

The Church Missionary Society and the Enculturation of the Freed African Slaves in Coastal Kenya

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Abstract: *Enculturation was a process by which the individual assimilated other groups' culture through instruction, experience and observation. In this context, the freed slaves were mostly put under the sanctuaries managed by the Church Missionary Society and went through a strict regimen of enculturation that broadly covered prayer life, change of names, bible reading, and mode of dress, marriage, education and mannerism. The main aim was to raise a crop of African Christians who at that moment happened to be the freed slaves and use them for the Christianization of Africa as well as for the British colonial empire-building in Africa. Contrary to the perception that African freed slaves readily accepted and adapted to Christianity and western lifestyles; there was resistance, an outright rejection of the values and even desertion from the mission stations. Enculturation produced a crop of African freed slaves who were instrumental in mission activities as others became increasingly conscientized and mainstreamed their activities into associational life and politics of decolonization.*

Keywords: Enculturation, conscientization, politics and decolonization

1. Introduction

Enculturation served as a moral code that the freed slaves were to strictly adhere to. It included a set of regulations and rules that at times was enforced by the superintendent of the mission stations (The CMS Annual Report, 1888; Harris, 1987). The strict regimen of enculturation also covered the conduct of marriage and associated ceremony. The enculturated Africans were required to go through biblical marriages in support of monogamy. The other areas of the enculturation were in the change of names, clothing, mannerism, language change, and evangelization. It is also important to note that African were not just mere recipients of enculturation as there was resistance at times.

2. Enculturated African Freed Slaves

Most of the freed African slaves in the Indian Ocean were taken to orphanages established by the British in India. The most notable orphanages or Asylum homes were the Nasik and Sharanpur near Bombay in India managed by the Church Missionary Society (Morton, 1994:61). Between 1854 and 1859, the liberated slaves in the Indian ocean were taken to the orphanage homes where they were taught history of England, geography, arithmetic, grammar, bible, carpentry, masonry, printing, cooking, tailoring and English language (Morton, 1994: 61-65). They were given the name "Bombay Africans" and the school they went to was called Nasik school modelled along the British Public schools. The aim was to produce out of the freed African slaves; a crop of educated Africans for the "empire and mission" building in Africa. The school was founded by

Rev. Price and among the most distinguished of the enculturated Africans were William Jones, Semler Ishmael Michael, George David, and Mathew Wellington among others (Morton, 1994; Strayer, 1978).

The enculturated African freed slaves became the first African readers, teachers, catechists and pastors for the freed slaves. In the period that was critical in the transition from slave trade era to the establishment of colonialism and up to end of the First World War; the evangelization into the interior of Kenya and at the coast was mostly done by African catechists, bible readers and pastors. The Bombay Africans and early freed African slaves from the interior held the leadership of the African church. They were mostly literate in Gujarati, Swahili, English and vernacular languages. The presence of the European missionaries, their background, language problems made their role in the historic expansion of the early church difficult if not impossible. Climate alone immobilized many of them. Many of the early missionaries hardly made any physical contact with the African communities except those African freed slaves in the mission stations before 1900. There was also growing opposition to Christianity from the African communities. At this period; the enculturated African freed slaves were the means invaluablely available for the work (Strayer, 1978).

The enculturated Africans sometimes faced resistance and this made their integration difficult. They regarded themselves as the "elites" and the "civilized ones" and co-labourers with Europeans in spreading gospel and civilization to Africa. The communities around the settlement in Rabai and Freretown described them as the

captured slaves (Mateka), arrogant and black European (Wazungu Weusi) or those who came. The European missionaries too were racially condescending to them and at times described them as lazy and rebellious (The East African Mission; The CMS Annual Report 1878:36; The CMS January 1881, CMS1883/47 Binns to Lang, 17 March 1883; Khamisi, 2016:35, Mwangazi, I.O. January 20, 2019). Many times, there existed cultural tensions between enculturated Africans and indigenous communities around the mission stations. Their interaction with the African communities around the mission brought a myriad of conflicts especially around marriage, social intercourse and drunkenness (Harris, 1987; Nafu, I.O. January 21, 2019).

The "Bombay Africans" did not readily identify culturally with the indigenous communities and the other locally freed slaves around the East African coast. They often referred to themselves as the culturally superior and distinct as ministers, teachers, artisans and community leaders. They had a portion of their settlement from the rest of the freed slaves in Freretown and Rabai. The social hierarchy within the settlement was that the European missionaries were at the top; followed by the Bombay Africans and the locally liberated slaves and the indigenous community around the mission stations. Tension always existed between these social categories despite the shared philosophy towards Christian enculturation (Harris, 1987). The cultural tension sometimes went beyond the mission stations. The Arab community surrounded the mission looked at Rabai and Freretown as the cause of anti-slavery proclamations. The Arab kidnapping of children for the illicit slave trade and mission harbouring of the runaway slaves from the Arab slave owners also created tension. For the Muslim slave owners, their culture and religion legitimated slavery and slave trade while for the Christians it was a moral aberration (The CMS Annual Report, 1875; Harris, 1987; Lalji, I.O. May 20, 2018).

