

**CONTRIBUTIONS OF MILL HILL MISSIONARIES TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN KISUMU COUNTY: A
CASE OF NYABONDO BOYS SECONDARY SCHOOL 1935-1985**

**BY
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DECLARATION

Declaration by the Student

This research thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University. No part of this thesis may be reproduced without the prior permission of the author and/ or University of Eldoret.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family, for providing me with all the assistance requested, most especially, availing all the reading materials to support my study. A special gratitude to my dad Tom Sidwaka and my mum Benedine Wanyama for all the assistance.

ABSTRACT

This study set out to examine the contribution of Mill Hill Missionaries (MHM) to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County. The institution of interest was Nyabondo Boys Secondary School. The study confined itself to a period between 1935 to 1985; 1935 being the time that a Mission Station was established at Nyabondo while 1985 being the period under which the management of the school was handed over to the Kenyan government. What warranted the documentation of this study was from the available literature, there was scanty information on the contribution of Mill Hill Missionaries to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County. The study was guided by the following objectives: To trace the historical development of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School; to examine the contribution of the Mill Hill Missionaries to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County, with special reference to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School; to establish the role that Africans played in supporting the Mill Hill Missionaries establish Nyabondo Boys Secondary School in Kisumu County of Kenya and to investigate the impact of Mill Hill Missionaries established schools to the local community of Kisumu County of Kenya. The purpose of this study was to examine the role that Mill Hill Missionaries played to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County. The site of the study was Nyabondo, in Nyakach constituency of Kisumu County. This being a historical study, a historical research method was employed to suit the study, with qualitative techniques used to facilitate the process of data collection and analysis. This study relied on primary sources of data and used secondary sources as supplement to the primary sources. Primary sources involved the use of interviews and archival data from the Kenya National Archives such as diaries, letters and speeches. The study also employed purposive sampling technique, where participants that suited the study were purposively selected and identified using snowballing method. Archival data was subjected to the historical techniques of internal and external criticism in order to ascertain its authenticity while audio recordings from interviews were transcribed to remove any grammatical errors. The verified data was then analyzed and presented qualitatively under historical periods and themes with regard to the study objectives. The findings of the study concluded that MHM played a vital role to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County through the establishment of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School. Throughout the historical development of the school, Africans also supported the school in various ways. The establishment of the school positively transformed the community both politically and socio-economically. From the findings, the study recommends policy makers and educational stakeholders to engage faith-based organizations when making decisions regarding educational development and societal transformation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIM	African Inland Mission
BOG	Board of Governance
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSM	Church of Scotland Mission
CF	Consolata Fathers
FAM	Friends African Mission
HGF	Holy Ghost Fathers
LNC	Local Native Councils
MHM	Mill Hill Missionaries
NBSS	Nyabondo Boys Secondary School
PAG	Pentecostal Assembly of God
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WF	White Fathers

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This chapter examines the influence of Mill Hill Missionaries in the development of secondary education in Kisumu County between 1935 and 1985. The chapter provides the background of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, purpose of the study, justification of the study, significance of the study, assumptions of the study, scope and limitation of the study and theoretical framework.

1.2 Background of the Study

Western education was brought to Africa by Christian missionaries belonging to different church organizations in America, Canada and Europe. The first batch of Europeans to visit Africa were the Portuguese who came as explorers and settled along the coastal regions of East and West Africa. They engaged in trading activities and even joined the lucrative slave trade which was booming by the time. Out of practical reasons, the Christian missionaries built schools which allowed their children to learn (Sifuna, Fatuma & Oanda, 2006). In the 17th C, just after the age of enlightenment in Europe, which saw the reawakening of the missionary zeal, and backed by the report from the first explorers that Africans were uncivilized and uneducated, saw the need for more evangelical work and Christianity work (Sifuna, et al 2006).

The need to end slave trade and replace it with legitimate trade was also another factor that contributed immensely to the development of education in Africa. According to David Livingstone, the main reason for the coming of the missionaries was to spread Christianity and advocate on legitimate commerce in order to help abolish slave trade (Sheffield, 1973). The Church Missionary Society (CMS) from London, England, spearheaded this breakthrough and led the other missionaries in their expeditions in

Africa as from 1799. By January 1844, the first missionary Dr. Ludwig Krapf arrived at the East African Coast and was later joined by Johannes Rebmann in 1846 (Muhoho,1970). They moved from Mombasa to Rabai Mpia and settled among the Mijikenda as they avoided to clash with Muslims who were predominant in Mombasa. It is at Rabai that they set up a rehabilitative school to help the freed slaves to better their lives and be self-reliant (Anderson,1970; Lugumba & Ssemakwa,1973). While at Rabai, they translated the Bible to local languages in order to spread the gospel.

Notable were the tough conditions that the missionaries encountered in their quest to spread the gospel to the interior of Kenya due to hostile communities. However, factors such as declaration of Kenya as a British protectorate in 1895 and the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway from 1895-1901, improved the spread of Christianity. With a railway in place, the CMS were able to move to the interior parts of Central Kenya to Kahuhuruka, Waithaka, Kahuiya and Embu (Abreu,1973). To the western side of Kenya, the Church Missionary Society found its way from Uganda and mission stations were opened in the parts of Luhya, Luo and Kisii regions. More missionary societies started propagating their influence in Kenya. The Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) was able to spread its missions in the regions of Tumutumu, Kibwezi, Thogoto and Chogoria. The African Inland Mission (AIM) on the other hand, set up stations at Kijabe, Githurai and Kangundo. In the Central regions like Kiambu and Kabaa of Kenya, the Catholic mission that operated were the Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF) and Italian Catholic missions from 1903-1906 (Abreu, 1973).

The completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway, paved way for scramble for each missionary influence with the area of interest being the western part of Kenya. The missions involved were: The Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) that settled in the areas of Kamagambo and Gendia, the Mill Hill Missions (MHM) that settled at Asumbi,

Kisumu, Yala, Mumias and Kakamega, the CMS at Maseno, Butere and Ng'iya and the Friends African Mission (FAM) at Kaimosi region. The latest in the series of the missions was the Pentecostal Assembly of God (PAG) which settled at Nyang'ori in 1910. Therefore, by 1910, the areas of coastal, central and western Kenya had all been occupied by the mission stations (Anderson, 1970; Bogonko, Otiende & Sifuna, 1992). The missionaries were persuaded that the lives lived by Africans was of a lesser quality compared to theirs and therefore, had the intention to change this narrative by making Africans lead a noble life. They therefore lured Africans to their churches and used education for evangelization purposes. This was the reason for setting up Mission Schools at Mission Stations with "bush schools" to connect to the Mission Schools in order to teach western education which was mainly through Reading, Writing and Arithmetic (3Rs). The bush/village schools were instrumental in making sure that the rural areas received education (Phelps-Stokes Commission Report, 1924-1925).

It is at this historical point that the effects of western education were felt in the interior parts of Kenya. Even with the glorious context painted on the establishment of western education in Kenya, the impact of western education has sometimes split opinions among Historians with some section pointing out that western education led to development of African nations while others identifying the destructive nature of this education. According to Neill (1964), western education through Christianity, brought with it development and advancement in livelihoods. It is in this school of thought that guided the current study that documented the positive impact of western education to the residents of Kisumu County by examining the contribution of Mill Hill Missionaries in the development of secondary education in Kisumu County.

From the existing literature, scholars, especially those in the field of History of Education, have documented the contribution of missionaries in the development of

education in Kenya. For instance, Kipkorir (1969), probably among the first, sought to establish the impact that Alliance High School had on the newly independent Kenya. His findings indicated that occupants of the government's top positions were old students from Alliance High school. This study marked the beginning of many other studies that targeted various learning institutions in different parts of the country. For instance, Bogonko (1977) sought to report on how the CMS had influenced the communities of Abagusii. According to Bogonko, through schools established by the CMS, professionals and successful businesspeople that served the state were from CMS schools. This study documented how MHM schools have benefited the people of Kisumu County.

Shanguhyia (1996) looked at PAG Nyangori School and how it impacted the people in the region. He concluded that the school brought about unity and reduced the conflict that existed among the Luo, Luhya and the Kalenjin communities. Whereas the contribution of PAG Nyangori to the existence of peace among the neighboring communities around the school were known, the role of MHM to Kisumu and its surroundings was not known. This study documented that the school attracted people from all over the nation and this was an indication that the school provided a good environment for everyone as the school also produced leaders who championed for peace in the area.

Muricho (2012) studied on the contribution of MHM of Kibabii Secondary School to the people of Bungoma County. He documented that Kibabii transformed the lives of many people in Bungoma County socially, economically and politically. Whereas the contribution of this study cannot be gainsaid, it was limited to the contribution of MHM to secondary education development in Bungoma County and not any other region. It is possible that the activities of MHM might have had similar impact in other counties

including Kisumu County, or maybe contextual differences might mean different results and hence the need for the current study.

Barasa (2013) conducted a study on the contribution of CMS to the establishment of Ng'iya Girls High School in Siaya County. His study also documented the historical growth of Ng'iya Girls High School and the challenges the CMS faced while establishing the school. He noted that the CMS faced hostility from the Luo community at the time they arrived at Siaya County. The other challenges were language barrier where the missionaries were forced to learn the local Luo language before they embarked on their work and the problem of poor transport network while the missionaries dispensed their duties. These were some of the few challenges that Barasa documented as challenges that CMS faced while establishing Ng'iya Girls High School in Siaya County within the Luo community. Kisumu County is a neighboring county to Siaya County with the inhabitants of both counties being the Luo community. It is therefore possible that the MHM with regard to Kisumu County faced similar challenges as the CMS in Siaya County. This study documented the challenges faced by MHM faced while settling at Nyabondo such as hostility from some natives as well as from AIM who had settled at Nyakach area before them.

Kiprotich (2018) conducted a study on the how MHM contributed to development of secondary education in Bomet. Overall, MHM impacted positively on secondary education since they created the schools of Kaplong Boys and Girls Secondary Schools that have helped spread secondary education in Bomet County.

From the background, there is available literature on the contribution of different missionary organizations to the development of secondary education. However, that was limited to different areas with scanty information on Kisumu County.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Whenever western education is mentioned, the idea of missionaries and colonialists come to mind. The development of western education in Kenya cannot be separated from the works and activities of colonialists and missionaries. Much has been written on how the missionaries contributed to the development of secondary education in the country. For instance, studies by Bogonko (1977) and Barasa (2013) have documented the role of Church Missionary Society to the development of education to the Abagusii and the people of Siaya respectively, Namatsi (2010) on the Friends African Mission to the development of education to the residents of Vihiga, Pentecostal Assembly of God's involvement to the people of Nyangori by Shanguhya (1996) and the impact of Mill Hill Missionaries to the people of Bungoma and Bomet by Muricho (2012) and Kiprotich (2018) respectively.

From the available literature, the contribution of different missionary organizations to the development of secondary education was noted in other areas. While the role played by the Mill Hill Missionaries (MHM) in the development of secondary education and their impact on people's lives in different counties was documented, there had been scanty information with regard to Kisumu County. This warranted the need for conducting this study which examined the contribution of MHM to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County with special reference to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, 1935-1985. This study therefore sought to contribute in filling this missing body of knowledge.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine how the Mill Hill Missionaries contributed to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County, with special reference to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, 1935 to 1985.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The study was guided by the following objectives:

1. To trace the historical development of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School,1935-1985.
2. To examine the role that Mill Hill Missionaries played in the development of secondary education in Kisumu County with special reference to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, 1935-1985.
3. To explore the role Africans played in supporting the Mill Hill Missionaries establish Nyabondo Boys Secondary School,1935-1985.
4. To assess the impact of Mill Hill Missionaries established schools to the local community,1935-1985.

1.6 Research Questions

1. What was the historical development of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School,1935-1985?
2. What was the role played by the Mill Hill Missionaries to the development of education in Kisumu County with reference to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School,1935-1985?
3. What was the role played by Africans in supporting the Mill Hill Missionaries establish Nyabondo Boys Secondary School from 1935-1985?
4. In which way did Mill Hill Missionaries established schools impact the local community between 1935-1985?

1.7 Justification of the study

From the background of the study, it has been demonstrated that a number of studies have been conducted on missionaries' impact to the development of education in

different parts of Kenya. Whereas the MHM contribution to the development of education in places such as Bomet County, Siaya County and Bungoma County has been documented, minimal attention focused on Kisumu County.

The rationale for the choice of Kisumu County was that when Mill Hill Missionaries arrived in Kenya from Uganda, they first settled at Kisumu before dispatching to other regions. At Kisumu, they built Mission Stations at Nyabondo and Kibuye. Documentation on the contribution of Mill Hill Missionaries to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County was scanty and that warranted the need for this study. Therefore, this study examined MHM's impact to educational development in Kisumu County while also documenting how the education changed the lives of the residents of the County between 1935-1985.

1.8 Significance of the study

The study is expected to be useful to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School as it will be a vital historical reference when developing its history, plans and future strategies. This study will also lay foundation for further research on the case.

The findings of this study particularly the economic, political and social contribution of MHM while analyzed together with the earlier studies, will help to create general awareness on the link between the state, religious organizations and other stakeholders in promoting education. This will be significant to policy-makers, educational stakeholders and the Ministry of Education in planning and making appropriate decisions regarding the establishment, historical growth and development of secondary education in Kenya.

The findings of the study are expected to be useful to practitioners and researchers by contributing significantly through its advancement of theoretical literature. The basis

of this research is its theoretical and conceptual understanding of the role played by the MHM to the growth and development of education in colonial and early period of independent Kenya which will be useful to researchers in the field of History of Education, as well as general Historians.

1.9 Assumptions of the Study

This study made the following assumptions;

- i. That MHM positively influenced the development of secondary education in Kisumu County and especially at Nyabondo Boys Secondary School and that the findings of this study will be considered useful to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, Historians and Ministry of Education officials.
- ii. That the targeted participants provided useful information without any biasness during the study period.

1.10 Scope of the Study

The study set out to assess the contribution of Mill Hill Missionaries to the growth and development of secondary education in Kisumu County with special reference to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School. However, the study was restricted to the period between 1935 and 1985.

The study also examined the role that the Africans played in supporting the MHM establish the school and how the establishment of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School contributed to the development of Kisumu County politically, socially and economically between 1935 and 1985.

1935 was an important starting time for the study because, it marks the time when the Mill Hill Missionaries established a Mission Station at Nyabondo. 1985 was chosen as the end period since it is during this time that the administration of Nyabondo Boys

Secondary School was left to the hands of the Kenyan government. 50 years is a long time to establish the effect that MHM had to the people of Kisumu County.

1.11 Limitations of the study

The researcher encountered some limitations. The study being historical in nature meant locating participants for oral interviews who were few and sparse. This is because, some informants had relocated to their native counties or some had actually passed on, since retired teachers, retired priests or former students formed part of the informants to be interviewed.

The researcher encountered aspects of distortion and exaggeration of information from the participants since majority of the them were elderly people, such as former students of the school, retired administrators, retired teachers as well as retired educational officials, some of their recollection of events, feelings and situations were fading away.

In order to overcome the limitations, the researcher employed data triangulation from various sources of data. This also helped the researcher in ensuring credibility and dependability of the information collected through subjecting the collected data from the field with that of the school records and the Kenya National Archives to verification.

1.12 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the Policy Historiography Theory by Trevor Gale (2001), where the study was documented in a historical and systematic manner. It is historical because, it dealt with and used materials of the past; while it is systematic due to the fact that it did so in order to discern ‘the stages’ of the course of history and the regularities of social life as observed by Gale (2001). This helped answer the study on the contribution of Mill Hill Missionaries to the development of secondary education

in Kisumu County with reference to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School between 1935-1985.

According to Connell, as cited by Gale (2001), historical accounts of education come in all shapes and sizes, but they commonly share an interest, “to trace the processes of educational change and to expose the possible relationships between the socio-educational present and the socio-educational past” (Kincheloe, 1991: 234); although, histories of the present and their comparison with the past sometimes remain implicit.

The justification for using Policy Historiography theory, was the realization that policy do exist in the human society in the wider contexts of ideology, politics and society (Barasa, 2018). This theory was also necessitated because it aimed to reveal both formal and informal mechanisms such as the patterns in the organizational structures of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School and the flow of information along historical concepts. Through the guidance of the theory, the researcher reflected on the educational policies advanced by the missionaries to Africans during the colonial period where positive impacts of these policies were generated.

