa Inland Mission (AIM) with its roots in USA (Welbourn 1965, p.63) and which was also a 'Faith Mission' as the GNM (Nthamburi 1982, p.55).

In 1968, Tarasaa High School was established under the sponsorship of the AIC. According to John Change Abagerera (70), a retired teacher and former Tana River branch Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) Secretary General, the school was started at Ngao and

operated for 3 years but was later moved to Tarasaa, 3km away towards the Garsen-Malindi road where there was vast land, ideal for expansion. The first Principal was Mr. Tola Kokote Bonaya. The first Board of Governors (BOG) Chairman was Mr. Israel Gudina, son of Gudina Kanana, one of the first 8 GNM converts. Germans assisted financially in the school's construction and continued offering help for a number of years. Abreu (1982) wrote:

In 1968, the Buu embarked on their self-help Secondary School (harambee): Tarasaa School was built and later taken over by the Government. It has a *Harambee* education scheme to which the German 'Bread for the World' organization contributes generously (Abreu, 1982, p.207).

In 1970, more GNM missionaries visited Tana River. The following year they started constructing a new Church at Ngao because after a protracted battle, the old one had been taken over by the Methodists. The Church was officially opened in 1979 by President Daniel Arap Moi in the company of Bishop Wellington Mulwa, the head of AIC in Kenya. The people of Ngao changed the name of Ngao Primary School to Arap Moi Primary School in honour of the President's visit (Pakia & Buya, 1992, pp.20-21).

In 1985, former beneficiaries of Western education provided by the GNM conceived an idea to establish a secondary school at Ngao to accomplish Mr. Herman Muller's long cherished dream of building a secondary school in the town. This group was led by Mr. Yuda Komora who had been a teacher, Education Officer, Director of Education and Permanent Secretary in Government together with Mr. Lisania M. Buya, a long serving teacher, Head Teacher and Education Officer. Another person was Mr. Permena Mungatana, a long serving teacher who even gave part of his land for the construction of the school. This initiative came to fruition in 1986 when Ngao Secondary School opened its doors for the pioneer Form One class under the newly introduced 8-4-4 system of education (Mackay Report, 1981). The founding

Principal was Mr. Kenneth P. Pakia, the first born son of Mr. J.M. Paul Pakia. (Article: A brief History of Ngao Girls Secondary School by Lisania M. Buya, Flezian Komora and Tola N. Daddah-Appendix 29).

#### **4.4.5 Summary of the Contribution of the GNM in the Establishment of Western Education in Tana River County, 1887 -1986**

The GNM baptized 8 pioneer converts in 1894. By 1904, the number had risen to 150 and in 1911 they were 442. By 1939, the numbers baptized were 2500. The baptisms continued even after the departure of the GNM due to the Second World War. The researcher however did not gather conclusive figures because of failure to get adequate Church records. These baptized converts are taken to be people who had received some form of elementary education as literacy was a prerequisite to baptism.

A total of 31 primary schools were established by the GNM with 8 of them being boarding schools. Today, only Arap Moi Primary School, Ngao has remained a Boarding Public School in Tana River County. Three of the Elementary Primary Schools rose to become Intermediate Schools as well. By the 1980s, five Secondary Schools had been established directly or indirectly by the GNM and are still in operation. These are Tarasaa, Hola, Wenje, Mau Mau and Ngao. There were two technical schools at Ngao and Belezoni but today they have remained as primary schools. One Youth Polytechnic was established at Tarasaa and still operates. There was a Special Girls/Women School at Ngao which is no longer operational and one Teacher Training College at the same place which also closed down. These institutions ceased to operate after the outbreak of the Second World War that led to the deportation of the GNM Missionaries who were unable to come back until the 1960s.

By 1940, the GNM had trained nine teachers. The Mission also wrote/translated seven books into the Pokomo language which are still in use. They also started two hospitals at Ngao and Hola which did not only provide health services to the people but served as training grounds for interns from the local population who were pursuing careers in the medical field. Ngao and Hola hospitals are still operational and still serve the two purposes of treatment and training.

Last but not the least, the GNM had also managed to take five people for further training in Germany and through their influence, there was an attempt in 1966 to take a hundred ( 100) more for further studies but the move never materialized. This indicates that if the German missionaries had not been deported in 1939, they would have done more for Tana River County and the country at large. The impact of their work, though still evident and felt to date, could have been far much greater. Table 4.6 below gives a summary of the contribution of the GNM to the establishment of Western Education in Tana River County between 1887 and 1986.

**Table 4.7 Summary of the Contribution of the GNM in the Establishment of Western Education in Tana River County, 1887 to 1986**

S/R	INSTITUTION/ FIELD	NUMBER				REMARKS
		1894	1904	1911	1939	
1.	Baptism	8	150	442	2500	More were baptised afterwards
2.	Elementary Trained Teachers	9				By 1940
3.	Primary Schools	31				28 still operational
4.	Boarding Primary Schools	8				7 Ceased to be boarding
5.	Intermediate Schools	3				Ngao, Hola and Wenje
6.	Technical Schools	2				None operational
7.	Secondary Schools	5				Still operational
8.	Books/ Translations	7				Still in use
9.	Special Girls' School	1				None operational
10.	Teachers Training College	1				None operational
11.	Bookshop / Library	1				None operational
12.	Youth Polytechnic	1				Operational
13.	Hospitals	2				Operational
14.	Overseas Studies	5				Attempt to take a 100 failed

**Source: Researcher's creation from the foregoing literature, 2018**

## **4.5 The Impact of the Establishment of Western Education in Tana River County by the GNM**

The third and last objective of the study was to assess the lasting impact of the GNM activities in Tana River on the schools, society and even at individual level.

### **4.5.1 Introduction**

The seriousness of the GNM in its activities in Tana River County can be seen in the size of land it acquired in this area through purchasing. As has been explained, other missionary organizations either abandoned the area or sold their missions and property to the GNM. The GNM accumulated over 100 acres of land according to a letter dated 6<sup>th</sup> August 1955 from the Custodian of Enemy Property to the Registrar of Titles based in Mombasa (KNA/CD/7/14 p. 3; Appendix 18). The Custodian of Enemy Property was a Department created to consolidate and document all the property owned by enemy nations during the First and Second World Wars. Consequently, all the property owned by the Germans fell into this category. Interestingly, the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS) which is the only other missionary organization which tried some missionary activity in the area is recorded to have owned no land according to a letter dated 26<sup>th</sup> December 1953 by the Tana River DC Mr. Hilton Brown (at Kipini) to the Registrar of Titles, Mombasa (KNA/CD/7/14).

The land owned by GNM was used for the construction of churches, hospitals and schools. A church as expected preceded a school and wherever a church was built a school followed or the church was converted into a classroom during the weekdays. Today, Hola Hospital is the largest referral Hospital in Tana River County while Ngao comes in second as the largest Sub-County Hospital; both established by the GNM.

The land was also used for agricultural purposes. Germans engaged in farming and produced their own food specifically maize, peas, cassava and rice. The GNM missionaries introduced to the locals the idea of using River Tana waters for irrigation during dry seasons. The trenches they dug are still visible and are still being used to date. However, the village elders informed the researcher that the land on which the GNM had carved out for irrigation has not been put to maximum use for being disputed between the Pokomo and the Orma. The latter claim that it is part of their grazing land. Indeed, the retired civil servants cum politicians revealed that the land issue is a thorny matter in Tana River County and has been the main cause of perennial conflicts between the agricultural Pokomo and the pastoralist Orma.

The impact of the advent of the GNM in Tana River was felt immediately and has continued to date. The Education Inspection Report of 1929 indicated that the general standards of living had risen in the area more than in any other coastal community (Appendix 11). This was measured against their mode of dress, their diversified commercial activities and clamour for Western education. The report also noted that young men who had acquired some formal education from the missionaries travelled to the cities especially Mombasa and Nairobi to seek for formal employment in mechanical trades and domestic and personal services. The community was commended for being very keen on education (KNA /ED.1/4/3PC/COAST/2/10/11).

#### **4.5.2 Increase in Literacy levels**

Since the GNM did not baptize children but grown-ups who could read the Bible and write what was preached to them; literacy levels among the Pokomo increased proportionately with the increase in converts. The first eight converts baptized on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1894 by Reverend Ferdinard Wurtz were Chadhoru Tutu, Kiripa, Gudina Kanana, Abadula, Kirage, Lulutya

Kapanya, Subo Bonaya and Zamani (Gissel & Gissel 1991, p. 227; Pakia & Buya, 1992, p.5). The researcher confirmed this list (first mentioned in Chapter 2) through Gudina Kanana's grandson, Mr Enos Garisse Israel, the son of teacher Israel Gudina who had preserved such records carefully in his library.

In the later years, these pioneer converts and others would help the missionaries in preaching and teaching their neighbours and relatives and presenting them for baptism. Consequently, evangelization enhanced education. The pioneer converts became instrumental in helping the missionaries formulate the Pokomo alphabet and translate sections of the Bible and English and German gospel songs into Pokomo language. The missionaries did not concentrate on Christian literature only but also wrote the first Pokomo Reader to be used in schools (KNA/DC/TANA RV.6/1). This meant that the German missionaries had to learn the local languages of Pokomo and Kiswahili to be able to interact with the locals and translate books into the local dialects.

By 1901, the New Testament had been translated into Pokomo language (Appendix 25). The baptismal card at Appendix 25 bears the name of a one Henock Galana from Makere. It is signed by Reverend Bekker. It has been written in Pokomo and the English translation is given here below as translated by Reverend Jillo Enes Yotam of Hola (16-10-2017):

*Tsanganyiko dya* – Name of the church

*Sari-* Name

*Kuvyajwa ari* – When were you born?

*Kutopyegwa ari* – When were you baptized?

*Ni ga* – By who?

*Nr* – Number

*Ku* – Where?

*Kuyavigwa* – When ex-communicated

*Kuphokejwa* – When received back

*Kufwa* – When passed on

*Kusama* – When relocated

As can be seen, the card was designed such that the one being baptized would fill the preliminary details himself / herself since they were expected to be able to read and write. For example *kuvyanjwa ari-* When were you born? *Kutopyegwa ari-* When were you baptized? Needless to say, certain details like on when one was ex-communicated, when received back and when passed on were filled by the Church Minister when such incidents occurred. It is also evident that a copy of the same document remained filed in the office of the Church Minister for record keeping and follow- up.

The researcher verified the information to be true by comparing with information on written sources e.g. Mambo (1980), Nthamburi (1982) and Gissel and Gissel (1991). In Chapter Two, it was already indicated that Reverend Bekker was evangelizing in Tana River at this time. Information obtained through oral interviews was in agreement with written sources. However, it was not clear why some details had not been filled though the card clearly shows that some details like relocation, ex-communication and death were meant to be filled later. The only possible explanation for lack of some information like date of birth could be the fact that Africans unlike Europeans identified time of events through seasons, and natural disasters like floods, earthquakes and famine and not specific years.

The owner of the card may have carried the original card which presumably had been duly filled as per the other requisite and preliminary details. From this card and the oral

interviews, it is evident that church members who contravened church rules and regulations were ex-communicated i.e temporarily removed from the Congregation and would only be reinstated upon repentance and positive change in behaviour and a promise to comply with the expected moral and spiritual standards. This explains why the British colonial officials were full of praise of the GNM adherents as earlier mentioned in terms of behaviour, prompt tax payment and generally being law abiding.

The Germans were also well versed in English which was the official language in Colonial Kenya and which they also taught as a subject. To be posted to Tanaland, one was required to have studied English as a language back in Germany. The Tarasaa bookshop cum library (Appendix 35) opened by Fritz Gissel in 1984 was the first of its kind in Tana River County and helped inculcate a reading culture in the community. It operated for several years before its closure. According to Rev. Francis Tumaini of AIC Ngao, the Church was unable to continue paying the staff especially after Gissel died and donations from Germany reduced. By 1973 it was claimed that 99% of the people in the area could read and write (Abreu, 1982, p. 206). Though this rating appears unusually high, it is a pointer that Tana River District by this time could boast of remarkable literacy levels above a substantial number of other districts in the country.

#### **4.5.3 Technical Education**

The Fraser Commission of 1909 had recommended education in the East Africa Protectorate to be tailored along racial lines with Africans being offered an education of a technical nature; while Asians and Europeans were to be given an academic type of education (Sifuna and Otiende, 1994, p. 93). Such a position was influenced by subscribing to the Social Darwinism perspective already discussed. The GNM also introduced technical education

particularly at Ngao not only to adhere to official policy but also to meet the needs of the people. It was never an inferior education as far as the respondents were made to perceive it by the Germans. Schlogl, P. (2010) underscores the emphasis and importance placed on technical education by Germans; an attitude replicated in her allies. He says: “In the German speaking countries, vocational and higher education are both very important, widely accepted and boast long traditions (Schlogl, P. in Felix, R. & Erica, S. {eds} 2010, p .19). As a matter of fact, GNM technical education in Tana River was not resisted the way the same met opposition in upcountry Kenya. Indeed, before Ngao became an Intermediate School in 1952, it was known as Ngao Technical School because from Class 5 onwards, technical subjects like Carpentry, Masonry, Agriculture, Music and Home Science were taught. Retired teacher John Change Abagerera (quoted earlier) was full of praise of the technical education he received at Ngao Primary School, asserting that he still used the skills he acquired to repair furniture at home.

Currently, the Kenya Government is investing a lot in Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) through expansion of TVET institutions and giving loans to students joining these institutions through Higher Education Loans Board (HELB), a service hitherto enjoyed by university students only. In addition, students admitted to TVET institutions through KUPPS benefit from an annual capitation of Ksh 30,000 from the Government towards paying part of their college fees (Oduor, 2019). The Government takes cognizant of the fact that technical education is instrumental in realizing Vision 2030 and the ruling party’s (Jubilee) Big 4 Agenda. Wakiaga (2018) in her article “*Why TVET is a game changer for Kenya*” states that Finland has succeeded in making use of Technical Education to revolutionize her economy; a success story that Kenya can emulate. Vision 2030 aims at making Kenya an industrial and middle income earning country by the year 2030. Agenda 4

is an endeavour to improve Kenyans lives and economy by investing successfully in four key areas notably Housing, Manufacturing, Food Security and Universal Health care by the year 2022 (President Uhuru Kenyatta, 2017). Like in the colonial times, the challenge of perception and attitude towards technical education remains. Most students and parents only consider TVET institutions after missing the cut- off marks to university. Even the entry marks to TVET institutions are relatively low – as low as Grade E, naturally creating the impression that TVET is not an education specifically for people endowed in that field but for those not good enough academically.

To further promote technical education, the Germans built Tarasaa Youth Polytechnic in 1970 upon their return for the third time in the country. The first Chairman of the Board of Governors (BOG) was teacher Israel Gudina, the son of GNM pioneer convert Gudina Kanana. The current Chairman (2019) is Komora Jillo while the Vice Chairman is Enos Garisse Israel, the son of Israel Gudina. Mr Israel, himself an educationist retired in 2008 as the District Quality, Assurance and Standards Officer (DQASO) and was immediately appointed the Parents Teachers Association (PTA) Chairman, Tarasaa High School. As mentioned earlier, the wife of Gudina Kanana, Marta Gudina was among the first batch of African nurses trained at Ngao hospital. The Gudinas have therefore made immense contribution to education in Tana River County since the patriarch Gudina Kanana came into contact with the German Neukirchen Mission.

The Tarasaa Youth polytechnic is sponsored by the African Inland Church (AIC) which was mandated by the GNM to take care of their flock in 1967. When the researcher visited Tarasaa Youth Polytechnic in 2017, it had close to 100 students pursuing different vocational and technical courses (Appendix 36). Graduates from this polytechnic have been serving the

community in different capacities using the skills acquired and have reduced the rate of youth unemployment in the area.

#### **4.5.4 Girls' Education**

Whereas the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1924 had among other recommendations suggested the expansion of girls' education, this remained a statement of intent with no tangible measures taken towards the realization of the same (Sifuna & Otiende, 1994, p. 205). However, the GNM had since 1894 started a Girls Special School at Ngao which taught girls home keeping skills. In spite of setbacks during the First World War, the Special School was still in operation in 1932 according to the 1932 Inspection Report by Government education officials. The betrothed ladies were being boarded in the school and took the course for 6 months. They were taught Arithmetic, handwriting, hygiene, music, needle ware and house-craft/ cooking (Appendix 20). This is according to the minutes of the Tana River DEB meeting held on 26<sup>th</sup> February 1959 at Garsen (quoted earlier).

There is doubt as to whether any other missionary organization in Kenya (or even the colonial government itself) was showing such keen interest in girls' education in Kenya at that time. These girls offered the acquired skills to their community and families. They not only became role models to younger girls but also demonstrated the importance of education in improving the standard of living regardless of age. The 1929 Education Inspection Report acknowledged that the girls and women from the Special School were showing a great keenness in learning to read and write (KNA/ED.1/4/3PC/COAST/2/ 10/11).

The people of Ngao seem to have considered girls' education as equally important as that of the boys because though Ngao Secondary School was started as a mixed school in 1986, it soon converted to a purely Girls School in 1992 ( *A brief History of Ngao Girls Secondary*

*School p. 15; Appendix 29*). The respondents from oral interviews and FGDs informed the researcher that the tradition started by GNM of promoting women and girls' education was still being sustained. Girls who drop out of school due to early and unwanted pregnancies at present day Ngao are encouraged to go back and are even sponsored through the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) to join Tarasaa Youth Polytechnic. Both Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) also help such girls to finish their schooling (Reverend Francis Tumaini, Ngao 23/11/17). This is further confirmed by the records of enrolment of pupils obtained from sampling schools which had been started by GNM. In 24 Primary Schools which had been started by the GNM, the enrolment of girls was higher than that of boys by 64 pupils (CDE Tana River, 2017). The completion rates usually change in favour of the boys due to several factors but generally speaking girls' education is not undermined as such going by the enrolment figures.

#### **4.5.5 Primary School Education**

The available literature and eye witness accounts show that the GNM opened 31 primary schools in Tana River County, with 28 of them still in operation today. Table 4.8 below shows the Primary Schools established by the German Neukirchen Mission.

**Table 4.8 Primary Schools Founded by the GNM in Tana River County**

S/N	NAME OF SCHOOL	CURRENT STATUS
1.	Garsen	√
2.	Wema	Now Reuben Mwewe Primary School
3.	Marembo	√
4.	Kulesa	√
5.	Hola	√
6.	Wenje	√
7.	Ngao	Name changed to Arap Moi Primary School
8.	Mwanadhamba	Village relocated to Tarasaa due to floods of 1961
9.	Golbanti	√
10.	Mudzimkuu/Mji Mkuu	Non-operational
11.	Laini	√
12.	Mikinduni	√
13.	Pumwani	Relocated to Handa Mpya
14.	Munyuni	√
15.	Munazini	√
16.	Maroni	√
17.	Masalani	√
18.	Chewani	√
19.	Oda	√ Relocated and renamed Furaha
20.	Kibusu	√
21.	Gardeni	√
22.	Musizuei	Non-operational
23.	Mwina	√
24.	Muwazini	√
25.	Kiapani	√
26.	Belezoni	√
27.	Chunoni	√
28.	Baumo	√
29.	Ovo	√
30.	Makere	√
31.	Wanabamba	Non operational

**Source: Researcher, 2017****Key** √ Still in operation using the same old name.

The schools are spread along River Tana because the Pokomo settled near the river to be able to access the water for domestic use, farming and fishing. Ngao and Hola are located on both

extremes of River Tana with Ngao being towards the Indian Ocean while Hola is in the extreme upstream. The GNM missionaries would arrive in a village using the mission motorboat '*Naghea*' and meet the village council of elders (*Gasa*) to be allowed in officially. Upon obtaining verbal permission to operate, they would construct a hut and start baptismal lessons which would be later followed by classroom teaching. Eventually, a Church would be built followed by a primary school. The missionaries would later proceed to the next village but would leave two or three missionaries carrying on with the work as well as training African catechists. There was however, one missionary in charge of the whole team who would frequently move around overseeing and supervising the work.

According to the 1932 Education Inspection Report, Reverend Wilhelm May was posted to preside over spiritual matters when Reverend Becker died, while Hermann Muller was seconded to preside over education matters. Hitherto, both Church and education matters were handled together under one superintendent. When GNM separated the two in 1932, it was an indication that the Mission wanted to conduct education matters in a more focused and detailed manner.

The Germans also established two hospitals, one in Ngao and another one in Hola. These hospitals served the Tana River people and helped reduce the mortality rate of children of school going age. The schools which are non operational were closed when the villages relocated due to floods, the river changing course or due to insecurity as a result of constant raids particularly by the Somali. These non-existent schools are Mudzi Mkuu, Musizuei and Wanabamba. The 28 primary schools still in operation have continued to provide education to children in Tana River County who have acquired self-reliant life skills, proceeded with further studies and returned to serve the community in different capacities. It will also be

remembered that the 3 Intermediate Primary Schools in the District namely Ngao, Hola and Wenje were former elementary schools started by the GNM. Appendix 30 shows the researcher photographed at some of these still operational schools when he visited them.

By 2017, Tana River County had a total of 166 primary schools. The researcher managed to obtain the enrolment of 24 Primary Schools by 2017, which had been established by the GNM. A total of 4521 boys and 4585 girls were attending these schools in 2017 giving an overall total of 9106 pupils. Enrolment for the remaining 4 GNM Primary Schools to make a total of 28 had not been updated in the Education Office in Tana River by the time the researcher visited the area in 2017. This means that the schools started by the German missionaries have continued to serve a considerable proportion of the Tana River people and will continue to do so for many years to come. Table 4.9 below shows the enrolment of 24 GNM Established Primary Schools in Tana River County in 2017.

**Table 4.9 The Enrolment of 24 GNM Established Primary Schools in 2017**

<b>S/R</b>	<b>SCHOOL</b>	<b>BOYS</b>	<b>GIRLS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
1.	Garsen	484	528	1012
2.	Reuben Mwewe	132	109	241
3.	Marembo	88	88	176
4.	Kulesa	148	166	314
5.	Hola	440	461	901
6.	Wenje	220	181	401
7.	Arap Moi	308	275	583
8.	Mwanadhamba	292	301	593
9.	Golbanti	86	87	173
10.	Laini	199	257	456
11.	Mikinduni	191	244	435
12.	Handa Mpya	201	200	401
13.	Munazini	232	237	469
14.	Maroni	111	124	235
15.	Masalani	227	217	444
16.	Chewani	93	115	208
17.	Furaha	321	305	626
18.	Kibusu	55	44	99
19.	Gadeni	110	90	200
20.	Mwina	69	62	131
21.	Chunoni	142	140	282
22.	Baumo	82	61	143
23.	Ovo	116	98	214
24.	Makere	174	195	369
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4521</b>	<b>4585</b>	<b>9106</b>

**Source: Office of the County Director of Education (CDE) Tana River, 2017**

#### 4.5.6 Music

Special mention needs to be made on the teaching of Music which was one of the technical subjects taught by the Germans. One of the earliest undertakings in translation by the GNM missionaries was in translating 152 German and English hymns into Pokomo. This work was done with the assistance of the pioneer converts and later perpetuated by their children. One such person who was instrumental in this in later years was Mr Amos Chadhoru. He was trained by Germans and became the best pianist and choir master in the whole of Tana River District. He was even taken to Uha, Tanzania to teach music and other subjects (Mrs. Elizabeth Kanana Jato Chadhoru (64), {23/11/17}).