In 1873 the first badges of enculturated Africans were the freed slaves namely the Bombay Africans such as Abdullah Susi, James Chuma, Wikipitani, Mathew Wellington and Jacob Wainwright, William Benjamin, Kalos and Legget. They had good knowledge of languages, landscapes and diplomacy and became invaluable members of 19th and early 20th-century British expeditions into East Africa. Women were also present on these expeditions. Apart from Livingstone, other explorers of the time included Harry Johnston, Joseph Thomson, Captain V. L. Cameron, James Grant, Henry Morton Stanley and John Speke. They employed Bombay Africans on their expeditions as gun-bearers, porters, servants, guides, interpreters, soldiers, cooks and their women also were associated with the Christian organizations such as the Church Missionary Society. They also formed the nucleus of the first East African settlement for returning freed slaves in Freretown and Rabai. The enculturated African freed slaves served as explorers, interpreters, missionaries and abolitionists as the ensuing discussion highlights. The following are examples of some of the enculturated African freed slaves and their role in the "empire and mission" building in the early colonial era in Kenya (Strayer, 1978; Uledi, O.I. July 21, 2018).

Mathew Wellington's (1847-1935) original name was Chingwembe, born 1847 in the Yao tribe of Northern Mozambique. He was captured in the internal strife between the Yao and Nyaza people and then sold for a "roll of cloth" at Kilwa in Tanzania and then taken to Zanzibar and then resold and transported by dhow to Arabia. En-route, he was rescued in 1871 in the Indian Ocean by HMS Thetis off Somalia coast and taken to the Nasik asylum in the Bombay where he trained as a carpenter. In 1872 he was baptized by the CMS and renamed Mathew Wellington and in the same year returned to Africa as a volunteer to join an expedition in search of David Livingstone. Thereafter in 1874; he joined the Church Missionary Society, and became one of the pioneers in the establishment of Freretown and Rabai as communities for African freed slaves in Mombasa, Kenya. His name is inscribed in the Emmanuel Church (Mombasa), as one of the faithful servants of Dr Livingstone. Wellington along with James Chuma and Abdullah Susi were to find Livingstone's body on the 1st of May 1873 in a remote village of Chitambo in Zambia. Wellington was instrumental in drawing up an inventory of Livingstone's possessions including his expedition notes, sketches and maps (Morton, 1994; Khamisi, 2016:150-151). Another explorer; Joseph Thomson who used Rabai as a base for the Royal Geographical Society Maasai land expedition in 1883 describes Wellington as a well-intentioned and honest person having served the explorer as a cook. Wellington later joined the Church Missionary Society mission at Freretown in Kenya and also worked for the IBEAC and the Public Works Department of the Coast Protectorate at Mombasa. On his retirement in 1911, the Governor recommended that Wellington should be given a pension in recognition of his work with Livingstone. This was refused by the British Treasury and Wellington died on 6th June 1935. The story of Wellington highlights the role of the freed slaves in the opening up of the interior for "the mission and the empire" (Morton, 1994; Khamisi, 2016:150-151).

Wainwright accompanied Livingstone's body to England; his journey having been funded by the Church Missionary Society. Wainwright was originally of the Bombay Africans; attended Livingstone's funeral in London, and was presented to Queen Victoria in 1874. He received a Royal Geographical Society medal on 24th September 1875. Wainwright command of written and spoken Kiswahili and English enabled him to serve as an interpreter in the CMS expeditions and missionary convoys to the court of the Kabaka Mutesa of Uganda. He later became the official scribe to the royal court and dedicated much of his working life to the CMS in Uganda and spreading Christianity until his death in 1892 in Uganda. Henry Bartle Frere in his address in 1881 to the Royal Geographical Society described Wainwright as a faithful friend of Livingstone who rescued his priceless writings and maps from destruction (Morton, 1994; Strayer 1978).

The diary of Wainwright reflects aspects of internalized racism among the enculturated Africans. His description of the African people on his way to Zambia while looking for David Livingstone as "ignorant" deficient in courage, cleanliness and honesty, reflects on a superior outlook that many of the enculturated Africans had internalized. Wainwright like many of the enculturated Africans had been

molded on Eurocentric values and westernized Christianity. His writings, therefore, reflected the internalization of the racial superiority of colonialism. Another important extract from his diary was his strict observance of Christian values. In the burial of the entrails of Livingstone together with his heart in Ilala village, he writes that he performed a Christian burial service. Only then did he allow the villagers to conduct traditional burial practice for two days (The diary of Livingstone "intrepid African attendant Jacob Wainwright digitized in Smart News Smithsonian.com April 26th 2019. <https://www.smithsonian.com/smartnews/livingstonediary/digitized>).

Wainwright accompanied Livingstone's body to London but on arrival, he was housed with servants despite having endured more than a thousand miles to bring the body from Zanzibar. The British government refused to pay for his journey to London and it was the CMS that funded his trip. This demonstrates that despite his devotion to the missionary work and those who enculturated him; he faced racism and did not fully integrate to the society that was molding him (The hero' of Livingstone last trek revealed on Sunday 20th May 2007; <http://www.smithsonian.com/15012/heroes-of-Livingstone-the-last-trek-revealed>; accessed on May 2019). The Wainwright journal reveals some of the contrasting realities that he encountered from those who were enculturating him. Upon the death of Livingstone in 1872 and when packing Livingstone's belongings he came across bottles of brandy and noted that he was disappointed that the doctor who was his mentor was taking liquor contrary to what they were taught at Nasik that a strong drink was of the devil (Edmondson, 1874). He continues to note that upon arrival in Zanzibar with Livingstone's body, the then British consul in Zanzibar captain W.F. Prideaux paid him together with his companions their wages and dismissed them. He was only able to join the body of Livingstone to London after the CMS paid for his trip. While in Britain, the British press sensationalized his presence. The Illustrated London News described Wainwright's loyalty to Livingstone as romantic and his writings on the inventory of Livingstone's belonging as largely childish and with many mistakes. The newspaper continued to describe "him as an antelope and a small black brat" (Strayer, 1978; Daley, 2019).