In line with policy historiography theory, where the first educational policies by the missionaries in Kenya which were either formal or informal, had a positive and negative impact to the recipients who were Africans. It was through the positive impacts of these policies that saw the establishment of Mission Schools and development of education in Kenya.

Drawing on this heritage, policy historiography asked three broad questions: the first being, what were the ‘public issues’ and ‘private troubles’ within a particular policy domain during some previous period and how were they addressed? Secondly, what are the issues right now? And thirdly, what is the nature of the change from the first to the

second period? Critical policy historiography adds to these a further two questions by first asking, what are the complexities in these coherent accounts of policy? And then, what do these reveal about who is advantaged and who is disadvantaged by these arrangements?

Gale documented that, in order for one to answer these questions, there is need to analyze the policy records from the sources of data where information is sought. In this case, the data was sought from primary sources (archival records and interviews with informants) and secondary sources such as printed articles. In analysis of the policy records, Gale (1999) noted that,

“a systematic account of selected past events; initially through their analytical separation from present events and from those that do not contribute to an understanding of study but also through their subsequent division into distinctive historical epochs” (Gale 1999b: 70) and, “a critical examination of the data that is concerned not just with an episode in the history of ideas but also, and more crucially, with critical sociological questions about who benefits from the study” (Gale 1999b: 70).

This study therefore adopted the Policy Historiography Theory, since the study relied more on documented evidence and data about the missionaries’ activities and how they influenced education, where selected records of documented missionary work that was historical and that which was useful to this study was selected and its content analyzed through internal and external criticism so that crucial information that is beneficial to this study was picked and used. This assisted in documenting on how the Mill Hill Missionaries contributed to educational development in Kisumu County between 1935 to 1985 while Nyabondo Boys Secondary School chosen as the study area.

1.13 Definition of Operational terms

- Bush schools** These are schools which were established outside the Mission Stations where Mission Schools were, in order to co-ordinate and provide education for learners who were not able to reach the mission schools.
- Contribution** This is termed as what has been offered or the value that one is able to offer to the other. For the purpose of this study, M.H.M is viewed as one that offers the value of education to Kisumu County.
- Development** This is the positive change that is realized once a new process is administered or a new norm is being realized. In this study, education is seen to undergo some change in Kisumu County which is called development.
- Mission Station** These are special places where the missionaries set up a base in order to operate from. Normally, they set up schools, hospitals and churches in order to service majority of the residents with which they targeted.
- Mill Hill Missionaries** This is one of the earliest faith-based organizations that came to Kenya from Europe through Uganda. Their main aim was to spread Christianity and stop slave trade.
- Padre** A Christian priest who is also known as 'Father'.
- Secondary education** This is education offered to learners after completion of Primary education

1.14 Chapter Summary

The chapter outlined how missionaries found their way into Kenya and a subsequent development of western education. There has also been a demonstration of how different missionary organizations contributed to the development of education in different areas while giving a general introduction to the study. The rationale for undertaking this study and the expected significance has also been outlined. The theory that assisted in the documentation of this study has also been discussed.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides relevant and similar work done by different scholars which helped in understanding and guiding the current study. This was also helpful in the identification of the knowledge gaps and the justification for the study. This chapter includes: The African Indigenous Education, the Development of Western Education in Africa with special reference to Kenya, the Missionaries' Contribution to the Development of Education in Kenya, the Africans Contribution to the Development of Education in Kenya and the Educational and Evangelical Activities of the Mill Hill Missionaries in Kenya.

2.2 African Indigenous Education as a precursor of Western Education

Education is a discussion that dates very many years ago. Even before the coming of the missionaries, Africa had its form of education, the African Indigenous Education. Cameroon & Dodd (1970) described African Indigenous Education as a process of learning, whereby a person progressed through predetermined stages of life of graduation from cradle to grave. The education was a continuous process throughout lifetime from childhood to old age.

Nyerere (1975) talked of how traditional education was conducted and how important it was. He noted that education at the time was learnt through doing; that the best way to learn about sewing is to sew, the best way to learn about cooking is to cook and the best way to learn teaching is to teach. Nyerere (1975) also talked of the learning experiences at the time. He noted that, learning was made orally and the knowledge was stored in the heads of the elders. The elders imparted knowledge, skills and attitudes to the young people, informally at the didactic and practical levels. At the

didactic level, the teaching process took the form of songs, riddles and stories while at the practical level, individuals enacted what they had learnt didactically by imitating and watching what their elders performed.

Adeyemi & Adeyinka (2003) observed the African traditional education as being realized to be utilitarian nowadays, and that most African societies call for a return to indigenous education system, although in a modified form. The reason behind this was that education had the input of all members of the community, and which prepared each individual for a particular profession, should be the norm in many African societies today.

According to Mushi (2009), African Indigenous Education is part and parcel of life and not separated from the societal culture since it had no specific time of the day or life when it took place, but in the entire span of life where individuals acquired skills, knowledge and values from womb to tomb. He also talked of the weakness of this education, that it concentrated only on a specific body of knowledge to be learnt which never changes, and considered mainly the transmission of cultural heritage among tribe members from childhood to adulthood (Mushi, 2009).

Muricho (2012) observed that the traditional education formed the foundation for western education, for which modern life builds from. He talked of how traditional education laid an emphasis on environmental education. Children were taught about nature and ways to always guard it, since there was a close affinity between humans and the environment. It was from the natural environment that they obtained food, water, medicine and also fed their cattle, thus, from childhood, children learnt the value of nature. Muricho argued that education and the curriculum should incorporate naturalism.

Mugo, Lichoru & Ngosu (2015) stated on the importance of African indigenous education. They highlighted that, no study of the history of education in Africa would be complete or meaningful without adequate knowledge of the traditional or indigenous educational system prevalent in Africa, prior to the introduction of Islam and Christianity.

Njoki (2019) gave a direction by noting how African indigenous knowledge and its centrality could be used to transform education. The researcher acknowledged the ethnic and cultural diversities and the historical contingencies and specificities of the African people through recognition of multiple and collective origins of knowledge. The researcher also observed that, for a meaningful understanding and learning to take place, educators might rethink on how aspects of African Indigenous Education may be infused in the current curriculum.

2.3 Development of Western Education in Africa with Special Reference to Kenya

Western education has been linked to Christianity. This is because, when the missionaries came to spread Christianity, they first educated the Africans, which was done through introduction of the new education, then later evangelized them. With this in mind, establishment of schools was crucial in achieving this step by the missionaries. Ajayi (1965) when writing about the new African leaders in Nigeria, documented how missionaries used education to change the lives of the people. According to the writer, the missionaries used the church and the schools through the Mission Stations established, in order to bring social changes in Africa. Since the Mission Schools were boarding schools, the Africans who went to study in such schools had to adapt to the new norm. This meant that they had to abandon their traditions and live the way people lived at the Mission Stations. He also observed that there were some people who were

attracted to these missionaries such that they moved near Mission Stations and created a new community which was directed along the line of Christian character and western civilization (Ajayi, 1965).

Ayandale (1966) documented about the effect that the missionaries' activities caused on the lives of the Africans. Regarding the development of western education, he noted that missionaries used schools in order to evangelize Africans. The form of education used by the missionaries was based on religious matters. This is because, the missionaries disliked the other form of education which was secular in nature and that it was a crime against the people who were only supposed to use their knowledge, primarily for the purposes of serving the community as a whole. He also noted that the missionaries were not all that negative. This is because, they preserved the African language which was vernacular. This was against the wishes of the missionary administrators and the converts, who preferred the use of English language as the main form of communication (Ayandale, 1966).

Sifuna (1990) documented on the missionaries' activities in Kenya and how they were able to spread western education. He traces the Portuguese as the earliest missionaries who came to coastal regions around the 15th century. However, their settlement at the coast was met with a number of challenges such as; hostility from the locals, the dominance of Islam religion and their ruthlessness towards the people they met at the East African coast. This made them fail in their effort to evangelize the Africans as well as spread western education (Sifuna, 1990).

It was not until the 19th century, when education started to improve at the coast after the second generation of missionaries who came from Europe and Americas to evangelize Africans. The missionaries started targeting freed and ex-slaves from the

abolished slave trade which was then replaced by legitimate trade. A Mission School was built at Rabai Mpia in 1846 by Johannes Rebmann and Ludwig Krapf in order to rehabilitate the ex-slaves and help them better their lives (Sifuna, 1990). This served as a breakthrough in the establishment of education and its spread to the interior regions. In Kenya, Sifuna noted that the spread of education was done through Mission Schools with the help of bush schools. The missionaries not only established schools, but also shaped the colonial policies in the country in matters education up to the time of independence (Sifuna, 1990).

There are studies that were conducted by other scholars that documented how western education developed in Kenya. Studies of Furley and Watson (1978), Sheffield (1973), Otiende, Wamahu & Karagu (1992) and that of Bogonko (1992), have all documented on missionary involvement in the spread of western education in Kenya. These studies not only acknowledged the development of elementary and primary education by the missionaries, but also on the establishment of secondary education. This was clear through the establishment of Alliance High School in 1926 and by 1939 secondary schools such as Alliance Secondary School, Kabaa Secondary School, Maseno Secondary School and Yala Secondary School were already established.

2.4 Studies on the Missionary Contribution to the Development of Education in Kenya

There are studies that have demonstrated that it was missionaries who introduced western education in Kenya. While writing about the activities of CSM, McIntosh (1969) documented of their evangelical activities in Kenya. Strayer (1973) also supported this when writing on the evangelical activities of the CMS. According to these two scholars, the missionaries played a crucial role in making sure that education

in Africa was catered for. Furthermore, according to Temu (1972), the school was an important tool for the missionaries who saw it as necessity for the converts to enable them to read the Bible and for catechism purposes.

Osogo (1970), while documenting on the activities of the Catholic Church, talked of the role that Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF) played in the development of secondary education in Kenya. He documented Kabaa, as the first Catholic Secondary School to be established in the country. The study also observed how the Catholic church influenced the general development of the country by noting that, it led to the emergence of industrious people who served the nation well.

Strayer (1973) attempted to trace the genesis of Mission Schools. His study focused majorly on the activities of CMS at Mombasa, Kenya, where Freetown and Buxton were taken as schools of interest. From the studies, it was fair to note that the CMS did not just use education as a means of converting the Africans, but they also used it in assisting them establish a self-supporting African church. The significance of this motive was to make Africans participate in directing the education and not just be passive recipients.

Amayo (1973) wrote about the SDA missionary, and how they impacted the lives of the people in the western region of Kenya. He highlighted that the SDA used education to evangelize the Africans and the curriculum used was based on the 3Rs of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. The spread of SDA faith in Kenya was reluctant until around 1933 where the pioneer converts spread the faith to people of Agikuyu, Abaluhya, Akamba and the Coastal descent (Amayo, 1973). He also asserted that this group of missionaries established themselves at Kamagambo and built a boarding school there, to act as an educational center for the people of western region of Kenya. This school

later on became the main feeder of Government African Schools at Kisii when it was promoted to be a senior secondary school in 1948. After independence, the school boasted of alumni who attained senior government positions. Since then, Kamagambo had a Teachers Training Center, with primary and secondary schools for both boys and girls (Amayo, 1973).

Karani (1974) and Odwako (1975) highlighted that CMS laid the foundation of education development in western Kenya for which evangelism took root. This foundation was what the MHM used to improve on their work. They also credited CMS for establishing themselves at Maseno in 1906 and Butere in 1912. This also made the CMS pioneers of establishment of secondary education in the region by establishment of Maseno School in 1938, which later developed into a full secondary school by 1948. The establishment of Maseno Secondary School was due to the African demands for secondary education since they only noticed that they were given elementary and primary education. These continued demands by Africans made the CMS shift their focus from elementary to secondary education, with not only the establishment of Maseno Secondary School, but also the establishment of Butere Girls Secondary School in 1957; becoming the first girls' secondary school to be established in the region. These efforts made the CMS an important force in the improving of the social, economic and political activities of the people of western Kenya and the country as a whole (Odwako, 1975).

A number of scholars have documented studies of Mill Hill Missionary activities and how they have contributed to the development of education. Baur (1994) noted that MHM started their activities in Uganda in 1895 then came to Kenya and settled at Kisumu as their first station in 1902. This was where this study was based, since this

study examined the contribution of MHM to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County. The reason for MHM movement from Uganda to Kenya was that there was a rivalry between the Catholics and Protestants. Gale (1959) noted that, it was hoped that the presence of MHM would kill the notion that Protestants were English while Catholics were French. Baur (1994) also noted that from Kisumu, the MHM moved to other parts of Kenya such as North Kavirondo where they evangelized the Luhya community there.

Sifuna (1977), nevertheless, noted of shortcomings of MHM. He observed that the MHM were inferior to the other missionaries due to the fact that their main objective for evangelization was catechism rather than using education (3Rs) to evangelize the people. This was the reason why some of their stations such as Mumias collapsed. Sifuna, however noted that, the fear of losing converts by the MHM, made them change their attitude on the use of catechism to evangelize Africans, and started investing heavily on education, thereby establishing St. Mary's School Yala in 1929 which developed to a Junior school by 1939.

Lohrenz (1977) highlighted the ideas of Sifuna when writing about the patterns of Central, Southern and Northern Nyanza, by describing that not only were the missionaries responsible for the spread of education, but also the African leadership, population pressure and people's disposition was essential. He also observed the evangelization by groups such as the CMS and Church of God Missionary (CGM), where he accounted it to the fact that the difference for the evangelization process was the difference in social values, theological beliefs and the mission objectives. He also pointed out that although all the missionary groups sought evangelism, CSM right from the beginning used education as the main means to achieve it, thus, the MHM and CGM

relied more on religious activities than on the 3Rs (Lohrentz, 1977). His studies also conformed to those of Sifuna, where he noted that MHM and CGM made a few advances only after the government involved itself with education matters from 1924, after which Kima and Yala were established in 1924 and 1929 respectively. The study although left the knowledge gap on the side of Kisumu where this study attempted to fill that gap by establishing the contribution of MHM to the development of education in Kisumu County and on the government's influence to the development of the school.

Kipkorir (1969) wrote about the Protestant activities that led to the establishment of Alliance High School. He also documented about the events that occurred when running the school and how the school has benefited the society. He concluded that Alliance High School, influenced the shape and direction of the country, since its pioneer alumni students were employed as government officials. Greaves (1958) had earlier on documented on the activities of Carey Francis, a missionary in Kenya, while at Alliance High School. He talked of how Carey Francis managed to model Alliance High School to be among the most admired secondary schools in Kenya. His study most probably inspired Kipkorir (1969) into writing about the establishment of Alliance High School. Shanguhya (1996) wrote how the Pentecostal Assemblies of God improved education and the community at Nyang'ori. He noted that PAG activities immensely developed the regions of Nyang'ori to high levels over a good period of time. He also concluded that the school brought about unity and reduced the conflict that existed among the Luo, Luhya and the Kalenjin communities. Whereas we are aware the contribution of PAG Nyangori to the existence of peace among the neighboring communities around the school, the role of MHM to Kisumu County was not known. This study documented how the school attracted people from all over the nation and this was an indication that

the school provided a good environment for everyone as the school produced leaders who championed for peace in the area.

Namatsi (2010) documented on how the Friends African Mission (FAM) impacted the growth and development of education in Vihiga district. Through the use of Chavakali Boys Secondary School and Kaimosi Girls Secondary School as her schools of interest, she documented that FAM contributed immensely in the development of education in the region and also influenced on the social, economic and political landscape of the people of Vihiga district and the western Kenya at large.

Merimung (2011) added to the study of Osogo (1970), where the researcher talked of the contribution of the Catholic Church to the people of Turkana. It was not only noted that the Catholic Church's activities led to the establishment of the first secondary school there, but also documented that through the secondary education introduced there, the living standards of the people of Turkana improved positively.

Muricho (2012) studied on the contribution of MHM of Kibabii Secondary School to the people of Bungoma County. He documented that Kibabii transformed the lives of many people in Bungoma County socially, economically and politically. Whereas the contribution of this study cannot be gainsaid, it was limited to the contribution of MHM to the people of Bungoma County and not any other region. It is possible that the activities of MHM might have had similar impact in other counties including Kisumu County, or maybe contextual differences might mean different results and hence the need for the current study.