The Pokomo also composed new songs which were heavily influenced by German rhythms. Since the GNM also operated in Tanzania, one cannot fail to relate the type of music sung in Tana River with that of Tanzania. The Pokomo songs consolidated in the book *Meya ya Muungu* (Songs to God) are sung across all Christian denominations in Tana River and are a strong unifying factor for the community (Appendix 10).

This fact is further supported by Mr. W. H. Taylor, Acting Coast Inspector of Schools who in 1932 reported that, 'The singing is very good, second only to the Wataita singing in the Coast Province' (KNA/DC/TANA Rv. 6/1). To further prove this point, the person who came up with the tune for Kenya's national anthem at Independence in 1963 was the late Mzee Menza Galana who according to his brother Gideon Malibe Galana (95) attended Ngao Technical School, was taught by the Germans and became a teacher. In 2016 the Royal Media Services /Citizen Television, Kenya, honoured Mzee Menza Galana by building him a permanent house in recognition of his patriotic role in the composition of the national anthem {Gideon Malibe Galana (95), 18/10/2017 at Makere ya Gwano/Wenje}.

Tarasaa High School used to perform very well in the national music festivals in the 1980s and 1990s. The County has also produced top gospel musicians like Shari Martin who had also done his secondary schooling at Tarasaa. These milestones cannot be said to have come by chance but can fairly be attributed to the foundation laid by the GNM missionaries as far as Music is concerned.

#### **4.5.7 Secondary Education**

In 1970, Hola Secondary School became the second secondary school to be established in Tana River after Tarasaa High School. Since the GNM identified Hola as a mission station and pioneered evangelism and educational activities there, it had maintained a head start when compared with other places in the neighbourhood. The same was the case with other secondary schools which followed later; mainly developing out of the foundation laid down by the GNM. Nevertheless, credit must also be given to Reverend Johnson Komora of Golbanti, a Methodist minister, who was instrumental in the founding of the School (Michael Gafo, Wenje 18-10-2017).

Hola Secondary School and Mau Mau Memorial Secondary School were offshoots of Hola Primary School which had been started by the GNM missionaries. Plans to start a second secondary school after Hola were already underway when a suggestion was made to adapt the name of Mau Mau in memory of 11 Mau Mau freedom fighters bludgeoned to death by prison guards at Hola Detention Camp back in 1959 (Kariuki, 1963 p.133). Mau Mau opened its doors in 1979 becoming the third Secondary School to be established in the County.

Tarasaa High School had started at Ngao in 1968 but was moved to the Tarasaa Hill; about 4 kilometres away, where there was adequate land for expansion. Some big names of people

who studied at Tarasaa High School include Ambassador Wellington Godo, former State House Comptroller Hyslop Ipu and Kwale based gynaecologist Dr. Hilton Jillo. Wenje Secondary School was founded in 1983 while Ngao Mixed Secondary School was established in 1986 becoming the fourth and fifth secondary schools to be established in the region. As has been narrated, all the five can in one way or the other trace their origins to the GNM. These have been the leading top secondary schools in the County. They have served to absorb primary school pupils and prepared them for further education.

In 2011, the Kenya Government came up with a new policy to upgrade two schools in every County to National School status; one for Boys and another for Girls (Oduor, A., 2011). This was meant to spread National Schools to all regions in the country and reduce the pressure on the clamour for the few existing traditional National Schools. The two schools identified in Tana River were Hola Boys Secondary School and Ngao Girls Secondary School. It has been explained how Ngao Secondary School was established as an initiative to realize Herman Muller's dream. Muller envisaged a secondary school of the calibre of Alliance High School. With Ngao Girls Secondary School becoming a National School in 2011, Muller's dream seems to have been realized. What remains is for the school's performance to improve so as to reflect the national status and match the performance of Alliance High School as envisaged by the vision carrier, Mr. Herman Muller of the GNM.

#### **4.5.8 Overseas Studies**

Conscious of the fact that a well trained individual was capable of realizing his/her full potential and consequently become effective and productive in whatever they were doing; aware that Africa lacked adequate trained personnel and resources to undertake such

specialized training, the GNM from the outset managed to ship certain carefully identified Africans to Germany for such specialized training.

As mentioned earlier, the first beneficiary was Chadhoru Tutu who was taken in 1895 to study for two years in welding, mechanics and seafaring. He was followed by Jillo Kutii in 1900 who trained in carpentry and masonry. Gudina Kanana, one of the pioneer converts was scheduled to be taken to Germany around the same time to train in Theology but disembarked in Zanzibar after falling sick. However, his son Mr. Israel Gudina was taken to Germany later for further training as a teacher. Mr Israel taught at Hola, Marembo and Furaha Primary Schools (Enos Garisse Israel, Ngao 23-11-2017).

This trend to sponsor children of descendants of African pastors and teachers who helped the GNM in evangelization and education in Tana River continued for many years. Mr. Sospeter Jato Chadhoru, the son of Amos Chadhoru also got a scholarship to study teaching in Germany. Amos Chadhoru was not taken to Germany like his father Chadhoru Tutu; however, he was sent to Tanzania to study and teach Music under the GNM.

It has been already related how the GNM missionaries left in 1939 but upon being allowed to return in the late 1960s tried to sponsor about 100 Pokomos for further studies in Germany albeit unsuccessfully. A few individuals in Tana River have continued to benefit through such scholarships on a small scale. One such person is former State House comptroller Hyslop Ipu who is a son to J.M Paul Pakia, who worked with Herman Muller. Ipu benefited with a scholarship to pursue Ph D studies in Germany {Kenneth Pakia (67) interviewed on 22/11/2017}.

#### **4.5.9 Top Academicians in Tana River**

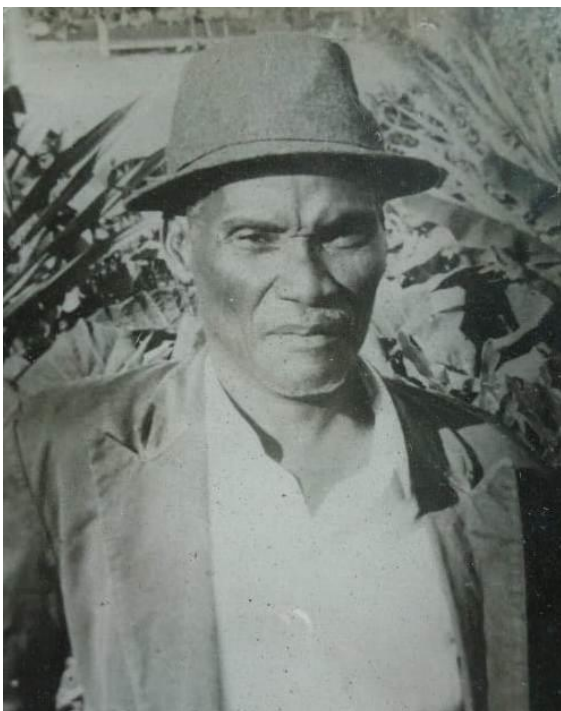
In discussing who is who in the world of academia in Tana River today, some names stand out. These names belong to the families of the same individuals who were the first to interact with the GNM. These people became the pioneers of embracing Western education courtesy of the GNM. They are the Chadhoros, the Komoras, the Pakias, and the Mungatanas to name but a few.

##### **i.) The Chadhoros**



**L to R: Pastor Isaiah Mwaninjwa, Chadhoro Tutu (father of Amos Chadhoro) and Rev. Simon Ubo.**

**Behind them is the GNM church bell**



**Mr. Amos Chadhoro**

Chadhoru Tutu may have been the first Kenyan to venture abroad for further training. He left Kenya in 1895 in a ship that departed from Mombasa on its way to Europe. He was in Germany for two years studying seafaring and mechanics. His son Amos Chadhoru scored a first in Tana River when he became the first Jeanes School trained teacher in the District in 1935. The Jeanes School based at Kabete, in Nairobi was established in the early 1930s to take selected African teachers to train them through an intensive course to widen their capabilities as leaders of the community as a whole. Jeans teachers were intended to move around, supervising and helping to teach in group village schools, thus transforming them into community centres, for the benefit of the entire neighbourhood (Sifuna and Otiende, 1994, p. 209).

Amos Chadhoru implemented to the letter what he had learnt in the training. He became the assistant to Herman Muller in handling educational matters in the District. When GNM missionaries were deported in 1939, he literally took charge as the education supervisor in the region. Appendix 16 shows an Inspection Report he compiled after visiting schools in the second term of 1940. He took an early retirement in 1958 but the words of Mr A.H Rees, the District Education Officer (DEO) of Kilifi and Tana River Districts in a letter dated 10<sup>th</sup> May 1958 clearly show the kind of impact left by Amos Chadhoru:

Mr. Joseph Bahola is the head of supervisory team. Mr. Ezekiel Jara is in charge of schools in Upper Tana and Mr. Jato Amos, Lower Tana. Let me mention that Mr. Amos Chadhoru, after doing a good job diligently and faithfully for many years as deputy supervisor of schools in Tana River has resigned but his work will be remembered. We hope he will continue with the teaching job (KNA/CD/4/1).

Mr. Jato Amos, mentioned above as the supervisor of schools in lower Tana was actually the son of Amos Chadhoru. His full name is Sospeter Jato Amos Chadhoru (1927-1991). He followed the footsteps of his father and became a leading educationist in Tana River and

beyond. For instance, he served as a DEO in Narok before his retirement in 1982. Besides teaching and supervising schools, he also authored two Kiswahili books; *Tatizo la Kisauni* (*The Problem of Kisauni*) and *Kifo changu ni Fedheha* (*My death is a shame*) {Elizabeth Kanana Jato, Ngao 23-11-2017}. The family of Jato Chadhoru had not kept copies of these books. Attempts by the researcher to check whether there were any copies in the bookshops were not successful. The books may have run out of print.

Amos Chadhoru is generally regarded in Tana River as the best music teacher, composer and choir master that has ever traversed the County. His music career saw the GNM take him to their other base in Tanzania to train others in Music. He was instrumental in translating English and German hymns into Pokomo and composing more Pokomo songs. The Pokomo hymn book "*Meya ya Muungu*" (Songs to God) used in virtually all church denominations in Tana River County is largely credited to him (Appendix 10). Chadhoru's songs were among the popular hits aired by Voice of Kenya (VOK) and Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) radio stations through the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s in the programme "*Wimbo niupendao*" (*My Favourite Song*) sponsored by AIC Kijabe and directed by Reverend Timothy Kamau (Ngotho, K. 2017).

Aware of the importance of education, Amos Chadhoru also educated his daughters who also served the community in different capacities and got married to the elite class in Tana River. Huldah Haloni got married to Mr. Lisania Buya (former teacher and education officer). Luice Hababe got married to Mr. J.M Paul Pakia who worked in Herman Muller's office. Luice appears in the minutes of D.E.B meeting of 26<sup>th</sup> Feb 1959 (Appendix 19). Clara Buduko was a teacher at Arap Moi Primary School (formerly Ngao Primary School) and was

married to Mr. Tola Kokote Bonaya, the first Principal of Tarasaa High School. Hannah Mkegawa was married to Mr. Yuda Komora.

**(ii) Yuda Komora (1933-2011).**



Yuda Komora (pictured) is a household name not only in Tana River County but in the entire country in regard to the education sector. He studied at Ngao Primary School when Amos Chadhoru was the Head teacher. From Ngao, he joined Shimo la Tewa and then Alliance High School. He passed well and joined Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda graduating in 1957 with a Diploma in Education and later Bachelor of Education (Arts) Degree from the same University. He became the first person from Tana River to study at Alliance High School (Kipkorir 1969, p. 120) and to graduate from the prestigious Makerere

University. It is in record that the Young Buu Association (YBA) raised funds towards his education at the University.

Komora was first posted as a teacher at Shimo la Tewa High School in Mombasa. He was the first Principal of Tudor Secondary School, Mombasa. In 1965, he was appointed the Deputy Provincial Education Officer (PEO), Coast Province. He was instrumental in starting Tarasaa High School in 1968. In 1970, he was appointed the country's Director of Education. In 1974, he became the Permanent Secretary of Tourism and Wildlife. He was also appointed Kenya National Transport Corporation (KENATCO) Managing Director. In 1992, he was elected the Member of Parliament for Garsen Constituency and later appointed Assistant Minister for Education. In 1999, he was appointed a Board Member of Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH). Most of this information was obtained from Mrs. Hannah Mkegawa Komora (77), the wife of the late Mr. Yuda Komora, whom the researcher interviewed at Ngao town on 23-11-2017.

### **iii.) The Pakias**



**Mr. J.M Paul Pakia, 1912-2003**

Jillo Mchuchu Paul Pakia who is pictured above, studied at Ngao Elementary School, CMS Kaloleni Intermediate School and Kahuhia Teachers College where he graduated with a Certificate in teaching in 1946, becoming the first one in the District to achieve this feat from an institution of this calibre. Kahuhia was one of the five Lower Primary teacher training centres in Kenya established in 1937. The other four were Maseno, Yala, Mathari and Kabaa (Smith, 1973, p.89). Like Chadhoru, he was in the team of Herman Muller which managed educational matters in the District in the 1930s. He taught in several primary schools and was one time the Head Teacher at Munazini Primary School.

Pakia would later move out of teaching to handle administrative and legal matters in the District for lack of trained personnel in those sectors. For instance in the 1960s, he acted as the chief of Ndera Location in Munazini, Tana River District when the then chief died. After Independence, African courts were established and he became the Tana River District Chairman. When a magistrates' court was later started, he was employed as a court clerk. He underwent training in Nakuru and was appointed as a Third Class Magistrate and posted to Hola. He was later transferred to Nanyuki which was his last station to serve before retirement.

Pakia educated his children who went on to serve Tana River and the whole country in different capacities. The first born Mr. Kenneth Pakia studied at Kenya Science Teachers College (KSTC) and taught at Malindi High School, Star of the Sea, Mau Mau Memorial and Hola Secondary School. He then furthered his studies at McGill University in Montreal, Canada graduating with a Bachelor of Education (Biology/Science) degree. He returned to Kenya and taught at Kilifi Township, founded Ngao Secondary School as the first Principal,

headed Kilifi Township and Tarasaa High School before becoming the District Education Officer (DEO) in Tana River and Kwale.

In 2004, he was appointed the Provincial Director of Education (PDE) Western Province. In 2006 – 2007, he served as the Deputy Director of Education in charge of Field Services. He retired in 2007 but was appointed the Chairman of Kenya National Library Services (KNLS) up to 2009. In 2010, he became a Board Member of the National Education Board (NEB) whose mandate in accordance with the Basic Education Act 2010 advises the Cabinet Secretary of Education in Basic Education matters.

Ambassador Wellington Godo Pakia went to Tarasaa High School then studied Political Science at the University of Nairobi. He also holds a Master's degree in Financial Administration from University of Birmingham, UK. He worked as a District Officer (DO) in Western and North Eastern Provinces. He also worked at the Treasury and at the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) headquarters in Nairobi. He has served as the Principal Secretary (PS) in various ministries including in the Vice President's Office (2003-2007), Local Government and Health. He was also appointed a member of National Water Services Board. He serves as a Board member of the Kenya Communications Authority (KCA) {Kenneth Pakia, Itsowe 22-11-2017}.

Hyslop Amos Ipu Pakia studied for Bachelor of Education (Arts) Degree at the University of Nairobi as well as Master of Arts at the Institute of African Studies at the same University. He worked as a lecturer in the same University before being appointed the Principal Administrative Secretary in the Ministry of Roads and later Deputy Head of the Civil service.

He served as a PS and speech writer to President Kibaki before being appointed Comptroller of State House in Kibaki's Government (2003 – 2012).

The late Dr. Joyson Kasitima Buya Pakia studied Bachelor of Science at the University of Nairobi (UoN) and a Master in Science from a University in Wales, Britain. He earned his Ph D at the same University becoming the first Pokomo to do so. He worked as a Lecturer at Moi University.

Zealson Saumu Pakia did Bachelor of Education degree at Kenyatta University. He taught in several secondary schools before serving as the DEO in Rift Valley and Central Kenya regions.

The researcher obtained most of this information from Pakia's son, Kenneth Pakia whom he interviewed on 22/11/2017 at Itsowe Town in Tana River County. Kenneth Pakia's parting shot was:

Honestly speaking, our family – the Pakia family and indeed the whole of Tana River achieved what we have achieved in academics courtesy of the German Neukirchen Mission. With the disappearance of other missionary organizations from the Tana and an indifferent colonial administration, one wonders where we would be today if the Germans had not hung on. If our region is still grappling with dwindling educational fortunes even after the successes already reported, then without the GNM there would probably be little or nothing good to report about from Tana River County in matters education. It also means, if the GNM had been allowed to remain a little bit longer, we would have realized unprecedented and unparalleled educational milestones (Kenneth Pakia, 22/11/17).

#### iv.) The Mungatanas



**Mr. Permena Mungatana**



**Mr. Duda Ndumari Mungatana and his wife**

Mungatana Ndumari was among the second lot of six people baptized by the GNM after completing baptismal classes in 1896. The other five were Jillo Kutii, Christian Duo, Filipino Kagala, Natanael Didila and Gwiyo. Mungatana assisted the German missionaries in church work, especially reaching out for more converts in the community. From his interaction with the GNM missionaries; he was influenced to educating his children, both boys and girls. His son Permena Mungatana (pictured above) was among the first group of teachers to graduate with a teaching certificate at CMS Kaloleni in 1942. Others with him were Yohana Petro and Azamia Nikodemo (Pakia & Buya, 1992, p.5). Apart from teaching in several primary schools in Tana River, he was one of the four people who contributed land for the construction of Ngao Secondary School. Others were Ms Busara Manase, Mr Yessa Matufi and Mr Yohana Necodemus (Pakia & Buya, 1992, p. 11).

Permena Mungatana's elder brother Duda Mungatana (pictured) was among the first four African nurses trained by the Germans at Ngao hospital upon its opening in 1933. The other

three were Ms Marta Maria Gudina, Ms Sarah Kirage and Mr Mashiloo Sitefano. Duda's son Thomas Semku Duda told the researcher the following on the purposes served by the Ngao hospital:

Ngao hospital served as a referral hospital to the local community who would seek services there when the local medicinemen could not treat certain diseases. It also served as a teaching centre for African nurses who assisted German clinicians who were few in number. My father was one of the four pioneer nurses trained by the Germans at the hospital (Thomas Semku Duda, Ngao 18/5/2019).

The larger Mungatana family has raised big names in the world of academia who have not only served the Tana River people but the entire nation and beyond. They include two time Garsen MP and Lawyer Danson Mungatana, Engineer Mwaka Mungatana, South Africa based Professor Eric Mungatana, Scotland based oil production engineer Edward Mungatana and Nakuru based surgeon Dr. Ceasar Mungatana.

### **Other Beneficiaries of GNM Education**

The respondents pointed out to the researcher that GNM education saw a general improvement in peoples' lives; for instance securing employment from the Germans as clerks, church interpreters, carpenters, boat riders and cooks. The Germans also revolutionised the agricultural sector in Tana River County by establishing an irrigation scheme. Women from the Special Girls School would engage in dress making and earn a livelihood. Trained teachers from Ngao TTC provided teachers to the primary schools in the region. Most of the primary schools started by GNM are still operational.

One other beneficiary of GNM education was Mr Lisania Buya (91) who was one of interviewees. He was a long serving teacher before retiring as an educational officer. It has already been explained how Buya was instrumental in the establishment of Ngao Secondary

School together with Mr Yuda Komora. The respondents named more people who studied at the GNM schools and went ahead to serve the community especially as teachers. These were Mr Israel Gudina, Mr. Salat Timotheo, Mr Timona Marko, Mr. Jacob Musa, Mr. Maslow Maro and Mr. Ezekiel Jarah to name but afew.

Save for teachers, the respondents mentioned other prominent personalities who were also beneficiaries of GNM education. These are the late Mr Wilson Hiribae who served as a Permanent Secretary Public works, the late Hon. Japhet Z. Kase who was an Assistant Minister of Information and Broadcasting in Jomo Kenyatta's government, Engineer Hezeki Gwiyo and Mr John Makdie, a retired DEO.

Generally, the retired educationists and civil servants/politicians felt that Tana River was competing favourably in the education sector with upcountry regions in Kenya when the Germans were there and that were it not for the outbreak of the World Wars, the County would be different today.

The church leaders were in agreement that GNM education had led to a general improvement of the peoples' lives and helped the Gospel to spread faster. Reverend Francis Tumaini had this to say:

The Tarasaa Library cum Bookshop was used to distribute hymn books, Bibles and other religious texts to church members. These books had been translated through the help of the Pokomo elite. A reading culture was taking shape among the Pokomo. Church members trained as artisans at Ngao Primary School helped in making furniture for the churches and schools. Others would repair the Mission Boat '*Naghea*'. It was the Pokomo with basic literacy skills obtained in the GNM Schools who were used as teachers in the baptismal classes and interpreters for the German evangelists. The Special Girls' School was a big inspiration for older girls who had missed out in the ordinary school; giving them a second chance" (Reverend Francis Tumaini, Ngao Town 23-11-2017).

The impact of GNM activities has been felt to date. The Protestant churches in Tana River notably the African Inland Church (AIC) trace their roots and history largely to the GNM. The same case applies to learning institutions. The three main churches that dominate the sponsorship of schools in Tana River are the AIC, Methodist Church and the Catholic Church. All the respondents were in agreement that the learned elite in Tana River had a history and a connection with the GNM in one way or the other.

#### **4.6 Current and Future Prospects**

Reverend Francis Tumaini of AIC Ngao revealed that there is a German missionary by name Tony Esch who visits Tana River twice every year. His main aim is to support AIC churches in the County and needy students especially those who are AIC adherents. It will be remembered that the GNM handed over its flock to the AIC when its missionaries were deported during the Second World War. The following is part of the contribution by the German Church to Tana River in the recent past:

Wenje AIC received 50 thousand shillings; Hurara AIC received a similar amount. Close to the same figure of money was given to needy students especially those of Ngao Girls Secondary School. In 2016, the German Church donated food stuffs to famine hit areas in Kilifi and Tana River Counties (Rev. Francis Tumaini of AIC Ngao, 23/11/2017).