Wainwright continued to recount that while in London he was forced to dress up in a dark semi-clerical suit that he was required to button up all the time irrespective of the weather conditions. Some of his hosts like Cowtone, named his horse Jacob Wainwright, while Livingstone's son by the name Tom refused to serve him with brandy. He was forced to stay and dine with the servants rather than the host. Further to this, Wainwright says that him together with his companions Susi and Chuma who served as Livingstone's servants were described as big children and their loyalty and fidelity was like those of children and dogs. Wainwright writes in his journal that his reception in London greatly disturbed him and he was completely dejected because he was regarded as a servant and not a hero who endured more than a thousand mile of the African jungle to bring Livingstone's body to the coast of Zanzibar for onward transit to London. In 1874 when he returned from England he was posted to Freretown to work under the direction of

Rev. Price. He was temporally appointed as the headmaster of Freretown school but was replaced shortly by John Handford on grounds that he was not a qualified teacher. But Handford who replaced him was described by African freed slaves as a man with no former education or religious qualifications. He did not know about Africa and he was 'as green as a coconut leaf'. In comparative terms; Wainwright was more qualified than the European and he was disappointed at not being confirmed as the headmaster of the school. From the school, Wainwright was redeployed to the agricultural farm in Frere town in the hope that his knowledge of agriculture could help the settlement achieve self-sufficiency in food production. This made Wainwright to resign and move out of Frere town. He then left Mombasa for Zanzibar to work as a porter. In 1888 he left Zanzibar for Uganda when he joined the mission caravan of Rev. Philip O'Flaherty but on reaching there he abandoned the mission and took up a better paying job as an interpreter in the palace of King Kabaka Mutesa. Later he moved to the CMS mission station at Urambo in Tanzania and died in Uganda in 1892 (Daley, 2019).

Rev William H. Jones (1842-1904); was rescued as a slave in the Indian Ocean at a young age taken to Bombay under the CMS at Nasik in western India. In 1861; he was transferred to Saharanpur to learn the trade of a blacksmith. William Jones had an illustrious career as a missionary. In 1864 was sent to Mombasa, East Africa, to join Mr Johanne Rebmann. In 1865 he transferred to Kisulitini. In 1867 he was sent to the Universities' Mission at Zanzibar. In 1869, he was posted to Church Missionary Society Mission at Rabai. In 1871, he went back to Bombay, where he was engaged in seeking and sending out African men and women to join the Freretown settlement for the freed slaves. In 1874 to 1878, he was stationed both at Freretown and Rabai. In 1878 he again went back to Bombay and left India in 1881 to join the Africa Mission in Freretown and Rabai. In 1885, May 31st he was ordained a deacon by Bishop James Hannington; in 1895; January 20th, ordained a priest by Bishop Alfred Tucker and in 1896 ordained the Archdeacon. In 1888 July 22, started with Bishop Hannington on the latter fateful journey to the Victoria Nyanza (Strayer, 1978).

The foremost legacy of William Jones-like other Bombay Africans was their role in the anti-slavery campaign in East Africa. By 1880 there were over 3,000 Bombay Africans in East Africa, with the largest groups at Freretown and Rabai. The settlements became a refuge for locally enslaved Africans. Rev William Jones played a key role in gaining the freedom of hundreds of Africans by pressuring the authorities further. In 1887 the first printing press was established in Kenya by James Jones, the son of Rev William Jones. Bombay Africans from Freretown and Rabai were the editors for the first English and Kiswahili publications, such as the Coast Express and Mwalimu. They used the publication as a mouthpiece for evangelization and campaign against slavery (Morton, 1994).

In 1876 Rev. J. Lamb protested when William Salter Price of Freretown proposed to transfer William Jones from Freretown to work in Giriama for other mission activities. He stated that 'if you transferred him it would be then to better go back to England. It was better to find somebody

else to start work in Giriama country than transfer Jones there' (CMS Cadbury Archives Lamb to Wright, 161876CA5/67).

William Jones was also instrumental in the evangelization of Duruma country particularly around Kaya Muvuni and Chamamba village. He recounted what he observed there (CMS archives London, Jones to Wright August 7, 1878, CA5/014). In 1880 Jones was responsible for the evangelization of Taita people. This was after the failure of Rev. Wray and Rev Morris to evangelize the area due to resistance from the Taita people. William Jones was instrumental in the establishment of the CMS sub stations in Jilore, Taita, Shimba hills, Rabai and Freretown. Though many converts were not won, the enculturated freed Africans slaves were very instrumental in the early evangelization history (KNA, Kilifi Political Records Vol.1 1913).

When the certificate of freedom was issued to freed slaves in Rabai in 1889 to nearly 1000 slaves at the cost of 3500 pounds it was William Jones who preached and stressed on the redeeming nature of Christ and His teachings (Harris, 1978: 27). William Jones was opposed to returning runaway slaves to their former masters. In 1889, when George S Mackenzie of the Imperial British East African Company instructed the mission stations of Rabai and Freretown to return the runaway slave to their owners; William Jones said that he was 'not willing to hand over the poor souls to their cruel and merciless masters after preaching to them the sweet liberty of the Lord and Jesus Christ' (CMS Report, 1899).