Barasa (2013) conducted a study on the contribution of CMS to the establishment of Ng'iya Girls High School in Siaya County. His study also documented the historical growth of Ng'iya Girls High School and the challenges the CMS faced while

establishing the school. He noted that the CMS faced hostility from the Luo community at the time they arrived at Siaya County. The other challenges were language barrier where the missionaries were forced to learn the local Luo language before they embarked on their work and the problem of poor transport network while the missionaries dispensed their duties. These were some of the few challenges that Barasa documented as challenges that CMS faced while establishing Ng'iya Girls High School in Siaya County within the Luo community. Kisumu County is a neighboring county to Siaya County with the inhabitants of both counties being the Luo community. It is therefore possible that the MHM with regard to Kisumu County faced similar challenges as the CMS in Siaya County. This study documented the challenges faced by MHM faced while settling at Nyabondo such as hostility from some natives as well as from AIM who had settled at Nyakach area before them.

Kiprotich (2018) documented a study that checked on how the MHM contributed to development of secondary education in Bomet. Overall, he articulated that MHM had impacted positively on education since they created the schools of Kaplong Boys and Girls Secondary Schools that have helped spread secondary education in Bomet County.

2.5 Africans Contribution to the Development of Education in Kenya

The growth and development of education in Kenya was among three parties; the missionaries, the colonialists and the Africans. Africans in particular, were pivotal in ensuring the development of this education and the roles played by them cannot be gainsaid. For instance, Graves (1958) noted of a Memorandum of mass education in the African society in 1935, which proposed the academic education as opposed to artisan education which was being offered to Africans in the rural areas. As a result of this,

Jeans School in Kabete was therefore closed in 1939 in order to cater for the needs of the Africans, who saw new academic education as a means to getting good employment (Graves, 1958). This was a response to the fact that majority of school graduates either had blue collar jobs or were unemployed from the technical schools that were established by the government.

Indire (1962) and Mwanzi (1971) documented about the self-help initiatives undertaken by the Africans, which were meant to enhance secondary school opportunities for their children. The Africans did this by establishing Harambee schools with the first one being Chavakali Secondary School which began after the transfer of Friends Secondary School from Kaimosi to Kamusinga in 1957. The idea of harambee schools was backed by the Harambee movement by the government (Mwanzi, 1971).

Anderson (1970) when documenting about the role played by the missionaries to that of government in the provision of western education, highlighted the role that the colonial government played in the establishment of the Department of Education, which had a direct influence on education matters in the country. Later in the years, it was noted that the department was responsible for the opening of a technical school in Machakos in 1913, another technical school in Mombasa in 1924 and Jeans School at Kabete in 1925.

Keino (1980) wrote about the role played by the Harambee movement, where he noted that it led to the establishment of many secondary schools in Kenya after independence. In Keino's study, he used Sosiot Girls Secondary School as the school of interest, where he documented that the locals wanted the school to be established in order to provide quality education to their children, albeit, some politicians wanted the school to be established in order to enhance their political interests. These varied interests by the

locals and politicians all the same were all responsible in making sure that the school was established and developed well (Keino, 1980).

Mukudi (1989), Kamere (1992) and Ombati (1994) wrote on the role played by the Africans in making sure that education progressed. They noted that the Africans provided land for the construction of Mission Stations and Schools, construction materials, teachers who were converts from the Mission Schools and students, where they provided their children to the schools to be taught at the schools. They also gave an account of schools such as Kakamega School, Kisii School and Kitui School as schools which Africans put effort to assist in setting up. They also noted that the schools' establishment was made possible by the efforts made by Africans through the formation of the Local Native Councils (LNC).

This idea of Education Board was highlighted by the studies of Sifuna & Otiende (1992), where they wrote that the body was constituted to solve the educational problems of the country then. In 1908, the CMS and CSM formed a joint committee and by 1909, a Missionary Education Board was constituted to represent all protestant colonies. This was supported by the government and in 1909, the first Missionary Education Board was constituted, with Henry Scott as the appointed chair to represent protestant missionaries (Sifuna & Otiende, 1992).

The effect of having this board was seen in the establishment of schools where Bogonko (1992) wrote that, the government established government schools where there was a missionary influence. Such schools include Kitui Government School in 1914, Waa School along the coast among the Digo, Narok School in Maasai land and in Machakos, the Ukambani Industrial School was established. All these schools were established in

order to offer technical education. The Africans therefore called for a change from industrial education to academic education (Graves 1958).

Bogonko (1992) also talked of the reception that the Africans provided in response to the introduction of western education to them. He noted that, at first, the Africans preferred their children to undertake traditional chores rather than attend the Mission Schools, because at first, they never saw any immediate benefit of the education. He also noted that some African parents refused to send their children to school since, they wanted to enjoy the benefits of western education and Christianity without actually losing their culture. Some even opted to start their own churches and schools, with the first being John Owalo's Nomiya Mission School in 1907 (Bogonko, 1992).

2.6 Evangelical and Educational Activities of the Mill Hill Missionaries in Kenya

Gale (1959), Burgman (1990) and Baur (1999) informed this study about the early establishment of Mill Hill Missionaries in Africa (1895-1914). The main target of MHM was Uganda; where they came to share work with the White Fathers (WF) who were there before them. The vast area that the Catholic Church had assigned them to promote Christianity to, extended to include the area covered by present day Kisumu County, Gale (1959).

The Missionaries' main job was to get converts. They therefore had to be strategic in order to achieve this. One of the most effective methods they used was approaching the people through their chiefs. If they converted a chief, he in turn would bring more converts because the people respected their leaders and followed whatever route they advised them to take (Gale, 1959).

The MHM and the WF, were not the only missionary group at the time, the CMS and the Anglicans were also present. (Gale, 1959). The school was seen as the most effective method for evangelization purposes by these missionaries, although there were inadequate catechists. The MHM and the WF therefore established their first school which was mainly meant to train catechists. The school was located at Rubaga in Uganda, where the WF had established their Mission Station. This station would select at least three of its graduates to be well educated on matters religion so that they could be catechists (Gale, 1959). The first catechists would act as teachers thus were also taught about matters education. Therefore, once the youths were ready from the Rubaga School, they were deployed to Mission Schools in order to act as both catechists and teachers.

The missionaries considered industrial education and agricultural education, where they taught Africans about it and its benefits. This helped the learners to be all round, including the acquisition of skills such as; carpentry, blacksmithing and tailoring. There was a great difference between industrial education and agricultural training, where Gale (1959) made it quite clear. He observed that industrial education was to help the learner to acquire skills of modern commercial and industrial life, while agricultural education was introduced to the learner in order to make the learner effective and fruitful in farming methods. The missionaries, having introduced new crops such as wheat and rice to the people, used the Mission Stations to provide industrial and agricultural education to both the learners and the people in the community, as this was used to improve the living standards of the people (Gale, 1959).

The Mission Stations used to attract people where they found new culture which was different from their own traditions. The level of schools at these period was primary

and intermediate levels, with the curriculum in the primary level comprising of religious instructions, industrial/agricultural training and the teaching of the 3Rs. Whatever was taught at the intermediate level however, was not captured (Gale, 1959).

Gale's (1959) studies focused mainly on the MHM's initial evangelical activities in the Vicariate of the Upper Nile, which was assigned to them by the church, and which covered a vast area that includes this study area. However, Gale's scope (1895-1914) did not document much about evangelization in current Kisumu County since MHM started establishing itself in Kisumu afterwards. Gale focused on how MHM introduced western education and Christianity and how the people reacted to it, although, he left a knowledge gap of expansion to other communities and the impact that these MHM evangelical and educational activities had on these communities they evangelized.

Burgman (1990) added to the work of Gale (1959) and documented about the MHM during the time that they left Uganda and settled in Kenya and how they impacted the lives of the places they settled. He noted that where the missionaries settled, there was influx of development since the missionaries set up Mission Stations and as a result, schools were built, churches were constructed and hospitals were also built. (Burgman 1990).

While documenting on Catholic evangelization in Kenya there are two main missionary groups that initially started this; the MHM who entered Kenya from Uganda in early 1900s and Holy Ghost Fathers (HGF) who came through the coastal side of Kenya in the late 19th century (Burgman, 1990). The area served by HGF was officially called the Vicariate of North Zanguebar, which was later renamed to Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. It extended from Zanzibar to Nairobi but also served the whole of Kikuyu land. HGF on their part were very fruitful in the establishment of Mission Stations, since they

established; St. Austins (1899), Kiambu (1902), Mangu (1906), Riruta (1909), Kabaa (1913) and St. Peter Claver (1922). In 1902, the Vicariate of Zanguebar was transformed to create the Vicariate of the mission of Kenya, which was driven by the Consolata Fathers (CF). It took part of Nairobi and a large part of Kikuyu land. (Burgman, 1990).

The missionaries were not only involved in spreading Christianity, but also matters education. This saw the Catholic missionaries by 1925 establish quite a huge number of Mission Schools as well as bush schools. Bogonko (1992), documented on the reception of the Africans to that education. Africans at first despised schooling because they never saw the benefits it brought. Burgman although documented that due to the lucrative jobs that came after completion of school, the Africans changed their attitude to schooling afterwards.

From Burgman studies, it can be documented that up to late 1920s; MHM had no proper Central School. HGF had Kabaa Central School already in 1925, started by Fr. Michael Witte. Kabaa also acted as a training institute for catechists. The C.F also seemed to be doing quite well since by 1928, they already had a normal Central School with also a seminary established. (Burgman, 1990).

The MHM just had schools of Grades A (Std. I-II) and B (Std. III-IV), with the few of Grade C (Std. V to VI) having not met the expected standards. The Catholic Church generally had performed poorly in education and with this performance, only Protestant schools enjoyed the grants-in-aid that were provided by the government (Burgman, 1990).

So, the HGF and CF were better off since they had already established Central Schools. The Protestants were not badly off either, since they had by 1918, Alliance Boys Central

school which by 1926 was already a high school. MHM still struggled but after several efforts made, they opened their Central School; St. Mary's Yala, in 1929, which later became a high school. Kabaa's opening in 1930 was quite tremendous, since it was a huge step taken by the Catholics (Burgman, 1990).

Burgman (1990) also noted how the MHM moved to areas such as Kavirondo and Kisumu, with Kisumu being where this study was situated. He also talked of how big the missions have become in modern Kenya. These missions grew, each with their own school. Burgman specifically told his story on how MHM introduced Christianity and schooling among the various people and communities within the vicariate

Baur (1994) highlighted the various missionaries and how they emanated from Uganda and settled at Kenya. Although, he provided scanty information concerning the MHM, particularly MHM in Kenya. In most studies he only mentioned about MHM in Kenya introducing Christianity.

These studies were informative to this study by showing when and how the missionaries arrived in Kenya and how western education took root in Kenya. The knowledge gaps left by the above relevant literature, attempted to be filled by this study which documented on the contribution of the MHM to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County with special reference to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School between 1935-1985.

2.7 Chapter Summary

The Chapter established the development of western education in Kenya. Noteworthy, missionaries are credited for contributing immensely to the development of this education. Mill Hill Missionaries in particular, moved from Uganda to Kenya and

settled at Kisumu before moving to other regions in Western Kenya. Their contributions to the development of Education in Kisumu County was lacking.

As indicated in the review, whereas there are contributions of different missionary organizations to the development of education in different areas, scanty information was noted of Mill Hill Missionaries in Kisumu County. This is because, literature reviewed only limited the contributions of Mill Hill Missionaries to Bomet and Bungoma counties.

Nyabondo was one of the Mission Stations established by Mill Hill Missionaries. There was still lack of data on the historiography of Mill Hill Missionaries activities in Kisumu County with regard to Nyabondo and the subsequent development of secondary education. That was crucial documentation on the evangelical and educational activities of MHM in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the method in detail of how the study was conducted. The sub-topics discussed in the study were the study area where the study was conducted, research instruments used, sampling technique employed for the target population and sample size, data analysis and interpretation as well as some of the ethical aspects of research considered while conducting the study.

3.2 Research Design

This is a historical study and was guided by the historical research method. This method was appropriate because it involved records of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School and through that, helped in the interpretation of trends on the historical development of school, the social, economic and political contribution of the school and the roles played by Africans to the development of the school.

Historical research method involved studying and understanding the past events. It also helped the researcher in locating, integrating and evaluating evidence from physical relic, written records or documents with the purpose of establishing the facts or generalized facts regarding the past or present events (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). The study documented the impact of MHM to the development of education in Kisumu County from a historical perspective. To achieve this, the study analyzed the collected data qualitatively and presented the historical evidences under themes.

3.3 Study Area

The study was conducted in Kisumu County with Nyabondo Boys Secondary being the school of interest. Nyabondo Boys Secondary School is located in East Kadiang'a Sub-location, South Nyakach Location, Upper Nyakach Division, Nyakach Constituency in Kisumu County. Kisumu County lies within the former Nyanza Province of Kenya. Kisumu was very important to Nyanza Province during the pre-colonial and the colonial era since it was founded as the main inland terminal for the Kenya-Uganda Railway being named "Port Florence" back then. This helped in trading activities within Kisumu since apart from fishing along Lake Victoria, the other major activity was trading.

The school lies approximately 6 kilometers east of Sondu town and within a distance of 57 kilometers from Kisumu town, along the Kisumu-Kisii road. Geographically, Nyabondo is located along the Nyabondo plateau and its hilly location provides a serene view of the Kano plains to the West where rice is largely grown and the Nandi escarpments to the North.

The area around Nyabondo is mainly made up of the Luo speaking community although, it neighbors the Kisii community to the East and the Kalenjin community to the North. Nyabondo Boys Secondary School from Kisumu County was the ideal school for the study because, it was among the first schools to be established under Mill Hill Missionaries in the county.

3.4 Target Population

Target population refers to a group of people relevant to the study. This is the full set of items from which samples were taken (Borg and Gall, 1983). In this study, the stakeholders of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School were the targeted population, and this being a historical study covering the period between 1935-1985, the targeted

population included: village elders, retired teachers, retired members of the clergy, former students of the school and parents to the former students who were related to the time of 1935 to 1985.

3.5 Sampling Technique

This study employed purposive sampling technique. According to Creswell and Plano (2011), purposive sampling was synonymous with qualitative research because the researcher purposively selected one of the village elders to describe the historical development of the school and its contribution to the economic, political and social impact to the community. The elder then provided data on other village elders who were followed for in-depth interviews. The study also utilized snowballing to identify other participants. Snowballing is a technique that involves making use of a network of people from the population to obtain the necessary information (Oso and Onen, 2005). The challenge with historical studies, is accessing informative participants, given the many years involved in the historical subject and the thin number of survivors for some of the data needed.

Considering that historical studies are qualitative in nature and adopt the interpretive approach, one is not needed to generalize findings. Consequently, purposive sampling was suitable as it allowed the researcher to purposely identify participants that were more likely to possess the historical knowledge that was being sought. Therefore, the researcher started with a small sample that could easily be accessed and used the team to access the network.

3.6 Sample size

The study involved a sample size of fourteen participants through purposive sampling technique and snowballing method. The rationale for having fourteen participants are;

according to deMarrais and Lapan (2004), fewer participants when interviewed in greater depth yield a better understanding. Hill et al (2005) echoed similar sentiments when they advised qualitative studies to have a sample size of not less than 8 and not more than 15 participants. Therefore, the participants included: four village elders of the community, four former education officials, four former students of the school, one former teacher to the school and one member of the clergy. Some of the key participants were not easily found since some had relocated to their native counties and countries, while some had passed away. Based on accessibility of the participants, the researcher used the available number of participants for the study.

3.7 Instrumentation of the study

The study relied mostly on the primary sources of data since they were regarded as fundamental to historical research (deMarrais & Lapan, 2004), with secondary sources used to complement the primary sources. Primary sources are those sources of data that are regarded as closest to the topic of study, either generated at the time when the event occurred or by the subject in question (deMarrais & Lapan, 2004). These included oral testimonies from actual eyewitnesses through interviews and archival sources.

The researcher used interview schedules while collecting testimonies from actual eyewitnesses. The selection of interview schedules as a tool for data collection was guided by the nature of the data that was collected as well as the objectives of the study. McNamara (2009) noted that, in qualitative research, interviews are used to pursue the meaning of central themes in the world of their subjects with the main gain of seeking, to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say. In this study, interview schedules were used to collect data and assess the contribution of MHM to the

development of education in Kisumu County with reference to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School from 1935 to 1985.

Archival sources involved data collected from analysis of documents at the Kenya National Archives (KNA) and school records which provided archival documents such as diaries, charters, speeches, letters, minutes, autobiographies and newspapers related to the study.