Rev. Tumaini however, felt that the interaction between the GNM and the Tana River Church had reduced over time because when the pioneer GNM missionaries and their immediate successors passed on, there lacked a new crop of preachers and teachers with the same vigour, zeal, resolve and determination to carry on with their work. Some members of the GNM also felt that their predecessors suffered so much in a foreign land at the expense of the home Church and it could be that time had come to refocus their attention and energy back home.

The County education office informed the researcher that the continued links between Kenya and Germany ( especially through Tana River County), had seen the German Government construct and upgrade roads in Tana River and Lamu Counties in the 1980s and 1990s. This was done through their foreign donor organization known as Germany Technical Assistance (GTZ). This organization also contributed positively in the field of education by constructing two primary schools in Tana River County namely, Kipini and Kilelengwani. These two schools have a population of 479 and 211, respectively (Tana River County Education Office, 19-10- 2017).

The Germany-Tana interaction since 1880s eventually expanded to the national level. Indeed Germany was the first country to recognize Kenya under international law after it gained Independence in 1963 (BMZ 2015). Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) reported on its online website on 17/4/2015 that Germany and Kenya were cooperating in seven key areas. Thomas Silberhan, the German Parliamentary State Secretary had visited Kenya with a primary aim of seeing how his Government could support urban development in the country.

Mr. Silberhan then attended the Tana High Level Forum on Security in Africa which was held in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia whose theme was "Secularism and politicized Faith". The Tana High Level Forum was established at the initiative of the African Union (AU) in 2012, modeled in the Munich Security Conference. This was taking place against a backdrop of conflict and insecurity in the Horn of Africa. Terrorist groups like *Alshabaab* use religious fundamentalism to justify their activities. The Kenya Defence Forces have been in neighbouring Somalia as part of AU soldiers serving under the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) since 2010; out to restore peace in Somalia which has been tampered

with by the *Alshabaab* insurgency. It would be remembered that one of the challenges that faced the GNM in its activities in Tana River County was insecurity arising from attacks from hostile neighbouring communities especially the Somali. By stepping in to help secure peace in the Eastern African region, the German Government will be out to lend a hand in addressing the same challenges its countrymen faced over a century ago.

Kenya and Germany have also agreed to focus their development cooperation in the agricultural sector. At Independence, Kenya's founding father, Jomo Kenyatta cited poverty, disease and ignorance as the three major challenges that the young nation had to overcome (Aseka, 1992). Agriculture for many years has been Kenya's backbone of the economy, thus an improvement in this sector would definitely go a long way to alleviate poverty. Since 2011, the BMZ has been working closely with the Israeli Government on a triangular cooperation project to support the development of fish farming in Kenya. The aim is to reduce pressure on Lake Victoria, which is overfished, and open up new sources of income for local fishermen.

The BMZ 2015 report also highlighted that the German Government had set out to promote the health sector specifically in the areas of sanitation and supply of clear drinking water. With the aim of supporting progress towards the fifth Millennium Development Goal - MDG 5 (decreasing maternal mortality) and paving the way towards universal coverage. The German Development Bank (KfW) in close cooperation with the Kenyan Government developed the Output Based Aid or OBA programme. OBA was launched in 2005/6 and was adopted as one of the Government of Kenya's flagship programmes in its Vision 2030 strategy (Thayer Christine, 2013).

The OBA programme offers poor women full access to reproductive health services including safe delivery and postnatal care and medical attention for the newborn baby; as well as family planning and recovery services following gender based violence. It was developed initially in three rural areas (Kiambu, Kitui and Kisumu) and in two urban slums in Nairobi (Korogocho and Viwandani). In June 2011 it was extended to parts of Kilifi County in the coastal region and in early 2013, its geographical coverage was extended to take in the whole of Kilifi and Kitui Counties.

OBA offers poor women the opportunity to purchase at a highly subsidized price (between one and two Euros) a voucher which enables them to access reproductive health services at the health facility of their choice, selected from a list of approved, quality controlled facilities in their locality. Women wishing to purchase a voucher are interviewed by a trained voucher distributor, so as to establish whether they fall into the “economically disadvantaged” category. This assessment process can sometimes involve a follow-up home visit to ensure proper targeting since one of the aims of the scheme is to promote the Government’s poverty reduction strategy. The scheme is open to public, private, FBOs and NGOs – provided they have the capacity to offer the required services, and are capable of attaining the desired quality levels. It will be remembered that the GNM were sensitive to the plight of the girls who could have easily been ignored or undermined by society as a result of stereotyping, thus had in this regard actually started a Girls’ Special School for the over age girls.

One of the biggest problems bedeviling Kenya in the post Independence era has been run away corruption in Government. The German Government has been keen to help Kenya foster good governance in particular by tackling corruption and providing transparency and accountability checks. Germany has set out to help build Government capacity to fight

corruption. Though corruption exists in all governments and societies, there are insights that Kenya can learn from Germany. It is also worth remembering that the GNM pursued a doctrine of moral uprightness, diligence and observance of the law, something that did not go unnoticed by the British officials who heaped praises on GNM adherents.

The BMZ strategy paper 4 of 2016 reported that Germany had agreed to work with the private sector in Kenya and Ethiopia to promote technical education and employability of the youths. Technical education was one of the core emphasis of the education provided by the GNM in Tana River County. This could not have come at a better time since promotion of technical education in Kenya is one of the ways through which the country aims to realize vision 2030 of making Kenya a middle income earning and industrial country.

Germany is also a major donor to Kenya as the following report shows:

At the Governments negotiations in 2013, Germany committed funds totaling 138 million euros to Kenya for direct intergovernmental cooperation in the period 2014 to 2016. Of this, 106.5 million euros was allocated to financial cooperation and 31.5 million to technical cooperation. In addition to these funds, Germany is also providing Kenya with a reduced-interest loan and funding from the German Government's special Energy and Climate fund (BMZ 2015).

The German Government has also been instrumental in promoting higher education in Kenya and the East African region through its organization known as DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst- German Academic Exchange Service). The DAAD representation in Kenya started in 1973 in Nairobi. By 1979, the office had grown into a fully fledged DAAD regional office for Africa providing information about DAAD's full range of academic programmes (DAAD Regional Office, Nairobi).

The Nairobi office offers consultation on study and research opportunities and funding possibilities for individual university scholars in Germany and the East Africa region. The DAAD Nairobi office enhances university collaboration between German and East African universities and research institutes and promotes capacity building for university staff members at East African universities. In addition, DAAD has seconded two lecturers of German Language at University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University in Kenya. Likewise, Makerere University in Kampala Uganda enjoys the same privilege. A German Language assistant has been posted to the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

DAAD also provides valuable information on study opportunities, scholarships and scientific exchange in general. The DAAD lecturers posted in the East African universities serve as the first point of contact for students and academics interested in a stay at a higher education institution in Germany and are thus a valuable link between African and German universities. Several universities in Kenya are collaborating with universities in Germany in areas of research with the aim of enhancing higher education in the two countries specifically under DAAD. An example is the collaboration already going on between Chuka University and Saarland University (Professor Njoka, Vice Chancellor Chuka University while speaking at CUE Biennial Conference held on 30<sup>th</sup> October to 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2018 at KSMS, Nairobi). It will be remembered that the GNM was probably the first missionary organization in the East African region to send Africans abroad for further studies and training. The work being done by DAAD could therefore be seen as a continuation of the German tradition of supporting and engaging in the worthy endeavour of enhancing good training. This is due to the realization that thoroughly trained personnel end up becoming efficient and effective in their fields of expertise and ultimately and consequently contribute to overall development in their

fields of operation and in their countries at large. Newspaper excerpts at Appendices 39 and 40 show that the Kenya-Germany links and interaction linger on.

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

The Chapter looked at the origin and ideology of the German Neukirchen Mission. Additional information gathered in the field was used to argue what was discussed in Chapter Two. The role of the GNM in the establishment and growth of Western education in Tana River county was discussed under time frames subdivided into 20-30 years depending on historical developments surrounding the period in question. The guiding principles in the education sector as provided for by the implementation of the recommendations of various educational reports and commissions in the study period were also highlighted. Finally, the Chapter acknowledged the immediate and longterm positive effects of GNM's activities in Tana River on education; specifically as pertains general increase in literacy levels, technical education, Girls' education, primary school education, secondary school education, overseas studies and top academicians in Tana River county. In addition, any ongoing linkages and collaboration between Tana River and the GNM was also addressed.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to present the summary and conclusions of the study, as well as recommendations and suggestions for further research. The objectives of the study were as follows:

- i) To trace the origin and ideology of the German Neukirchen Mission.
- ii) To examine the role of the GNM in the establishment and growth of Western Education in Tana River County.
- iii) To assess the impact of the establishment of Western Education in Tana River County by the GNM, 1885-1986.

#### **5.2 Summary**

The summary has been presented under the following subheadings as informed by the Study objectives: The origin of the GNM, Ideology of the GNM, Primary Schools Established by the GNM, Secondary Schools Started by the GNM, The GNM and Technical Education, The GNM and Girls' Education, The GNM and Teacher Education, The GNM and Overseas Studies and The Lasting Legacy of the GNM Activities in Tana River County.

##### **5.2.1 The Origin of the GNM**

The study established that an evangelical group of German missionaries affiliated with different evangelical denominations arrived in Tana River County at the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century under the auspices of the German Neukirchen Mission. Neukirchen, their base, was a town East of Cologne, in the Rhineland in Germany.

In spite of setbacks occasioned by the two World Wars, their resilience saw them keep on coming back and to date continue to maintain some links with the Tana River people.

### **5.2.2 The Ideology of the GNM**

The study established that the GNM ideology could well be understood from a multi-faceted dimension whereby the Mission was largely influenced in its activities for being a “Faith Mission” while subscribing to the “Reformed Theology” and its response to “The Great Commission”. The research noted that GNM was like other missionary organizations at the time partly influenced in its activities by the socio-political and economic forces in operation in Europe. Lastly, no sufficient evidence portrayed the GNM as being influenced by Social Darwinism as an ideology though this ideology largely informed the perception of Europeans towards Africans in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

### **5.2.3 Development of Primary School Education**

The study showed that in spite of GNM basing itself at Ngao, it went ahead to open 31 primary schools moving upstream following the Pokomo settlements along River Tana. These schools were Ngao, Gariseni, Wema, Marembo, Kulesa, Wenje, Mwanadhamba, Golbanti, Mudzinkuu, Laini, Mikunduni, Pumwani, Munyuni, Munazini, Maroni, Masalani, Chewani, Oda, Kibusu, Gardeni, Misizuei, Mwina, Muwazini, Kiapani, Belezoni, Chunoni, Baumo, Ovo, Makere, Wanabamba and Hola. Apart from religious instruction, the 3Rs and general hygiene were taught in these schools. Three of these schools, namely Ngao, Hola and Wenje were upgraded to Intermediate Primary Schools between 1952 and 1960.

### **5.2.4 Development of Secondary School Education**

The establishment of secondary school education in Tana River County is closely linked to the activities of the GNM. The study has shown that the first secondary school in the region

was Tarasaa High School which started in 1968 through the initiative of a GNM educated civil servant, Mr. Yuda Komora and which received funding from Germany. The second secondary school was Hola in 1970 which sprung from Hola Primary School which had been started by the GNM. Wenje and Mau Mau Secondary Schools followed the same script. The study ends in the year 1986 when Ngao Secondary School was established as an accomplishment of the dream of German educationist, Mr. Hermann Muller.

### **5.2.5 The GNM and Technical Education**

Technical Education was given special consideration by the GNM to meet the immediate needs of the people as individuals and as a community; as well as meet the technical needs of the missionary organization. Ngao Primary School offered technical education beyond what was expected by the official Government curriculum alongside the Primary School curriculum. Technical skills taught included carpentry, masonry and music. Apart from Ngao, such skills were also taught at Belezoni Primary School.

### **5.2.6 The GNM and Girls' Education**

The study revealed that the GNM was probably the first to show a keen interest in Girl Child education in the East African region. Way back in 1895, Mrs Anna Weber had started a Special Boarding School for Girls at Ngao where apart from the usual curriculum of Religion and 3Rs, they were taught special skills which included cooking and sewing. The girls were of advanced age and most of them betrothed to be married so could not fit in the ordinary classroom with younger pupils. By addressing the plight of such girls, the Mission ensured that they did not miss out on education in spite of their age. This Special Girls' School faced setbacks due to closure in the two instances the GNM missionaries were forced to leave during the two World Wars. It was for instance, re- opened by Mrs. Hanna Gissel in 1930 but closed again in 1939.

### **5.2.7 The GNM and Teacher Education**

The GNM realized the importance of teachers being trained in order to undertake their duties efficiently and effectively. To this end, there was an attempt to start a Teachers' College in Lamu which was transferred to Ngao for effective management due to close proximity to the GNM missionaries. In mid 1930s, a German educationist Herman Muller took some of the best performing teachers at Ngao to the newly established Jeanes School at Kabete, Nairobi for training where they did well and graduated as trained teachers at the level of T4. These pioneer trained teachers were Amos Chadhoru, Israel Gudina, and Caleb Madyawa.

More teacher trainees at Ngao were in 1939 taken to Malindi, the nearest Government educational office for examinations which they passed well. These included Seth Musa, Samuel Balesa, Yohana Dadye, Tola Mishael, Yedija Lulutya and Michael Enos. Very few other Districts in Kenya at this time could boast of such a number of trained teachers.

### **5.2.8 The GNM and Overseas Studies**

The study has appreciated the GNM as having realized well ahead of other missionary organizations the need to take people for further training abroad, where there were adequate teaching personnel and resources. In 1895, Chadhoru Tutu probably became the first Kenyan to pursue further education overseas. He was followed in 1900 by Jillo Kutii "Mseremala". Both were taken by the GNM to Germany for training in seafaring and carpentry, respectively. Chadhoru Tutu served as the captain of the Mission boat "*Naghea*" which eased the missionaries' journeys from village to village via the River Tana. Jillo Kitii made furniture for the church, schools and the local population. He also trained many young people who helped him in this work.

Amos Chadhoru was also taken to Tanzania where the GNM had a bigger base than Ngao to sharpen his music skills. After undergoing the training, he briefly assisted the GNM missionaries to train the locals at Uha before returning to Kenya. Sospeter Jato Chadhoru was sponsored to travel to Britain by the GNM for further studies in teaching. Other beneficiaries of GNM funding for further studies in Germany include Israel Gudina and Hyslop Ipu.

### **5.2.9 The lasting Legacy of the GNM Activities in Tana River County**

Evidence from the study shows that Western education established by the GNM in Tana River County has had a great impact that has continued to be felt and will continue to do so for many years to come. Firstly, any material published today in Pokomo language owes it to the initial attempts by Rev. Ferdinand Wurtz and German evangelists and teachers who came after him together with the pioneer Pokomo converts. These are the people who developed the first Pokomo alphabet. These books written in Pokomo include the Bible, hymn books and vernacular books.

Secondly, the primary schools which the GNM opened are the ones that continued offering primary school education in the County up to Independence and only a few new ones had been added by 1963. The three primary schools which were upgraded to Intermediate Schools had been started by the GNM. These were Ngao (1952), Hola (1958) and Wenje (1960).

In addition, secondary schools in the County were established at the same places the GNM had started primary schools. In 2014, Hola Boys and Ngao Girls Secondary Schools were elevated to National School status. This followed a decision by the Government to identify two schools per County for such status; one for Girls and the other for Boys so as to ease the clamour for the few existing National Schools.

The study also established that the GNM taught an expanded Technical Education curriculum in the primary school in a few primary schools and the Girls Special School. Their keenness in producing technical personnel saw them take the two people earlier mentioned to Germany for further training. These were Chadhoru Tutu and Jillo Kutii. They made similar attempts in 1966 unsuccessfully as earlier explained. Those who acquired this education used their skills not only to transform their individual lives, but also offered the much needed services to the community and the missionaries leading to the general well being of the entire community.

It has also been established from the study that Tana River people are among the best musicians in the county, courtesy of music lessons that were first offered by the GNM missionaries thereby laying the foundation for good singing. They could be naturally endowed but since it's agreeable that we all are products of Nature and Nurture, one cannot overlook the training and influence in Music on the Pokomo by the GNM. The lead composer of Kenya's National Anthem is the late Meza Galana who was a GNM student at Ngao.

Last but not the least; the study showed that prominent people in Tana River in the sectors of education, civil service and politics have a history of having interacted with the GNM if not individually then through their parents and grandparents. These people have continued to impact positively on the affairs of the County in particular as well as the country at large by serving in various capacities in the civil service, politics, Church leadership and in the County Government.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The conclusions of this study fall under the following sub-headings: The GNM and Education for All, The Great Commission Perspective and Education, The Faith Mission Perspective and Education, The Reformed Theology Perspective and Education, The Social

Darwinism Perspective and Education, Education and Peace, The Importance of Technical Education and The Plight of the Girl Child.

### **5.3.1 The GNM and Education for All**

The findings of this study have a bearing on education in Tana River County in particular and Kenya in general especially against a backdrop of education being all inclusive and as a catalyst of community transformation. The Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG 4) reiterates the need to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education as well as promote lifelong learning opportunities for all (United Nations SDGs, 2012; GOK, 2016).

It is evident that though Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) were largely shunned by many missionary organizations, the GNM established itself among the Pokomo in Tana River County in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The area could be said to have fared well in terms of the spread of Western education when compared with other regions in Kenya like Central and Western regions which had also attracted missionaries from Europe. The GNM deserves its rightful place in the history of education in Kenya because, evidently, its contribution in laying the foundation of Western education in Tana River County cannot be ignored. In addition, the number of institutions opened in the study area by the GNM clearly shows that education could be advanced and developed in any region, challenges notwithstanding.

### **5.3.2 The Great Commission Perspective and Education**

The “Great Commission” perspective underscores the call and need to provide education equally to all people. The so called marginalized areas have been left out in development matters including education provision. Tana River County is one of the 14 marginalized Counties in Kenya (KUCCPS, 2014). The Kenya Universities and Colleges Central

Placement Service (KUCCPS) through Affirmative Action lowers 5 points for students in these areas when making college and university admissions. It also lowers 2 points for girls to enable them access higher education equitably with the boys.

As earlier explained, Jesus Christ urged his followers to take the Gospel to all the corners of the World. Missionaries were obeying this command and literacy skills were a prerequisite for preaching the Gospel. Jesus Christ himself was referred to as ‘Rabbi’ which in Hebrew means Teacher (The Bible NKJV Matthew 19: 16; 23:8). He addressed the needs of people of all walks of life – men, women, the poor, the rich, the sick (e.g disabled) and even little children (Matthew 19:13-15). In like manner, education should be provided to people of all walks of life regardless of their shortcomings.

### **5.3.3 The Faith Mission Perspective and Education**

The “Faith Mission” perspective calls for teachers and other educationists to be willing to work far from home and in the so called hardship areas as they practice the noble profession. Urban areas and other developed regions have attracted more teachers to the extent of being over-staffed at the expense of ASALs. The ongoing Teachers Service Commission programme of delocalization of teachers and principals (2018) is a step in the right direction though it should address security concerns in certain regions, pay commensurate allowances accordingly and look at family concerns especially of those about to retire (Owino, 2019; Okendo, 2019).

Nevertheless, even if the teachers’ terms of service are improved, there is still need for sacrifice and a spirit of patriotism resulting from the desire to impart knowledge and fight ignorance as well as serve one’s country. The GNM missionaries were volunteers from

different churches in Germany without stable financial support from back home. They depended on themselves and well wishers to carry out their activities in Tana River County. Teaching like preaching goes beyond the call of duty. This has been exhibited by, for instance, the Kenyan teacher of Mathematics and Physics at Keriko Mixed Day Secondary School in Nakuru County, Mr Peter Tabichi, who won the coveted World Teacher of the Year Award 2019 in Dubai, and was honoured for among other things, going beyond duty and using his salary to pay fees for needy pupils (Matara, 2019). Mr Tabichi's achievement is "Faith Mission" perspective at its best when applied in the education sector.

#### **5.3.4 The Reformed Theology Perspective and Education**

The "Reformed Theology" perspective emphasizes the undisputed benefits of education to the society. A literate citizenry will contribute to the development of the country in all spheres of life. Such spheres include socio-political and economic aspects of the nation. Education does not only benefit the country but also the people at individual level through acquisition of requisite skills for living and earning a livelihood. Nevertheless, those well positioned socially, politically and economically should endeavour to see to it that others are uplifted as regards their socio-economic status for a harmonious living. The well to do in society should not use their advantaged position to exploit the less fortunate.

#### **5.3.5 The Social Darwinism Perspective and Education**

Lastly, the "Social Darwinism" standpoint, by extension, appeals to all not to deny educational services and indeed all vital services to any people based on colour, ethnicity, gender, religion, physical appearance or any other trait. Nothing intrinsic or inborn makes Tana River County and by extension other such Counties not to perform well in national examinations.

It has been related how Europeans, missionaries included, set out to ‘civilize’ Africans from their ‘backwardness’. One way to do this was through introducing Western education. As much as Europeans deserve credit for introducing this type of education, they have been criticized for denying Africans literary or academic education which they offered to European children only. Admittedly, technical education was and is still needed in any economy and is not an inferior education. Nevertheless, literary education has its place in society and a people should not be denied it on the basis of being backward. The Europeans justified this educational segregation on the basis of the ideas of Social Darwinists who argued that the Negro/Black race was less evolved as compared to the Mongoloid/Asian and Caucasian/European. As has been argued, the British were more overt in applying Social Darwinism in comparison with the Germans at least as far as Tana River County was concerned.

### **5.3.6 Education and Peace**

The GNM missionaries were deported twice from Kenya during the colonial period. This was during the outbreak of the two World Wars. Every time the GNM missionaries were sent away, the Western education they had initiated in Tana River County suffered a big blow in terms of loss of teachers, education administrators and funding. It has already been related how the colonial Government gave grants-in-aid only to areas with missionary organizations for them to manage the fund. Although local initiatives sustained the educational gains realized through the GNM; hopefully, more could have been realized if the German missionaries had not been disrupted during the World Wars.

This then means that for development to be sustained (which includes Education), peace is paramount. Government and the people are obliged to ensure peace prevails at all times for development efforts of any nature to succeed. The unfortunate reality is that Tana River

County experiences frequent ethnic tensions pitting the Pokomo against the Orma especially during general election periods which at times escalate into real war. During such times of conflict and fighting, learning institutions are forced to close and teachers and pupils flee for their lives. Such experiences should not be allowed to continue.