William Jones returned severally to India to recruit more Bombay Africans for the mission work in Kenya. His experience, knowledge of the bible and exposure to the European culture and good command of English earned him the respect of the European missionaries. After his ordination, Jones was appointed to Rabai where he became the in charge of the mission in most of 1890. He won the reputation of the stern ruler who expelled those who violated Christian teachings and bylaws (Harris, 1978:39). Despite William Jones' earned reputation and respect from the European missionaries in Rabai and Freretown of being a symbolic success of the civilized and enculturated African for the promotion of missionary work in Kenya; he was increasingly becoming critical of the Church Missionary Society and evangelization of the coastal African communities. He faulted the Church Missionary Society white missionaries in what he termed as unsystematic evangelization of the coastal African communities. Further to this, William Jones expressed deep disappointment for the haphazard way the Church Missionary Society was conducting its evangelization and dealing with issue of slave trade abolitionism. With what he described as dismal performance among the coastal African communities he was dismayed that the Church Missionary Society was moving inland. On his deathbed he lamented (KNA Jones to Bishop peel, November 27, 1902, in a file, marked letters to 1913 "Archbishop of East Africa's Archives, CMS Nairobi).

George David (-1884); was described by Binns as an indispensable native minister of the gospel and abolitionist

by the time of his death in 1884. Rev. J. W. Handford; a missionary in charge of Rabai, wrote; "George David has been engaged in the work of the mission for twenty years in this country and his place cannot possibly be supplied. What to do with the flock left without the shepherd I don't know" (Handford to Lang, Oct 10, 1878; CMS Cadbury Archives). In 1875 George David played a major role in the evangelization of Giriama country. He visited Godoma and Jilore and was able to convince the Giriama people to send their children to Rabai for schooling and training as catechists. Out of his mission activities of 1875 to Giraima country, eight children from Godoma were brought to Rabai for training as evangelist and catechists. His activities were instrumental in the establishment of the mission stations in Jilore in 1890 (CMS London Archives, dispatch; George David to Wright, 1875, CA5/06).

Semler, Ishmael Michael, once a slave, rescued by a British cruiser from a slave ship in 1850 and taken to Bombay India. In 1854 he was taken to school at Indo-British Institution under the care of the Rev. G. Candy. Later Semler Ishmael Michael was schooled at Robert Money School in India in 1859. He was taken to Nasik in 1860 and 1864 was again re-located to the East Africa Mission in Rabai, under Mr Johanne Rebmann and ordained a deacon on May 1st of 1885 by Bishop Hannington of Equatorial East Africa. On June 30th of 1895, he was ordained a priest by Bishop Alfred Tucker of Equatorial East Africa (The Church Missionary Gleaner of May 1877; The CMS Report, 1885 and 1895).

3. Political Consciousness among the Enculturated African Freed Slaves

Indeed the reports of Europeans explorers about the interior of Africa and Kenya in particular were credited to early African Christians and particularly the Bombay Africans. The importance of these first African Christians cannot be over emphasized. Indeed the Church Missionary Society white missionaries in the 1870s had begun to protest at the attempt to remove them from their stations to new ones. They were critical in the supporting native church, propagating the gospel and in governing the native church. The policy was supported by Henry Venn, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, from 1841-1872. The policy was that in West Africa there was a growing presence of the indigenous clergy such as Samuel Crowther from Sierra Leone who became the Bishop of Niger diocese in 1864. William Price also held similar views together with JA Lamb who had previously worked with the CMS in West Africa among the Yoruba and posted in Freretown in 1976 of raising an indigenous clergy to take care of the native church.

However from 1880s the relations began to change especially between the Bombay Africans and the white Church Missionary Society missionaries because the latter did not accord the former responsibility, commensurate pay and respect with the heavy burdens they carried. From 1879 conflict began between the enculturated African freed slaves and the white missionaries. Both Lamb and Price had been replaced by other missionaries who began to look at the Africans clergy as inferior. The creation of the position of

the lay superintendent and incoming of new missionaries such as JR Streeter, A. Menzies and the first white school headmaster in Freretown Handford created antagonism with the enculturated African freed slaves particularly the Bombay Africans. Streeter in 1880 described the Bombay Africans as slovenly, drunkards, lazy and liars (CMS Archives London; Lamb to Wright, Oct 9, 1876 CA5/017).

The white missionaries did not give any preferential treatment to Bombay African though they recognized the service offered by some of them such as George Davis, William Jones, Semler Ishmael Michael. Thomas Smith who superintended the construction of every hut in Freretown was flogged and imprisoned for no account for his own. This action drove the Bombay Africans and other freed slaves away from the white CMS missionaries. In 1881 the Bombay African wrote an appeal letter to Salisbury Square London for redress. They complained that Rev A Menzies had called them 'idle, lazy and their woman spent most of the time gossiping and sleeping'. They detested generalization and demanded that they be given a mission station of their own away from Rabai and Freretown (CMS Archives London, Bombay African Memorandum to the secretary, CMS Salisbury Square May 19 1881, G3A5/01). The onslaught on the Bombay Africans did not seem to have been coming from the White CMS missionaries alone. In 1880-81, the Consul-General at Zanzibar, John Kirk had blamed them for causing friction between the missions and the Arabs at the coast by harbouring run-away slaves. He had singled out William Jones and George Davis for disobeying law and harboring fugitive slaves.