3.8 Validity and Reliability of the instruments

Research instruments are tools that are carefully designed to assist in the process of data collection.

3.8.1 Validity of the research instruments

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), refer to validity as the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences which are based on the research results. This study was guided from a qualitative approach and Shenton (2004), advised qualitative researchers while in pursuit of trustworthiness of data, should consider issues such as credibility and transferability in the case of validity. Therefore, credibility (internal validity) in this study was ensured through triangulation method, where carefully designed interview schedules, referential adequacy materials, purposive sampling, snowballing and evaluation of oral data and participants were used. By adopting multiple methods, the degree of the results obtained ensured that the yielded results are more valid, dependable, trustworthy and exemplified diverse construction of realities.

Bracketing interviews were conducted by the researcher before the actual data collection procedure began. According to deMarrais and Lapan (2004), bracketing interviews involved the researcher getting interviewed using the designed interview schedules by other researchers before the actual data collection procedure. The audio

recordings from the collected data was transcribed and analyzed, after which interpretations and conclusions were made as this helped to validate the interview schedules.

3.8.1.1 Data Evaluation

The collected data was also evaluated and verified in order to determine its credibility. This was done by external and internal criticism to determine its trustworthiness and to detect whether there were errors, biases or deliberate distortions made. Traverse (1973), defined external criticism as an attempt to distinguish between misrepresentation and genuine document, relic or monument or any other source of data, while internal criticism as an attempt to determine the validity and accuracy of actual data or the content of the data. External criticism was done through testing of signatures, handwriting, scripts, type of writing and documentation in order to test the genuineness of the document.

Internal criticism entailed contextualization, sourcing and corroboration, to determine the condition under which the document was produced, the validity of intellectual premises upon which the writer proceeded and the correct interpretation to be placed upon the data obtained. Muricho (2012), talked of three forms of internal criticism where; in contextualization, the researcher was called upon to appreciate the fact that words and concepts changed according to changing times and circumstances, in sourcing, the researcher identified the author, date and place of writing, and in corroboration, there was comparison of documents so as to establish if they provided the same information.

3.8.2 Reliability of the research instruments

Reliability refers to the degree of consistency of results obtained by the same individual when examined or tested with the same instrument. Loh (2013) observed that, while

establishing the trustworthiness of a qualitative study, dependability should be employed, where, dependability was showing that the findings were consistent and could be repeated. Loh (2013) also stressed on the close ties between credibility (internal validity) and dependability, and that in practice, a demonstration of credibility goes some distance in ensuring dependability. The processes of conducting the study were reported in detail to enable any future researcher to repeat the work, if not necessarily to gain the same results (Shenton, 2004). This was achieved through providing the processes employed, which included a detailed overlapping method, where interviews with actual eyewitnesses, referential adequacy materials, purposive sampling, snowballing and evaluation of data and participants.

3.9 Data collection procedure

The interview schedules, audio recorders and fact sheets for collection of records from the school were prepared. The researcher secured permits before visiting the specified areas and collected any information that conformed to the study objectives. This involved informing participants early enough of the intended visitation before the actual date of conducting the interviews since interview sessions were formal.

On starting the interview process, one village elder was purposively selected, who then provided data on other targeted participants who were followed for in-depth interviews. The participants were identified through snowballing and mapped in terms of location and availability. The questions on the interview schedules were arranged such that the first three questions addressed the first objective of the study, the next four addressed the second objective, the next three focused on the third objective while the last four focused on the fourth objective for easier coding analysis.

Archival data were obtained from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) and school records which provided archival documents such as diaries, charters, speeches, letters, minutes, autobiographies and newspapers related to the study. This involved a content analysis of documents upon request while at the archives. Data from the interviews were corroborated with archival data to assist in coming up with comprehensive information.

Secondary sources were employed in order to fill the gaps left. Some of the secondary materials sourced were published works from the library including school details, journals and newspapers and approved theses and dissertations. These were obtained from the university libraries and other libraries.

3.10 Data Analysis and Presentation

Audio recordings from oral interviews were transcribed in order to correct on grammar and any unnecessary noises made during interviews (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011). Archival data was subjected to data evaluation through the process of external criticism and internal criticism for verification and authenticity. All the collected data (interviews and archival) were then analyzed qualitatively. This was first done by subjecting the historical evidences into codes or themes and historical periods (Borg and Gall, 1983).

Each information obtained was physically separated and placed into themes and sub-themes created that addressed a particular research objective of the study. These themes and sub-themes were further subjected to interpretation in order to outline particular information and generalizations as guided by the objectives of the study from which historical facts were established (Sifuna, 1995). The outcome of the study was grouped into three topics with respective sub-topics corresponding to the study objectives and

then presented descriptively as research findings of the study. This helped in drawing of conclusion and recommendations for further study.

3.11 Ethical considerations

The goal of ethics in research is to ensure that no one suffers adverse consequences from the research activities. Therefore, as the research was conducted, several ethical considerations were adhered to.

The researcher secured permits from the National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) and the Kenya National Archives, where copies of the permits were served to offices of the Kisumu County Director of Education, the Kisumu County Commissioner and the Governor of Kisumu County to aid in verification for conducting the study.

The researcher sought consent from the participants that were interviewed and their participation was voluntary. The researcher set aside time to explain to the participants the nature and purpose of the study, the people involved in the study, the method used to conduct the study.

3.12 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the whole process of how the research was conducted has been outlined. This is first through providing a clear outlook of the site of study, then documenting on the research design used for the study, while considering the research instruments that were used, the target population, the sources of data used as well as the data collection procedure that followed and how the data collected was analyzed and presented.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter documents the findings from the conducted study, the interpretations from the findings and discussions arising from the interpreted findings. This was guided by the following objectives:

1. To trace the historical development of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, 1935-1985.
2. To examine the role that Mill Hill Missionaries played in the development of secondary education in Kisumu County with special reference to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, 1935-1985.
3. To explore the role Africans played in supporting the Mill Hill Missionaries establish Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, 1935-1985.
4. To assess the impact of Mill Hill Missionaries established schools to the local community, 1935-1985.

4.2 The historical Development of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, 1935-1985

The establishment of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School can be traced to 1935 when Fr. Leo Bartels started Nyabondo Mission Station. Fr. Bartels had moved from Asumbi Mission in present Homa Bay County (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021). Nyabondo Mission Station gave rise to Nyabondo Primary School, Nyabondo Intermediate School followed, then later, the establishment of Nyabondo Secondary School.

Nyabondo Boys Secondary School was established to enroll students of Catholic denomination. Once the students were through with their Kenya African Preliminary Examinations (KAPE) of standard VII, they were to join secondary education. The

secondary school enrollment only allowed for a specific denomination. For instance, Catholic students were only allowed to join Catholic oriented secondary schools. At the time, the only Catholic boys' secondary schools were St. Mary's Yala High School and Mangu Boys High School at Kabaa (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021). These were few to serve the growing population of Catholic faithful who were demanding for this level of education. According to one participant, "Fr. Leo being very practical in his way of looking at things, decided to establish the school." (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021). There was need for a secondary school to absorb learners coming from the already established primary schools and this led to the establishment of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, but first as an intermediate school (O.I. Lawrence Siguda, 3/2/2021; Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021).

This conforms to the work of Baur, while documenting about the Mill Hill Missionaries (Baur, 1994). He postulated that the MHM moved from Uganda to Kenya and settled in Kisumu due to the ongoing war that existed between the Catholic and Protestants, since the Europeans at that time fought along religious lines and this made schooling at the time religious inclined. This study also established the fact that students of a Catholic denomination only joined Catholic oriented secondary schools while those of Protestant denomination joined Protestant secondary schools.

The decision to establish Nyabondo Intermediate School at around 1948 was influenced by the aftermath of the Second World War on education (Khanani,2015). The impact of the war led to the formation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the greater United Nations (UN) in 1945, which championed for the rights of individuals. One of the rights advocated was the right to education, declaring it a human right by UN in 1948. Due to this, the European colonies changed their policies on education in Africa. The British in particular, increased

funding to support secondary education and with this, the missionaries were able to benefit in terms of funding the establishment of schools and thereby establishing Nyabondo Boys Secondary School (Khanani,2015).

4.2.1 Nyabondo Boys Secondary School as an Intermediate school, 1948-1959

Nyabondo Boys Secondary School started in 1948 as an Intermediate Boarding School with Lawrence Sagini as the first Head teacher (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021). The school would however be registered by the Mill Hill Missionaries as an Intermediate School in 1956 with the capacity of 160 learners (KNA DC/KSM/1/10/38). The establishment of the intermediate school was supposed to serve the existing Nyabondo Primary School to allow transition of learners who completed Standard IV at Nyabondo Primary, to join Nyabondo Intermediate School for the Standard V to Form II (Standard V, Standard VI, Form I and Form II).

One of the participants asserted that, “after completion of education at Nyabondo Intermediate School, learners would sit the Kenya African Preliminary Examinations (KAPE) and later use it as a prerequisite to join a secondary school,” (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021). Admission criterion to join any secondary school involved consideration of performance in KAPE and religion. This meant that those students who were Catholics were to continue in a Catholic secondary school while Protestants were to be admitted in a Protestant secondary school. (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021).

Some of the alumni in the last class at Nyabondo Intermediate School included George Ouma and Alphonse Kisia who enrolled at the school from 1955 to 1959. Kisia noted that after completion of his Certificate Examination at Nyabondo Day school, he joined Nyabondo Intermediate School (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 8/2/2021). He also observed that the school was able to attract many students from North Nyanza, South Nyanza, Elgon

Nyanza and Central Nyanza. The most notable of these was his former teacher and head of the institution Mr. Ignatius Mkok (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021).

Life in the Intermediate school was quite simple and focused. The curriculum was also simple, since it included academic and the co-curriculum activities. There was overemphasis on academics than co-curriculum, in particular, Religion, Mathematics, English and Rural Science (Geography and History) (O.I. Alphonse Kisia 8/2/2021) The fact that discipline was highly instilled by the likes of Mr. Mkok, helped the students to stay focused and complete studies. The diet at that time included: maize and beans, ugali and vegetables and porridge (O.I. Alphonse Kisia,8/2/2021).

During the inception of the intermediate school, there was the challenge of insufficient physical and teaching facilities such as the dormitories and classrooms. As the number of students grew, so was the need for more infrastructure. In 1948, the Padre, who was also the head of the Mission (the school and the church), made a formal request to the government for grants-in-aid to assist in the building of more classrooms, offices, teachers' houses, equipment and ablution blocks. In 1949, the government responded positively and provided grants through the Director of Education (KNA ED/2/13131).

4.2.2 Nyabondo Boys Secondary as a Secondary School,1961-1985

Nyabondo Boys Secondary School was established in 1961 but was registered in 1963 as an Harambee secondary school with Fr. Molenaar as the first Principal of the institution (School records, 8/2/2021). According to Mzee George Ouma, the idea of a secondary school was from Dominic Osire, who was the father of Luke Osire and was a friend to Fr. Leo. Their friendship allowed Dominic to propagate the idea to him and Osire took the responsibility upon himself to collect money from people of goodwill all

the way from Ahero, to Kericho, up to Mombasa for the construction of the school (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021).

Admission at the school was on academic merit and the school attracted learners from all over the nation. In fact, most residents were quite happy because it was the first institution to be established in Nyakach region (O.I. Valentine Odete, 2/2/2021). However, after the inception of the school, some residents within Nyakach community felt that the school was 'their own property' and did not want to let go and allow other residents from outside Nyakach to get admission. At some point, the residents wanted a classroom to be set aside in order to only accommodate students from the local community (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021). Once the government took over the management, the institution became a public secondary school and this allowed learners from outside the region to join; much to the displeasure of the local residents. Due to this, local residents decided to start their own school, St. Hillarius Secondary School, to accommodate their own students (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021).

According to Mzee George Ouma, the residents came to a realization that the institution was not theirs anymore when the admission of non-Catholic students and the hiring of non-Catholic teachers was introduced by the government. This change was followed by a change in culture and worship whereby, students and teachers from other denominations arrived and thereby reducing the influence of the church. After the government took over the school, staff establishment including access was no longer based on the denomination but was open to every Kenyan child (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021).

One of the reasons for the growth and development of the school was the type of management from the time of its inception as a secondary school. One participant noted

that the Missionary heads of the institution were strict (O.I. Joseph Demarco 3/2/2021). The locals also welcomed its inception due to the fact that it was managed by the Missionaries and not the government or the locals who would otherwise mismanage it (O.I. Valentine Odete, 2/2/2021).

4.2.3 Challenges of establishing Nyabondo Secondary School

Establishment of Nyabondo Secondary School, even with the excitement that was witnessed, faced varied challenges. The most notable one was staffing. For instance, in 1949, Nyabondo Secondary School had three members of staff, namely Lawrence Sagini, Opondo Mawega and Fr. Bartels (KNA ED/2/13163). This was known with the authorities as the correspondences within the school management and the Chief Inspector of School revealed. In a letter written by the Senior Education Officer, Stokes to Rev. Fr. Rowlands, concerning the school inspection, Stokes identified understaffing in Nyabondo Secondary School as a challenge that needed to be addressed (KNA ED/2/13163).

The senior education officer further observed that in both Nyabondo Primary and Nyabondo Intermediate School, there were only two Europeans as staff members; this was Fr. Bartels and Fr. Oudera. Fr. Bartels had a workload of 21 lessons of teaching per week (standard VI and Form 1 and Form 2, teaching English and Geography) and also supervised the technical institution for a further workload of 16 lessons of teaching (KNA ED/2/13163). The primary teacher, Fr. Oudera, taught Religion, Geography and History all by himself. This made it difficult for the principals to both teach and supervise the institution, so there was need for more teachers.

Due to inadequate staffing and the fact that the principal was overworking, the Chief Inspector observed that the European staff delegated some of their duties to the inadequately qualified African staff. Mr. Stokes warned of an imminent withdrawal of

the grants-in-aid for the school and that he would send a copy of the Inspection report to the Director of Education to advise the principal (KNA ED/2/13163:43).

Another challenge experienced by the institution as an intermediate school was that of poor performance. Following a visit by the acting Chief of Inspection and Fr. Ottoway in 1949, the Senior Education Officer compiled performance statistics of Nyabondo Intermediate School. He noted that the performance was poor, with only four (4) passes in English, no pass in Swahili, three (3) passes in Mathematics, two (2) in History, two (2) in Geography, six (6) in Nature and (3) passes in Art and Craft out of a total of thirty-five (35) learners. (KNA ED/2/13163:43). The missionaries placed a lot of value on Art and Craft and therefore, the poor performance in Art and Craft was not welcomed by Fr. Leo in particular. Fr. Leo taught the subject and missionaries wanted Africans to gain technical skills (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021). Mr. Stokes suggested an increase in the number of English lessons and a little Swahili to be taught as a response to the concerns of receiving less formal instruction than other schools in the Inspection report (KNA ED/2/13163:39).

There were cases of poor retention of learners at Nyabondo Intermediate School. In the Inspection report of 15th September 1949, the Inspector observed that Nyabondo Junior Secondary School had 9 Form Twos from the original recruitment of 25 learners and a total of 20 Form ones with an original admission of 37 learners. This showed premature establishment and a very unsatisfactory standard of admission (KNA ED/2/13163:39). This is backed by the fact that majority of the learners depended on their parents for school fees (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, John Oguok, 8/2/2021; Dominicus Yongo, Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021). At some point, the District Commissioner Mr. Bonyo, while providing the Annual Reports for the district in 1967, indicated that school fees payment was quite low during the first term and that only improved towards the second

term. Mr. Bonyo observed that the improvement was due to the fact that a number of schools with low enrolment were closed. The parents in avoiding further closure had to work hard to fill the under-enrolled classes (KNA HT/17/19:30).

Indiscipline cases were common at Nyabondo Secondary School. This was a problem that affected the institution since its early days as an intermediate school then later on as a secondary school. There were individual mistakes from the students such as sneaking out of school and this was partly because the school had not been properly fenced (O.I. Lawrence Siguda, 3/2/2021). Students sneaked out of school to look for local brew in the name of 'chang'aa' and attending dancing ceremonies that were common during burials commonly known as 'disco matanga' (O.I. Lawrence Siguda, 3/2/2021; Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021).