### **5.3.7 The Importance of Technical Education**

It has been shown how the British Colonial Government offered an education of a technical nature to Africans on the grounds that they could not cope with literary education. This mentality was carried forward to post independent Kenya. Technical subjects are unpopular in secondary schools and Technical Institutes are reserved for those who don't make it to the university. No wonder the two educational systems which the Country has had since independence (7-4-2-3 and 8-4-4) have been accused of being too theoretical, abstract and elitist.

Technical education has its place in the socio-economic life of the people as demonstrated by the GNM and should not be given less emphasis. The GNM appears to have introduced technical education in Tana River in a way that did not portray it as inferior, leading to its wide acceptance. They demonstrated this by taking Chadhoru Tutu and Jillo Kutii for technical training in Germany. Indeed, the Kenya Government ought to consider investing more in technical education as one of the major intervention measures to curb rampant unemployment among the youth. This has already started through improved financing of TVET institutions and extending study loan services to students in middle level colleges by the Higher Education Loans Board (HELB).

### **5.3.8 The Plight of the Girl Child**

The plight of the girl child especially in educational matters has been addressed by many Governments and NGOs and much has been realized. Nevertheless, the girl child still remains vulnerable especially as pertains to accessing education after becoming victims of early and unplanned pregnancies. There have been efforts to help such girls resume studies but such endeavours have been piecemeal.

A research conducted by Women Educational Reserchers of Kenya (WERK) in 2016 shows that there is still much that needs to be done to have more girls in school especially in ASALs. In a project by WERK dubbed 'Girls Education Challenge (GEC): *Wasichana Wote Wasome* – Let All Girls Learn', 8 Counties were chosen 6 of which were in ASALs. The latter were Turkana, Samburu, Marsabit, Tana River, Kwale and Kilifi. These counties were chosen for having a high prevalence in low school enrolment for girls, low retention, poor attendance and poor learning outcomes (WERK 2016). Opening Special Schools for girls who may not fit in the ordinary school due to age, motherhood and fear of stigmatization could be an idea worth considering. Such an initiative would be borrowing from the GNM which endeavoured to sustain such a school at Ngao during their stay in Tana River County.

### **5.4 Recommendations**

Several recommendations relating to policy, infrastructure, sustaining the work of the GNM and the fate of archival materials found in Tana River County can be drawn from this study. The recommendations are meant to directly and indirectly improve education in Tana River County in particular and in the Country at large. The recommendations are informed by insights drawn from the activities, experiences and achievements of the GNM in the period

1885 to 1986. In Tana River County, educational institutions are distributed as follows per sub-county:

**Table 5.1 Public Educational Institutions in Tana River County**

	TANA DELTA	TANA RIVER	TANA NORTH	TOTAL
PUBLIC ECDE CENTRES	144	121	84	349
PUBLIC PRI. SCHOOLS	63	51	47	161
PUBLIC SEC. SCHOOLS	7	6	4	17
YOUTH POLYTECHNICS	2	1	1	4

**Source: County Government of Tana River, 2017**

The total population of Tana River County in 2009 was 240,008 people (NAYS, January 2017). In 2012, the population rose to 262,684. According to the 2019 National Census, the population in Tana River County stood at 315,943 (KNBS, 2019). It is projected to increase to 446,326 people by 2030 and 713,106 people by 2050 if the current fertility and mortality levels persist. If the education sector improves in Tana River County, the ripple effect will benefit the entire County population. That kind of improvement coupled with better infrastructure could see more educational institutions established commensurate with the growing population.

#### **5.4.1 Policy**

This study has brought to the fore the fact that the GNM played a key role in the establishment and development of Western education in Tana River County. This is in spite of the many challenges the Mission faced including being deported twice during the two

World Wars. It has been shown that the GNM demonstrated unparalleled resilience in working in an area where other missionary organizations had avoided. The story of the GNM in Tana River County can inform policy decisions in the education sector in the County in particular and in the Country at large.

**(i) Teachers' Rights vis-à-vis Learners' Plight**

Teachers ought to see their calling as being beyond duty or as a means to earn a livelihood. By emulating the GNM missionaries cum educationists, they ought to be ready to work in any part of the country where they are posted. They should perceive that service to humanity is service to God and derive satisfaction from the realization that they have helped young people placed under their care to be free of ignorance and to acquire requisite skills to enable them be well integrated in the society. The Teachers Unions: The Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) and the Kenya Union of Post Primary Education Teachers (KUPPET) should not only agitate for better terms of service but should also sensitize teachers about their critical role in making education available to all children who are enrolled in schools in pursuit of knowledge.

**(ii) Non-Interference with Education during Conflict**

Since GNM had good intentions in evangelizing and educating the Tana River people, one would expect the Government of the day to have supported them. The study did not discover any sufficient evidence in which the Colonial Government in Kenya accused the GNM of giving the German Government any secret information to aid it in the World Wars. Only one church elder told the researcher that the GNM preacher Reverend Wilhelm May had his communication with German soldiers intercepted by British intelligence; an incident that precipitated the deportation of GNM missionaries. No other respondent held the same

views. The German missionaries can therefore be perceived as a group that meant well for Tana River residents but found themselves being victims of circumstances during the World Wars.

The researcher recommends that institutions and organizations like Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) with good intentions of promoting education and development in a community, be allowed by Government to operate without uncalled for and unnecessary State sanctions. Most of the fears the Government may have are simply unfounded as has been shown in the case of GNM at the hands of the British Colonial Government and the United Methodist Mission (UMM).

The researcher suggests the need to consider adapting the Red Cross Model. The Red Cross, which is an international philanthropic organization that offers help to victims of both natural and artificial catastrophes, is allowed to operate without interference by the warring factions. Even in battle fields, Red Cross staffs are allowed to take food and medication undeterred to those affected because they maintain a neutral stand. In some rare unfortunate circumstances, they are harmed but there is a general consensus that they be spared from any attacks by the conflicting parties. The same can be extended to education whereby in the event of war, conflict or political turmoil, the education sector remains undisturbed as much as possible. This is not easy to realize but it is worth the attempt though can only be initiated at the international level through the UN. Indeed, during disasters, children are evacuated first followed by women while men come in last. Likewise, in war times, children are more vulnerable followed by women. When education is negatively affected, it is the children who suffer more because primary and secondary school levels of education have the bulky number of learners in every country.

At the national level, the Government through the Ministry of Internal Security should post more police officers to man the vast County and equip them with armored vehicles and other necessary weaponry. This is because terrorist groups like *Al-Shabaab* usually find their way into the interior of Kenya through the coastal region from Somalia and are reportedly heavily armed with sophisticated weapons. It will be remembered that the GNM grappled with the same problem of attacks by the Somali and had at one time to flee to Lamu Island. Indeed, the mission house in which the missionaries resided at Ngao was built on a hill for security reasons (see Appendix 32). Proper and prompt use of Intelligence information availed by CID officers and holding mediation talks between the Pokomo and Orma elders could help ease the tribal tensions and alleviate the frequent conflicts.

### **(iii) Local Initiatives in Education**

This study has established that though the GNM initiated Western education in Tana River, its sustenance depended on local initiatives, especially when the missionaries were sent away by the British Colonial Government. The pioneer trained teachers of African descent and Young Buu Association (YBA) were very instrumental towards realizing this goal. Cognizant of the fact that in Kenya education is a function of the National Government and that the County governments only manage ECDE and village polytechnics, the researcher recommends further engagement between these two levels of Government. County governments are inevitable stakeholders in primary, secondary and even tertiary education in their areas of jurisdiction and cannot be wished away.

A policy that allows more engagement and collaboration in education between these two levels of Government would see this sector improve. It could for instance be that the County Government augments what the National Government budgets for in education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The local residents could also be encouraged to offer building

materials, labour and any other support. In addition, should an institution of higher learning be established, there ought to be a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the two levels of Government in which a certain agreed upon percentage of employees would be drawn from the local population so that the community owns, appreciates and supports that particular institution. There ought to be some benefits trickling down to the community which houses such an institution. This idea can be replicated in all the other counties.

#### **(iv) Opening a Secondary School Wing in every Primary School**

Each primary school in Tana River County should open a secondary school wing to create more vacancies for primary school pupils transiting to secondary school. This would also be very helpful considering the transport problem in the County that is an impediment to access to secondary school education by pupils exiting primary school. This is also in line with Government policy since 2017 of 100% transition from primary to secondary school (Bonyo, E, 2020). A report released by the Ministry of Education in February 2019 indicated that Tana River County had one of the lowest transition rates in the country. This could be as a result of low number of secondary schools in the vast County – 25 in number (MOE, 2018); insecurity and poor road transport.

The National Government should also post adequate teachers to the County, compensate them appropriately and assure them of their security. Indeed, the National Government through the Ministry of Internal Security has a duty to ensure the County is safe so that both locals and non- locals in Tana River can feel safe to invest, live, and work in the area. If this was to happen, education would gain a lot since more teachers and students would be willing to teach and study there. Cases of internally displaced people- most of them being children of school going age- would be minimised.

#### **(v) Government to Address Educational Challenges in Tana River**

The National Government should also address real and pertinent issues like enrolment, participation, completion rates, socio-cultural practices and Teacher – Pupil ratio with the aim of offering remedial measures for Tana River County's dismal performance in national examinations. In 2014, for example the total enrolment in primary schools in Tana River County stood at 48,978 against a teaching force of 1,162 TSC teachers and 118 SMC teachers (*Basic Education Statistical Booklet 2014*). The same report showed that the County had 20 Public Secondary Schools and 1 Private Secondary School. The Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) stood at 20.5% while the Net Enrolment Rate (NER) was 16.5%. These statistics especially on enrolment show that there are underlying challenges facing education in Tana River which the National Government should address with more commitment.

#### **5.4.2 Infrastructure**

The greatest challenge faced by the GNM in monitoring their mission stations and schools was poor transport and communication. The missionaries relied on the motorboat '*Naghea*' to connect from village to village or walked on foot in spite of the existence of dangerous wild animals. They found themselves in this situation because of lack of passable roads. This partly explains why their contemporaries or other missionary organizations preferred upcountry Kenya which had been opened up after the construction of the Kenya- Uganda railway line and subsequent feeder roads to serve the White Settlers and Colonial administration.

Today, Tana River County is yet to enjoy adequate road network. The only tarmac road in the County is the Malindi-Garsen road which is getting bad every day due to poor workmanship. Again, from Garsen to Hola, the County headquarters, the road is not tarmacked and is impassable during the rainy season. In addition, as one approaches Hola from Nairobi; the tarmac ends at Garissa from Thika. This has made investors and civil servants to shy away

from the County. Poor road network also affects education negatively since fewer institutions would be established and not many teachers and education officials would be willing to work in such areas. Likewise, delivery of learning resources and administration of national examinations not to mention inspection of the teaching–learning process equally suffers due to impassable roads.

Likewise, most secondary school students admitted in schools in the County from other parts of the country do not report there. The National Government needs to move with speed to repair the existing tarmac road and complete the Garsen-Hola and Garissa-Hola sections which have taken years after approval. This will open up the County for business investors and by extension improve and expand the education sector.

#### **5.4.3 Sustaining the Work of the German Neurkirchen Mission**

All the informants interviewed by the researcher expressed willingness to see the Germans back to Tana River County. Their feelings are well captured in the words of Mr. Enos Grisse Israel.

The locals understood the Germans as Philanthropists out to help them improve their way of life and that they had no association with the colonialists (British). The Germans addressed both spiritual and physical needs. The people are ready to welcome them back even today and I am sure if that happens, the residents of Ngao would throw a big party to them ( Enos Garisse Israel Gudina, 23th November 2017).

As discussed in this study, a lot has happened over time and the GNM may not come back literally as missionaries. However, the researcher in line with the expressions of the respondents, recommends that the Government of Kenya and Tana River County Government could partner with the German Government and invest more in education in the County to tap the enormous potential therein that has been brought to the fore in this study especially in technical education and music. The researcher intends to share these

recommendations with the two levels of Government in Kenya as well as with the Germany embassy in Nairobi. Hopefully; they would consider the suggestions that have been raised.

Such a joint endeavour between Kenya and Germany could as well bring to fulfilment the vision the GNM Missionaries had for the Tana River County people to the extent of 17 of them losing their lives in the region. The National Government could do more than has been done to sustain and continue the good work started by the GNM especially in the education sector. Most of the primary schools started in the area lack adequate infrastructure ranging from classrooms to furniture. More classrooms with adequate furniture commensurate with the pupil enrollment should be constructed.

On a more ambitious and positive note, a multi-educational institution or an Educational Complex could be established at Ngao with the aim of meeting the diverse educational needs of the Tana River County as informed by the experiences of the GNM. To begin with, a Technical Institute could form part of this Educational Complex with a bias in technical courses. Technical subjects taught could include Masonry, Carpentry, Tailoring, Electricity, Mechanics, Welding, Agriculture and Hospitality. Many form four leavers in Tana River County would qualify to pursue these courses going by the performance of the County in the KCSE.

The County does not perform so well in national examinations because of the many challenges highlighted; nevertheless, it is full of talent like in other counties in the country. Table 5.2 below shows KCSE performance of secondary schools in Tana River County in the period 2013 – 2017. As can be seen, no secondary school in the whole of the County in the five years (2013- 2017) scored a Mean Score of 5.0 (C-) and above which is less than half of the maximum score (12).

**Table 5.2 Tana River County KCSE results analysis 2013 - 2017**

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION												
STATE DEPARTMENT OF BASIC EDUCATION												
TANA RIVER COUNTY												
KCSE RESULTS ANALYSIS												
S/NO	SCHOOL	CATEGORY	M/S 2017	ENTRY	M/S 2016	ENTRY	M/S 2015	ENTRY	M/S 2014	ENTRY	M/S 2013	ENTRY
1	BANGALE BOYS	PUBLIC	3.13	15	2.37	16	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
2	HOLA BOYS	PUBLIC	3.08	76	2.93	68	4.63	67	4.09	97	3.71	96
3	KIPINI SECONDARY	PUBLIC	2.97	58	2.59	63	3.36	66	3.5	40	3.26	31
4	MAU MAU GIRLS	PUBLIC	2.9	39	3.19	46	4.43	42	3.45	52	3.32	45
5	SOMBO SECONDARY	PUBLIC	2.8	15	2.73	11	2.73	11	2.64	14	3.18	11
6	MINHAJ SECONDARY	PUBLIC	2.72	18	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
7	WENJE SECONDARY	PUBLIC	2.71	51	2.63	56	3.39	64	3.22	61	2.87	61
8	NGAO GIRLS SCHOOL	PUBLIC	2.63	59	3.48	64	4.29	53	3.58	44	3.15	62
9	BUYANI SECONDARY	PUBLIC	2.54	54	2.38	30	3.79	19	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
10	HIRIMANI SEC.	PUBLIC	2.45	142	2.39	147	3.41	148	3.21	128	3.01	152
11	MADOGO SEC.	PUBLIC	2.45	114	1.94	155	3.78	139	3.25	183	2.89	134
12	GARSEN HIGH	PUBLIC	2.39	148	2.20	173	3.46	171	3.61	116	3.11	110
13	GADENI SECONDARY	PUBLIC	2.3	33	3.06	34	2.77	47	2.82	34	2.69	38
14	DAKU SECONDARY	PUBLIC	2.22	50	2.36	55	2.62	60	2.6	70	20.8	66
15	MARIFANO SEC.	PUBLIC	2.2	84	2.25	56	3.43	65	3.82	56	2.95	44
16	KITERE SECONDARY	PUBLIC	2.2	25	NEW	N	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
17	NDURA SECONDARY	PUBLIC	2.19	22	2.08	126	2.61	112	2.69	82	2.60	87
18	GALOLE MODEL	PUBLIC	2.15	26	NEW	N	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
19	TARASAA HIGH	PUBLIC	2.15	53	2.30	80	2.97	63	3.23	61	3.38	52
20	MAJENGO SEC	PUBLIC	2.11	18	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
21	HURUMA SEC	PUBLIC	2.1	74	2.00	61	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
22	HOLA TOWNSHIP	PRIVATE	1.75	27	1.61	19	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
23	MARVEL EDUC. CENTRE	PRIVATE	1.76	29	2.06	18	3.13	23	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
24	MORORO SECONDARY	PUBLIC	1.68	80	1.40	89	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
25	MAPUNGA SEC	PUBLIC	1.55	33	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW	NEW
	<b>TOTAL</b>											

**KEY**

M/S – Mean Score

**Source: Ministry of Education, 2018**

The National Government in collaboration with the County Government needs to invest more in Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) institutions. Currently, the County has a total of 4 Youth Polytechnics namely Tarasaa, Maziwa, Hola, and Tumaini (*County Government of Tana River, 2017*). Tarasaa and Hola could be upgraded to absorb more students and offer more courses. Alternatively, more Youth Polytechnics could be established in other parts of the vast County. The new Competency Based Curriculum (CBC) launched in 2018 aims at tapping and nurturing of talent as well as identifying career paths for students in line with their potential. Such Youth Polytechnics and the Technical Institute

could come in handy towards the realization of this objective. These institutions could absorb a big number of secondary school leavers who do not make it to university or other tertiary level colleges. The researcher suggests the name of the Technical Institute to be Jillo Kutii Technical Institute.

The Music talent evident in the County could be nurtured in such institutions. As earlier indicated, the Pokomo are endowed with good singing skills. German language could also be taught. The GNM shied away from teaching German in their schools in Kenya but the few who were taken to Germany learnt the language. It can now be incorporated because it is one of the foreign languages taught in the Kenyan curriculum. Chadhor-Menza Music Institute could be considered as the name of this institution.

A Girls' Special School could also be opened to train girls who have dropped out of school due to pregnancy and are unwilling to return to the ordinary school. The school could also attract interested married women and single mothers who could be trained in sewing, hair dressing, agriculture and hospitality which could help them earn a living. This is what Mrs Anna Weber and Mrs Hanna Gissel initiated; consequently Weber-Gissel Girls' Special School could be a fitting name for this school in memory of the work pioneered by these GNM educationists.

The Educational Complex could also encompass a secondary school which can be a mixed day secondary school because the region already has Ngao Girls and Tarasaa Boys both being boarding schools. Such a school can come in handy at this time when the Government is focussed on a 100% transition from primary to secondary school. The researcher suggests the name Yuda Komora Mixed Day Secondary School.

It has been shown that Tana River was among the earliest regions in Kenya to train teachers locally to meet the needs of trained teaching staff in the upcoming schools. However, up to now there is no Teachers Training College (TTC) in the County. The researcher recommends a TTC be started in the area with the name Paul Pakia TTC. It could form part of the Educational Complex. Such an institution could train primary school teachers from Lamu, Tana River and Kilifi Counties because the nearest TTC is Shanzu Teachers College in Mombasa.

The study has portrayed GNM as a Mission that believed in state of the art training of its workers hence pioneered the now popular trend of taking the best brains in the country for overseas training. The Kenya and German Governments could consider awarding more scholarships to German universities for well performing students from Tana River County. A University could also be established in the County to serve Lamu, Tana River and parts of Kilifi and by extension the whole country and beyond. The researcher suggests the name of the university to be Herman Muller University in honour of the German educationist Herman Muller.

Currently, there is at least a University or University College in 39 out of the 47 counties in Kenya (*Commission for University Education 2018*). Tana River County is one of the 8 counties lagging behind in this aspect. At the moment, Kenya has 31 Public Universities, 17 Chartered Private Universities and 12 Private Universities with Letters of Interim Authority (KUCCPS 2019). This makes a total of 60 Universities. There are only three public universities in the former Coast Province, namely Technical University of Mombasa, Pwani University in Kilifi and Taita Taveta University in Taita Taveta. The idea behind having at least one university in each County is to address the problem of certain regions and

communities in the country being under represented in higher institutions of learning or being marginalized in accessing university education.

As can be seen, the names given to these institutions are those of the key people who majorly contributed to the establishment and development of Western education in Tana River County. Herman Muller wanted Tana River to reach the highest level of education achievements and actually compete favourably with the rest of Kenya. Amos Chadhoru and Menza Galana were top musicians trained by the German missionaries. Jillo Kutii was the second Pokomo to be taken to Germany in 1900 for technical training in Carpentry and Masonry. Mrs. Anna Weber and Mrs. Hanna Gissel had the burden of training grown up girls to acquire life skills to help them live meaningfully. Paul Pakia was the first person in Tana River to obtain an equivalent of a P3 (Primary 3) teaching certificate in 1946. Yuda Komora was the first person from Tana River County to study at Alliance High School and later graduate with a university degree from Makerere University. He was in the forefront in founding the first Secondary School in Tana River County, Tarasaa High School.

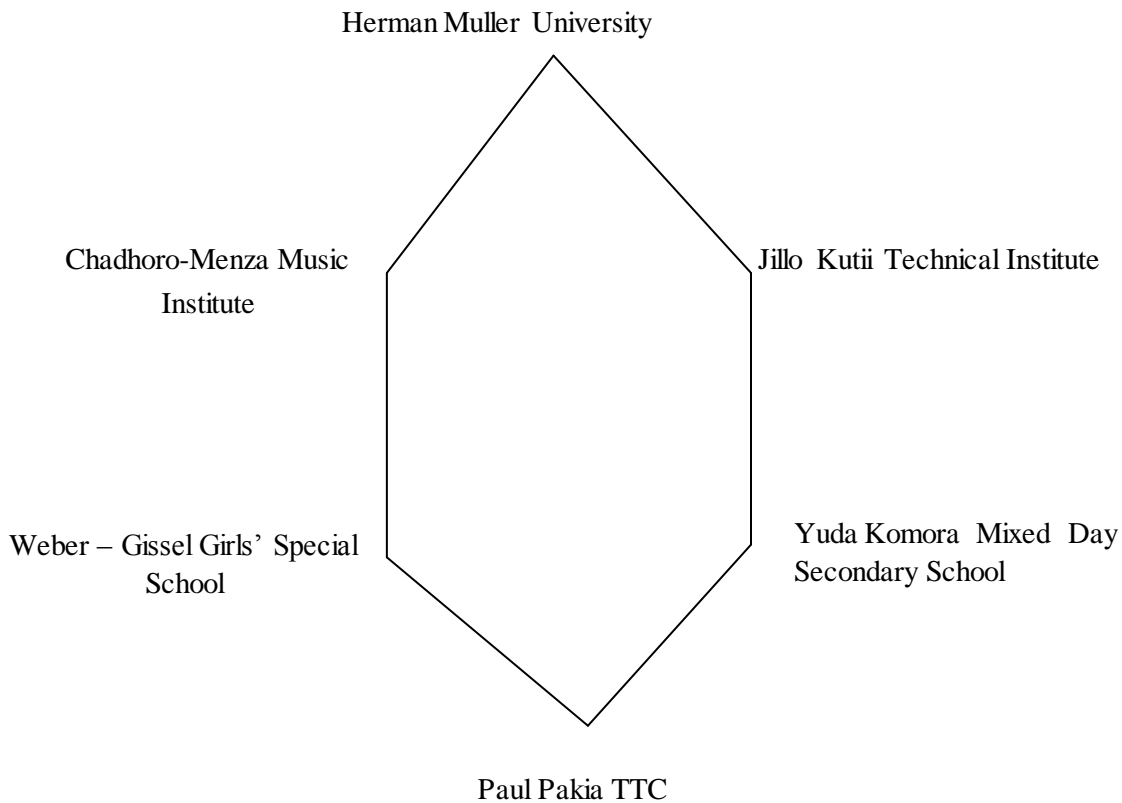
One may argue that there is no need of so many institutions offering different specialized programmes as all of them could be given under the umbrella of one institution, the Herman Muller University. This has limitations for several reasons. The main one is that, as mentioned earlier, Tana River County does not do very well in the national examinations and therefore not many KCSE candidates attain the minimum grade of C+ to qualify to join the university. A majority of Form 4 leavers therefore would be easily absorbed in the middle level colleges and TVET institutions which admit students for certificate and diplomas with grades as low as E to C plain.