Consequently a special commission was set to inquire into the difficulties in the Mombasa Mission. The subject of inquiry was usurping the authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar by harboring fugitive slaves and use of excess force or cruelty against the subjects (freed slaves) of the sultan and finally the relationship between the Bombay Africans and CMS white missionaries. In 1881 the Bombay Africans together with other freed slaves petitioned the parent committee of the CMS in London to complain that the local white missionaries were murmuring against them and yet most work done by the white or European missionaries was through the Bombay Africans and the other native clergy. Among the petitioners were George David, Thomas Smith, John Ainsworth, Semler Ishmael Michael, and Reading Keating. In 1882 George David who was designated for the position of African Bishop in Eastern Africa similar to the position held by Samuel Crowther of West Africa resigned from pastoral work in Freretown after Rev Binns accused him of excessive love for money. In protest, twenty other African clergy including the Bombay Africans resigned and some moved to Zanzibar where they took clerical work in the United Methodist Church of Africa (CMS Cadbury Archives, 1881/59/Menzies to Huthison, 21 June 188, Binns journal, 10 Sept 1882).

Two independent inquiries were set in 1881; one instituted by the Consul-General of Zanzibar on the request from the Sultan and the other by CMS at Salisbury Square led by William Price. The inquiries were conducted between 1881 and 1882. William Price made the following recommendations. William Price found A J Streeter guilty of

cruelty against the freed slaves. He also recommended that all the three white missionaries in Freetown namely Menzies, Streeter and Handford be removed from the station. He also recommended the increase of white missionaries and suggested that Freretown be the Headquarters of CMS in East Africa. As regards the recommendations of the Consul-General, Frederick Holmwood who represented the Consul-General also found Streeter guilty and recommended the removal of the three white missionaries. Price recommended further that the Bombay Africans be given additional responsibility and better pay. He particularly noted that George David who was in charge of Kamlikeni station be given additional responsibility and appointed deacon. He also recommended that William Jones and Semler Ishmael Michael needed to be ordained because they were in charge of mission stations of Freretown and Rabai respectively (CMS Cadbury Archives, Price to Wingram Jan 4 1882 G3A5/01).

From 1890, the African catechist began to resign protesting low wages and paternalistic attitudes of the missionaries. Those who resigned included Levi Mwangoma, Josiah Rimba in 1895; and Thomas Serenge in 1896. This was followed by Ismael Semler Michael and William Jones for reasons of being paid low wages, forced to wear a kanzu, European refusal to allow regular prayer meetings by the natives and for failure to introduce English to the school curriculum. Consequently the catechist formed two organizations to represent their grievances. In 1897, they formed the Aborigine Protection Society and in 1899 the Native Association. In the 1901 the Bombay Africans and native freed slaves formed the African Workers Association under leadership of James Deimler; native freed slave from Frere town who had been ordained a minister in 1896 by Bishop Alfred Tucker (Salisbury to Euan Smith February 1, 1889 FO 84/1973 PRO). The membership was drawn from the enculturated African freed slaves of Freretown and Rabai and other outer stations who included catechists, teachers, bible readers, and lay African church workers for the mission to press for their rights and interests. They protest the white missionaries' discontinuation of teaching in English and re-introduction of the Kanzu dress which the enculturated African freed slaves used to wear as slaves. They demanded for higher wages for the mission workers. They complained of the discrimination that was rife in the mission stations. The grievances of the African liberated slaves were presented before the missions' Executive Council which was headed by the Europeans. In 1899 the CMS secretary Rev Burt wrote to the leader of the African Workers Council, Rev James Deimler to inquire of its purpose. Similarly Rev H.E. Hamshere in Freretown wrote to African Workers in the mission and instructed them that they shall deal with them directly and that 'no society shall come in between them nor shall it be allowed to act as their agent' (CMS Archives London, Harry to Binns Baylis January 19, 1900 G3 A5/015).

The CMS secretary also demanded that Deimler provide a list of its members to which he refused to do so. In the eyes of the white CMS missionaries; the enculturated African freed slaves had begun to exert a sense of authority and independence from them. However, the African Workers Association took a radical position and argued that its

members were not to engage with the European missionaries individually except through the association. Consequently the African ordained ministers, namely William Jones, Semler, Ishamel Michael and James Deimler resigned (Minutes of the Executive Committee, Mombasa Mission, July 12, 1901 in File Marked Diocese of Mombasa-Cumulative Minutes, Bishop Archives CMS Nairobi). In response the CMS Executive Committee in England met and increased the wages of the African mission workers. African priest were to be paid sixty rupees per month; deacons fifty rupees, village pastors between forty and fifty rupees, senior catechist thirty rupees, junior catechists twenty five and evangelist between eighteen and twenty rupees (Temu, 1972:86; Ishmael, I.O. May 20, 2018).

The clash between the African clergy and Europeans resulted in the expulsion of some of the Bombay African from the settlement Freretown and Rabai settlement. John Kirk the then Consul general in Zanzibar instructed the European missionaries including Price to expel some of the Bombay Africans from the settlement. He noted; 'The Bombay educated Christian should be expelled, for them it is due, most of the difficulties that have occurred are caused by them' (London Colonial Archives; FO541/48 Slave Trade; Kirk to Granville 19th Oct 1880). By 1902, the European Executive Council had softened its stand and begun to improve the working conditions for the clergy including their salaries.