A sneaking case was reported in Term two of 1965 by the Headmaster Fr. James Molenaar. The headmaster while sending students home for fees, a student was not sent home and clearly informed by the Principal not to go home even after approaching the principal and requesting to go home to collect the fee arrears. The student still sneaked and went home then came back weeks later. The Headmaster in response sent him back home for disregarding the orders (KNA ED/2/13188).

There were cases of student unrest, mainly strikes. One of the most notable was that of 1964 which the headmaster called on the attention of the Provincial Educational Officer concerning the cases of indiscipline (KNA ED/2/13188). The students demanded for more blankets which were not provided by the prospectus, that allowed students to be given two blankets. Following the strike, 2 students were expelled, 4 were suspended and 6 were given disciplinary work. The student who organized the strike, having only been suspended, on 17th May of 1965 led a crowd to the headmaster's house to demand

for uniforms; three times in the same day. The headmaster considered this a threat and wanted the boy expelled in fear of him being a danger and a possibility of a second strike happening (KNA ED/2/13188).

Indiscipline cases were handled in various ways and this assisted the school to maintain law and order. Dominicus Yongo recalled his academic journey and how discipline was instilled (O.I. Dominicus Yongo 4/2/2021). The prefects were given the authority to discipline their fellow students. This made the relationship between the students and the teachers to be quite wonderful and cordial (O.I. Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021). The prefects used to discipline the students and administered punishment such as picking leaves and uprooting stumps and at times, corporal punishment where they thoroughly caned them. For students to be referred to teachers, it meant that the situation was dire and required the attention of the administration. Prefects were therefore the first stop when it came to indiscipline cases (O.I. Dominicus Yongo, 4/2/2021).

The fact that the institution was led by Mill Hill Missionaries was also one of the reasons why high level of discipline was maintained (O.I. John Oguok, 8/2/2021). This claim had been observed even in North Kavirondo, where M.H.M were praised. On the Annual Report of North Kavirondo of 1937, the District Commissioner Mr. Clive, reported of M.H.M keeping a firm hand on their converts who as usual had caused singularly little trouble (KNA DC/NN/1/19:42). Such measures were placed to try and improve the moral character of the learners and steer the institution to the right gear.

Apart from the emphasis on character development, MHM also had the problem of ensuring that the institution had enough physical facilities. At the initial inception of the intermediate school, the head, Fr. Bartels, applied for different grants-in-aid in order to build classrooms, offices and ablution blocks. These grants were granted, in different

phases and at different times (KNA ED/2/13131). A school Inspection Report dated 12th October 1965, by Scholes and Ougo, with the purpose of inspection being, “Preliminary Inspection for School Certificate Grading,” the school reported a total area of approximately 5 acres with 4 classrooms, a Physics laboratory, 8 latrines with 7 washbasins/showers, a football pitch, 2 volleyball pitches. The clubs and societies included journalism, debating and Young Christian Students (YCS) (KNA ED/2/13007). However, the situation improved as years went by. The laboratories and a refurbished principal’s house were some of the facilities improved courtesy of the efforts by Fr. Leo (O.I. Patrick Oliech, 3/2/2021).

When the missionaries left Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, the new regime that included Africans continued the traditions held by their predecessors. For instance, the aspect of discipline as earlier outlined, was still upheld to the highest order with the prefects given the mandate to take part and assist in the process (O.I. Dominicus Yongo, 4/2/2021). Even after the first African took over the management of the school in 1969, Mr. Robert Arega, the school still maintained its standards. Even though Mr. Arega was from Kisumu town, the students and the residents at large loved him (O.I. Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021).

One of the outstanding roles played by the head teachers was how they handled every student from different backgrounds. There were some students living with physical disabilities. These students were well accommodated in the school and other students were taught how to stay with them and actually made sure that they were comfortable. For those who were not able to pay fees, Mr. Arega for example could assist them by retaining them in school during the holidays to work for the school and it was from the work and service provided to the school that the school fees would be generated (O.I. John Oguok, 8/2/2021).

People however decried of one problem that faced the African administration. That, since the last missionary to head the institution, Fr. Reusen, there had been turnovers of principals and this led to different management styles (O.I Philip Joel, 8/2/2021). At one point, there were rumors of making the school a day school and the local residents did not like it because after all, the school had brought about globalization within the Nyakach community (O.I Alphonse Kisia, 8/2/2021). Former students recalled on the challenges they went through; that of not having enough water and forcing them to go to river Nyamaroka to bathe and wash their clothes, and at times carry water in Jeri cans to assist in cooking in the kitchen although more wells were dug and helped curb this situation (O.I. Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021; Lawrence Siguda, 3/2/2021).

4.2.4 Management at Nyabondo Boys Secondary School

In 1948, Fr. Leo Bartels started the leadership journey of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School. When the school started as an intermediate school he was the overall head although appointed other teachers during the tenure to head the institution (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021). According to Mzee Kisia, the first to be appointed was Lawrence Sagini, who came from Kisii region. Sagini later on went back to teach Kisii region where he proceeded to be a politician (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021).

However, Sagini's leadership took four years then Edward Onyango was appointed to succeed him. His tenure only lasted almost two years then was replaced by Mr. Ignatius Mkok from Alupe in Busia. Mr. Mkok took almost six years and was the most notable because during his reign, his discipline and leadership style was well known all over the district (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021). What was most inspiring about him was how he used to play the piano and sing along that he was made chairperson of the Kenya National Music Council (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021).

Mr. Mkok's reign was a bit long and because he established a good working relationship with the institution and the Padre at large (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021). The fact that he was not from the area was also the reason why the people loved him (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021). After all these leaders, there came the establishment of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School. At the time of its establishment, there came a new regime with Fr. Molenaar as the first Principal (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021). By then, Nyabondo was an harambee school (O.I. Lawrence Siguda, 3/2/2021; George Ouma, 2/2/2021).

The residents observed that Fr. Molenaar was not strict compared to previous heads. In fact, those who had an encounter with him called him 'Oyuoya' to mean soft in Luo and this made him handle every situation in the right manner although in a calm way (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021). The principal was however faced with the problem of student unrest during his time because it was after the establishment of the school as a secondary school that the admission criterion of religion changed and students from different religious orientation from afar were admitted (KNA ED/2/13188). There was also the issue of admission of non-Catholics. In a confidential report presented by School Inspectors in the year 1965, "The Mission Manager was forced to take non-Catholic learners and was unwilling to acquire or give more land for development. He is the founder and has lived for over 40 years and has a paternal interest. His attitude has affected the staff and so, they don't see eye to eye" (KNA ED/2/13007:5).

Fr. Molenaar took three years as the headmaster of the institution after which Fr. Reusen took over around 1966 for a period of three years. His time at the school did not mark a lot of activities since he focused on ensuring discipline as well as academics (School records, 8/2/2021). In 1967, the first lot did the national examinations and it was important for the school to improve in every aspect. Discipline was well maintained

during this time. The prefects were given the mandate to assist in disciplinary and at times their words were final (O.I. Dominicus Yongo, 4/2/2021).

Dominicus was one of the students that were there during the days of Fr. Reusen and he lauded the efforts that the principal made towards moral and character development. He savors the fact that he was among the first lot to do the national exams and also a prefect during this time. One good thing he reported is that during his time at the institution, there was an outstanding disciplinary record with no student being expelled from the school and the fact that the prefects had to assist in disciplinary matters, ensured that the relationship between the teachers and the students was cordial (O.I. Dominicus Yongo, 4/2/2021).

Fr. Reusen completed his role as the headmaster in 1969 and he was famously remembered as the last missionary as a principal of the institution. He was replaced by Mr. Arega who became the first African to head the institution (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021). His appointment was highly welcomed by the Nyakach community because to them, this marked a new beginning. People wanted to see how he would head the institution since he was not a missionary (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021).

The students used to love him, loved the way he taught them and had established a cordial relationship with the students. The fact that he used to teach Mathematics made him interact with all the students because it was a compulsory subject. The principal emphasized on both the academic and co-curricular activities and students used to compete at different levels up to the national level (O.I. Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021). In fact, in 1973 the District Commissioner reports of the music festival at the district level, which was held on 26th September at the Kisumu Social Centre. From the results, it was

noted that, on the boys' choir, Nyabondo Boys Secondary School attained position 3 overall (KNA HT/17/38:17).

Life at the school during this time was simple and the students loved it with very few indiscipline cases. The diet consisted of porridge at around 6 in the morning up until mid-day was when the next meal of either maize and beans or ugali and vegetables could be served. For the indiscipline cases, a few students could sneak out and drink alcohol while there were a few that smoked bhang. However, such cases were dealt with through punishments such as manual work, removal of logs and stumps, caning as well as indefinite suspension from the school (O.I. John Oguok, 8/2/2021).

Mr. Arega spent around nine years before he was transferred and was replaced by Mr. Odiwuor in 1977 from Kabondo area (School Records 8/2/2021). Mr. Odiwuor's time at the school did not have much to document as he only took 5 years at the helm. The students and the community had already tasted the African leadership at the school. With this, they gave him a cordial welcome at the school and expected more from him. He tried his best in improving the academics as well as the co-curricular activities at the school. However, the school still maintained a normal curve from the times of Mr. Arega but started dropping and these are some of the reasons for his replacement (School records, 8/2/2021).

Mr. Odiwuor was replaced by Mr. Ollando who then took charge of the institution from 1983 to 1998. He was the longest serving principal in the school and he was credited for improving the performance in the institution. Besides improving performance, he initiated infrastructure projects including better facilities and improved structures were evident; and these were some of the reasons why his tenure took longer within the institution. These are all demonstrated in the table below (School records, 8/2/2021).

Table 4. 1: Nyabondo Boys Secondary School Principals

Year	Name
1948-1952	Mr. Lawrence Sagini
1953-1955	Mr. Edward Onyango
1956-1962	Mr. Ignatius Mkok
1962-1964	Fr. Leo Bartels (acting)
1964-1966	Fr. James Molenaar
1966-1969	Fr. J. Reusen
1969-1977	Mr. N. Arega
1977-1983	Mr. P. Odiwuor
1983-1998	Mr. T. Ollando

Source: School Records, 8/2/2021, O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021, Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021.



Figure 4. 1: On the left is the shrine where Fr. Leo was to be buried and on the right next to the church is Fr. Leo's statue. (Source: Author, 2021)

4.3 Role of Mill Hill Missionaries in the development of secondary education

This is a discussion on the evangelical and educational activities of the Mill Hill Missionaries at Nyabondo Mission. The focus will be on how it influenced the lives of the people at Nyabondo. The factors behind the establishment of the Mission Station, the reaction of the Africans and the challenges that the missionaries faced.

4.3.1 Establishment of Nyabondo Mission Station

The evangelization by the Mill Hill Missionaries started in Uganda where they came to work with the White Fathers (WF) who had arrived earlier. The MHM and the WF, were not the only missionary groups at the time, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Anglicans were also present (Gale, 1959). The school was seen as the most effective method for evangelization purposes. The missionaries also noted the aspect of inadequate catechists. The MHM and the WF therefore established their first school which was mainly meant to train catechists. The school was located at Rubaga in Uganda, where the WF had established their Mission Station (Gale, 1959).

The MHM moved to Kenya after 1900 and this was only after the completion of the Kenya Uganda railway with which they settled at Kibuye in Kisumu; where they established their first Mission Station in 1903 (Burgman, 1990). The MHM started spreading and settled in different parts of Kenya but only limited themselves to Western and Nyanza regions. They settled at Mumias, Kakamega, Yala and Asumbi by 1915 (Burgman, 1990). The nearest of these stations to Nyabondo was Kibuye in Kisumu and at Asumbi, therefore, people got attracted and used to move from Nyabondo all the way to Kisumu or Asumbi on foot to seek divine intervention (O.I. George Ouma 2/2/2021).

Out of these reasons, a new station was to be established by the MHM at Nyakach region with Fr. Leo to spearhead this process in 1935 (KNA DC/CN/1/5/3:27).

However, there was already a Mission Station established by the African Inland Mission at the Nyakach area. Therefore, establishment of MHM was seen as competition (O.I. John Odhiang, 4/2/2021). Fr. Leo did not know the exact place to position MHM station at Nyakach region with several options floated such as Abwao, Kogola, Ndori and Nyabondo by the residents. After a lot of consultation, the Station was set up at Nyabondo. According to one participant, “Fr. Leo used the magic of the drumhead cabbage where he gave the seeds of the drumhead cabbage to the residents of Abwao, Kogola, Ndori and Nyabondo to plant. The one that grew the biggest of them all was God’s choice and that was where the church was built” (O.I. George Ouma 2/2/2021).

“He therefore went back to Asumbi Mission and when he knew the time for the vegetable was ready, he came back to Nyakach. He found that the drumhead cabbage at Nyabondo was bigger than the rest and so he built the first church at Nyabondo in 1935,” the participant added (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021). The other factor that favored Nyabondo as a Mission Station was the availability of raw materials, the climate and the soil for making bricks in the area. The fact that it was easier for the church to acquire bricks for construction of the Mission Station made the area suitable (O.I. Patrick Oliech, 3/2/2021). Nyabondo is approximately 57 kilometers to the South West of Kisumu town and 61 kilometers South East to Asumbi town. One would argue that it lays in between the two early MHM centers of Kisumu and Asumbi.

4.3.2 Initial Evangelical and Educational Activities of MHM at Nyabondo from 1935

Nyabondo Mission Station was established by Fr. Leo Bartels in 1935. According to a participant, Fr. Leo was accommodated by Leo Odhiambo who offered him a place to stay. Fr. Leo was later given land by Joseph Oliech, the grandfather to Patrick Oliech

from which he established the Mission Station (O.I. Patrick Oliech, 3/2/2021). Fr. Leo offered the first mass to the people of Nyabondo under a Fig Tree where Nyabondo Boys Secondary School is now located (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021). The tree is considered sacred because even before the coming of the missionaries in the area, people used to pray sometimes under the Fig Tree and at times gave offerings to the gods too (O.I. Odete Valentine 2/2/2021). People at Nyabondo did not have a designated place to conduct their worshipping before the coming of the missionaries. When they woke up in the morning, they used to come together and give thanks to the god (Nyasaye or Were) for waking them and allowing the sun to rise as well as in the evening for making the sun set successfully (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021).

Fr. Leo had just started evangelical work at Nyabondo in 1935 when his time for holiday was due. Consequently, he proceeded for holiday in his native home in Netherlands and Fr. Lee was appointed to hold his position for the time Fr. Leo was away. Fr. Lee was from Ireland and while on acting capacity made some tremendous decisions concerning the Mission Station. For instance, when Fr. Leo came back, he found the station had already been named St. Patrick Nyabondo Mission (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021). Fr. Leo was unhappy about the situation and rescinded the decision and named the Station St. Joseph Nyabondo Mission. Fr. Lee was unhappy about the decision by Fr. Leo and this disagreement led to Fr. Lee's removal from the Station (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021).

Fr. Leo was mandated by the MHM to administrate on everything concerning the station at Nyabondo. In education, he began the educational works through the establishment of Nyabondo Primary School. This was done from the land that he was given by Leo Odhiambo (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021). The school was built to support evangelization. The missionaries saw the establishment of the school as the

most effective method to assist in the evangelization process (Gale, 1959). The curriculum in the school included basic education which would assist one to read and write and was referred to as the 3Rs (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic). The 3Rs was to assist the converts mainly to read the Bible and in converting other people because to Fr. Leo, converting many people was key to his tenure. At Nyabondo Primary School, the education was from Standard I to Standard IV (O.I. Patrick Oliech, 3/2/2021).

The first converts and the first to complete their studies at the school were influential to the society in a number of ways. Firstly, they acted as role models to the rest of the members of the community in matters concerning faith. The people would look up to them in matters concerning faith (O.I. Patrick Oliech 3/2/2021). They were also to act as godparents to the new converts and to assist them in leading life according to the good news because they had already 'matured' in faith. The early converts having already tasted the good news from the missionaries, became the first to take their children to school because they believed in good news and hard work (O.I. Patrick Oliech 3/2/2021).

Due to the fact that there was scarcity of catechists and teachers, Fr. Leo used the same policy that was used at the Rubaga Station in Uganda, where the Station would select at least three of its graduates to be well educated on matters religion so that they could be catechists (Gale, 1959). Fr. Leo being the head of the Deanery, did the same at Nyabondo Primary School. He would select the best performing learners after Standard IV of the first converts and take them to Teacher Training Centers and on their return, they would act as teachers thus were also taught about matters education. Therefore, once the youths were ready, they were deployed to Mission School in order to act as both catechists and teachers (O.I. Patrick Oliech, 3/2/2021).