Consequently, Jillo Kutii Technical School would fall under TVET institutions. Chadhoru-Menza Music Institute would augur well with the new curriculum (CBC) in Kenya which

proposes three career pathways after junior secondary school; which are Arts and Sports Science; Social Sciences and Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM). The Music Institute would fall under the Arts and Sports Science pathway and would not only teach Music but would attract other talents which need nurturing, for instance drama and various sports. The reality that sports, drama and other talents have become sources of employment and income earners for both individuals and countries need not be over-emphasized.

The proposed Weber-Gissel Special Girls' School, Paul Pakia TTC and Yuda Komora Day Secondary School are institutions which by their very nature cannot form part of a university; therefore must operate on their own. The GNM could also consider establishing a Bible School or College to train pastors to serve in the churches. Such pastors could also help in spiritual nourishment of students in the various institutions especially against a backdrop of the new curriculum which stresses on moral values. The trained pastors could also help in addressing the rising public concern over increasing suicide cases among the youth; most of them in learning institutions. This is in recognition of the fact that the core business from the outset, by the GNM was to spread the Gospel. Theology could be studied in the Herman Muller University but the fear again remains the low number of students qualifying for university admission in the area. The two Governments of Kenya and Germany may not finance the construction of a Theological College but the remnants of the GNM in Germany could do so in collaboration with the AIC in Kenya. Figure 5.1 shows a diagrammatic representation of the proposed Educational Complex.

**Fig 5.1 The Proposed GNM Educational Complex**



**Source: Researcher, 2017**

#### **5.4.4 Archival materials**

The researcher noted that at Makere ya Gwano (Wenje), there was vital archival materials like pictures, baptismal cards and other church and school records that are at risk of getting lost or destroyed. Some graves of GNM missionaries in Wenje and Ngao as well as church bells erected by the German Missionaries have been vandalized and the remaining ones were not safe either. Some of the graves were not well marked or even labelled. The original church constructed by the GNM in 1893 still stands but is no longer in use because two new ones have been constructed since then (Appendix 32). The church is unmanned and could

soon be vandalized to the ground. If nothing is done to preserve carefully these remains, the history of the GNM could be distorted.

The Hola Mission area in Hola still has the remains of the first GNM church which was constructed near where Missionary August Kraft lived. Kraft committed suicide in 1928 out of depression (Gissel & Gissel 1991, p.239). His body was however transported to Ngao, the GNM headquarters for burial. The church bell and other materials in the Hola Mission Church risk being stolen or vandalized. In this respect, there is need for the County Government of Tana River and the National Museums of Kenya (NMK) to collect these materials and preserve them in a protected area. The NMK could take over the old GNM buildings for preservation and also secure the graves of the departed missionaries cum educationists. These are vital for understanding the history of the region and can also serve as tourist attraction sites and therefore earn the County and Country foreign exchange.

### **5.5 Suggestions for further research**

The study examined the contribution of the GNM in the establishment of Western education in Tana River County, 1885 to 1986. The researcher suggests the following possible areas that could be considered for further research as a result of this study:

- i) There is need to extend the parameters within which the GNM operated; since it also ventured in Tanzania, a comparative study needs to be carried out to see whether the missionaries were consistent in how they undertook evangelization and education there when compared to the Tana River story. This could help in deepening the understanding of their ideology. This is because unlike in Kenya, the colonial power in charge of Tanzania prior to WWI was Germany. One would want to know how the

GNM carried out its activities with the benefit of support of a Government from their home in the initial years.

- ii) The ideology of GNM could further be understood if other 'Faith Missions' like the African Inland Mission (AIM) and the Gospel Missionary Society (GMS) were studied to see whether they exhibited the same features in their operation; or GNM remains a unique case.
- iii) A study needs to be carried out about the GNM from 1986 to date. Did the Mission cease to exist after it was perceived that Africa had now been reached with the Gospel? Did it transform itself into a church in Neukirchen? Did it shift its attention to other countries? To what extent are the remnants of the GNM still supporting education in Tana River/ Kenya and probably other countries? These and other questions can only be answered if another comprehensive study is carried out covering a time frame beyond what this study accomplished.
- iv) This study shows that a lot was done by the GNM in laying a firm foundation of Western education in Tana River County. These endeavours were further sustained through local initiatives. The study has also portrayed Tana River as capable of producing top academicians in the Country. However, and ironically, the County perennially performs dismally in national examinations. Consequently, a study needs to be carried out to search for answers to this dismal performance and propose remedial measures that need to be taken.

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## RESPONDENTS

S/ R	NAME	AGE	POSITION	LOCATION	DATE
1.	Lisania Buya	90	Rtd Edn Officer	Ngao	13/12/2015 14/2/2016
2.	Rev Walter Eric	72	German Missionary	Nairobi	15/3/2017
3.	John J. Marigo		Methodist Church Member	Hola	16/10/2017
4.	Faris Jillo Dhadho	75	Elder Lutheran Church	Hola	16/10/2017
5.	Lazaro Deye	80	Lutheran Church Member	Hola	16/10/2017
6.	Yekonia Deye Wayu	90	MethodistChurch Member	Hola	17/10/2017
7.	John Change Abagerera	70	Rtd teacher & KNUT official	Hola	17/10/2017
8.	Martin Galgalo Gharawa	92	Rtd Agricultural Officer	Hola	17/10/2017
9.	Rev Michael Gafo	81	Rtd Teacher & Methodist Pastor	Wenje	18/10/2017
10.	Gideon M. Galana	95	Methodist Preacher	Wenje	18/10/2017
11.	Feiswal Obo		CEO Tana River	Hola	19/10/2017
12.	Abdi Noor		DOE, Galole	Hola	19/10/2017
13.	John Tangazo		Pastor AIC Itsowe	Itsowe	22/11/2017
14.	Kenneth Pakia	67	Former Principal, DEO & PDE	Itsowe	22/11/2017
15.	Rev.Francis Tumaini	64	Pastor AIC Ngao	Ngao	23/11/2017
16.	Elizabeth Kanana	64	w/o Jato Chadhorro	Ngao	23/11/2017

17.	Enos Garisse	64	Rtd DQASO T/River	Ngao	23/11/2017
18.	Leah Hikisa Dullu		Principal Ngao Girls	Ngao	23/11/2017
19.	Hannah Mkegawa	77	d/o Amos Chadhoru & w/o Yuda Komora	Ngao	23/11/2017
20.	Alex M. Maneno	82	<i>Gasa</i> Member	Ngao	30/11/2017
21.	Miyomoni Jonathan	76	<i>Gasa</i> Member	Ngao	30/11/2017
22.	Stephen Thomas	72	<i>Gasa</i> Member	Ngao	30/11/2017
23.	Ayub Mikiya	96	<i>Gasa</i> Member	Ngao	30/11/2017
24.	Gwiyo Hezeki	89	<i>Gasa</i> Member	Ngao	30/11/2017
25.	Daniel Manga	72	<i>Gasa</i> Secretary	Ngao	30/11/2017
26.	Martin Tsekea	77	<i>Gasa</i> Member	Ngao	30/11/2017
27.	Yonah K. Galugalu	64	<i>Gasa</i> Chairman	Ngao	30/11/2017
28.	Isaiah Obare		Pastor Lutheran Church	Nairobi	3/5/2018
29.	Joseph Abuor		Pastor Lutheran Church	Nairobi	3/5/2018
30.	Hyslop Amos Ipu		Civil Servant	Nairobi	4/6/2018
31.	John Makdii	84	Retired DEO	Tarasaa	29/3/2019
32.	Dr Ceasar Mungatana		Medical Doctor	Nakuru	18/5/2019
33.	Thomas S. Duda	67	Retired civil servant	Nairobi	18/5/2019

## Appendix 1: Interview schedule for retired teachers and education officers

Name \_\_\_\_\_ (optional)

Gender: Male  Female  (Tick as appropriate)

Age \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

1. When was Western education introduced in Tana River and by whom?
2. When did the GNM arrive in Tana River and what were their activities? Were their activities driven by socio-political and economic interests.
3. Which missionary organizations ventured in Tana River and where did they come from?
4. What in your opinion was the driving force behind GNM persevering in an area shunned by other missionary organizations?
5. How do you rate/compare GNM and other missionary groups which ventured in the area in terms of their success in establishing Western education?
6. Which schools/learning institutions were established by the GNM and what was the enrolment?
7. What was the curriculum that was taught in GNM schools?
8. What challenges did GNM face in its endeavor to establish Western education in Tana River?
9. What was the general impact of GNM education on the Tana River people?
10. Are there schools started by GNM still in operation today?
11. Do we have civil servants, administrators; politicians etc. today and in the past that are/were beneficiaries of schools started by GNM?
12. Are there any reservations or regrets among Tana people on the activities of the GNM in the region, 1885 to 1986.

**Appendix 2: Interview schedule for former politicians, provincial administrators and civil servants**

Name \_\_\_\_\_ (optional)

Gender: Male  Female  (Tick as appropriate)

Age \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

1. When did GNM arrive in Tana River and what was the motive?
2. What was the underlying principle that sustained GNM in the area in which other missionary groups shied off?
3. How were the GNM missionaries generally conducting their work? What was the motivation behind their work?
4. How did the two World Wars affect GNM's work of evangelization and education in Tana River?
5. Which schools/stations were opened by GNM by name, when and where?
6. How did GNM relate with other missionary organizations in its activities?
7. How did GNM relate with the colonial government in Kenya in its activities?
8. Was the GNM getting any funding from abroad?
9. Are there learning institutions in existence today which trace their origin to GNM's work?
10. Give names of key people in society past and present which were/are products of GNM work in education.
11. How would you describe the general impact of education provided by GNM on the Pokomo community?
12. Do you recall any differences or conflict of interest between the GNM and Tana River people?

### Appendix 3: Interview schedule for former and current religious leaders

Name \_\_\_\_\_ (optional)

Gender: Male  Female  (Tick as appropriate)

Age \_\_\_\_\_ Church/Religious Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Bishop  Pastor  Elder  Others: Specify

1. When did GNM arrive in Tana River and how did it embark on their evangelizing mission? What was its driving force?
2. Is your church affiliated to the GNM and how?
3. What was GNM's Statement of Faith or doctrine?
4. How did the GNM handle the inevitable differences with other missionary organizations?
5. Explain your church's/religious organization's contribution to the establishment of Western education in Tana River.
6. What in your opinion is GNM's contribution to the establishment of Western education in Tana River County?
7. Which hardships did GNM experience while evangelizing and establishing Western education in the region and how did it tackle them?
8. Are there churches and schools in Tana River County in operation today with a history of having been established by GNM?
9. Can you recall church leaders, civil servants and other prominent people in society who are beneficiaries of the work of GNM in Tana River County?
10. How did GNM's activities in Tana River affect the residents' way of life?
11. What is the lasting impact of GNM activities on education in Tana River?
12. What are the future prospects of the German/GNM- Kenya/Tana River interaction?

#### **Appendix 4: Focus group discussion questions**

1. Were the Methodists or GNM the first to venture in Tana River?
2. Which other missionary groups ventured in Tana River and in which years?
3. What is difference between the United Methodist Mission (UMM) and the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS)?
4. What would you say are the salient features that distinguish GNM from other missionary organizations that ventured in Tana River in the study period?
5. Did GNM exhibit any weaknesses? Was it racist for example?
6. Did the Methodists play any role in the establishment of Western education in Tana River County?
7. Did GNM play a major role in evangelization and establishment of Western education in the early years of missionary infiltration in Tana River?
8. Are there schools, churches and other institutions which were opened by the GNM and are still in operation today?
9. How did the GNM cope with the challenges it faced which made other missionary organizations exit Tana River?
10. Do you think there was any animosity between GNM and the Methodists?
11. What in your opinion is the impact of GNM's work in Tana River in terms of religious institutions, learning institutions and educated people in society past and present?
12. Which churches have dominated in the sponsorship of schools in Tana River County today?

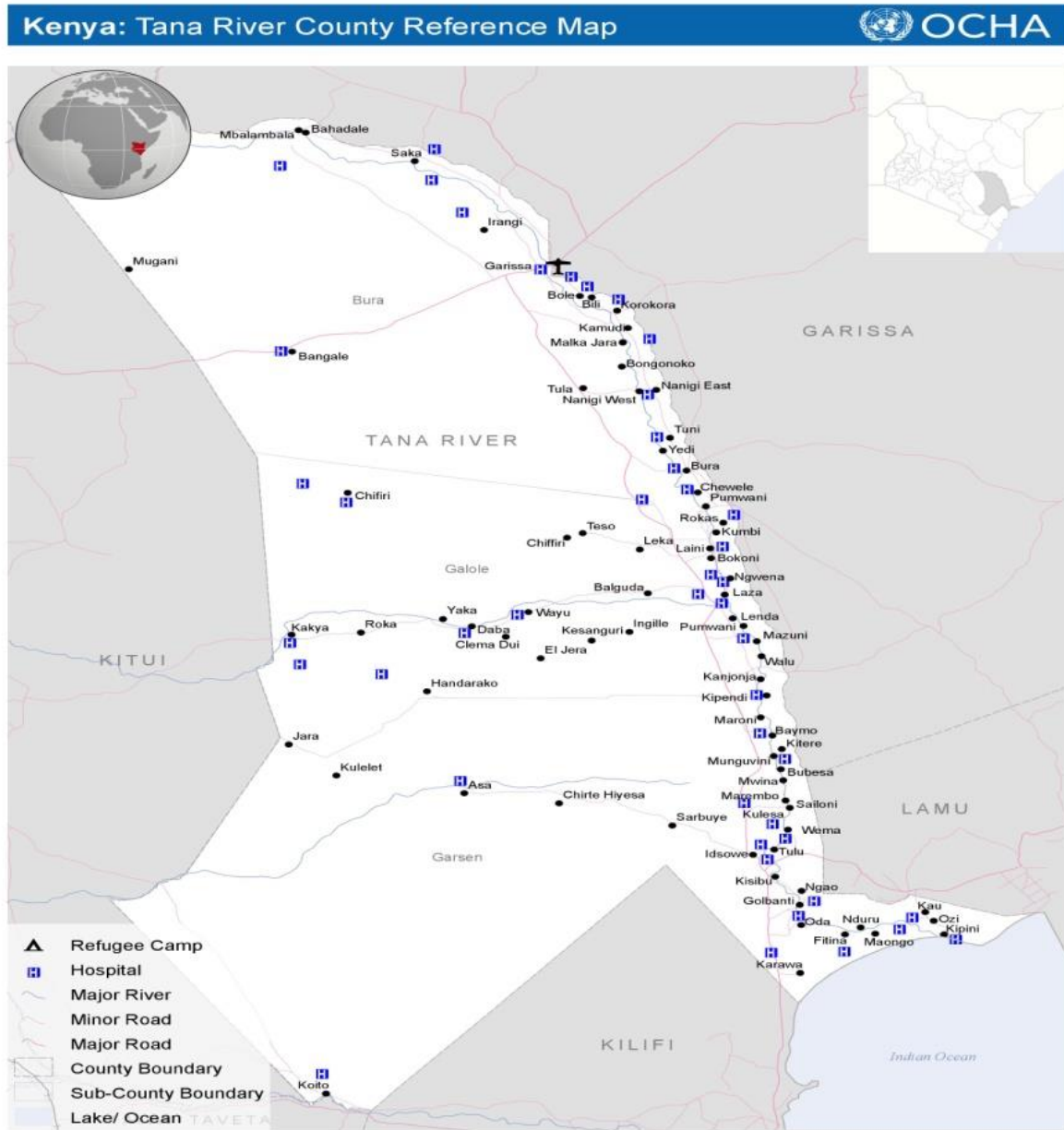
## **Appendix 5: List of documents**

1. Missionary reports
2. Church records
3. Minutes of church meetings
4. Government reports/records
5. Minutes of school board meetings
6. Diaries
7. Letters
8. Drawings
9. Maps
10. Pictures/Photographs
11. Autobiographies
12. Films
13. Written sermons
14. Teaching notes
15. Pupils' exam and assignment papers, exercise books etc

Appendix 6: A map showing all the counties in Kenya (Source: [www.google.wikipaedia.org](http://www.google.wikipaedia.org))

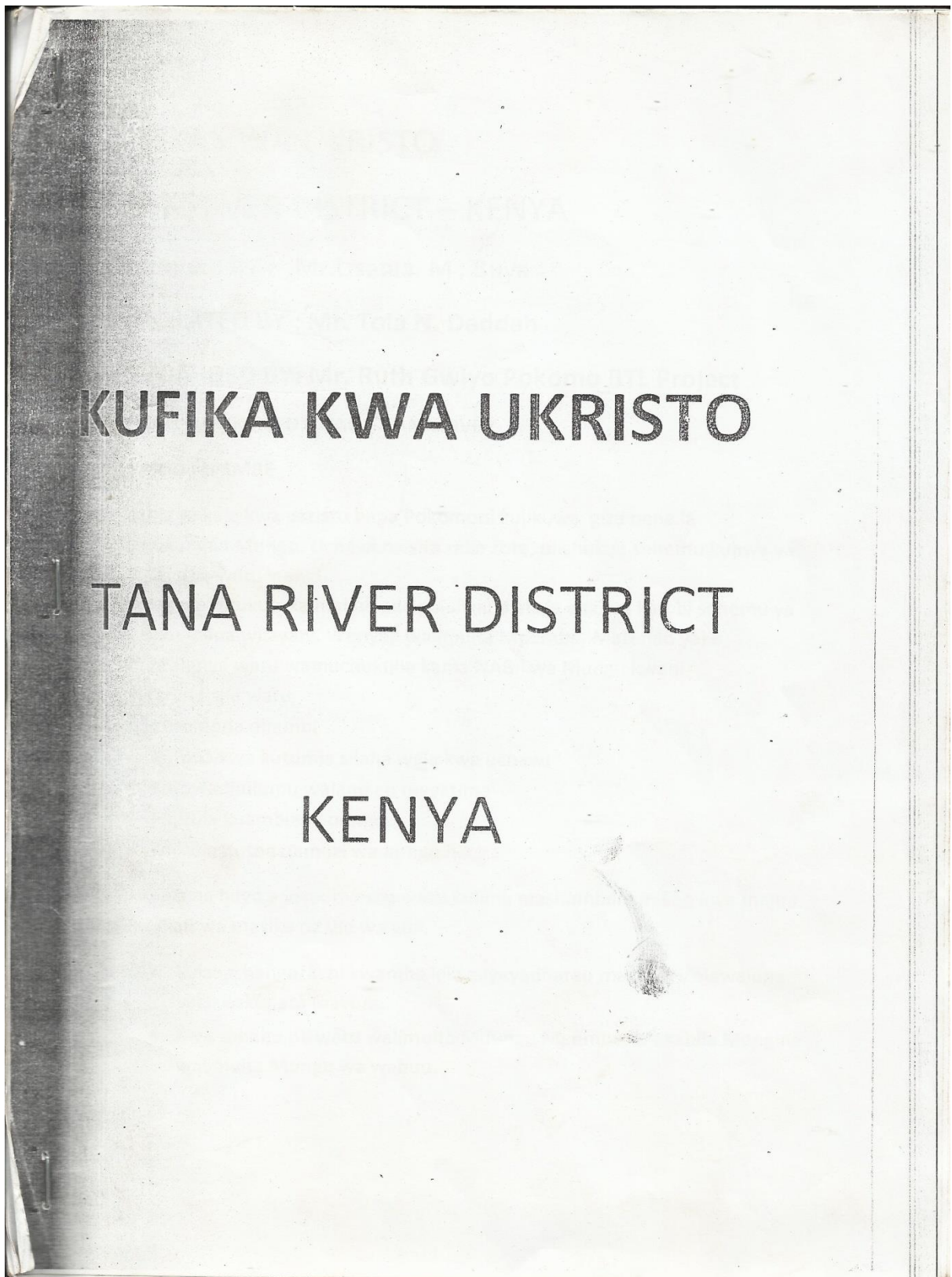


## Appendix 7: A map of the study area

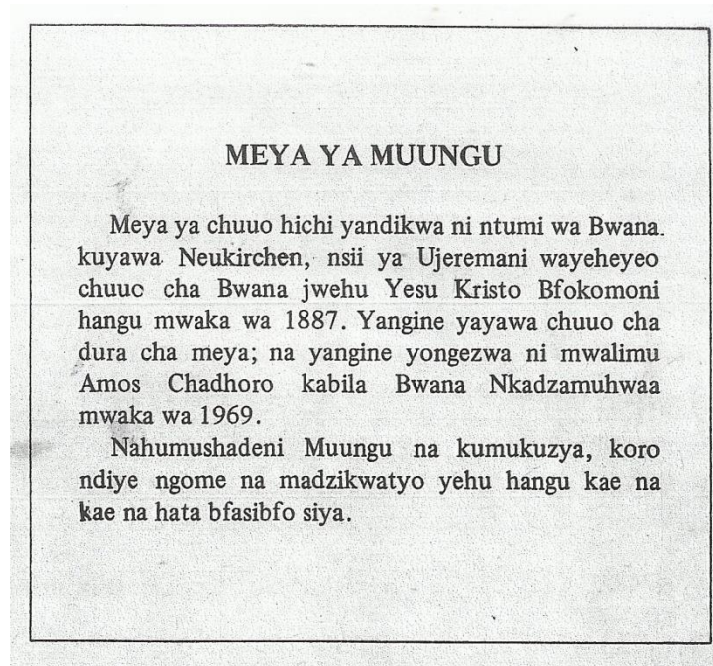


The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.  
 Creation date: 03 Oct 2013 Sources: CCK Feedback: ochakenya@un.org www.kenya.humanitarianresponse.info www.unocha.org/eastern-africa www.reliefweb.int