In an attempt to clip its powers the white CMS missionaries began to patronize the African Workers Council and redirected its activities to welfare matters rather than political ambitions. By early 1900 when CMS begun its inland mission activities, the majority of Bombay Africans and other enculturated Africans had moved out of the mission stations seeking better paying jobs in Zanzibar and in Mombasa. Others such as William Jones had died in 1904 marking a major blow of the mission work among the liberated slaves (Temu, 1972:62).

It should be noted that the enculturated Africans did not only play a role in the spread of Christianity and mission work. They also attacked the racial inequality and discrimination by the Europeans and played role in the conscientization of Africans against the colonial abuses. Indeed they became a major sensitizing force and at the same time laying the foundation for early anti-colonial sentiments (Harris, 1978:62).

A few of the freed enculturated African families that played a key role in colonial politics included the family of James Juma Mbotela. James Juma Mbotela was one successful case of an enculturated Africa freed slaves. Tom Mbotela was the only child and son of Mbotela. Tom Mbotela was therefore the first generation descending from the freed slaves. He attended the local primary school in Freretown and the Freretown divinity school and proceeded to Buxton high school. He remained in the missionary school under the guidance of J. E. Harrison of the Freretown. He played an important role in the mission activities in Machakos. Tom Mbotela had an illustrious career; served as editor of the Baraza ; a Swahili newspaper that circulated among the African and advocated for racial equality, increased

opportunities and better services for Africans in the colonial era. In 1944 Mbotela joined the Kenya African Study Union; an elitist organization for educated Africans in the colonial era (Harris, 1978). At the time KASU was headed by Harry Thuku, Francis Khamis as secretary and Albert Owino as treasurer. Tom Mbotela served as assistant secretary to Khamisi both of whom were the enculturated Africans of slave descent from Freretown. In 1946 when KASU transformed itself into the Kenya African Union both Mbotela and Khamisi retained their positions as secretary and assistant secretary respectively (Harris, 1978, Uledi, O.I. July 20, 2018). In 1948 Tom Mbotela served as vice president of KAU.

In 1950 Tom Mbotela was holding two substantive positions in KAU and as a vice president of Nairobi African Advisory Council and had immense political clout. Tom Mbotela used his position to advocate for an open housing policy to allow Africans to secure housing in urban areas of Mombasa and Nairobi. As the vice president of KAU he became the spokesperson for African interests. In 1950 Mbotela had to resign his position in KAU due to the growing resistant and militarized activities of KAU that he did not identify with. He regarded himself as constitutionalists and wanted to follow the peaceful path to political reforms. He was against the rise of the Mau Mau movement and the violence against white settlers that was being associated with KAU. In the 1950 when the Transport and Allied workers Union led by Fred Kubai and Makhan Singh staged a country-wide strike and demanding better working conditions for the African workers, Tom Mbotela was opposed to it and noted that peaceful means was the only way to resolve workers' problems. In the same year he attended the meeting of the Union organized by Kubai and Makhan in Nakuru and castigated the two. His statement that Africans must 'put their cards on table' so that European may know what African demands were interpreted by the radical wing within KAU as being against the African progress. His attack on Dini *Ya Msambwa* by Elijah Masinde as irrational and misdirected eroded his support among the African leadership with KAU at a time when there was growing resentment against European colonialism in Kenya (Uledi, Elkanah, Malaya and Charo, FGD, Freretown, January 20, 2019).

Mbotela's speech to Nairobi African Advisory Council (NAAC) in December 17 and 18 of 1951 attended by the governor Baring touched on a number of issues particularly on African welfare. Mbotela addressed the gathering and advocated for the special seat in the legislative council for the Nairobi city representing Africa interests. On education; he pointed out that there were inadequate educational facilities for African children in Nairobi. The introduction of the Government graduated tax on Africans; Mbotela noted that Africans did not have sources of income in order to generate enough revenue for the government operation. He asked the colonial government to increase employment and business opportunities for African before instituting taxation. He proposed to increase the liquor licenses for Africans and shops for African areas such as Pumwani, and open markets in Bahati, Shauri Moyo in order to cater for the increasing population in the Eastlands (Uledi, Elkanah, Malaya and Charo, FGD, Freretown, January 20, 2019).

In October 1952, his acceptance speech of taking the position of councilor in Nairobi city; irked many African leadership in KAU who labeled him as moderate and close to the Europeans. Mbotela had observed in his speech that 'Africans must free themselves from primitive and other outdated ideologies like tribalism, racialism, hooliganism and other *shenzi* things which used to exist among them before Livingstone and Stanley came to Africa'. The statement and the context in which it was delivered revealed that it was neither the time nor the place. It was a moment of ferment upsurge of Mau Mau activities and many felt that Tom Mbotela was appealing to Africans to shun Mau Mau. Mbotela ended his speech by extending a hand of welcome to incoming governor Evelyn Barling "We Nairobi African Advisory council and law abiding citizens of Nairobi will cooperate with the government during the period of emergency in maintaining law and order --- and bringing harmony among all the races in Kenya " The fact the Mbotela spoke against Mau Mau in several government functions portrayed him as having betrayed the liberation struggle against colonialism (East African Standard, 12 June 1952; KNA Nairobi East African standard 3 September 1951; Harris 1978).