Apart from education assisting in religious and spiritual growth of converts, Fr. Leo also taught the learners on how to create employment from the acquired education. He taught them how to do carpentry work, building and molding. From these, he was able to develop the skills of people and this assisted in creating employment and also used the skills in the building and the construction of the Nyabondo Parish Church (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021). This is also evident in the Nyakach Safari Reports, where the District Officer, Turnbull, in his visit to Nyakach from 24th-27th of July 1936, reported that the M.H.M built an excellent house at their station and the station is laid out with an excellent eye to practical use and general attractiveness (KNA DC/KSM/1/4/2).

Fr. Bartels tried to improve this situation in 1949. The District Officer, while visiting Nyakach on 23rd June, saw Fr. Bartels with regards to a letter from Commissioner to Social Welfare who desired information on the village crafts for travel bureaus. He saw examples of sculptures by Africans and Fr. Bartels suggested to help if there could be a show at Ahero Center for showcasing “Arts and Craft.” He also suggested practical training at Community Centers for making sisal mats to cover practical training instead of only theoretical work (KNA DC/KSM/1/4/2). Fr. Bartels did these in an effort to assist in creation of employment.

The fact that the school did well as a new Mission School, meant it was able to attract very many people from all over the nation. Just like the stations at Asumbi and Kisumu attracted residents from Nyabondo, Nyabondo was able to attract residents from South Nyanza, Western Kenya and some parts of Rift Valley in as much as some of these regions had other Mission Stations in their vicinity (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021).

When Nyabondo Mission Station was established in 1935, MHM were mourning the death of Monsignor Brandsma at Yala, the founder of St. Marys' Yala High School (KNA DC/CN/1/5/3:27). Following his death, there were some leadership wrangles, where the Brothers from Canada wanted to take over the school from the MHM (Okello, 2015). The Brothers on an acting capacity had transformed the school from a primary school to become a Junior Secondary School yet their efforts were not recognized as the MHM wanted just to replace them with another MHM Father. With this, they brought Fr. Leo Bartels to be the principal of the school and replace Brother James (Okello, 2015).

Fr. Bartels tenure at Yala was marked by resistance and a lot of teachers and students leaving the institution because he re-introduced the strong Christian teaching of religious education from which the learners preferred the literacy education that was earlier offered by the Brothers. The learners and teachers also did not like the kind of rules that were introduced by the Fathers such as: corporal punishment, constant inspection and disallowing of pocket money (Okello, 2015).

Fr. Leo Bartels also decided to slash the salary of African lay teachers and they being old boys of the institution that worked as teachers, decided to leave the institution. They included Ambrose Ofafa and Argwings Kodhek. The fact that Fr. Leo did not want to listen to the views of the students made the students strike. The strike at Yala was a turning point to the leadership at the institution as Fr. Leo Bartels was replaced by Fr. Traynor who was able to revert to the way the Brothers from Canada were running the institution (Okello, 2015).

Fr. Leo Bartels returned to Nyabondo Station and out of practical reasons started Nyabondo Intermediate School years later and subsequently Nyabondo Boys Secondary School (O.I. Alphonse Kisia 2/2/2021).

4.3.3 Education After Nyabondo Primary School establishment

Fr. Leo Bartels returned to Nyabondo after his ejection from St. Marys' Yala in 1942. He brought with him a new vision that was to develop the education of Nyabondo Station. The fact that Nyabondo Primary School was already in place, there was need to improve the education after establishment of Nyabondo Primary School. This was also informed by the fact that Fr. Leo had gone to Yala and found a secondary school.

4.3.3.1 Nyabondo Intermediate School

Fr. Leo on his return from Yala did not just start to implement his objectives of extending post-primary education. This is hugely because the World War II was still on and the government had devoted a lot of its resources to the war, leaving less towards education. The missions on their part also received less support from their mother nation missions because majority of their nations participated in the wars and were not ready to fund the African evangelization but rather managed their own war affairs (Khanani, 2015). However, after completion of the war in 1945, the formation of United Nations together with that of UNESCO, championed for education of children through making education a right for every child. The European colonies changed their policies on education in Africa and more funds were allocated for secondary school education (Khanani,2015).

At Nyabondo, this was first done through the establishment of Nyabondo Intermediate School to act as a bridge for learners who completed primary education so that they were able to join secondary education. The idea to introduce an intermediate school was also in line with the MHM policy in which the level of most schools at their stations

were primary and intermediate levels, with the curriculum in the primary level comprising of religious instructions, industrial/agricultural training and the teaching of the 3Rs. Whatever was taught at the intermediate level however, was not captured (Gale, 1959). This prompted Fr. Leo to establish Nyabondo Intermediate School in 1948; where after a learner completed education at the primary level of Standard IV would join the school for Standard V then VI and Form I and II (O.I. Alphonse Kisia 2/2/2021).

People's attitude towards intermediate schools at this time was also negative and this was among the reasons for the slow development of intermediate schools, although, overall, the buildings and structures were not that bad. The fact that they grew quite slowly, meant that they were quite few and far apart and that explains why most of them became boarding schools. The District Commissioner (D.C), Wainwright in his Annual District Report of 1952 reported, "The local community does not look at the school as its own and doesn't give the same amount of help as to the primary schools" (KNA DC/CN/1/1/7:19).

However, after a few years, the school was able to develop well and on 26th November, 1956, Nyabondo Intermediate School was registered as one of the intermediate school with Fr, Leo Bartels being the overall head since he was the head of the Deanery and headed all matters within the Mission Station including education (KNA DC/KSM/1/10/38:257).

4.3.3.2 Nyabondo Secondary School

Following the establishment of Nyabondo Intermediate School, Fr. Leo saw the need to introduce a full secondary school. This was not limited to a number of factors such as distance, since people had to travel a long distance to St. Mary's Yala for their

secondary education because it was the only Catholic Boys secondary school. It was a requirement for the graduates of the intermediate schools to join secondary schools in respect to their denomination (O.I. Alphonse Kisia 2/2/2021).

Residents of Nyabondo had negative attitude towards the intermediate school during its initial inception and Fr. Leo feared for the same (KNA DC/CN/1/1/7:19). There was also the issue of slow disbursement of funds on the part of the government, although at this time, this was not anticipated since there was no World War (Ibid).

The MHM Fathers ensured their contribution in the establishment of the secondary school through the leadership of the institution. This is by appointing Fr. Molenaar as the first principal of the school at its inception in 1963. The fact that Fr. Leo was the head of the Deanery okayed this move to have Fr. Molenaar as the head so that he could only assist from the outside as the Padre (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021). When Fr. Molenaar left the institution, he was replaced by Fr. Reusen who was also part of the MHM Fathers and in as much as he took less time at the institution, he left a hallmark that is still remembered to date (O.I. Dominicus Yongo 4/2/2021). With the strictness of the MHM Fathers, the institution was able to be transformed into a disciplined school as well as admired by many and that explains the reason as to why it was able to attract teachers and students from all over the nation (O.I. Dominicus Yongo, 4/2/2021; Joseph Demarco 3/2/2021).

Yet again concerning leadership, the MHM Fathers were involved in governance matters of the institution. This was through their appointment as chairpersons of the Board of Governance (B.O.G). Fr. Leo Bartels who was obviously head of the Deanery during the inception of the secondary school, served as the first chairman of the B.O.G from 1964 to 1970 after which he was replaced by Fr. John Mak'Opiyo. Fr. John was

credited as being the first African in as much as he only lasted for two years as the chair. He was then replaced by Mr. Ondiek Athanase who served as the chair from 1972-1979. He was also an African and was replaced by Fr. Dowds who took charge at the helm from 1979-1981. Fr. Dowds was the second MHM Father to chair the B.O.G in as many years and he is also credited as being the last white father in that line. Fr. John was then re-appointed from 1981-1984 before he was finally replaced by Fr. Nobert who held the position from 1984-1992. He was in charge at the helm when the last missionary left the institution in 1985. Therefore, the school Board has only been chaired by two MHM Fathers since its inception as demonstrated in the table below (School Records, 8/2/2021).

Table 4. 2: Nyabondo Boys Secondary School B.O.G Chairpersons

Year	Name	Designation
1964-1970	Fr. Leo Bartels	MHM Father
1970-1972	Fr. Mak'Opiyo John	Non-MHM Father
1972-1979	Mr. Ondiek Athanase	Non-MHM Father
1979-1981	Fr. Dowds	MHM Father
1981-1984	Fr. Mak'Opiyo John	Non-MHM Father
1984-1992	Fr. Owino Norbert	Non-MHM Father

Source: School Records, 2021

4.3.3.3 Education for Girls

The development of boys' education at Nyabondo pushed for the investment on education for girls. This was not until in the 1940s when the matter was discussed by the MHM to Kisumu Vicariate through a memorandum that concerned education for girls with few girls getting educated (KNA PC/NZA/2/11/32). The MHM were willing to co-operate in schemes involving the training of girls at Catholic Training Centers

and not non-Catholic Centers since they had been training Sisters at the Convent. The MHM therefore requested for full boarding grants to all existing girls' schools for at least 60 children. The MHM also proposed a simplified syllabus for General Education for girls that included: good handwriting, reading and arithmetic, with a Special Domestic Science Certificate of Efficiency taking the place for Primary School Certificate for girls (KNA PC/NZA/2/11/32).

Doyle and Herbert through the memorandum also proposed for a Female Teacher Training to be given to present training centers or girls' schools with qualified European Mistresses. They also advocated for a learned girl as one that is literate and dutiful as such a girl would emanate from the Boarding schools rather than an illiterate yet dutiful girl who was only brought up at home. Another observation was that girls should be trained as nurses for it was an admired profession and one that would be beneficial to the hospitals and the Missions at large (KNA PC/NZA/2/11/32).

This allowed girls to receive education; however, there were cases of school drop outs. In the Central Nyanza District Annual Report of 1953, the District Commissioners (D.C) Wainwright and Watts reported that girls' enrolment in schools showed slow signs of progress as many girls who entered intermediate schools failed to complete the first two years of learning. The board therefore decided to concentrate on girls' intermediate education to the selected already developed intermediate schools (KNA DC/CN/1/1/8). The same sentiments were highlighted a year later by the D.C. Watts while providing the Annual Report of Central Nyanza District of 1954, where he reported that, "There was need to encourage education for girls since there is a tendency for girls to leave schools after completing Standard VI" (KNA DC/CN/1/1/9:17).

The issue of education for girls is one that has dragged on and has been a subject of discussion at the Catholic church. That the girls were going astray, they were not going to school, and for those who went to school, were not able to complete their studies due to factors such as distance from home to school which is caused by scarcity of girls' schools. The situation was arrested by the establishment of many girls' schools in the Nyakach area by the MHM such as Nyabondo Girls Boarding, Sigoti Girls Complex and Bolo Girls (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021). However, such are discussed in the succeeding chapter of this study.

On a positive note however, is that the girls from MHM established schools were doing well in academics and co-curricular activities. The D.C. Akibaya in his Annual District Report of 1968, reported on education activities (academics and co-curricular) in the Kisumu District. In academics, he reported of only 4 girls' boarding schools operating in the District and that these schools gained such a popularity that the demand for such schools in the District were on the increase. The schools were Nyabondo, Maseno, Rae and Nyakach (KNA HT/17/22:23). In co-curricular activities, he reported of the Music Festival finals held on the 3rd of August 1968 with Nyabondo Girls School choir from Nyakach alongside Ongeche and Reru schools recognized to have showed excellent performances at the finals (KNA HT/17/22:22).

4.3.4 Challenges faced by the Mill Hill Missionaries

Whereas the growth and development of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School was largely successful, MHM faced their share of challenges. First, the missionaries faced the challenge of acceptance. Some residents resisted the settlement of MHM. This included atheists who were not sure about the kind of evangelism that MHM were trying to propagate to them (O.I. Joseph Demarco, Patrick Oliech, 3/2/2021). Another group that resisted were African Inland Mission who had already settled at the Nyabondo area and

felt that MHM invaded their region and would take away some of their converts (O.I. Patrick Oliech, 3/2/2021).

These sentiments were replicated in a report by D.C. Capt. Davenport while providing his Annual Report for Central Kavirondo for 1935. He reported that the AIM was already suffering. Its sphere of influence had been invaded by the PAG at Nyangori and the MHM were also on the verge of doing the same at Nyakach. "The reason for this encroachment was the fact that the AIM had very old superintendents at the helm of their Stations who were not able to pull the strings" (KNA DC/CN/1/5/3:27). The Mission Station at Nyangori was able to increase its influence after building Goibei School thereby attracting some of the AIM adherents (KNA DC/CN/1/5/3:27).

The AIM, however tolerant they were, did not go down without a fight. They tried to impose the two-mile radius rule they had earlier on inflicted to Church Mission Society (CMS) in 1932. The D.C. reported through the D.C. Safaris of December 1932 that the AIM reported of CMS encroachment on their territory and the District Officer at the time had advised for the disputes to be referred to the European missionaries and in the event of failure to agree, they should be refused permission to build. That made the CMS give in and move to another region (KNA DC/KSM/1/4/2).

The AIM however failed against MHM because the MHM presented a number of clauses to support their stay at the area. This was at the District Education Board's (D.E.B) Meeting of 1945 where the Nyakach Catholic Mission complained to the D.E.B chair of Kisumu of the two-mile rule that had earlier been raised by the AIM at the D. E. B's previous meeting (KNA DC/KSM/1/0/37). That the rule would offer a monopoly of education to one school within an area of four-mile diameter to the possible exclusion of a minority strong enough to maintain its own school within that area, unless the

“special treatment” (geographical position and density of population) clause were applied after much unnecessary trouble. Another clause was that any denomination might artificially checkmate any other denomination by placing its schools so that no school of another persuasion could be inserted anywhere without again having recourse to the “special treatment clause” (KNA DC/KSM/1/0/37:189).

The MHM also faced problems associated to land. At first things were all smooth and there were no problems concerning land. However, following their quest for more land for purposes of expansion to have a hospital, there arose some issues. The MHM Fathers had applied for 2.77 acres of land in a meeting held at the local land board on 22nd November 1951, which was granted (KNA DC/KSM/1/4/2). However, on 9th January 1954, the District Officer P. Browning, on his Safari Diary, reported to the D.C. of a land scuffle where the land owners needed compensation for the extension of 2.77 acres to the Mission plot for the hospital and maternity center (KNA DC/KSM/1/4/2).

The MHM fathers arrived at Nyabondo in 1935 and this was immediately just before the 2nd World War. While they were establishing their Station the government at that time also faced the problem of preparation and participation of the War, where it would shift its focus to their affairs to their mother nation in Britain rather than the Kenyan education. The missionaries used to apply for grants-in-aid to the government to support them in their efforts to establish their Stations. The disbursement would either be gradual or delayed mostly while establishing the intermediate school. Fr. Leo was however relentless and made sure that he applied for different capital grants to assist in building of different classrooms, latrines, staff houses and offices (KNA ED/2/13131). These several appeals led the capital grants being granted which in turn led to the building of Form I classroom since the school initially had only up to Standard VI as observed by the Director of Education of Nyanza in 1947 (KNA ED/2/13131).

4.4 Role played by Africans to the MHM Activities

The African reaction to the coming of the MHM at Nyabondo was both positive and negative. Positive in the sense that they welcomed the missionaries well and even provided them a place to stay and settle while negative in the sense that there are some who were reluctant in allowing the missionaries in the area for fear that they could have displaced them from their native land. Those who welcomed the missionaries were mostly Catholics who used to pray at Kisumu and Asumbi and were already fond of the missionaries while those who were unwelcoming were the African Inland Mission converts who saw the MHM as invaders to their territory and the atheists who did not believe in God and the MHM's gospel (O.I. Patrick Oliech, 3/2/2021). Leo Odhiambo accommodated Fr. Leo from the time he arrived from Asumbi to the time the Mission Station was established (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021).

The residents in as much as they provided accommodation, later on provided land for the building of the station and later on provided more land for expansion. Joseph Oliech owned one of the largest pieces of land at Nyabondo where Fr. Leo wanted the station to be established and was able to donate his land to facilitate the process (O.I. Patrick Oliech, 3/2/2021). Fr. Leo knew ways of changing the attitude of those that had a negative attitude towards his arrival. He provided to the residents an act of togetherness where people could converge and pray together the Catholic manner and so this was able to attract those who had a different opinion. He also came with sweet items to entice people such as sugar, blankets and clothes where he could give it to the elders who would in turn change their attitude and allow Fr. Leo settle comfortably (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021).