**Appendix 8: The Book “Kufika kwa Ukristo Tana River” (The Arrival of Christianity in Tana River) By Lisania Buya and J.M Paul Pakia.**



## Appendix 9: Preface of the 152 Pokomo hymns book *Me ya Muungu* (Songs to God)



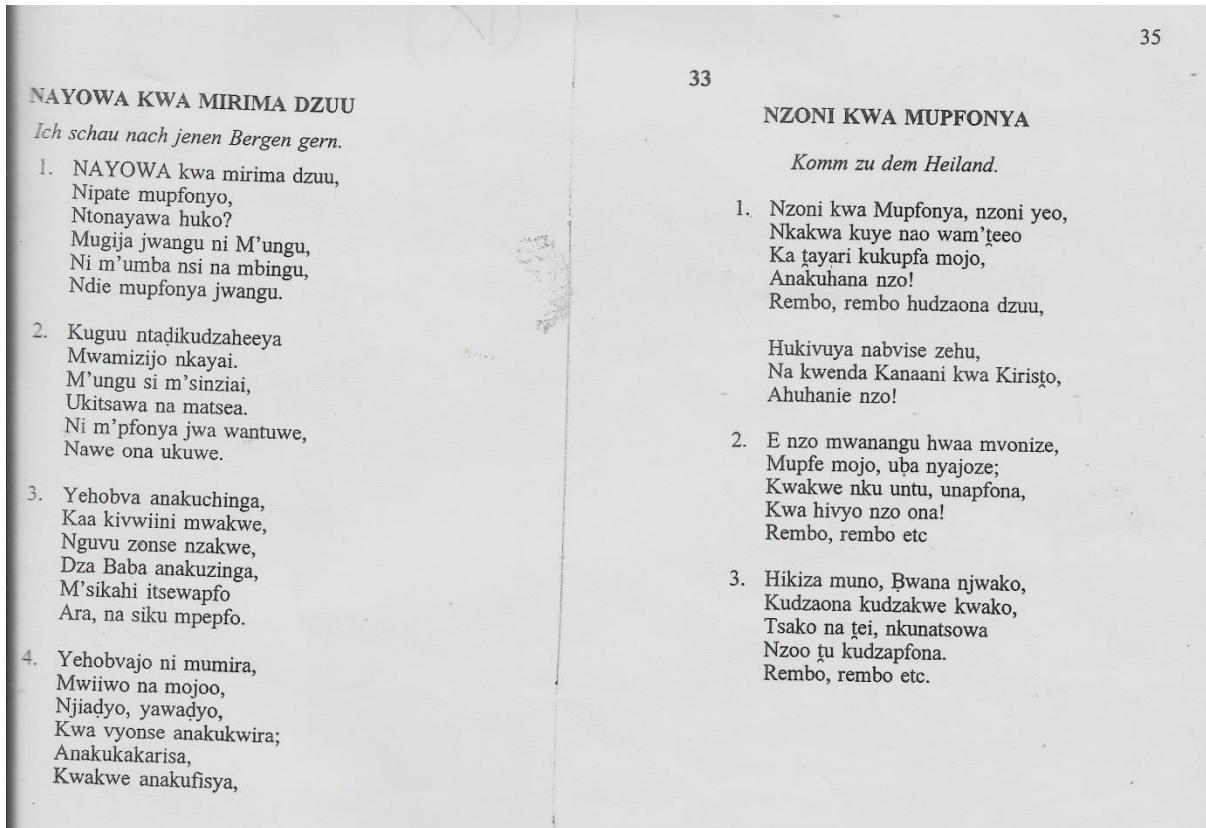
### **TRANSLATION**

The hymns of this book were written by missionaries from Neukirchen in Germany who brought the Good News of Jesus Christ to Pokomoland way back in 1887. Other songs were added in from a previous hymn book while others were composed by Mr Amos Chadhoru before his death in 1969.

Let us praise and exalt God for He is our rock and hope from everlasting to everlasting.

(Translation done by Reverend Jillo Enes Yotam of Hola)

## Appendix 10: Some of the Pokomo gospel songs composed with German rhythms



## Appendix 11: Education Inspection Report 1929

- 2 -

Name of Location and number of villages.	Males	Females	Children	
			Males	Females
Chara -- 3 villages	503	572	322	355
Ngao -- 9 "	356	373	302	329
Salama-- 9 "	313	325	254	266
Ndera -- 3 "	265	361	238	236
Ngwano - 3 "	199	101	57	71
Kinangkomba 4 "	256	298	151	162
Ndura -- 2 "	190	280	163	156
Zubaki - 4 "	327	387	192	202
Malalulu 4 "	248	331	194	152
Totals	2547	3028	1873	1929

Total population is 9377

### III. Children of school age ( 6 to 14 years ) in each location.

Chara	255
Ngao	275
Salama	250
Ndera	130
Ngwano	60
Kinangkomba	138
Ndura	120
Zubaki	175
Malalulu	140

Total 1543

### Number of children receiving some form of elementary education.

Name of School	Males	Females	Total
Laini	21	15	36
Myinkuu	27	22	49
Oda	?	?	48 approx.
Golbanti	50	20	70
Wanabamba	41	36	77
Ngao	84	90	174
Kibussu	?	?	30 approx.
Gaseni	22	21	43
Gadeni	25	15	40
Munasini	15	18	33
Chunoni	36	30	66
Kulesa	35	29	64
Marembo	41	23	64
Munyuni	20	16	36
Munasini Ndera	5	3	8
Makeriwenji	21	18	39
Pumwani	22	13	35
Mikinduni	4	6	10
Hola	16	6	22

944 or  
61.1% of total child  
population.

N.B. Among these must be quite 15% who are between the ages of 14 and 19.

### IV. The following sectors are recommended:-

A. Kipini. There is a fairly large Swahili and Arab population here. Up to the present time there has been no definite request for education. Koran teaching would have to be provided for in the event of a school being opened.

B. Anassa ----

N.B. 1. If sector schools were open between the hours of 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. a three mile sector would be recommended.

2. In the sectorisation of this district seven of the sectors contain mission schools which, with aid in respect of equipment, could be converted into sector schools giving the rudiments of elementary education.

V. As I have already put on record in my Annual Report for 1928 and in my attached report on the activities of the German Mission in this district, it is noteworthy and altogether encouraging to find a tribe so keen on schools. This desire, it will be observed, is not confined purely to the male portion of the population. The girls and married women show as great a keenness in learning to read and write as the boys and young men. The effect of what might be termed the inoculation of the Reserve by a very elementary type of education has resulted in a twofold change in social conditions. In the first place it has to be admitted that the general standard of living has risen to a higher pitch than in any other coastal tribe. Their mode of dress, their small commercial activity, their domestic standards and their whole outlook on the changing conditions of native life testify to the truth of this. They have reached what one terms the ultra-sophisticated stage, probably a necessary step in the mental growth of the native from primitive conditions and occasioned by their early and continual contact with Arab and Somali traders and Europeans. This contact has resulted, as so often happens, in a reluctance to engage in any form of manual work, particularly agricultural, which might bring them in a profit after satisfying present and future needs. Secondly, although the literary standard is very low indeed, there is a strong desire on the part of the so-called educated Mission Pokomo boy to seek employment in Mombasa and Nairobi. The mechanical trades, domestic and personal service find many recruits from the Tana River. This fact, while contributing nothing new to existing knowledge of native tendencies, has its interesting side. Despite the lure of town life the Mpokomo always returns once annually to his Reserve. Like the Wa-Teita and their hills, the Wa-Pokomo have a strong affection for the Tana River.

Up to the present time the Wa-Pokomo have shown no inclination towards self-taxation for educational purposes, but missionary endeavour has certainly given them the impression, however unintentional this may have been, that education must be paid for, either in cash or in kind.

My concluding remarks will be a reiteration of those submitted in my Annual Report for last year. Climatic conditions combined with the absence of efficient communications and difficulty of access for inspection purposes make it inexpedient to incur expenditure in the development of education in this area. Until the Medical Authorities, the Administration and the Public Works Department vote monies for the purposes of improving health conditions and communications, I am of the opinion that the control of education, apart from the remote possibility of a demand from within the Reserve for Government schools, should remain in the hands of the German Mission.

Conclusion. No barazas were called as I have discovered from experience that more reliable information can be obtained from casual and informal discussions with the people themselves and with individual Elders.

2. I have to thank Mr. <sup>Mombasa</sup> Cornell, District Commissioner of the Tana River ( Lower ) for permitting my access to his office statistical records and for his very valuable assistance in the physical difficulties confronting me on this safari.

## Appendix 12: Education Inspection Report 1932

### SCHOOLS OF THE NEUKIRCHEN MISSION, TANA RIVER.

- 4
- NOV 1932 1
1. The present visit took place from 23rd to 27th October 1932. Previous reports are an inspection report dated 25th-30th July 1929 and a sectorization report dated 8th July 1929, both by Mr. W.H. Taylor, Ag. Inspector of Schools, Coast at the time.
  2. The Neukirchen Mission has its base at Neukirchen in the Rheinland where there are a seminary, a high school, an orphanage and offices. Foreign mission work is carried on in three spheres- in Java, in Tanganyika Territory, near Tabora, and on the Tana River. I understand that this mission has undertaken educational and medical work on a large scale in Java and that the majority of their missionaries are employed there. I further understand that their work in Java and at Neukirchen is State aided. I gather that this mission is what we should term a Congregational Church and that there does not appear to be any doctrinal reason to prevent them from entering the Kenya Protestant Alliance.
  3. European Staff. Since the last inspection report Mr. Bekker has died and Rev. W. May has become head of the Tana Mission. Other members of the staff now on the Tana are :-  
Mr. H. Müller, educational missionary, who has had training and experience as a German elementary schoolmaster.  
Mr. F. Gissel and Mr. W. Steubing, trained at the mission college in Germany.  
Mrs. F. Gissel and Mrs. W. Steubing who are working among the women and girls.  
The European staff has therefore been very considerably strengthened. They are young energetic men and appear to be most devoted in their work. Besides mastering Pokomo and Swahili they give much attention to the study of English and already possess a good working knowledge of the ~~English~~ <sup>Swahili</sup>. Mr. May studied for some time in Glasgow and all missionaries study English and Pokomo in Germany before coming out. I was unfortunately not able to meet Mr. Müller, who was some days distance away up the river.
  4. Stations and Schools. European staff is now posted to Ngao and Hola; the other former European stations are no longer used as such, except that the houses at Lamu and Mipini are used occasionally. At Hola there is a permanent house but no water other than river water. The 22 schools now open are all village schools in compact villages on the right bank of the river. For travelling the mission owns a motor-launch and several large dug-out canoes. Hola is distant from Ngao 28 running hours in the launch or 6 days by canoe up-stream. There are only two or three schools above Hola and only four below Ngao. It seems therefore a wise plan to keep European staff at either end of the school system during the present period of reorganization.
  5. Buildings at Ngao. At Ngao, their head-quarters, the mission occupies a considerable area - the exact extent was unknown. Their land extends from a piece of high ground on the edge of the bush to the river side. The mission house, double-storeyed with an enclosed court-yard, is pleasantly situated on the high ground. It is connected with the village below by a road-way about a quarter of a mile long, the river end of the road forming the main street of the village. The whole is on mission land.

(2).

2

One large room in the house is a well equipped class room and is used for teachers' classes and the women boarders' class. Between the house and the village there are the church and a sleeping hut for the women boarders (native style but with concrete floor).

In the same area a hospital is in course of erection, the brick walls being nearly finished. Bricks are being burnt on the site. They appeared to be rather soft, due perhaps to their having been put in the kiln too soon. The building will contain one fairly large ward and three rooms, one of which will be a maternity ward. It will have an iron roof and a verandah. At the back, kitchen, bath-room and water tank are being built. The work is being done by mission adherents from the different villages in turn and they receive their daily food only. Both building materials and paid labour are very expensive at Ngao. It is noteworthy that the erection of so spacious and useful a building has been made possible by the manual labour of the mission natives freely given at much sacrifice of their time. A trained nursing sister from Germany is due to arrive early next year and it is intended that she should begin maternity work at once. At present there is a native medical dresser at the dispensary on the station.

When the hospital is finished it is proposed to build a brick school house. The site has already been cleared. The intention is to bring in about twenty boys selected from the village schools for further education as boarders. They would be given sleeping huts in the native style.


6. Training of women at Ngao. A six months' course for betrothed young women selected from the various village schools began two months ago. There are at present seven pupils aged about 18 years. Two hours a day are devoted to school work. A good cursive style of handwriting was done on slates. They could read fairly easily and knew the first four rules in arithmetic. Hygiene was being taught from 'Tropical Hygiene' with good results. Their singing was really good, particularly some very tuneful part songs. The rest of the day is devoted to practical work.
- Needlework. Neat work was being done in sewing clothes, hemming and drawn-thread work.
- Handwork. Mats were being plaited in coloured palm leaf in the Lamu style.
- House-craft. Preparing food, fetching wood, cooking at stove, cleaning and sweeping kitchen and rooms and waiting at table.

Some instruction in tending infants had been given in the village. There were also games and bathing in the river. All work is done in Pokomo and the teaching is given by the European ladies and by Mr. May. The girls were neatly dressed and well behaved and are obviously profiting greatly from the course now that the initial difficulties of the innovation have been overcome. No charge is made for instruction, quarters, food and clothing.

7. Literature in Pokomo. The following books have been translated or written in Pokomo and are in use in the schools:-
1. The Gospels and the Acts, British and Foreign Bible Society.
  2. Complete New Testament, do.
  3. First Pokomo Reader, printed at Neukirchen.
  4. An Explanation of Christian Doctrine, do.
  5. Catechism, do.
  6. Hymn book, containing 152 hymns.
- These books are well printed and strongly bound and are sold at a very low price.

Appendix 13: Neukirchen Mission Registered Schools by 1935


TELEPHONE No. 2571  
P.O. Box No. 340  
TELEGRAMS "EDUCATION"

KENYA  


EDUCATION DEPARTMENT  
HEAD OFFICE  
NAIROBI

WHEN REPLYING PLEASE QUOTE  
No. 407/IV/34.  
AND DATE  
2nd July, 1935.

The District Commissioner,  
Tana River District,  
KIPINI.

  
ED 1/2

re: MISSION SCHOOLS: TANA RIVER.  
ref: Your letter No. ED.12/1/2 of 9th April, 1935.


The following schools of the  
Neukirchen Mission are registered:-

Laini.	Registration No.692.	
Mudzi Mukuu	"	693.
Oda.	"	694.
Golbanti.	"	695.
Ngao.	"	696.
Mwanathamba.	"	697.
Kibusu.	"	698.
Garseni.	"	699.
Gardeni.	"	700.
Musizuei.	"	701.
Waha.	"	702.
Kulesa.	"	703.
Marembo.	"	704.
Mwina.	"	705.
Muwazini.	"	706.
Wenji.	"	707.
Kiapani.	"	708.
Pumwani.	"	709.
Mikinduni.	"	710.
Hola.	"	711.

2. This Mission has been allotted a grant of £150 this year. The grant for the first quarter has been paid.

3. The delay in answering your letter is regretted.

*Dist. Clerk.*  
*1. Acknowledge. Done*  
*2. Sent copy to Mission Dave with covering letter. Hilly*

  
for DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION.

RHWW/AB.

**Appendix 14: Rev. Wilhelm May's Letter to Tana River DC on willingness of involving GNM Schools in National Celebrations in 1937**

Neukirchener Mission  
Tana-River  
P. O. Kipini - via Mombasa  
Kenya Colony

18.  
GARSENI, 2nd April 1937.

12

His Majesty's District Commissioner,  
Tanaland District,  
K I P I N I.

Ref.: No. Cer. 7/4.

I am willing to do my best in encouraging our adherents in planting trees in commemoration of the coronation of THEIR MAJESTIES and make the following proposal:

1. Places. At the open space in front of the schools at Mudzimuku, Mwanadhamba, Ngao, Garseni, Wema, Kulesa, Marembo, Munyuni, Munasini, Maroni, Wenje, Masalani, Pumwani, Mikinduni, Hola, Chewani and Laini. These are villages having a teacher or katechist who can be made responsible for nursing the tree together with the pupils of his school.
2. Seed. The mango trees on this river are rather a poor type. Would you be able to provide for each school at least three fruits of the Lamu mango tree, called there "Mwembe dodu" (the river mango: Mwembe punda)?
3. Commemoration plates. How shall these be fastened? At the tree (later on) or at a special cement block?
4. If you give me the certain date for the coronation, and if the seeds can be provided in time, I could arrange special meetings, say like a feast for the school pupils and the people of our church.

Yours faithfully,

*Wilhelm May*  
Senior of Neukirchen  
Mission.

**Appendix 15: Mr. Hermann Muller's Letter to the Education Department Nairobi requesting for Grant-in-Aid for Tana River Schools in 1938**

F ED.12

(30)

Neukirchen Mission, Ngao, P. G.  
Lamu - Kipini.  
10. 10. 38.

(24)

Education Department,  
Head Office,  
N A I R O B I .

Sir,

Re: Application for Grant in Aid.

I am sending three applications for Grant in Aid through the Inspector of Schools Coast province.

2. May I draw your attention to the fact that in Form G I A 4 there is application under the column of relieve teachers. It is not yet decided when I am leaving and who is to replace me, but as my health tends to urge an early leave, I may only be here for part of the year. It is however intended to continue teacher training.

3. It was not possible, to get figures of the School in Hols early enough, and I do not want, to delay the application. I am able however to state, that there will be pupils of all standards up to Std. IV with a total of approximately 35 pupils. About five to six pupils of the upper Std will have to be boarded. As soon as we have some more Elementary Teachers, we will try to bring more schools up to Elementary stage.

4. Local Native councils have been started a year ago only. I am informed by the District Commissioner, that no money will be available for education for 1939.

5. We are hoping for an increase from central funds.

*H. Muller.*  
*Ed. Secy.*

Copy to : The Inspector of Schools, Coast Province, M o m b a s a .  
The District Commissioner, Tana River District, K i p i n i .

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Appendix 16: Mr. Amos Chadhor's Schools' Inspection Report for 2nd Term 1940

NECHIKIRCHEN MISSION SCHOOLS TERMIX REPORT

2nd Term May - August 1940

Hapa naandika mambo yote tuliyoyasana katika muda huu wote na shida zake na Average zote utazona katika karatasi nyengine.

1. HOLA SCHOOL

Mwalimu Kaleb Majawa. Elementary Teacher  
Maendeleo ya School hii yamepunguwa sana kwa sababu katika hola hasa hakuna watoto wengi ni kama watoto lo tu matumaini ni kwa watoto wa laza Nimezungumza na mzee Ghabhere mara mbili lakini hakunipa watoto yeye kuli li kupuleka watoto, baadaye hukataa kama ingewezekana bwana D.C. akipela neno la nguvu kidogo kwa sababu sioni maana kwa mwalimu kama Kaleb kukaa mahali penye watoto lo tu.

2. WENJE SCHOOL

Mwalimu Guyo Galugalu Unqualified Teacher  
Hapa kuna shida kidogo kwa sababu ya kutazama mashamba na hasa walipoambi itakuwa vizuri kulipa Fee kidogo ya watoto wamesema kuwa hawawezi kulipa na hasa watauliza jambo hili kwa bwana D.C. Watoto wanaandikia chini kwa sababu hawana meza.

3. MAREMBO SCHOOL

Mwalimu Luku Wayu Unqualified Teacher.  
Maendeleo ya School hii ni mabaya zaidi, kwa sababu watu wenyewe, hawana ya School na ingawa nazungumza nao mara nyingi lakini bado hawajaelewa na faida yake. Pia wameuliza kwa bwana D.C. juu ya mambo ya School Fee nami nimekwisha waeleza makusudi yake na kazi yake lakini neno lao la mwisho ni hili, hawatatoa.

4. Kulesa School

Mwalimu Yediya Lututya. Elementary Teacher  
Yediya Lututya sasa yutayari kuanza kazi yake katika Kulesa nami nimefika kuwaelezea kuwa Term itaanza September 12 na kwa hivyo wajuwe mwalimu wao na lazima iliyoko lakini wamesema hawataki mwalimu mgeni ila akiwa ni mtoto wa mji wao.

5. Wema School

Mwalimu Tola Mishael Elementary Teacher  
Watu wa mji huu, wameonyesha ujanja mara nyingi kwa sababu watoto wanawala wengi siku ya kuandikwa lakini baadaye huwatowa wote kwa hivyo ndiyo sababu watoto ni wengi lakini Average yao ni haba kabisa yaonyesha kutokuwa na nia vile vile mwalimu hana uwezo sana juu ya kazi yake kwa hivyo ni kama School ya ke haina utawala na ulegevu mwingi.

6. GARISENI SCHOOL

Mwalimu Yohana Dadye Elementary Teacher  
Maendeleo ya Gariseni ni mazuri kidogo na walimu wanaonyesha bidii sana ingawa watoto mara kwa mara wanaleta mataha na fujo lakini wametawaliwa na kazi imeendelea vizuri.

7. NGAO SCHOOL

Mwalimu Israel Gudina Elementary Teacher  
Hapa kwa maendeleo yake yalitokea kuwa na shida zaidi, kwa sababu ya shida ya njaa iliyokuwako.

8. Mwanadhamba School.

Mwalimu Samuel Balesa Elementary Teacher  
Ziko shida zile zile lakini wanajaribu kuendelea na vile vile hasa kwa vile ambavyo katika Term hii mimi mwenyewe hasa nilifanya kazi zaidi katika Schools za hapa chini bidii ilikuwako na pia tumejenga School hasa badala ya kutumia kanisa nayo karibu itakuwa tayari kufunguliwa.

9. GOIBANTII SCHOOL

Mwalimu Seth Musa Elementary Teacher  
School hii ilianza Term hii tu nayo imeonyesha maendeleo mazuri ingawa Average si sawa lakini maendeleo ya watoto yalikuwa mazuri sana.

10. MJI MUKUU SCHOOL.

Mwalimu Mikael Enos Elementary Teacher  
Katika School hii maendeleo si mazuri sana kwa sababu ya kuwa nci yenyewe ilikuwa na njaa sana kwa hivyo wazazi wameona ni vema watoto wasaidie kazi za mashambani.

11. LAINI SCHOOL

Mwalimu Yohana Petro Unqualified Teacher  
Habari ya School hii ni ni sawa sawa na Mji mkuu.