Tom Mbotela served as city councilor during the State emergency in 1952 in Nairobi for only two months. He was assassinated November 2nd of 1952 near Burmer market after attending a meeting ushering in the New Governor Sir Evelyn Baring in the town Hall. The Governor Barling described Mbotela as a man of courage and loyalty to the government (Harris, 1978). In 1954 the town planning committee and the African Native Affairs Department of the Nairobi city council renamed the Donholm Triangle as Mbotela Estate in honour of Tom Mbotela.

Tom Mbotela should perhaps be described as an African nationalist, reformist who did not support radical revolutionary stands under the Mau Mau tide. He wanted to fight for African freedom and dignity without necessarily compromising his privileged position in the colonial government (The East African Standard, 3 December, 1952; Harris, 1978: 164).

From the 1930 the enculturated Africa in Rabai and Frere town became politically sensitive. Lance Jones; a son of former freed slave Rev. William Jones. He became a journalist of both Baraza and Mombasa Times. He wrote several memorandums to colonial authorities in the Mombasa Times and Baraza criticizing discrimination against African in the work place and poor pay. When the Mombasa African Advisory council was created to handle tribal and African interests the enculturated African freed slaves were the first to join it. Similarly when the Mombasa Municipal Trust Fund (MATF) was created in 1945 to deal with welfare needs it was again the Freed and enculturated African freed and descendants slaves who were first to join it. This was because the enculturated African freed slaves and descendants were aware of the existence of these institutions. The (Mombasa African Advisory Council) MAAC was chaired by the Deputy African Affairs officer; WEF Timothy Chopetta from Rabai and GHS Harrison Matano of Rabai who was the Deputy Chairman was also from Rabai. Other members of the Council at the time were

I.S. Banks, and Rose Cromwell of Freretown, Ali Naaman, A. Saleh, C. Agenya, J. Mbebe and H. P. Heskin of Mombasa. In 1951 Francis Khamisi of Rabai, Frank Stephens of Freretown and Juma Salim Ferny of Mombasa were appointed to the Council. Khamisi later became the First African member of the Mombasa Municipal board and the first African of the Housing Committee. The enculturated Africans seized these institutions as instruments of political influence; political mobility into party politics, legislative and electoral politics.

The MATF was mostly spearheaded by the enculturated African freed slaves from Rabai and Freretown and largely focused on a number of welfare issues for the Africans. By 1950 it had received an annual budget 100,000 sterling pounds from the colonial government that was allocated for several welfare needs such as the provision of school lunch for African children, improvement of sanitation in African areas of Freretown and Rabai, hospital and radio installation, social centers, canteens, market stalls, nursery schools, to cater for African needs. It is worthy to note that the Tononoka Social hall was constructed due to pressure from MAAC and African Coast Association. It was equipped with Cafeteria, library and nursery school. In 1949 its manager was Edward Binns, an African of slave descent from Freretown. The supervisory committee included Chopetta as Chairman, Matano as Vice Chairman, Khamisi as secretary and Rose Cromwell as Member. The Hall became the nucleus of African welfare discussions and activities in the 1940 and 1950s (Singh, 1969:1-7).

Another important landmark associated with enculturated African freed slaves from Freretown was in the Women movement especially the *Maendeleo Ya Wanawake* at the coast region in the mid of the 1950s. The pioneer members of the organization from the coast region were the women raised in Freetown and Rabai and some who were children at the time of abolition in the early 20th century. They were Elsie Stephens, granddaughter of William Jones and Clement Farrar. Others were Rose Cromwell, Eva Banks, Mercy Willie and Rebecca Simeon of Rabai and Eva Mbotela. Eva Mbotela played a very instrumental role in promoting the welfare of the Women in Rabai and Freretown. She worked with the Singer Company as a trainer and distributor of the sewing machines to women clubs and trained them on how to operate the sewing machines. Another resourceful woman of slave descent was Maggie Gona of Rabai who became the president of the Mombasa branch in 1954 and later became assistant director of Young Women Christian Association (Mombasa Times, November 1st 1956, July 13 1957; The East African Standard File on Maggie 1972-1973).

Another important institution for women was in the formation of the Mothers Union within the Church Missionary Society mission stations in and around Frere town, Rabai, Jilore, Machakos, and other upcountry mission stations that were developing in Limuru in the 1940s. The Pioneer founder of the Mothers Union was Elizabeth Mitchell, daughter of Florence Wellington. Other Pioneer members were May Watts and Rose Cromwell whose parents were freed slaves of Kamba origin. The Mothers Union pursued biblical studies and included other CMS

churches such as the Cathedral, Buxton and St Lukes. There was also the choir Association that brought together all the choirs under the CMS fraternity in the coast and held yearly choir competitions.

There was the Coast African Association that was started in 1945. It also became a vocal point for raising African consciousness and presented several memoranda to the colonial governor Phillip Mitchell on African matters such as better food in prisons, regulations on cinemas, lotteries, liquor licensing and citizens' rights. The association drew sizeable part of its membership from enculturated African freed slaves and their descendants from Freretown who petitioned the governor on controlling some activities such as cinema and liquor licensing in and around the mission stations and the negative influence they caused. As the African welfare issues drew the attention of the Legislative Council in the 1950 some of its key debaters were Jimmy Jeremiah who represented the Frere town and whose origin was from slavery ancestry. In 1951, the legislative council appointed a committee to study the scope of African welfare problems in urban areas of Mombasa and Nairobi. Among the Africans in the committee were Eliud Mathu, A.M. Ofaa and Lance Jones. It is worth noting that Lance Jones was the son of the Rev William Jones of the Rabai indicating the influence that enculturated Africans had in the early colonial society (Harris, 1978:73; Malange, Charo, Mwandisi and Malaya, FGD, Rabai January 22, 2019).