Fr. Leo was also comfortable with how people lived and did not ask them to change their culture immediately, and this is what made people love the MHM Fathers more.

Their old habits of drinking alcohol and smoking cigarette were not condemned but at least only being moderated (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021). They at least tried to regulate because they warned the people of drinking and smoking too much and how harmful it would be to them and this made people love them because they did not deny the residents of the habits. Even in matters concerning marriage, the MHM advised people to marry in a good way, in which case, the Christian way which included registering their marriage and not just conducting marriages anyhow (O.I. Lawrence Siguda, 3/2/2021).

The residents were much more thrilled when they learnt that the missionaries were not only bringing evangelization but rather providing education to them. So when Nyabondo Boys Secondary School was established, they provided all the support necessary to ensure the inception. Dominic Osire for example, who was a very good friend to Fr. Leo, assisted in collecting money from Ahero, Kericho up to even Mombasa in order to help fund the establishment of the secondary school. This was the case in as much as the government provided grants in aid to assist in the establishment and development process (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021).

At the start, some residents provided construction materials such as bricks, stones and timber to aid in the construction process. Others were able to provide free labor to assist in making sure that the construction was complete in as much as their source of labor was compensated for (O.I. Odete Valentine, 2/2/2021). Once the schools were complete, whether the intermediate or secondary schools, the residents also assisted in being the first ones to attend the schools they helped the MHM build and after the completion of their education from the institution, they offered teaching services from the skills and knowledge they had acquired (O.I. Patrick Oliech, 3/2/2021).

The residents also took their children to the schools within Nyabondo Station rather than taking them far away to receive education (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021; Lawrence Siguda, 3/2/2021). The missionaries not only built schools at their Station but also the Church, the Convent and the Hospital. This required a vast piece of land to allow for these constructions. The residents were ready to assist in providing more land for expansion. The D.C. provided a Safari Report of Nyando Division at Nyakach, concerning a meeting held at the local lands Board of Central Nyanza on 22nd November 1951. The meeting had an application by the Nyabondo Roman Catholic Mission for setting apart 2.77 acres of plot for the establishment of a Hospital and a Convent at Nyabondo (KNA DC/KSM/1/4/2). The land was granted and the hospital and the covenant got established with the hospital starting as a maternity center (KNA DC/CN/1/1/9:18).

4.5 The influence of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School on the community

This is a discussion of the influence that Nyabondo Boys Secondary School had on the political, social and the economic life of the people they evangelized. As a pioneer school in the area, Nyabondo Boys Secondary School has been used as a point of reference by the MHM while developing schools in the area.

Apart from contribution to the educational development in the region, the chapter observes how the school is credited for the role it played in advancing the lives of the people politically, socially and economically. This has been done through documenting the contribution of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School to the Kenyan society via highlighting some of the Old Boys of the school and the roles they have played.

4.5.1 Nyabondo Boys Secondary School and Educational Development

As observed, the school fully established as a secondary school at the time when the country was about to get its independence from the colonial regime. However, as an

intermediate, it started long before this. As stated in the preceding chapters, it is among the first to be established by the MHM in Kisumu region after St. Mary's Yala High School. Other schools such as Maseno School was started by the CMS and Onjiko High School by the AIM (KNA DC/KSM/1/10/38). This made Nyabondo Boys Secondary School to be among the first schools to offer secondary education to Catholic students in Kisumu County having been established by MHM.

Nyabondo Boys Secondary School made a huge contribution to the development of education in Kisumu County (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021; Thomas Oguok,8/2/2021). John Odhiang is one of the beneficiaries of education offered by MHM at Nyabondo and credited them for availing the school to him and providing education opportunities to the local community members who only used to admire St. Mary's Yala Secondary School. He was able to attend both Nyabondo Primary School and Nyabondo Intermediate school before proceeding to St. Mary's Yala for secondary education. He is now a retired Labor Officer having worked at different positions at the Ministry of Labor. Due to the kind of education offered at Nyabondo, he was convinced to take his son to Nyabondo Boys Secondary School from which he joined University of Nairobi and he is now a successful businessman. He noted that he made his son join the school because of the good education he had received and were it not for the school, he could not be where he is today (O.I. John Odhiang, 4/2/2021).

The MHM after establishing Nyabondo Boys Secondary School did not stop at that. They also established and developed more schools (primary and secondary) in the region especially after independence since Nyabondo Boys Secondary was fully established at the time of independence. These schools included: Ahero Girls, Koru Girls, St. Anthony Kajimbo, Ndori School, Mawego TTC and many more schools (O.I. George Ouma; Alphonse Kisia; Cleophas Ogado 2/2/2021). The MHM not only

established such schools but also made sure that they were well developed and inculcated a desired culture that they used at Nyabondo Boys Secondary that worked (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021).

The establishment of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School first was pivotal in ensuring the growth of the upcoming schools. The fact that it was established earlier, provided teachers since as earlier mentioned, the first teachers were the first students to receive MHM education. These teachers were also deployed to the upcoming schools to assist in teaching as the schools developed (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021). This included even the principals and chairs of school boards because the school was able to produce qualified teachers who were competent to teach. The school has also provided a sense of admiration for these upcoming schools because most schools would want their structures to look like the ones at Nyabondo Boys Secondary School or even borrow some of the practices that the institution offered its learners (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021).

Education involves academics and co-curricular activities. Nyabondo Boys Secondary School remained a center of excellence in both. The fact that the school had huge fields made it possible to train in co-curricular activities and perform well (O.I. Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021). The school used to host majority of the district games and at times the provincial games and this would attract schools from all over the district. The activities included football, volleyball, athletics, music and drama festivals, debates as well as hockey. The school competed so well against other schools and even advanced to the national level. This made the school to be admired by those that competed against them (O.I. Adero Philip, 8/2/2021).

The school has left its trademarks on matters education not just in Nyabondo area, but also in Kisumu County and the nation at large. This is evident in the different sectors in the education fraternity, where alumni of the school have held influential positions. These include the late Dr. Okello Pius, who owned Makini Schools where he established schools that have produced top candidates as well as being admired widely by all, Prof. Patrick Ayiecho Olweny, who has been a senior lecturer and a professor at Maseno University over the years and has also served as a Member of Parliament then as Assistant Minister of Education, Dr. Omondi Oscar Donde, a renowned environmentalist currently at Egerton University as a senior lecturer (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021).

4.5.2 The influence of Nyabondo Boys Secondary on the Political, Social and Economic life of the Community

The establishment of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School helped build moral and character development of its learners (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021; John Odhiang, 4/2/2021). Moral and character development was key to MHM because a student with the right morals would perform well in class. This was achieved through high discipline that the school instilled to the students right from its inception as an intermediate school. Mr. Mkok was widely applauded by former students at the intermediate level who attributed his strictness and forms of discipline to the good performance that the school generated (O.I. Alphonse Kisia, 2/2/2021; John Odhiang, 4/2/2021). Even after the development of the school into a secondary school, discipline was still instilled. The head teachers such as Fr. Leo and Mr. Arega used to cane the students most of the time (O.I. Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021). The prefects were given the opportunity to assist in disciplining their fellow students and this assisted in making sure there was a cordial relationship between the learners and the teachers which in turn made the learners

comfortable to conduct their studies and perform better (O.I. Dominicus Yongo, 4/2/2021).

The school also influenced the religious lives of the people both in the community and outside the community. During the inception of the school, the school used to only admit Catholic students as one of the prerequisites apart from good performance. This culture also applied to the B.O.G chairpersons and the head teachers posted in the institution. Fr. Leo investigated and interrogated the head teachers and the chairpersons in order to know which kind of people they were (O.I. Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021). At some point, a new chairperson to the B.O.G of the school had to undergo the whole process of Catholicism and became a Catholic in order to hold the position (O.I. Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021).

The school also lured other people from their denomination to become Catholics. This is because, they interacted with Catholics on a daily basis and this allowed them to feel the need to join the Catholic church. A good example is Adero Philip who is a former deputy principal to the institution (O.I. Adero Philip, 8/2/2021). There is also a close tie between religion and politics, whereby, for one to run for any political seat in the area, he/she ought to be a Catholic in order to stand a great chance of winning. Most leaders, including the former Member of Parliament Hon. Ojwang' K'Ombudo, were products from the school and the fact that they became Catholics, it was easier for them to win elections (O.I. Cleophas Ogodo, 2/2/2021).

Establishment of the Mission Station saw people join different religious denominations. Others either joined different denominations or started their own religious denominations but who were at one point of the Catholic domain (O.I. Cleophas Ogodo, 2/2/2021; Dominicus Yongo, 4/2/2021). The D.C. Watts, in his Annual District Reports

of Central Nyanza of 1954, reported of continued small breakaway denominations from the Missionary Societies, for instance, the 'Jolendo' along Ng'iya area and the 'Dini ya Mariam' along the Nyakach region (KNA DC/CN/1/1/9).

On the economic front, the school has been instrumental. The school offered ready market for farm produce from the farmers within the community. Although the situation changed after the government took over the management of the school with tenders now being contested for by anyone (O.I. John Odhiang, 4/2/2021). The school offered employment opportunities first to members of the community. These included jobs such as teaching, security services, cleaning services and secretarial services (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021). Following the problem of inadequate houses at the teachers' quarters, rental houses were constructed to serve school staff and this brought income to the owners (O.I. George Ouma, 2/2/2021).

The establishment of the Mission Station and the school in the area also transformed the lives of the residents economically in the sense that there is a tarmac road in the area right from Sondu all the way past Nyabondo. Demarco, one of the longest inhabitants of the area, credited the MHM for establishing the school and claimed that the road would never have existed were it not for the establishment of the Mission Station (O.I. Joseph Demarco, 3/2/2021). The District Officer, Mr. P. Browning while on his Safari Diary on 12th May 1954, reported to the D.C. that when he tried to visit Nyabondo Mission for the second time, the road along Nyabondo plateau was non-existent and that in his previous attempt, the road was waterlogged (KNA DC/KSM/1/4/2).

The MHM influence to the residents of Nyabondo is also evident in farming and the agricultural sector at large. People engaged in farming activities more in order to

provide to the school its produce as part of their market. New cash crops such as coffee have also been introduced at the area as a result of the school (O.I. Cleophas Ogado, 2/2/2021). The coffee plantations were doing well although they had to be taken to Kisumu for processing. This resulted in construction of a coffee factory in the area (O.I. Cleophas Ogado, 2/2/2021). The D.C. Mr. Akibaya Jaluo, in his Annual District Report of 1968, reported on the state of cash crops in the district and highlighted that Nyakach in general had 40 acres of Robusta coffee and Nyabondo had 53 acres of Arabica coffee. He also noted that, in the same year, the construction of a coffee factory was underway and it was hoped that it would ease the process of cherry processing in the district (KNA HT/17/22:13).

This is evident from missionaries' involvement in farming matters as highlighted by Gale (1959). Gale noted that the missionaries offered industrial and agricultural education at the Mission Stations so as to assist the learners and the communities to better their livelihoods (Gale, 1959). This is evident in this study as the residents of Nyabondo were taught farming methods and this assisted in improving their farming techniques, which in turn they used to better their living standards

4.5.3 Roles of the Old Boys of the school in community development

Former students to the school took up different roles in the society. They joined both the formal and informal sectors in an attempt to improve their lives as well as their families. There are those who decided to become academicians such as George Ouma, who is a retired teacher, having taught different schools including Ahero Girls High School, Prof. Paul Raburu, who is a professor and a Dean at Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology, Augustino Omumo, who served as an Educational Officer for decades and several teachers including Thomas Oguok and his

brother John Oguok who have taught in different schools including Agoro Sare High School until their retirement (O.I. Thomas Oguok, 4/2/2021; John Oguok, 8/2/2021)

The school has also made its students embrace the religion, where it has been able to produce catechists such as Thomas Oguok, who after retiring from the teaching profession, became a catechist at Nyabondo parish. In matters politics, majority of the leaders around Nyakach region are alumni of the school. They include Ojwang' K'Ombudo, who is the former Member of Parliament, Prof. Ayiecho Olweny, who is a former Assistant Minister of Education and also the incumbent Deputy Governor Dr. Mathews Owili. In the corporate sector, there is the late Dominic Osire, a former accountant at Barclays Bank (now Absa bank), and his son Luke Osire, who worked as Managing Director to Kenya Tea Development Agency (O.I. Alphonse Kisia; George Ouma 2/2/2021).

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter traced the history of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School from 1935 to 1985. Some of the most notable features with regard to the establishment of the school have been discussed right from when the school started as an intermediate school to the time it developed into a secondary school. The chapter also highlighted some of the challenges the institution faced from its establishment such as staffing, student unrest and insufficient facilities while also documenting how students and staff were determined and focused and never let such challenges deter their performances.

The chapter has also provided a general outlook on the Mill Hill Missionaries and their activities that led to the development of education at Nyabondo. This was done through establishment of a Mission Station in order to operate from the Station. In relation to this, the chapter outlined the reaction from the Africans towards the settlement of the MHM Fathers and the kind of support that they provided to the people at Nyabondo.

The several challenges also encountered by the missionaries during their stay at the region has also been discussed and how they dealt with their problems has also been discussed.

Additionally, the chapter has also examined the influence Nyabondo Boys Secondary School had on the lives of the community. This has been done through highlighting on the economic, social and political development of the community. It should be noted that the establishment of the school influenced the lives of the people positively and contributed to the development of different schools in the region. By documenting some of the roles played by the Old Boys of the institution is also a clear indication of the positive influence the school has had on the socio-economic and political lives of the people.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the findings, the conclusions from the findings and draws recommendations and suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

This study sought to find out the contribution of the Mill Hill Missionaries to the growth and development of secondary education in Kisumu County. This was done by focusing on Nyabondo Boys Secondary School from 1935 to 1985 as the school of interest. The study also sought to examine how the activities of MHM and the establishment of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School transformed the lives of those living within Nyabondo region and the nation at large.

The study answered the following study questions; What was the historical development of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School? What was the role played by MHM to the development of education in Kisumu county with special reference to NBSS.? What was the role played by the Africans in supporting the MHM establish NBSS.? In what ways did the MHM established schools impact the local community and beyond?

This was a historical research. Past historical records were used in the reconstruction of the historiography of MHM activities and how they influenced the growth and development of secondary education while relying on documents from the Kenya National Archives (KNA), school records from Nyabondo Boys Secondary School and oral interviews from the informants. The study therefore utilized both Primary and Secondary sources.

The interviews were formal because there were appointments made to conduct the interviews. These interviews were done on former teachers, former students, village elders and former education officials. Data collected from the interviews was corroborated with data from the KNA and was verified using the historical method of internal and external criticism in order to ascertain its authenticity. From the verified data, interpretations were made and then classified historically and thematically with respect to the study objectives.

From the findings, it is important to note that the MHM played a crucial role in the historical growth and development of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School from 1935 to 1985. Fr. Leo Bartels contribution to the school was quite tremendous from the time of its inception. Through his efforts, the school was established; first as an intermediate school in 1948 and then as a secondary school in 1963 when it was registered fully as a secondary school. Being the head of the Deanery, he made sure that the school had good structures by securing grants-in-aid from the government and sound leadership; with missionary teachers such as Fr. Molenaar and Fr. Reusen being among the principals. Discipline was key to the success of the Fr. Leo's administration and teachers like Mr. Mkok and Mr. Arega are still admired for their work. The school had its fair share of challenges but that did not hinder its staff and students from giving their all and performing well.

The study also revealed that MHM played a vital role to the growth and development of secondary education in Kisumu County. This is through the establishment of Nyabondo Mission Station by Fr. Leo after his arrival from Asumbi where he had established a Station too. At Nyabondo, he established Nyabondo Primary School to offer primary education, then Nyabondo Intermediate School to offer Kenya African Preliminary Examination for one to merit admission into secondary education. MHM

then established Nyabondo Boys Secondary School and from this, several secondary schools have come up in relation to N.B.S.S and this is the crucial role that MHM played in the growth and development of secondary education in Kisumu County. Fr. Leo also established Nyabondo Parish Church and Nyabondo Mission Hospital. Upon his demise in 1983, he will be remembered for his outstanding efforts at Nyabondo.