NEUKIRCHEN MISSION SCHOOLS  
 TERMIX REPORT  
 TANA RIVER DISTRICT

105  
 229

Kwa.....2nd.....Term 1940.....  
 Jina la School..Ngara.....Jina la mwalimu.....Jared Gidura

	Jumla Waume	Wake	Wote	Average Waume	Wake	Wote
May	46	32	78	39.9	28	67.9
June	48	39	87	28.5	26.6	55.1
July	50	35	85	35.8	22.2	58
August	51	33	84	27.6	20	47.6

School: Lami

	Jumla Waume	Wake	Wote	Average Waume	Wake	Wote
May	11	10	21	9.2	6.3	15.5
June	12	9	21	10.2	5.8	16
July	12	9	21	10.5	5.5	15.5
August	12	9	21	9	4.6	13.6

Johana Poto

School: Mji mkuu

Jina la mwalimu	Waume	Wake	Wote	Jina la mwalimu	Waume	Wake	Wote
May	31	20	51	18.1	10.9	29	
June	33	22	55	20.3	17.2	37.5	
July	33	22	55	18.1	17.6	35.7	
August	33	23	56	20.6	9.5	30.1	

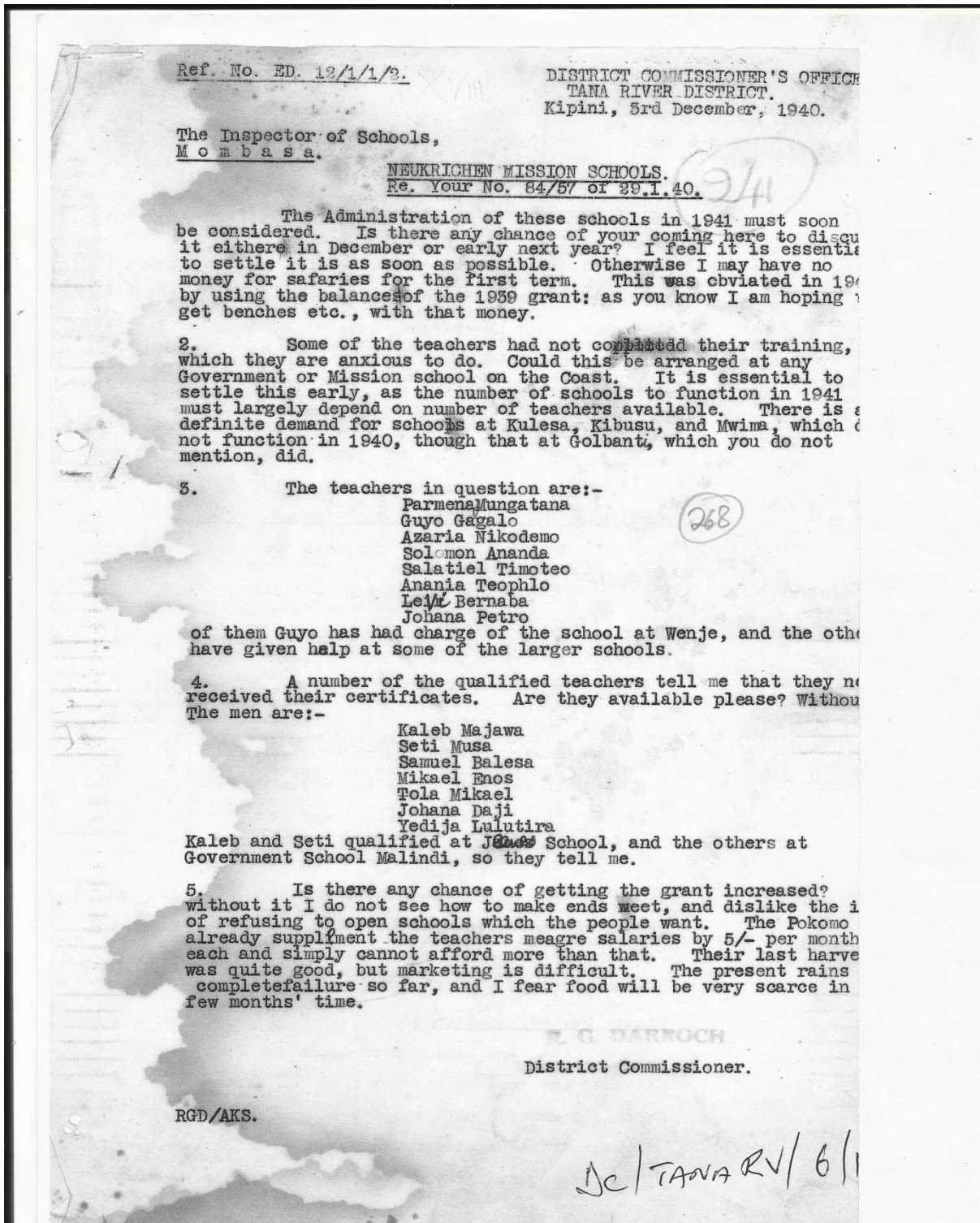
Nikolai E...

School: Galbanti

Jina la mwalimu	Waume	Wake	Wote	Jina la mwalimu	Waume	Wake	Wote
May	28	31	59	23.6	24.2	47.8	
June	29	33	62	21.8	23.7	45.5	
July	29	33	62	22.1	22.3	44.4	
August	29	33	62	19.8	20.1	39.9	

Seth Musa

**Appendix 17: Letter from Tana River DC to Coast Inspector of Schools on GNM Schools in Tana River in December 1940**



Appendix 18: Land Acquired by GNM in Tana River

2

28/A

CUSTODIAN OF ENEMY PROPERTY  
DEPARTMENT OF THE LAW COURTS  
P.O. BOX 231, NAIROBI  
6th August, 1955

The Registrar of Titles,  
Department of Lands,  
(Mombasa Branch),  
P.O. Box 53,  
MOMBASA.

RE. NEUKICHENER MISSION PROPERTIES.

With reference to your memorandum No.M/225/10 dated the 30th May last, I have now found details of further Mission properties and the following are particulars of all the properties with which I am concerned:-

- (a) 32 yards square at Meli on the right bank of the Tana River purchased from natives and registered as No.65 on page 209 in Vol.I of Book A.H.M's Agency General at Zanzibar on 18.12.1895. Freehold L.O. File 1931.
- (b) 14 acres of land at Wenye and 2 acres at Makere used as a burial ground (the whole originally 16 acres at Makere). Occupation Permit sent to the Mission but not returned owing to the War. L.O. File 1932.
- (c) 2 acres at Chunoni - L.O. 2318. Held on T.O.L. by the Mission. L.O. File No.1935.
- (d) 30 acres at Mavumbui or Holla - L.O. 1918. L.O. File 1936.
- (e) 29.699 acres at Ngao - L.O.1411. L.O. File 1937. Crown Land leased for 99 years at a premium of 15 years rent from 4.11.1898. Lease registered at Kipini as Nos.29A and 34A of 1912. Plan No.1904 dated 17th August, 1910, signed by the Deputy Director of Surveys, Nairobi, Sheet Map 94Q1. Description of Boundaries of subdivision of Portion No.1411 refers.
- (f) 20 acres at Wenye - L.O.1917. Originally held on Temporary Occupation Permit. L.O. File 4848.
- (g) 1 acre at Semicaro ) Unoccupied Crown Land  
L.O. File 5224. ) pending survey. Permits
- (h) 1 acre at Mudsimumuu. ) undated to occupy these
- (i) 1 acre at Chunoni ) pieces of land Nos.5224,  
L.O. File 5225. ) 5225,5228 and 5230.
- (j) 1 acre at Mbuju. ) registered during 1914 at  
L.O. File 5230. ) the Kipini Registry as  
Nos.4A, 5A, 6A or 7A  
and 8A.
- (k) 1 acre at Tobwe. L.O. File 5487
- (l) 7 acres at Kipini - L.O. 1410. L.O. File

Contd/-...

KNA eA/7/14

land opposite Mbelosoni  
purchased from Ayab bin Maewa under  
Agreement dated 20th September, 1911 and  
registered at Kipini as No.10A of 1911.  
File No.11891.

- (n) Freehold plot of land near Aridi purchased from Said bin Hamed under Agreement dated 27th October, 1911 and registered at Kipini as No.17A of 1911. L.O. File No.11892.
- (o) Freehold plot of land at Mbelosoni purchased from Habibu bin Jilo under Agreement dated 20th September, 1911 and registered at Kipini as No.9A of 1911, together with the mud and thatch house erected thereon. L.O. File 11893.
- (p) Freehold plot No.627 of 3.4 acres at Mbelosoni. C.R.993/1.

2. Will you please be so good as to let me know the position as regards the titles to all these properties, stating the Ordinances under which they have been registered and what Certificates of Title or Ownership or Grants have been issued and in the case of those plots in respect of which there are claims, where the claims are registered and whether or not they are adjudicated.

3. Your early reply will be appreciated, as I have been asked to vest these properties in the Methodist Mission as soon as possible.

Sd/- ??

AG. DEPUTY CUSTODIAN OF ENEMY PROPERTY.

Appendix 19: Minutes of a DEB Meeting in Garsen on 26th February 1959

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE TANA RIVER DISTRICT EDUCATION BOARD  
HELD AT GARSEN ON THURSDAY, 26TH. FEBRUARY, 1959.

**PRESENT** : Mr. W.H. Thompson, District Commissioner, (Chairman)  
Mr. Ezekiel Jara, Vice President A. D. C.  
Mr. Joseph Bahola, Supervisor of Schools.  
Mr. Paul Pakia, Member of A. D. C.  
The Rev. D. Livingstone, Superintendent Minister, Ngao.  
Mr. Aser Benjamin, HOLA Intermediate School.  
Mr. Israel Gudina, Member of A. D. C.  
Mr. M.W. de Beer, District Education Officer, Secretary.

**ABSENT** : Mrs. Luice Pakia, ill.  
Mr. Seth Meshak, in Nairobi on Course.

DISTRICT OFFICER  
HOLA  
16 MAR 1959

MINUTE 1/59: CONFIRMATION OF THE MINUTES OF THE PREVIOUS MEETING.

The Minutes of the previous meeting held on November 8th. 1958 were confirmed and signed.

MINUTE 2/59: MATTERS ARISING THEREFROM.

(a) Ref: Minute 37/58 (a) School Buildings, Ngao.

The Chairman gave a statement of work in hand or proposed within the District.

**NGAO:-** The District Assistant is carrying out an estimate for repairs and a local contract will be made.

**HOLA:-** The Intermediate School would be virtually completed by the end of 1959. The following furniture would be required :-  
8 tables, (8' x 2½'), 16 benches to match and 3 additional desks.  
The Secretary undertook to have these made in Kilifi. African District Council Transport would be arranged for their delivery.

(b) Ref: Minute 37/58 (d) Teachers' Houses.

A plan of the proposed design was submitted by the Supervisor of Schools. It was decided that a model house, constructed from local materials would be built at HOLA Intermediate School. All teachers would eventually have an opportunity to inspect it as occasion would take them to HOLA. It was pointed out that some villages would have difficulty in making doors and window frames when providing similar houses. The Chairman said he would ensure some financial provision for this work when the estimates are submitted at the August African District Council meeting, but such help would only be extended to villages lacking funds.

The Board approved unanimously.

(c) Ref: Minute 37/58 (j) Dormitories for Girls at Ngao Intermediate School.

The Secretary thought the time had come for special dormitory provision to be made for the three girls at Ngao, bearing in mind that numbers of girls would probably increase in years to come.  
The Chairman requested a local estimate and contract to be made; the price would have to be reasonable and this would then be submitted for the African District Council Supplementary Estimates in March.

**Appendix 20: List of DEB /Aided schools in Tana River in 1958**

LIST OF AIDED SCHOOLS IN 1958.

<u>MANAGEMENT</u>	<u>: NAME OF SCHOOL</u>	<u>: GRADE(PRY. or INTER.)</u>	<u>: REGISTRATION NO.</u>
D. E. B.	: Nyangoro	: Primary	: 6702
D. E. B.	: Hola	: Primary	: 6703
D. E. B.	: Wema	: Primary	: 6704
D. E. B.	: Marembo	: Primary	: 6705
D. E. B.	: Furaha	: Primary	: 6706
D. E. B.	: Masalani	: Primary	: 6707
D. E. B.	: Laini ya Juu	: Primary	: 6708
D. E. B.	: Garsen	: Primary	: 6709
D. E. B.	: Kitere	: Primary	: 6710
D. E. B.	: Chewani	: Primary	: 6711
D. E. B.	: Mnazini	: Primary	: 6712
D. E. B.	: Kibusu	: Primary	: 6714
D. E. B.	: Garden	: Primary	: 6715
D. E. B.	: Mwina	: Primary	: 6716
D. E. B.	: Mikinduni	: Primary	: 6718
D. E. B.	: Kulesa	: Primary	: 6719
D. E. B.	: Kipini	: Primary	: 6720
D. E. B.	: Makere	: Primary	: 6721
D. E. B.	: Mwanadhamba	: Primary	: 6723
D. E. B.	: Ngao	: Primary	: 6724
D. E. B.	: Golbanti	: Primary	: 6725
D. E. B.	: Wenje	: Primary	: 6726
D. E. B.	: Mkowe	: Primary	: 9022
D. E. B.	: Semikaro	: Primary	: 9026
:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:
D. E. B.	: Ngao	: Intermediate	: 6713
D. E. B.	: Hola	: Intermediate	: 8649
:	:	:	:

**Appendix 21: A Letter by Church leaders of GNM Adherents of Tana River Inviting GNM Missionaries back to Tana River in 1965**

TANA RIVER CHURCHES OF NGAO,  
 MWANADHAMBIA, FURAHIA, AND GARSEN.  
 c/o.....P.C.....  
 22nd July, 1965.

The Director of  
 The Neukirchen Mission  
 4131 Neukirchen/KR MORS  
 West Germany.

WE WELCOME THE NEUKIRCHEN MISSION  
 TO DO MISSION WORK IN THE ABOVE CHURCHES.  
 OF WHICH NEUKIRCHEN MISSION WAS FOUNDER.

Dear Sir,  
 In the name of Jesus Christ our mutual Lord, we undersigned representatives of the above mentioned communities Welcome you brothers in Christ the Lord to come and undertake Mission work within, by and through our Independent churches which are at present auspices of the Methodist Church.

We have known the Neukirchen Mission from the beginning of Christian faith in our country and consider the pioneers of the Neukirchen Mission in our country to be our spiritual fathers. We know by experience that those Mission pioneers have recognised us as grown ups in faith and guided us to lead our Christian lives independently. After having gained Political Independence, we trust that they able and willing to give us helping hands as well as advice for further progress.

We are made to know that most of our Mission Pioneers have ~~recognised~~ deceased or disabled but Rev. Fritz Gissel and Mr. Herman Muller. May we therefore suggest that both or one of them be sent to us bringing with them in due time younger missionaries.

We prefer men and women of high ability in their special fields who are believers in the work of God as laid down in the Holy Bible people who are democratic minded and believe in the equality of all mankind who do not mistake underdevelopment for inferiority.

We would highly pleased and honoured if in due time, you could pay us a short visit on the occasion of our planned journey to Africa.

Yours in Jesus Christ.

SIGNATORIES.

- |    |         |          |             |       |
|----|---------|----------|-------------|-------|
| 1. | Faresi  | Katsima  | Garsen      | Itsoe |
| 2. | Yohana  | Dadye    | Garsen      | Itsoe |
| 3. | Herock  | Buya     | Furaha      |       |
| 4. | Joseph  | Fido     | Furaha      |       |
| 5. | Jagieli | Bajilo   | Mwanadhamba |       |
| 6. | Sambs   | Ilumab   | Mwanadhamba |       |
| 7. | Amos    | Chadhoro | Ngao        |       |
| 8. | Isagi   | Yourabi  | Ngao        |       |

Copies to:- D.C. Tana River.  
 P.C. Coast Region.

**Appendix 22: A Letter by Church Leaders of GNM Adherents of Tana River to the PC Coast on the Invitation of GNM missionaries back to Tana River**

C O P Y. 100

Tana River Churches of NGAO,  
MWANADHAMBAMBA, FURAHA, AND  
GARSEN.  
c/o P.O. GALOLE.  
22nd July, 1965.

The Provincial Commissioner,  
Through - D. Commissioner,  
GALOLE.

Dear Sir,

WELCOMING MISSIONARIES OF THE NONE  
DENOMINATIONAL NEUKIRCHEN MISSION  
WHO WERE THE FOUNDERS OF THE ABOVE  
MENTIONED CHURCHES AND MOST OF OTHER  
IN TANA RIVER AND LAMU.

We the undersigned representatives of Tana River Churches of Ngao, Mwanadhamba, Furaha and Garsen (Idsove) have welcomed Missionaries of the Alliance minded NEUKIRCHEN MISSION (N.M.) to come to us and help us in Christian Faith and social development. We beg our democratic Government to approve the coming of these friends in Christ of ours who are fully aware of the fact that Kenya is independent.

The persons mentioned in our letter to the Chairman of the Neukirchen Mission are Rev. Fritz Gissel and Mr. Herman Muller.

Rev. Gissel as a preacher and minister in the years 1930-36. Mr. Muller was supervisor of the Neukirchen Mission Supplementary Schools many of which rose to the standard of elementary Schools. At the same time in 1930 - 34 he worked as a teacher and Headmaster of Ngao Hill School which rose under his direction to Full Primary School.

From 1935 - 39 Principal of Ngao Secondary School which was recognised by the Kenya Government as Teacher Training Centre.

Mr. Muller's aim as educator has always been to lead his pupils to become diligent, independent, peaceful, freedom-loving and democratic people.

We put great hopes into his ability and willingness to promote Christian Faith and virtues, to further all sorts of knowledge and abilities to advise and assist us improving our School system.

We are in the name of Faith and Progress.

SIGNATORIES.

1. Fares Katsima Garsen Itsoe
2. Yohana Dadye Garsen Itsoe
3. Henock Buya Furaha
4. Josefu Jilo Furaha
5. Yeziel Bajila Mwanadhamba
6. Tomas Ibrahim Mwanadhamba
7. Amos Chadhor Ngao
8. Isiye Yowabi Ngao.

Copies to:-

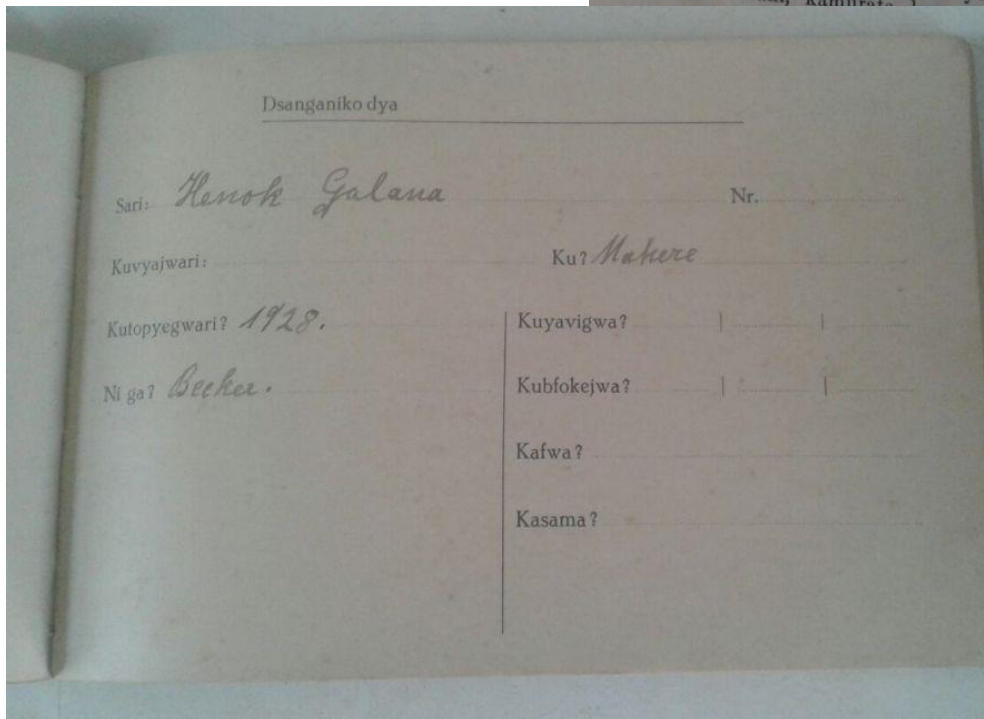
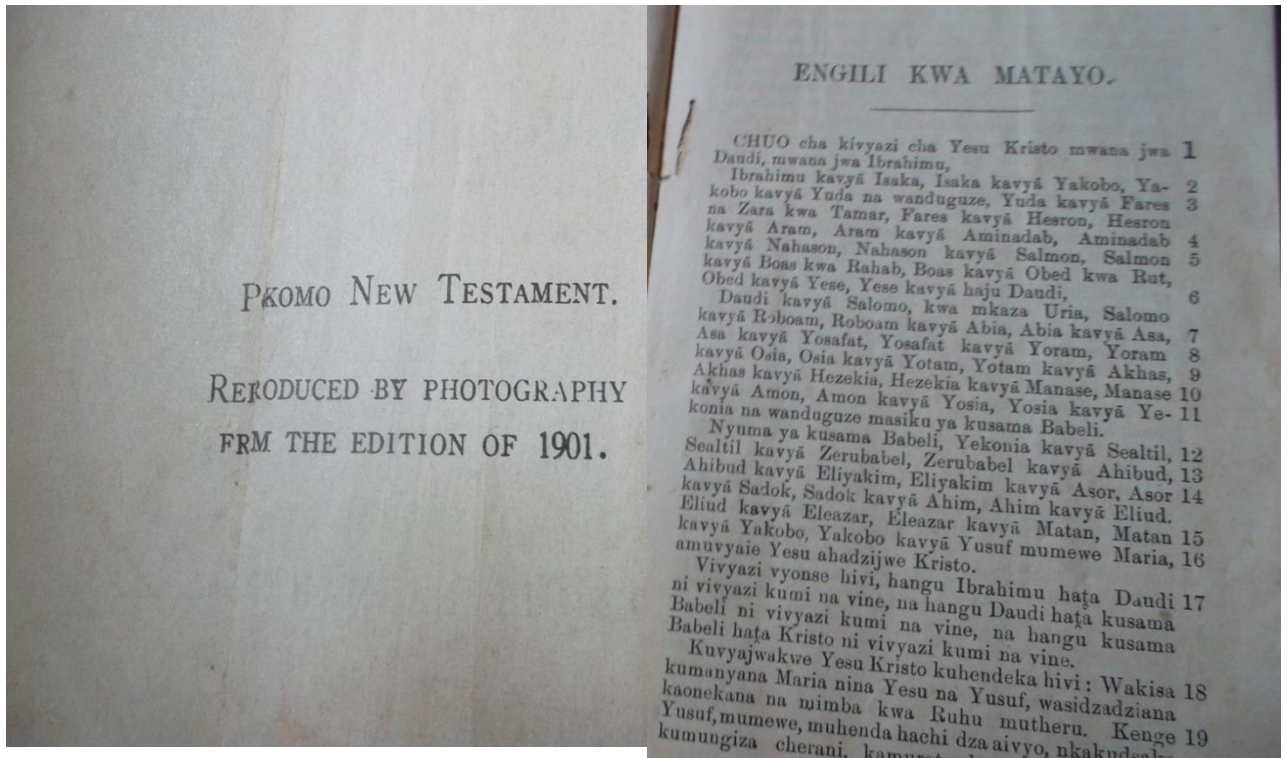
**Appendix 23: Missionary Hermann Schimidt and His Children – Photographs found at Makere ya Gwano/Wenje**



**Appendix 24: The Family of Rev. & Mrs. Wartenberg indicating two children were born in Tana River (Makere and Kipini)**



**Appendix 25: Some of the Sections of the Bible and other texts Translated into Pokomo Language by the GNM Missionaries**



# Spruchbüchlein

zu den Hauptstücken  
christlicher Lehre

in der Mundart der Pokomo von Ngao  
am Tana (Britisch-Ostafrika)

1931

---

Missionsbuchhandlung Stursberg & Cie.  
Neukirchen Kr. Moers

**Appendix 26: Some of the marked graves of the GNM Missioaries who died in Tana River and were buried there**



These ones are at Wenje. The details are: Name, place and date of birth, date they died and a Bible verse in the Pokomo language.