Another important contribution of Frere town was that H.S.G Harrison who served in the Kenya African Civil Servants Association in the 1930 and petitioned the colonial government together with other officials on discrimination against African civil servants in terms of pay and advancement opportunities (Harris 1978, 77; Elkanah, O.I. July 2018). Jimmy Jeremiah from Freretown served as the president of the Association in 1939 while Joseph Douglas from the Freretown also became the secretary of the Mombasa branch of the KACSA. Similarly Francis Khamisi was son of Sadala Khamisi among the enculturated Africans freed slaves from the Frere town to be a member of the inter-racial organization the United Kenya Club and the Capricorn Society. These were inter-racial associations but highly elitist. Khamisi was soon to be expelled from the Capricorn Society because of his strong racial sentiments that the Europeans and Asians were exploiting African and because of his radical stand that 'Kenya was for the Africans' (Harris, 1978:78; The East African Standard File on Khamisi 24 Feb 1961 ; KNA Mombasa District Annual Report, 1951) In 1958, when the Lennox Boyd constitution increased African representation to the Legislative Council; Khamisi stood for elections to represent the Mombasa Seat under the MADU (Mombasa African Democratic Union) in the legislative Council (Mombasa Times May 5th 1958). In his campaign strategies Khamisi advocated for Universal Adult Suffrage, higher wages for Africans an end racial discrimination in public places. He also advocated for the separation of the Kenya Coast from the mainland in line with British and sultanate treaty agreement of 1894. He advocated for inter-racial mixed schools and the abolition of the Beecher Report which gave only a four year course of primary education to Africans and recommended an eight year course of study as well as a unified syllabus in the

education of all races residing in Kenya. His pontification "for Kenya for Africans and that land owned by Europeans and Asians is surrendered to African" created resentment against him from Europeans and Asians alike (The East African Standard 24 July 1957). His Africans colleagues especially Harrison from Rabai who was nominated by the Governor Mitchell to Legislative Council described Khamisi in very unbecoming words: He asked Khamisi to pack his bags and go Nyasaland the origin of the Yao tribe where his ancestors were taken from as slaves. He retorted further; 'I doubt if he would be acceptable there either due to his pronouncement in creating disharmony among races everywhere (Mombasa Times 12, 14. Dec 1956). In the early 1960 when the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and (KADU) Kenya African Democratic Union took center stage in African politics; Khamisi joined KADU but lost in the election of Feb 1961 and resigned his fate to journalism. He took up the editorship of Barasa newspaper in September of 1961 (Harris 1978; Mombasa Times, 29 April, 1959).

When the Pan African Freedom Movement for Eastern and Central Africa was founded in 1958 and later renamed Pan African Freedom Movement for Eastern, Central and Southern Africa; Francis Khamisi was among the delegates from Kenya together with Tom Mboya, D.O. Makasembo, .Khamisi served as chairman of the Kenyan delegation held in Zanzibar and in Ghana. Khamisi had established himself as an articulate and judicious legislator in the Legislative Council. He served as chairman of the conference held in Zanzibar in 1958 under his chairmanship; the Organization advocated for African freedom, end of colonialism and of white settlement in Africa. He supported the coordination of the nationalist movements with the region. In 1958 PAFMECA chose Khamisi to represent the organization in the All African peoples Conference in Ghana to discuss the founding of African Freedom Charter (The KNA The Mombasa Times 6,11,Sept 1959; Mboya, Harris 1978, Elkanah, O.I. July 20,2018).

4. Conclusion

The Article has delineated on the following points. Firstly the enculturation of the Africans, from the perspective of the Europeans, was motivated to create a crop of Africans for the purpose of opening and building the interior of Kenya and Africa for the "mission and empire" building. The enculturated African freed slaves indeed served as invaluable aid to European explorers, adventurers, traders, administrators and missionaries as they became the key interpreters and guides to the interior of Kenya and Africa. At times they were the key custodian and repositories to documents that some ill-fated missionaries left behind. Secondly, it should further be noted that the evangelization at the turn of the 20th century by white missionaries was largely unsuccessful. Indeed it was the enculturated African freed slaves having been Christianized became the foundation and key pillars of evangelization. Thirdly, enculturation wrought with it inherent contradictions. The enculturated African freed slaves either consciously or unconsciously internalized values of superiority and racism. In the discourse of identity and construction of "otherness"; their description of the interior of Kenya, Africa and the

inhabitants they encountered as ignorant, primitive and barbaric was clear demonstration that they perceived of themselves overtly as superior, educated and missionized; from those that they were supposed to evangelize and bring civilization to. Fourthly, the other contradiction that they faced was the condescending and racial discrimination from their mentors; the European missionaries. It dawned on most of the enculturated African freed slaves that "missionization" did not necessarily measure to equality with the European missionaries or automatic assurance to avenues of mobility within the church. These led to refraction of sizeable number of the enculturated African freed slaves from the mission work. Fifthly, as the enculturated African freed slaves become increasing conscientized; they propelled their energies into associational life that was burgeoning in the mid and late colonial period. They used the nascent associational life as vocal point of activism and mobility into active politics. Some of them however remained within the confines of mission life and became hallmark of evangelical life. Enculturation, therefore, though unidirectional by design, led to multi- faceted outcomes.

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