The study not only documented the activities of MHM at Nyabondo but also the role played by the people that lived at Nyabondo during the time of MHM settlement. It was observed that the people reacted positively to the settlement of MHM and provided support in form of accommodation, provision of land for the Mission establishment and expansion and also provided labor for construction purposes. The community also provided their children to be educated in the schools and this provided a platform for the rest of the community and beyond that the school was a good fit for learners to acquire their studies from. These efforts assisted in the growth and development of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School.

The study also demonstrated the impact of MHM established schools to the advancement of the political and socio-economic lives of the Nyabondo community and beyond. It was noted that the schools provided basic literacy skills and nurtured learners into productive members of the society. This was because the school laid a foundation for its students to continue and further their education in different fields. The school also shaped the leadership skills of its learners. This is through producing political leaders that have ruled the area and beyond; while also having managers at the corporate sector.

5.3 Conclusions

From the findings, it can be concluded that, the historical growth and development of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School from 1935 to 1985 can be greatly attributed to the

activities of the Mill Hill Missionaries as well as the key roles that the Africans played in supporting the missionaries establish the school in the region. Mill Hill Missionaries played a vital role on the growth and development of secondary education in Kisumu County through the establishment of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School. The establishment of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School in return was instrumental to the social, economic and political transformation of the Nyabondo community and beyond to the Kenyan nation.

5.4 Recommendations

This study recommends that the school and its administration should not shun from practices that were instilled by the missionaries. In as much as the world is embracing globalization, earlier missionaries' practices should still be included to the school traditions since the value they carry as still relevant to the institution. Discipline has been noted as key to the success of the school and the study recommends for the schools to instill strict measures for the indiscipline cases in the quest to compete at high levels.

The missionaries' activities have been discussed in the preceding chapters. These activities have laid a foundation to the historical growth of the schools. Their activities were however reduced following the Ominde Report of 1964. This study recommends that the missionaries' activities should not be underscored and that the church should continue educating members of the community on the importance of education despite the fact that its role in the management of schools has been curtailed. This will however be effectively achieved through minimal competition from the churches as is nowadays observed in their service provision.

Through actions that Africans played in supporting Mill Hill Missionaries establish Nyabondo Boys Secondary School, the study recommends for inclusivity in making decisions regarding educational development and societal transformation. This should

be done through creating general awareness to the public through the inclusion of faith-based organizations, the state, other educational stakeholders and community members on matters education as a means to arriving at undisputed and informed decisions.

It is notable that the National Government is responsible for education in Kenya while the County Government is only responsible for Early Childhood Education and village polytechnics. Therefore, it might not be able to reach greater depths while dispensing its duties. That is why, from the findings, it was worth noting of the challenges that the institution faced including staffing and student unrest. This study recommends to the two levels of government to involve one another and redefine their jurisdictions to assist in arresting the problems early enough before and at the County level rather than always waiting for the National Government to act.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The study examined the contribution of Mill Hill Missionaries to the development of secondary education in Kisumu County. This exposed the role that the church played in the development of secondary education. It is possible that missionary organizations played a role to the development of institutions of higher learning. Therefore, it is necessary for research to be done on the contribution of the missionary organizations and faith-based organizations to the development of education in institutions of higher learning.

The study contains information both at the colonial and post-colonial period. There were educational policies that informed educational decisions at these periods, some of which have been mentioned in the course of this study such as Ominde Commission and Phelp Stoke Commission. In this context, research should be undertaken, to examine the contribution of educational policies towards educational development in the country.

While documenting on the findings of this study, different names and personalities were linked to the historiography of educational development and transformation. This include persons such as Fr. Leo Bartels, Fr. Molenaar and Mr. Lawrence Sagini. It is therefore important if a study could be carried out on the contribution of an individual to the History of Education.

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KNA: DC/CN/1/1/7	Central Nyanza District Annual Report of 1952
KNA: DC/CN/1/1/8	Central Nyanza District Annual Report of 1953
KNA: DC/CN/1/1/9	Central Nyanza District Annual Report of 1954
KNA: DC/CN/1/1/10	Central Nyanza District Annual Report of 1955
KNA: DC/CN/1/5/3	Central Kavirondo Annual Report for 1935
KNA: DC/KSM/1/0/37	District Education Board's Meeting
KNA: DC/KSM/1/4/2	Nyakach Safari Reports
KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/38	Mission Education General Registration of Schools 1931-1960
KNA: DC/NN/1/19	North Kavirondo District Annual Report of 1937
KNA: ED/2/13007	Nyabondo Secondary School Inspections 1966
KNA: ED/2/13131	Capital Grants; Nyabondo Junior Secondary School 1947-1949
KNA: ED/2/13163	Two-Year Secondary School-Nyabondo (Mill Hill Mission)
KNA: ED/2/13188	Nyabondo Secondary School Pupils 1965
KNA: HT/17/19	Kisumu District Annual Report of 1967
KNA: HT/17/22	Kisumu District Annual Report of 1968
KNA: HT/17/38	Kisumu District Annual Report of 1973

KNA: PC/NZA/2/11/32

Mission education MHM Catholic School General 1940-1943

School Records

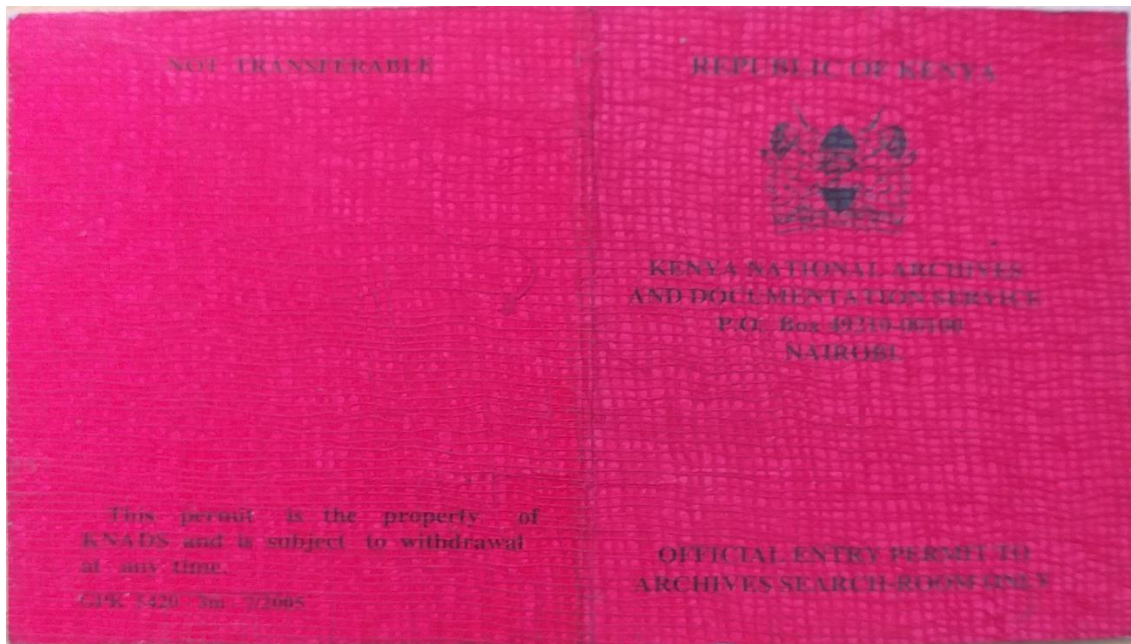
Nyabondo Boys Secondary School Records accessed on 8/2/2021

APPENDICES

Appendix I: List of Respondents

Name	Age	Date of Interview	Place of Interview
Adero Philip	63	8/2/2021	Kisumu town
Alphonse Kisia	81	2/2/2021	Nyabondo
Alphonse Kisia	81	8/2/2021	Nyabondo
Cleophas Ogodo	64	2/2/2021	Koguta
Dominicus Yongo	76	4/2/2021	Anding'o Opanga
George Ouma	80	2/2/2021	Sigoti
John Odhiang	82	4/2/2021	Oboch
John Oguok	67	8/2/2021	Nyabondo
Joseph Demarco	71	3/2/2021	Kisumu town
Lawrence Siguda	82	3/2/2021	Nyabondo
Patrick Oliech	64	3/2/2021	Sondu
Thomas Oguok	69	4/2/2021	Nyabondo
Valentine Odete	84	2/2/2021	Oboch

Appendix III: Kenya National Archives Entry Permit




Permit No. 30971 Valid from 18/1/2021 to 18/1/2022

Name: NDENGA BILLIANS
SIOWAKA

Issued by [Signature]
Director

Address: B.U.



RENEWAL DATES:
1 18/1/2022
2
3

Appendix IV: Research Authorization Letter from the County Commissioner



THE PRESIDENCY

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telephone: Kisumu 2022219/Fax: 2022219
Email: ckisumucounty@gmail.com

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
KISUMU COUNTY
P.O. BOX 1912-40100
KISUMU.

Ref: CC/KC/ RES/1/3/VOL IV/88

Date: 5th February, 2021

All Deputy County Commissioners
KISUMU COUNTY

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION: MR. BILLIANS SIDWAKA NDENGA

Reference is made to a letter from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation no. NACOSTI/P/21/8589 of 19th January, 2021 on the above underlined subject matter.

The above named is a student of University of Eldoret. He has been authorized to carry out a research on "*The Contribution of Mill Hill Missionaries to the Development of Secondary Education in Kisumu County: A Case of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School 1935-1985*". The research period ends on 19th January, 2022.

Kindly accord him the necessary assistance that he may need.

**JOSEPHINE OUKO
COUNTY COMMISSIONER
KISUMU COUNTY.**

Copy to:

Mr. Billians Sidwaka Ndenga
University of Eldoret

Appendix V: Research Authorization Letter from the County Director of Education



REPUBLIC OF KENYA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
State Department of Early Learning & Basic Education

Telegrams: "schooling", Kisumu
 Telephone: Kisumu 057 - 2024599
 Email: countyeducation.kisumu@gmail.com

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
 KISUMU COUNTY
 PROVINCIAL HEADQUARTERS NYANZA
 3RD FLOOR
 P.O. BOX 575 – 40100
 KISUMU

When replying please quote

REF: CDE/KSM/GA/3/24/ (147)

5th February, 2021

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION
MR. BILLIANS SIDWAKA NDENGA – NACOSTI/P/20/8589

The above named is University of Eldoret.

This is to certify that he has been granted authority to carry out research on *"The Contribution of Mill Hill Missionaries to the Development of Secondary Education in Kisumu County: A Case of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School 1935 – 1985"* for the period ending 19th January, 2022.

Any assistance accorded to him to accomplish the assignment will be highly appreciated.

EUNICE A. OUKO
 For: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
 KISUMU COUNTY

Appendix VI: Introduction letter

Dear Respondent

I am a student at University of Eldoret pursuing a Masters degree in Educational Foundations (History of Education) carrying out a research on *“The Contribution of Mill Hill Missionaries to the Development of Secondary Education in Kisumu County: A Case of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School 1935-1985”*.

I am requesting for your assistance in this regard. Please help me fill the interview schedules by providing the necessary answers. The information will help me accomplish the research objectives. All responses will be treated with total confidentiality.

Thank you

Yours faithfully,

Ndenga Billians Sidwaka

Appendix VII: Interview schedule for Missionaries at Nyabondo/Former education officials'/school officials.

NAME.....

AGE.....

DENOMINATION.....

OCCUPATION.....

1. When did the Mill Hill Missionaries arrive at Nyabondo?.....
2. What are the names of the pioneer missionaries at Nyabondo Mission Station?.....
3. In which year did the missionaries mentioned above arrived at Nyabondo?.....
4. What are some of the reasons which led the Mill Hill Missionaries to establish a station at Nyabondo and not any other place in Kisumu County?.....
5. What was the reception from the local community to settlement of the missionaries?
6. Was there some form of education offered to the first converts after the settlement of MHM at Nyabondo?.....If yes, what kind of education was this?.....
7. What role did the early converts play both to the Nyabondo Mission and the community?.....
8. When was Nyabondo Boys Secondary School founded by the MHM?.....
9. What made MHM establish Nyabondo Boys Secondary School? What are the factors for the establishment of the school?.....
10. Who was the first head of the school?..... Was he/she a missionary?.....
11. What constituted the staff during the inception of the school, were they only missionaries or a blend of the missionaries and local teachers?.....

12.How has the establishment of the school benefited the local community up to 1985?.....

13.How is the government involvement in the establishment and the development of the school?.....

14.Do you have any information that is relevant to the study?.....

Appendix VIII: Interview schedule for former Head teachers/former teachers

NAME.....

AGE.....

DENOMINATION.....

OCCUPATION.....

1. Between which years did you teach at the school?.....

2. What were your academic qualifications then?.....

3. Were you appointed as a teacher elsewhere before joining Nyabondo Boys Secondary School?.....If yes, where did you teach and how long did you teach there?.....

4. How were the teachers hired and paid?.....

5. Was religious studies taught in school?.....If yes, who taught and at what interval or time?.....

6. What was the school performance till 1985?.....

7. What was the enrollment model of the school, was it progressive?.....What was the population then?.....

8. How were the students enrolled back then?.....

9. Was secondary education affordable back then?.....

10. Did the school engage in co-curricular activities?.....If yes, briefly describe which ones and how they competed with other secondary schools?.....

11. What are the trademarks that Mill Hill Missionaries left in Kisumu County?.....

12. What can you say about the alumni that you taught, have the boys been instrumental to local society or County in any way?.....

13. Please name some of the students that you can remember and what have they become over the years?.....

14. Do you have any information that is relevant to this study?.....

Appendix IX: Interview schedule for former students

NAME.....

AGE.....

DENOMINATION.....

OCCUPATION.....

1. Between which years were you a student at this school?.....
2. What made you choose to study in this school and not in any other school?.....
3. What qualifications made you merit admission to this school?.....
4. Which church do you belong/does your family belong to when you joined this school?.....
5. Who sponsored your education at this school?.....
6. Between academics and co-curricular activities, which were more emphasized by the institution?.....
 - (i) If academics, which subject and why?.....
 - (ii) If co-curricular, which activities and why?.....
7. What was the relationship between the teachers and the students?.....
8. What is your comment on the discipline of the students?.....What kind of punishment did the indiscipline students received?.....
9. Did the school have any special programs for special group of students (the disabled, orphans and those with special attention)?.....
10. Was the church involved in any matters concerning the school?.....If yes, in which way?.....
11. What challenges did you encounter as a student in the school?.....
12. What occupation(s) have you engaged in since completion of school?.....
13. Are there specific changes you would like to be made to the school now?.....
14. Do you have any other information that is relevant to this study?.....

Appendix X: Interview schedule for local community/community member/former parents to former students

NAME.....

AGE.....

DENOMINATION.....

OCCUPATION.....

1.How long have you lived in this community?.....

2.Before the coming of the missionaries, how were you worshipping?.....Please elaborate by mentioning the gods, place of worship, and when/how worshipping was conducted.....

3.Do you have any knowledge about Nyabondo Mission Station?.....If yes, can you comment on the establishment?.....

4.Do you know of Nyabondo Boys Secondary School?.....When was it established?.....

5.How did the local community react to the establishment of the school?.....

6.What kind of support did the people/local community give to the school during its establishment and development till 1985?.....

7.Have you educated any of your son(s) at the school?.....If yes, why did you take him/them to the school and not any other school?.....

8.In what ways can you say the school prepared your son to the kind of life he/she is leading now?.....

9.What changes have occurred in running of the institution over the years till 1985?.....

10.What challenges has the institution faced over the years till 1985?.....

11.How has the school benefited the local community?.....

12.Are there any other schools established by the Mill Hill Missionaries in this region that you know of?.....

13.In your opinion, what impact has the school had on the advancement of people's lives economically, politically and socially?.....

14.Do you have any other information that may be relevant to this study?.....

Appendix XI: Fieldwork pictorial data

1. Researcher and retired educationist at his residence



2. The researcher with retired catechist and patron to Nyabondo Boys Primary School



3. The researcher with former education official at his residence

Appendix XII: Similarity Report

Turnitin Originality Report

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MILL HILL MISSIONARIES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN KISUMU COUNTY: A CASE OF NYABONDO BOYS SECONDARY SCHOOL 1935-1995 by Billians Sidwaka



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http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/99439/Kalekya_Determinants%20of%20Citizen%20Participation%20in%20Devolved%20Governance%20in%20Kenya.pdf?isAllowed=y&sequence=1