**Appendix 27: Names of Some of the German Missionaries and Teachers who died in Tana River between 1888 and 1928**

<b>Namen der auf dem Missionsfeld Verstorbenen</b> <b>Names of the Missionaries who died and the year they died</b>	
Missionar Heinrich Blecher	1888
Frau Missionar Weber, Alwine, geb. Reh	1888
Frau Missionar Böcking, Regine, geb. Henrich	1892
Missionar Ferdinand Würtz	1894
Missionar Wilhelm Klotz	1895
Frau Missionar Weber, Anna, geb. Jäger	1895
Frau Missionar Heyer, Johanna, geb. Ebbinghaus	1897
Frau Missionar Wartenberg, Berta, geb. Montanus	1899
Missionar Friedrich Fink	1902
Frau Missionar Bamberger, Elisabeth, geb. Hampel	1903
Frau Missionar Heyer, Elisabeth, geb. Piepenbrink	1903
Missionar Johannes Blankertz	1904
Frau Missionar Wartenberg, Paula, geb. Stöcker	1904
Frau Missionar Weidt, Klara, geb. Hinnenberg	1910
Frau Missionar Willh. Schmidt, Elisabeth, geb. Lösch	1913
Schwester Christine Sönnichsen	1913
Missionar August Kraft	1928

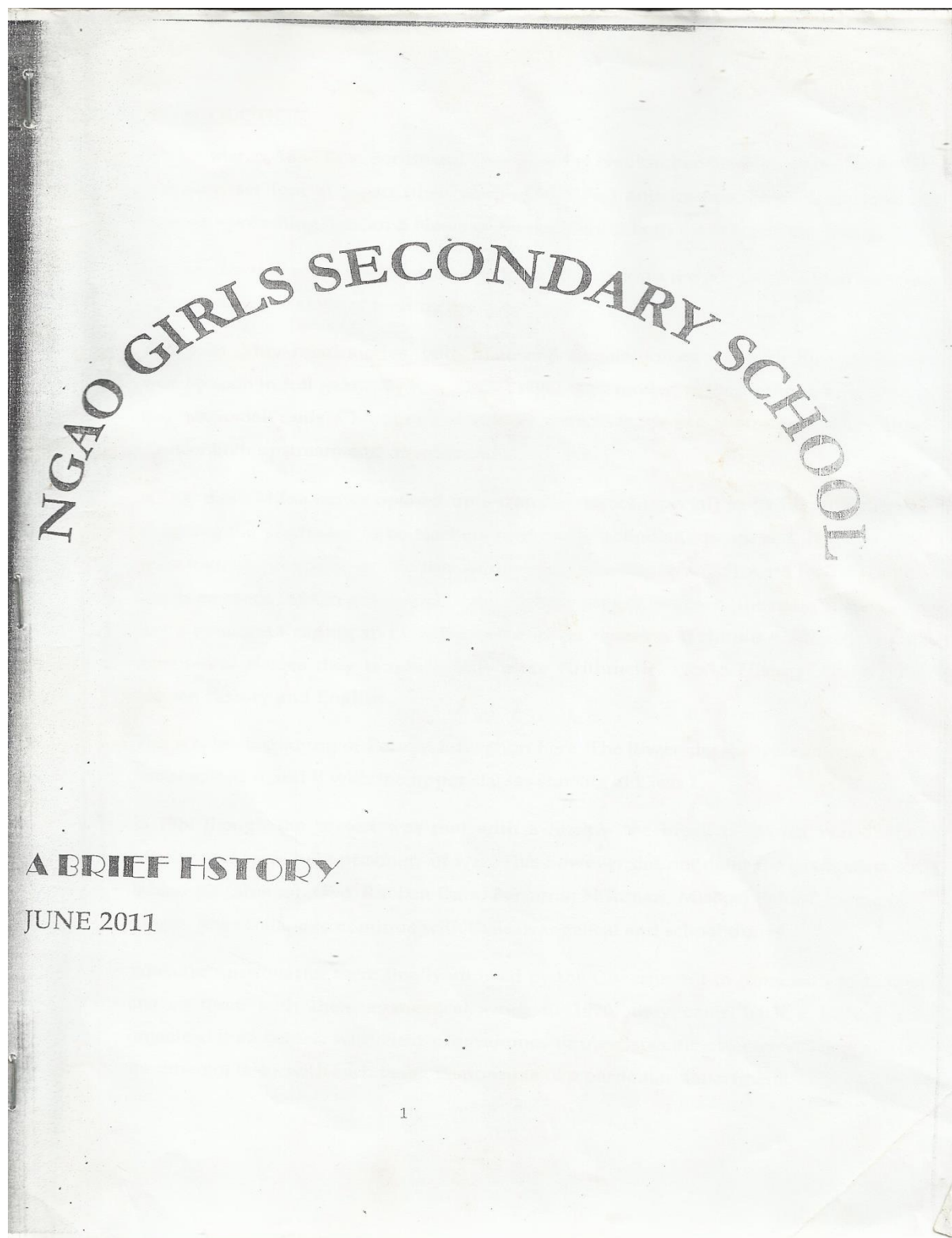
**Source: Gissel, F. and Gissel, H. (1991, p.239)**

**Appendix 28: Members of the Council of Elders of Ngao (*Gasa*). Photograph taken on 18-12-2017**



From Left to Right: Alex Mared Maneno (82), Miyomoni Jonathan (76), Steven Thomas (72), Ayub Mikiya (96), Gwiyo Hezeki (89), Reverend Francis Tumaini (64), Daniel Manga-Secretary (72), Martin Tsekea (77), and Yonah Konga Galugalu- Chairman (64).

**Appendix 29: A Brief History of Ngao Girls Secondary School**



**Appendix 30: The Author posing in front of some of the primary schools started by GNM in Tana River County which are still operational**



**Appendix 31: The 126 years old GNM Church at Ngao (Built in 1893)**



The old GNM Church which was used as a classroom on week days before a school was constructed still exists though no longer in use.

**Appendix 32: The old GNM Mission House on Ngao Hill constructed around 1890**



**Appendix 33: From left to right; The researcher, Rev. Francis Tumaini and the late Mr. Lisania Buya in 2016**



**Appendix 34: The researcher holding the bell erected at Ngao in 1895**



The bell was used to call people for Sunday service, prayers, baptismal lessons and class work.

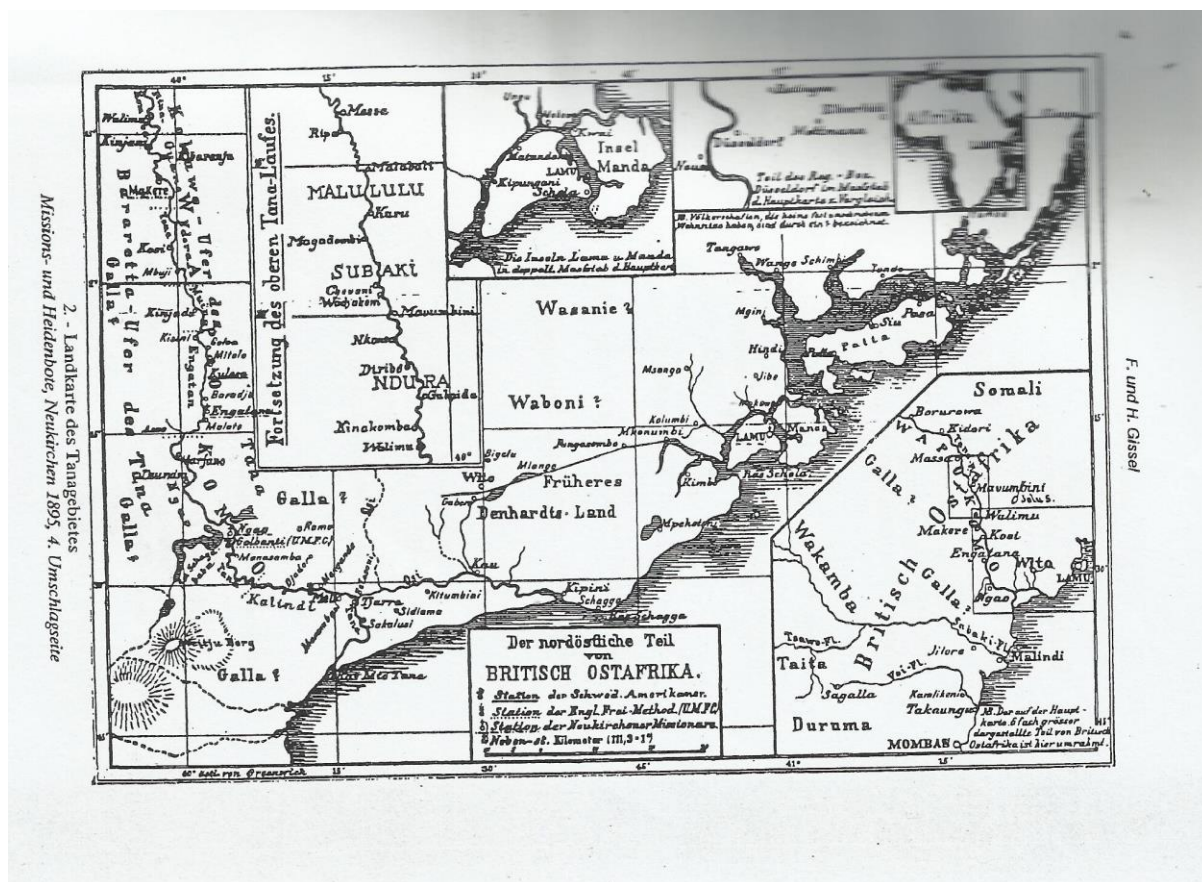
**Appendix 35: The bookshop cum Library that was constructed in Tarasaa by the GNM missionaries and opened in 1984**



**Appendix 36: Tarasaa Youth Polytechnic established in 1970 by the GNM missionaries**



Appendix 37: Witu land / Tana land as claimed by the Denhardt brothers in the 1880s



Source: Gssel, F. and Gssel, H. (1991, p.4)

**Appendix 38: Map of Neukirchen**



**Source: Google map 2018**

34 | Weekend 2-9-2017

Ties that bind > A look at the book *Germans on Kenya*

# Why the influence of Germans at the coast has endured

Berman's book examines the interaction between Germans and Kenyans since the colonial days

BY KEN WALIBORA

Kenya was never colonised by Germany. When Africa was partitioned in the Berlin Conference of 1884/85, Kenya was given to the British and its southern neighbour, Tanzania, to the Germans.

It is, therefore, remarkable that German influence on Kenya, albeit subtle, still unmistakably lingers on. Because German influence on Kenya is subtle, it can easily go unnoticed.

The German-Kenyan connection requires that one looks beyond the obvious and scratches below the surface to recognise and acknowledge it. Sample this: the Kiswahili word for school, *shule*, is derived from the German term *schule*. Also, it may be lost to many that Dr Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881), the German for whom the Germany Embassy on Riverside Drive in Nairobi is named, wrote the first Kiswahili dictionary and grammar while serving as a missionary for the Church Missionary Society (CMS) at Rabai near Mombasa.

Rebmann's Kiswahili research was necessarily Kenya-centric as it focused mainly on Kimvita, the Mombasa variety of Kiswahili. As the late Wilfred Whitely correctly stated in his book *The Rise of a National Language*, Rebmann's focus on the Mombasa variety of Kiswahili ran counter to that of Bishop Edward Steere and his Zanzibar-based University Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), who preferred and successfully advocated for the supremacy of the Zanzibar dialect.

As a consequence, the Zanzibar variety won in the supremacy contest to take pride of place as the regional Standard Kiswahili (Kiswahili Sanifu). Mathias Mnyampala and Shihabdin Chiraghdin also relate about this aspect in their book *Historia ya Kiswahili*.

Yet German scholarly interest in

Kenya did not end with Rebmann. Indeed subsequent studies of Swahili culture and Kiswahili language of varying intensity and profundity have recently been and are still carried on by German Scholars such as Jan Knappert, Gudrun Miede, Lutz Diegner, Rosemarie Beck, and Clarisa Vierke.

In fact, the German city of Bayreuth has been hosting an annual multidisciplinary Kiswahili colloquium for the last 30 years. But above and beyond the scholarly interest in the Kenyan coast exhibited by German scholars, past and present, ordinary Germans also seem to have tremendous fascination with the Kenyan coast.

German tourists on the Kenyan coast far outnumber tourists from any other European or non-European country by a huge margin. What accounts for the German fascination with Kenya, particularly its coast? Can you hazard a guess for this curious fascination?

It may well be that most of us have not thought much about this, given the apparent subtlety of the German-Kenyan nexus. It is therefore interesting to encounter Nina Berman's latest book, *Germans on the Kenya Coast: Land, Charity, and Romance* (2017) published by

## More info

### TIES THAT BIND GERMANS TO KENYA

**Book title:** *Germans on the Kenyan Coast: Land, Charity, and Romance*.

**Author:** Nina Berman

**Publisher:** Indiana University Press

**Year of Publication:** 2017

**Pages:** 268

**Reviewer:** Ken Walibora



## COMMENTS

Go to this link to join the debate and to see views from other readers: [www.nation.co.ke](http://www.nation.co.ke)

**Appendix 40: A Newspaper (Daily Nation of 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2018) excerpt showing Germany-Kenya ties continue to date**

...with overuse      gmail.com

**DIPLOMACY**

# Germany keen to cement ties with Kenyans

**T**oday is the Day of German Unity, when, 28 years ago, Germany, which had been forcibly split into West and East republics, was reunited. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 led to the opening of the Communist regime to international negotiations on reunification. It was not brought about by external forces, but the citizens, who held peaceful demonstrations triggered by bad governance, restriction of personal liberties, economic decline and collapse of the Communist bloc.

The eastern German uprising reminds us of the fundamental values of democracy, freedom of speech and the rule of law that Kenya and Germany share in their constitutions.

Personally, I remember those moments vividly as I grew up and studied in the former East Germany. Had it not been for this shining hour of democratic resistance and recovery of civic liberties, I would most likely not have joined the Foreign Service and, ultimately, become the German Ambassador to Kenya. During



**ANNETT GÜNTHER**

My aim is to establish a mutual understanding of Kenyan and German concerns.”

my first weeks in Nairobi, I have noticed the vibrancy of Kenyan society, its unique blend of modern technology and traditional lifestyles. Coming from a country facing serious challenges of an ageing population, one cannot overlook the great amount of young people eager to find work, study hard or have founded start-ups. Germany creates jobs

for young people by offering methods of education that connect theoretical knowledge with practical skills and training within companies, making it have one of the lowest unemployment rates in Europe. We are preparing a joint programme of technical training with Kenyan companies and technical and vocational training and education (TVET) institutions and establishment of an East African-German University for Applied Sciences. Initiatives include motivating young Kenyans to engage in politics and teaching them agricultural skills.

**Fight against corruption**

My aim is to establish a mutual understanding of Kenyan and German concerns and hopes and to see where we can best support Kenya in its efforts for the future.

One of these efforts at present is the fight against corruption. We very much welcome the determined steps taken by President Uhuru Kenyatta. The misuse of public resources can never be seen as a legitimate

action and those who have committed crimes of corruption should be held accountable.

The German Government is ready to continue its advisory programmes to Kenyan institutions, tackling what is probably the major obstacle to economic and social development.

Finally, the regional office of the German Academic Exchange Service in Nairobi — one of its kind in sub-Saharan Africa — offers scholarships to young Kenyans. Among numerous other German institutions are the German School, the Goethe-Institut and the Delegation of German Industry and Commerce. I look forward to working with those institutions and strengthening our cultural exchanges.

Kenya has great potential, an inspiring creativity and abundant natural beauty. I am, therefore, very eager to get to know its people, landscapes and culture over the coming years.

Mrs Günther is the German Ambassador to Kenya. pr-1@nair.diplo.de

Send your opinion article to: [dnopinion@ke.nationmedia.com](mailto:dnopinion@ke.nationmedia.com)

**Appendix 41: Research Authorization letter from the Department of Educational Foundations, Kenyatta University**



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

P O Box 43844 00100 Tel: 871090, 871622Ext. 57495 Nairobi, Kenya E-mail: [Chairman-edufoundations@ku.ac.ke](mailto:Chairman-edufoundations@ku.ac.ke)

26<sup>th</sup> October, 2017

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

Dear Sir/Madam:

**RE: MR. PETER GITONGA RESEARCH WORK**

Mr. Gitonga is a member of staff in the Department Educational Foundations, Kenyatta University undertaking his doctoral studies.

Please allow Mr. Gitonga any material/information he may require to enable him complete his doctoral work on "*The Contribution of German Neukirichen Mission in the establishment of Western Education in Tana River County, Kenya 1885 -1986*" Herewith, please find a copy of the permit from the National Council of Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) for your perusal and quick action.

Thank you.

DR. PETER GATHARA  
**CHAIRMAN, EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS, DEPARTMENT**

*Transforming Higher Education... Enhancing Lives*

Kenyatta University is ISO 9001: 2015 Certified



**Appendix 42: Letter of approval of Research Proposal from Graduate School, Kenyatta University**



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: [dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke](mailto:dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke)

Website: [www.ku.ac.ke](http://www.ku.ac.ke)

P.O. Box 43844, 00100  
NAIROBI, KENYA

Tel. 810901 Ext. 57530

Internal Memo

FROM: Dean, Graduate School

DATE: 16<sup>th</sup> January, 2018

TO: Mr. Gitonga P. Kimani  
C/o Educational Foundations Dept.  
Kenyatta University

REF: E83/11633/08

**SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL**

This is to inform you that Graduate School Board at its meeting of 10<sup>th</sup> January, 2018 approved your Research Proposal for the Ph.D. Degree, entitled "The Contribution of German Neukirchen Mission in the Establishment of Western Education in Tana River County, Kenya 1885-1996".

You may now proceed with your Data collection, subject to clearance with the Director General, National commission for Science & Technology.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed supervision Tracking Forms per semester. The form has been developed to replace the progress Report Forms. The Supervision Tracking Forms are available at the University's Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

By copy of this letter, the Registrar (Academic) is hereby requested to grant you substantive registration for your Ph.D. studies.

Thank you.

  
ANNBELL MWANIKI  
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

c.c. Registrar (Academic) Att. Mr. Likam  
Chairman, Department of Educational Foundations

Supervisors:

1. Prof. Augustine M. Karigu  
C/o Educational Foundations Dept.  
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
2. Prof. James E. Otiende  
C/o Educational Foundations Dept.  
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

AM/cao

**Appendix 43: Research Authorization from the National Commission for Science, Technology and innovation (NACOSTI)**



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,  
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

Telephone: 020 400 7000,  
0713 788787,0735404245  
Fax: +254-20-318245,318249  
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke  
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke  
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete  
Off Waiyaki Way  
P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/21044/21472**

Date: **27<sup>th</sup> February, 2018**

Peter Gitonga Kimani  
Kenyatta University  
P.O. Box 43844-00100  
**NAIROBI.**

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*The contribution of German Neukirchen Mission in the establishment of western education in Tana River County, Kenya 1885-1986*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Tanariver County** for the period ending **26<sup>th</sup> February, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Tanariver County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a **copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

  
**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM**  
**FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner  
Tanariver County.

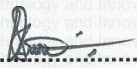
The County Director of Education  
Tanariver County.

**Appendix 44: Research Permit from NACOSTI**


**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:**  
**MR. PETER GITONGA KIMANI**  
**of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 0-1000**  
**THIKA, has been permitted to conduct**  
**research in Tana River County**

**on the topic: THE CONTRIBUTION OF**  
**GERMAN NEUKIRCHEN MISSION IN THE**  
**ESTABLISHMENT OF WESTERN**  
**EDUCATION IN TANA RIVER COUNTY,**  
**KENYA 1885-1986**

**for the period ending:**  
**26th February, 2019**

  
.....  
**Applicant's**  
**Signature**

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/21044/21472**  
**Date Of Issue : 27th February, 2018**  
**Fee Received :Ksh 2000**

  
.....  
**J.P. Kalorwa**  
**Director General**  
**National Commission for Science,**  
**Technology & Innovation**

**Appendix 45: Authorization letter to use University of Nairobi Library for research**



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
**OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLOR**  
**(Research, Production & Extension)**

P.O. Box 30197 – 00100  
Nairobi, Kenya  
Telephone: +254-20-3318262 Ext 28711  
+254-20-4913164 (DL)

Fax: +254-20-2317251  
Email: [dvcrpe@uonbi.ac.ke](mailto:dvcrpe@uonbi.ac.ke)  
Website: [www.uonbi.ac.ke](http://www.uonbi.ac.ke)

UON/RPE/3/5

September 10, 2018

Mr. Peter G. Kimani  
Dept. of Educational Foundations  
Kenyatta University  
PO Box 43844 00100  
Nairobi

Dear Mr. Kimani

RE: REQUEST TO USE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI LIBRARY

Reference is made to your email dated September 4, 2018 requesting to use the University of Nairobi Library, for the purpose of conducting research towards PhD studies.

I write to inform you that your request has been approved.

You are requested to liaise with the Director, Library and Information Services for further guidance on use of library resources.

**PROF. MADARA OGOT**  
**AG. DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLOR**  
**(RESEARCH, PRODUCTION AND EXTENSION)**

Copy to: Director, Library & Information Services

/jwn

